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M I L L W I V E S :

A STUDY OF GENDER RELATIONS, FAMILY AND WORK IN A SINGLE-INDUSTRY TOWN

A THESIS

Submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

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Bev James: Mill Wives: A Study of Gender Relations, Family and Work in a Single-Industry Town.

D.Phil. in Sociology, University of Waikato.

E R R A T A

Some details of the mill shiftwork schedules given in Chapters Five and Nine are incorrect. They should be amended as follows:

(1) p. 155. 6.00 a.m. should read 5.30 a.m.

(2) p. 177. Cafeteria shiftwork:

5.30 a.m. - 1.30 p.m.

1.30 p.m. - 9.30 p.m.

9.30 p.m. - 5.30 a.m.

(3) p. 258. Two-shift system: the hours of work are

7.20 a.m. - 3.55 p.m. and

4.45 p.m. - 1.20 a.m.

The percentage of the mill labour force employed in each shift system is as follows:

5 & 2	Monday to Friday	18.6%
6 & 2	Continuous Three-shift system	41.4%
6 & 2	Day shift	29.3%
5 & 2	Two-shift system	8.9%
	Cafeteria three-shift system	1.9%

(percentages supplied by the Company)

ABSTRACT

The experiences and everyday practices of wives of production workers in a town with one dominant industry that imposes a variety of demands on workers and their spouses is the focus of this thesis. The town is Kawerau, established for the milling and manufacture of timber, pulp and paper, and situated in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand. It has a specifically masculine character on account of restricted employment opportunties and traditionally male occupations.

I am concerned with the ways in which the women are engaged in maintaining home and family. Marriage constitutes the ground for establishing a household, and the complementary relationship between spouses is central to creating a home. This complementarity is expressed through male employment, for many involving shiftwork, and the primary involvement of women with domesticity. Those women who were also employed modified their involvement according to domestic and family obligations, which were given prior importance. Though both may be wage earners, wives and husbands have different obligations and orientations to the family.

Complementarity is made visible through gender distinctions; a major one being the wife and 'home's' reliance on the husband's job. His job provides the necessary financial basis for the home. Its contractual and disciplined character pervades the home and furnishes the conditions under which the women as wives are expected to cope domestically. A wife's access to housing and income sufficient to maintain personally acceptable standards are influenced by the husband's contract with the mill.

Creating a home and maintaining family life are continual processes, achieved through managing the consequences of the husband's job by the wife, in the

confines of their home. This thesis highlights three aspects of his job which, as 'givens', constrain the woman's organisation of the household in significant ways: the husband's wage, hours of work (especially shiftwork) and industrial disputes. It is the contradictions and ambivalence involved in coping with these aspects that I explore. The study is influenced by feminist theoretical work concerning the relationship between 'home' and 'work' and 'public' and 'private' as symbols and experience.

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My association with Kawerau over the last seven years has been one of the most significant and important in my life. In producing this thesis, a result of that association, I am indebted to many Kawerau residents who have assisted in a variety of ways with my sociological enquiries over the years. I am most indebted to the women who participated in this study. Their help has been indispensible. I appreciate their hospitality, interest and generosity in sharing with me their personal experiences of marriage and family life. They made fieldwork a challenging, consciousness-raising and pleasurable experience for me.

It is also appropriate to record my debt, in a general sense, to the feminist movement. I have drawn inspiration from feminist literature and from involvement in teaching women's studies. They have helped in developing and clarifying the theoretical and methodological approaches of the thesis.

Special mention needs to be made of the help I have received from a number of individuals.

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Bev James,
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January 1985.

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ONE: INTRODUCTION

This is an account of the lives of a small number of women residing in Kawerau, a town based on the manufacture of timber, pulp and paper. Situated in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, hills covered with native bush and exotic pine forests border one side of the town. On the other the Rangitaiki plains rich in dairying and horticulture stretch to the sea. People recruited to the industry from all over New Zealand and beyond have settled in Kawerau. It is a community distinguished from its neighbours by history and economy.

The study focuses on women's experiences revolving around 'home' and 'work', and how they make sense of those experiences. Substantive concerns are marriage, domesticity, women's participation in the workforce and the effect of their husbands' jobs on their lives. There is nothing unusual or distinctive about the 16 women who participated in the in-depth interviews which constitute the core of the study (1). They are typical of many wives and mothers in Kawerau, but not necessarily of all women residents. They are not a homogeneous group but differ in terms of ethnicity, employment status, number of children, age, length of residence in Kawerau, their husbands' occupations and in the ways they conduct their lives. The similarities in their experience are the ones that I have chosen to emphasise by obtaining their participation in the study. All are married, have children and their husbands work at the same workplace, the mill.

My interest in the experiences of women who live in a town dominated by one industry and company arose during an earlier study of Kawerau. This project examined the relationship between the industry, the town and the people (James 1979). Speaking to women in the course of that study, I identified ways in which their experience differed

from men's, with respect to the circumstances of coming to Kawerau, employment, neighbourhood life, use of community facilities and running a home and raising children. This thesis is an extension and elaboration of those findings, with specific emphasis on the sexual division of labour as experienced by women in Kawerau. In many ways Kawerau is an unusual New Zealand town, because of its reliance on one resource for livelihood and growth. The organisation of industrial production in this community shapes women's lives importantly and pervasively.

As the research progressed the effect of the husband's occupation on his wife, on the organisation of the family and household, and on individual lives became increasingly apparent. The husband's job structures a woman's life and elicits her contribution to his participation in the workforce. The world of his work, though external to her and beyond her realm of operation and influence, is something which she takes into account constantly. His occupation intrudes in the most intimate ways; affecting the marital relationship, childrearing, household management, and her own involvement in paid work. Such various and often conflicting demands and responsibilities constitute a continual dilemma for the woman.

While the influence of 'external' or 'public' forces on individual lives is a major theme, the thesis is also concerned with how the women interpret and actively construct their lives. Accordingly, issues of motivation, choice and autonomy are addressed. In many ways these women's stories are about 'making the best of' a circumscribed life, of variation in the exercise of autonomy and of choices made within a web of constraints. Their stories are about why some came to the town for only a few years and are still there after 20; why the mill and the company are regarded with so much ambivalence; about the contradictions women face in 'going out to work'; about the rewards and restrictions involved in being a wife and

mother; and about why the notion of 'sexual equality' has little meaning in their lives.

Theoretical Influences

The theoretical ideas instrumental in shaping this thesis are discussed in detail in the following chapter. They are briefly outlined here.

Sociologists have typically separated the study of the family from the study of work. This analytical separation reflects the tendency in our society to divide activity into dichotomous public and private spheres, and to identify men with the former and women with the latter. One of the consequences of such a distinction, which is both theoretical and ideological, has been for sociological study to focus on relationships of the public domain, and consequently on men's activities. Women's activities in the home as wives and mothers involve a consciousness and experience which have, in general, been overlooked. Little serious consideration has been given to the wives of male workers in community studies, or in studies of the workplace (Frankenberg 1976).

The tendency to divide off the study of the family from the world of paid work has been challenged in recent years. One criticism is that certain activities have been associated with the home and contrasting ones with the workplace. For example, the family has been depicted solely as a consumption unit (Frankenberg 1976:27). Work is generally seen to be associated with the workplace and payment, not with the home. However, recent analyses of domestic work argue for its social contribution as servicing those in the labourforce and being inherently a productive activity (for example, Luxton 1980) (2).

Margaret Stacey (1981) shows how a sociological focus on the separation between 'public' and 'private' has resulted in analytic tools which only partially explain activities in

either sphere, and obscure ways in which social relationships do not fit such divisions. Viewing work and family as separate has obscured certain features of social life which include elements of both. Finch's (1983) study of how wives affect and are affected by their husbands' occupation challenges the assumed separation of home and work.

Analysis which explores links and relationships between the two, which challenges the notion that they are separate and dichotomous, has only recently developed (see for example, Barker and Allen 1976a). My research has drawn inspiration from several recent studies concerned with the nature of the boundaries between home and work. These have been influenced by the development of feminist perspectives in sociology. The feminist approach challenges the way that sociology has traditionally conceptualised women, and offers alternative understandings of women's experiences. In particular, the notion of the sexual division of labour is subjected to critical scrutiny, as a social construction rather than a natural and simple biological division, constant throughout history (Edholm et al. 1977:117).

One major concern in this thesis is to discover how significant are such divisions, between home and work, between a male world and a female world, in the lives of the women in this study. An important guide for analysis is provided by Barrett and McIntosh (1982:90):

> ...we need to ensure that we do not reproduce at the level of theory a distinction that has been constructed historically and ideologically. This distinction between private and public should be an object of analysis not a conceptual tool.

Most people experience work and family relationships separated in time and space. Furthermore people convey an understanding of the home and family life as a personal and private area of existence, from which outsiders are

excluded, and in which one can 'be oneself'. Domestic and kinship relations are qualitatively distinguished from those 'outside' the home.

It is difficult to get away from the notion of separate and dichotomous spheres, and to explore how they are linked, as the divisions are embedded in the language we use. We talk about 'going out to work'; of the home as a haven or a 'man's castle'; of not bringing the subject of work home. Yet at the same time as such separate worlds appear to exist and be symbolically significant, they are experienced as linked. Viewing human activity as divided into two distinct spheres does not do justice to the complexity of social life. Women are not simply confined to the domestic sphere, nor do men live totally within the factory or the boardroom. The notions of 'public' and 'private' only have explanatory value in so far as they apply to the ways in which individuals actually experience and interpret their world. I am concerned not only with individual perceptions of boundaries and barriers between home and work, and between male and female worlds, but also with how such boundaries are maintained, changed, denied or challenged.

The five studies I shall now briefly outline examine the physical and symbolic separation of home and work. Pauline Hunt (1980:2) sums up their common theme: the "...apparent separation, but actual integration, of the domestic and industrial arena ..."

Four recent studies provide valuable material on the experiences of wives of industrial workers (Hunt 1980, Luxton 1980, Williams 1981 and Porter 1983). Two are specifically concerned with life in resource-based communities (Luxton and Williams). Williams' study of workers and their families in a central Queensland mining settlement, and Luxton's study of three generations of housewives in a Canadian mining town both indicate that the worlds of men and women in single-industry communities are

sharply segregated, owing to the organisation of industrial production and a lack of employment opportunities for women.

Hunt and Porter studied industrial workers and their families in English towns. Each study explores the differences between men's and women's experiences and interpretations of that experience. These authors argue that the content of women's and men's daily lives are different in important ways because of their different occupations and domestic experiences. The relationship between experience and consciousness is specifically addressed in Porter's analysis of a strike, and the reactions of the workers' wives to this situation not of their making.

The wife's experience and understanding of her husband's job is the theme of Janet Finch's book which draws from research on a wide range of occupations. Her assertion that when a woman marries,

> ...she marries not only a man but also she marries his job, and from that point onward will live out her life in the context of the job which she has married (Finch 1983:1)

provides an important frame of reference for this thesis. Though the wife is physically and formally dissociated from her husband's job, she is nevertheless affected by it in various ways, pertaining to livelihood, organisation of the household and allocation of her own time. Furthermore she is intimately involved in giving him practical and emotional support through her service work in the home.

Two earlier studies also usefully contribute to an understanding of working-class family life, the sexual division of labour and the relations between the sexes. The first is a study of a Yorkshire mining village carried out by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter in the early 1950s. While their main concern is the miner's experience in the workplace, their analysis of his family life strikingly

reveals segregated male and female worlds, in terms of social organisation and beliefs about the respective activities of the sexes. The Ashton family has "...a major contradiction at its heart; husband and wife live separate, and in a sense, secret lives "(Dennis et al. 1956:228). For the men, the pit is their primary environment, while the woman is placed firmly in the home.

Not only are the relations between the sexes characterised by segregation, they also reveal male dominance and conflict. Men's activities occur outside the home, in the support and solidarity they gain from employment, leisure and the male group. The life of the miner's wife is portrayed as a dismal one as she is almost completely weighed down with childrearing and attending to her husband's requirements. In addition, the wife meets with social disapproval if she neglects her domestic duties and ventures outside of the home for employment (which is difficult for women to obtain) or leisure.

Coal is Our Life is largely a study of the male worker's world, with the home and women's lives viewed through the eyes of the miners and male sociologists (3). Although important aspects of wives' lives are revealed in the study, we are nevertheless left wondering how they saw their own domestic surroundings; how they might have regarded husbands who refused a bought meal instead of a 'proper' home cooked dinner (Dennis et al. 1956:182); or interpreted their own decline in physical attractiveness brought on by drudgery and too many pregnancies (Dennis et al. 1956:208). Frankenberg (1976:38) remarks that far from overdoing the description of the wives' oppression, Dennis et al. do not go far enough in exploring the antagonism between the sexes in Ashton.

The second study, Mirra Komarovsky's Blue Collar Marriage, concentrates on the family environment. This American study of working-class couples was conducted in the

late 1950s. Komarovsky explores the individual's views and experiences of marriage, comparing ideal expectations with actual behaviour. She focussed on the dynamics of marital interaction and communication. Komarovsky found that wives and husbands had different expectations and experiences of marriage. Like Dennis et al.'s study, Komarovsky's research reveals sharply segregated male and female worlds in terms of activities and interests. Wives in Komarovsky's study wanted more communication with their husbands but this was often difficult because of the physical separation of their daily activities (Komarovsky 1967:151). Furthermore, expressiveness and sharing confidences were identified by the husbands as feminine, and emotional reserve as masculine (Komarovsky 1967:156). In some cases such a view prevented a wife from learning anything about her husband's work (Komarovsky 1967:158).

In the Yorkshire mining village of Ashton the husband was very clearly the 'boss' in the home and the sexual division of labour was rigid. This was accepted and supported by the wives (Dennis et al. 1956:181-182). But in Komarovsky's study contrasting images of marriage were held by different individuals. One was that the husband should be head of the household and the couple have separate but complementary responsibilities in the home, and separate leisure interests. Another combined the ideal of friendship and companionship between spouses (Komarovsky 1967:113) with a less differentiated division of labour in the home (Komarovsky 1967:52-53).

Both Komarovsky's and Dennis et al.'s research provide important insights into the nature of marriage for wives of workers. Dennis et al. reveal the economic and occupational contrasts between spouses, and their effects on the marital relationship. Komarovsky provides insights into the ways in which couples symbolically construct their marriage; their values and expectations and how these affect behaviour. These studies have focussed my thinking about the experiences of women as wives of industrial workers.

The wider context - People, Community and Workplace

My earlier research (James 1979) gives a broad overview of community and workplace, and will not be summarised here. Instead, this discussion concentrates on aspects of that research most relevent to the thesis. I do not intend to present an exhaustive review of the literature on the various types of resource-based communities. This literature on resource-based communities is mainly concerned with the nature and characteristics of such settlements, and many of the studies are problem oriented, concentrating on the effects of the industry on the community (4).

There is a small but growing literature on resource-based communities in New Zealand. Early studies include work on the Roxburgh hydro development (Campbell 1957) and Kawerau (Whitelaw 1961). Whitelaw's study provides useful historical information on Kawerau's establishment, the regional impact of the new timber industry, the characteristics of the labourforce, the typical demographic features of a newly established resource-based town, the effects of a dominant industry on the community's economy, status system and housing, and residents' perceptions of living in the town.

A comprehensive study of Tokoroa, a town based on timber resources (Chapple 1976) provides additional insights for this thesis. Relying on case studies and in-depth interviews, as well as published documentary and statistical material, Chapple's aim was to develop a picture of the community from the point of view of its members. His research considers the factors that might draw people to boom towns, and the personal and social uncertainties they may face in living in such settlements. Chapple highlights some of the problems perceived by residents in relation to an unbalanced age and sex structure, the integration of newcomers into the community, demands on a range of services, communication difficulties between diverse ethnic

and class groupings, the impact of the industry on the town's economy, and the authority exerted by the industry over residents' lives. In the final chapter Chapple asks if boom towns provide satisfactory conditions for their inhabitants, and argues that, from the experience of Tokoroa, there is much more to be done in the way of planning for such communities.

> In the mushroom growth of an industrial boom town, the 'slow wisdom' of a traditional community life is not possible. The boom town is a synthetic community. Its inhabitants have not all been nurtured in its rhythms and its rules. Most have had to adjust to these, and adjust much more rapidly than people have been accustomed to over most of human history. There are many merits in the new and expanding social and cultural environment. There can be stimulating variety and a pattern of status and prestige which is more fluid than in most traditional communities. A premium may thus be placed on open-mindedness, initiative, and talent. But there are also many hazards. The social casualty rate measured in terms of loneliness and apathy, whakamaa, and frustration, is probably very high - much higher than in the older communities. (Chapple 1976:139)

A focus on conflict associated with rapid change and industrial development is characteristic of social impact studies of large-scale resource projects, a growing field of study in New Zealand (Taylor and Sharp 1983). These studies identify abrupt changes to the physical environment, changes in economy, increases in population and associated demands made on existing local facilities and services. They throw into sharp relief the consequences of rapid industrialisation for individuals living in such communities, and certain social groups (including women, youth and indigenous people) have been characterised as relatively disadvantaged (Taylor and Sharp 1983:64).

The literature refers to the "specially created" town, the "single-industry" community, the town of "dominant industry" and the "company town"; all concerned with the

extraction and/or processing of raw materials. In many cases industries are located in isolated areas away from centres of population. New towns are required to house and service the industry's employees. Such towns are specially created, termed by Chapple (1976:137)"...synthetic communities in the sense that they are created, usually from scattered and culturally disparate human material, to serve the needs of industry."

The single-industry town has a discrete resource base which is generally utilised by one company. Small secondary and supporting industries and institutional services are present, but these employ only a minority of the local labourforce (Lucas 1971:16). The single-industry town is dependent on demand for its narrow range of products. Having no other industry, its security can be precarious. For example, one Canadian uranium mining town went from 'boom' to 'bust' in a decade because of a drop in demand for uranium (Porteous 1971:1). Some single-industry towns are even planned as temporary. In New Zealand many of the towns established to cater for the construction of hydro-electricity dams were planned as temporary settlements. However, some have endured, developing their own range of businesses and services, and a sense of community life. One example is Twizel, which was due to revert to pasture in 1984 (Watson 1978). Now there are plans to cater for a developing ski and tourist industry in the area.

Some single-industry towns are also company towns. In the company town, not only employment, but all services that employees require, including housing, shops, recreation facilities and municipal services, are run by the company (Robinson 1962:4). These communities are effectively closed to outsiders, being owned and administered by the company. In New Zealand this situation has been prevented by State involvement in the development of resource-based communities and legislation to set up local government in such towns (5). Even though most resourse-based communities are not

company towns, the major employer in such towns nevertheless exerts considerable influence over many aspects of community life.

Kawerau was a town specially created for the needs of industry in 1954, but it is neither a company town nor strictly a town with a single company. Though it is reliant on one resource, timber, there are two companies which exploit that resource. This has implications for the organisation of work and community life, resulting in wider variation in social organisation and relationships than would be the case with only one company. The smaller company was established in 1956 alongside the larger company and manufactures a range of tissue, wrapping and writing papers. Its workforce is about a fifth of the size of that of the larger enterprise. It is a private company and much less open to public scrutiny than the larger public company.

Each company makes decisions affecting the community. Though both are involved in the processing of wood, their products and markets are different and they experience different demands for their goods. Company-worker relations are different on each mill site, as are company policies regarding housing, employment and so on.

Two workplaces result in two separate local stratification systems (though in this case they are closely related as occupations and wage rates on the two sites are similar). As not all residents are attached to the same workplace, the close-knit nature and visibility of social interaction in the community is somewhat reduced. However, having two companies does not greatly increase the range of occupational choices in the town; both work sites are male dominated and recruit the same type of skilled workforce.

Kawerau can be best described as a specially created town with a single industry and dominant company. About 70 percent of its labourforce is engaged in industry based on

the forest resource, and a majority (80 percent) work for the one company. In this study 'the mill' and 'the company' refer to the larger enterprise, the employer of the husbands of the women participating in the research.

Kawerau exhibits many features common to other types of resource-based communities. These communities show similar patterns in relation to planning, environment, the provision of services, economy, demographic characteristics, company/community relations, social stratification, and the wider political and economic context.

(1) Planning

Internationally, resource-based towns show a number of similarities in their planning (Robinson 1962:60). Typically they consist of three zoned areas serving different activities: the residential neighbourhood with school, playgrounds and local shops; the central retail and business area including shops, offices, civic buildings, cultural and recreational facilities; and the service/light industrial area.

Built along similar lines to the Naenae and Titahi Bay state housing areas, Kawerau is a planned town. It is distinguished from other settlements which have grown gradually and haphazardly over a long period of time, by the strictly zoned areas of land use that were set out in the original town plan, the curving streets and lack of cross-roads, quiet residential cul-de-sacs, pedestrian walkways linking town centre and residential areas, and a shopping mall and town centre complex.

A town that is built from scratch poses great challenges to the planners, and to those who are to live in the town. The results of planning may not be always as anticipated, nor approved of by residents. The consequences of planning have been felt in Kawerau. In its early days especially, the dominance of state housing designs gave a uniform and

uninteresting appearance to the neighbourhoods (Whitelaw 1962:150). Now, however, there is a much greater variety of housing designs through the development of private housing, and many of the old company houses have been purchased by employees and renovated. Both the local council and residents have made great efforts to establish trees and gardens to soften the regimented effect of rows of similar houses. However other effects of the initial planning decisions have not been so easy to overcome. One of the factors restricting the expansion of secondary industry and retail premises has been strict zoning regulations and the confined areas set out in the original town plan for such activities (James 1979:101).

(2) The Environment

Resource-based communities are generally found in sparsely populated and geographically isolated areas. Many are located in inhospitable climates. However, this is not so in Kawerau's case. It is situated near to several other towns and 52 kilometres distant from a provincial city. It also enjoys one of the warmest and sunniest climates in New Zealand.

Isolation is not only a matter of geography; resource-based communities also experience social isolation, in terms of relations between the community and other communities. The resource-based community is often regarded by those outside as very different in lifestyle and even values. In the case of Kawerau, it is referred to in a stereotypical way which reflects the nature of the industry ('mill town' or 'timber town'), or the work itself ('shift town'). Residents feel their community to have a bad image and may be defensive of the qualities of their town. But at the same time they can also feel isolated through a lack of facilities and opportunities in their own town, for example, wider educational and employment choices for their children.

(3) The Provision of Services

Despite careful planning, the size and isolation of many resource-based communities means they suffer from an inadequate range of services including health and education, and a lack of variety in shopping and entertainment. There are often difficulties in attracting professionals and secondary industries to such localities. Studies of community perceptions of quality of life in single-industry towns have found that residents are most concerned with the availability of amenities (Himelfarb 1982:18). One area which seems to raise much public dissatisfaction is the provision of retail services; residents feel themselves to be exploited by businessmen taking advantage of the community's economic boom (Lucas 1971:223). The only area well catered for is sport and recreation; the proliferation of clubs and organisations is a notable feature of these communities (Robinson 1962:87).

These observations from overseas studies have parallels in Kawerau. Throughout its history, the town has had continuing difficulties in obtaining regular services from government departments (James 1979:158-165).
Representatives of the Departments of Social Welfare and Labour are only able to visit periodically, and until a few years ago had no offices in the town. Over the years, residents have lobbied for more doctors and for improved and expanded medical services locally (James 1979:111-119). These matters contribute to residents' feelings of isolation.

In this and my earlier study, residents were critical of a lack of variety in retail facilities, high prices, and poor customer service. It was common for people to shop out of town (James 1979:77-82). Most however, were enthusiastic about recreational opportunities provided in and around Kawerau. The community's clubs and facilities reflect a strong sporting emphasis, and are a major source of social life and entertainment (James 1979:36-38).

(4) Economy

Factors instrumental in the original siting of the industry (economic, physical, environmental and technical) are also those which tend to restrict the diversification of the industry. In his 1961 study of Kawerau, Whitelaw (1961:47) concluded that any new industry faced more disadvantages than advantages in locating in the town. Disadvantages included distance from raw materials and markets, and factors specifically related to the dominant industry: the absence of houses and industrial buildings for management and employees in new industries to rent or purchase, and competition for labour from the dominant industry. In 1978 local people considered the same factors still affected the further development of industry (James 1979:102).

Certain groups within the population are especially vulnerable when it comes to employment opportunities: young people, women and ethnic minorities. Though they may not wish to, young people often have to leave town after finishing school. The situation is especially restrictive for women of all ages, as the resource-based industries are overwhemingly male domains. In Kawerau there is only a limited range of jobs available for women, both married and single. The two mills provide work of a clerical, cleaning and cafeteria nature. The smaller mill has a packing room which employs women. In the town itself, sales and clerical occupations offer the most opportunity. Women with appropriate professional qualifications are sought after as teachers in an area which has difficulty in attracting staff, and as nurses for doctors' practices and the local maternity hospital. But some women have to commute to work in Whakatane and Rotorua if they want jobs. Training for career advancement is not available. Women tend to come to, and remain in, Kawerau because of their husbands' jobs, and their own employment ambitions are severely curtailed. The job situation is particularly difficult for young women

leaving school and those wanting part-time work (James 1979:99-100).

(5) Demographic Characteristics

Typically resource-based communities differ from other settlements in terms of the age, sex and ethnic profiles of the population. The industry's demand for a range of skills draws employees from a wide area nationally, and even internationally, so that many racial, ethnic and national groups are brought together. Kawerau's population includes Finnish, British, American and Canadian people who have been employed by the industry over the years. The mill has also attracted workers from throughout New Zealand, including a large number of Maori people from areas lacking employment. They now comprise about 30 percent of the town's population, and around 50 percent of the school pupils. There is also a small community of Pacific Island people representing various Island groups. They have established their own community organisations, including Pacifica, a Polynesian women's association.

In the early days of construction and establishment there was a greater number of males to females in the population. The sex ratio evened out, but it took many years before youthfulness ceased to be a prominent feature of the population. The industry prefers a stable labourforce of married men, and so the resource-based community typically consists of large numbers of working age people and dependent children. In 1981 37.6 percent of Kawerau's population were aged 0-14 years, 60.3 percent 15-64 years and only 1.9 percent 65 years and older. There are few young adults, as many are forced to leave the town in search of work and further education and similarly, there are only a small number in the older age groups. It is a sign of a boom town's maturity when people choose to retire in the community. This occurs as the working population makes material and emotional investments in the town over the years.

(6) Community/Company Relations.

The company is also a citizen of the community, and its decisions have far-reaching effects for the town. Himelfarb (1982:17) identifies the 'central fact of life' of single industry towns as dependence on the company. The company provides the means of livelihood for most of the town; it may provide worker accommodation, and donate to local fundraising projects. In some towns, including Kawerau, doctors have been attracted to set up practice through the company's efforts.

A theme common to many studies is workers' ambivalence over the company's involvement in their lives. Paternalism is resented, but many employees expect company support for local activities, the provision of housing and jobs for their children. Feelings of ambivalence, dependency and powerlessness are further emphasised by the structure of company decisionmaking. Decisions critical to the community are often made by top management in head office in a distant city.

(7) Social Stratification

While specially created resource towns may lack bases of stratification in kinship and tradition they are not free of class and status distinctions. Rather, a striking feature is the development of a local stratification system based on the industry's occupational hierarchy. This is a clear and determinant system. All who work in the same industry share knowledge of wage scales and the occupational authority structure. It is also likely that occupational distinctions coincide with ethnic affiliation. Typically, the ethnic stratification reflects that of the larger society. New Zealand studies of resource-based communities show white New Zealanders predominating in managerial and professional positions, while Maori workers predominate in unskilled occupations and are over-represented among the unemployed (Whitelaw 1961:89; Chapple 1976:53; James 1979:209; Taylor

and Sharp 1983:69). The occupational hierarchy is reflected in housing patterns and social interaction in the community.

In addition to the industry-based status system, there is a parallel system related to occupations outside of the dominant industry; this includes shopkeepers, teachers and others (Lucas 1971:148, James 1979:203).

While wage workers derive their status from the local stratification system, and are restricted in geographical and social mobility, professionals and managerial personnel within the company are part of national and even international status systems which provide channels of advancement out of the community. The top echelons of the company may not even reside in town, as is the case with Kawerau; the company head office being in Auckland.

Studies of resource-based communities have emphasised how the local stratification system stems from the industry's occupational hierarchy, but few develop a detailed analysis of class. Those who stand out as incorporating a class analysis as central to their research are Dennis et al. (1956), Williams (1981) and Luxton (1980). Speaking of research on New Zealand resource communities, Taylor and Sharp (1983:58) argue that evidence suggests that class is an important feature of the social organisation, social life and social problems of such towns, but there has been very little investigation of these matters.

(8) The Wider Political and Economic Contexts

The implications of company decisions, the role of the State in the life of the community and the effects of technological change are three aspects which illustrate the wider social, economic and political contexts in which resource-based communities exist. In New Zealand the State has operated in partnership with both national and multi-national capital to foster the development of resource industries in a number of ways. It controls access to

resources, is involved in the creation of renewable resources (such as exotic forests), has helped finance new resource industries, and participated in the development of towns associated with industrial development (Taylor and McClintock 1983:15). Furthermore, tax incentives have encouraged the introduction of new technology into industry.

Kawerau - community and industry

In describing Kawerau, I want especially to focus on the economic features of life in the community and on the impact of events in the wider political and economic scene. I am concerned with the influence of large scale capital enterprise, and with State involvement in the town and industry.

Kawerau, a town of 8590 people in 1981, was specially created on uninhabited land to service a new integrated pulp, newsprint and sawmill industry. The town's origins and continuing existence are linked to changes in the wider economic and political contexts both nationally and internationally. Its existence is owed equally to private enterprise and State involvement. A special issue of the New Zealand Timber Journal (June 1955) recounted the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company's story, emphasising the magnitude of the project and its international significance. One writer asserted that the eyes of the world's pulp and paper industry were focussed on New Zealand, and the Minister of Forests issued the following statement:

> Kawerau is not only a beginning but a culmination - fittingly noble end to thirty years of patient research, experiment and above all, of faith ... it is only by reference to something as large as a mountain that one can conceive of a project as gigantic as Kawerau. Although it is now a going concern, it is also a monument; first to the New Zealand Forest Service, for its imperturbable and unshakeable belief in it; to all the various overseas firms which have contributed their professional advice and

> skill to its making, and to the Tasman Group which finally sponsored it, and to the thousands of people of sixteen nationalities who have built it ... So begins a new era in our country's industrial life (Smith 1955:39).

At the time of its construction the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company's mill at Kawerau was the world's fourth largest integrated pulp, paper and sawmill plant. Though established in 1953, its origins go back to the State's exotic afforestation programmes of 30 years before (Entrican 1955:36). Extensive plantings of pine were made in the central North Island volcanic plateau area, the Kaingaroa plains, where there were many thousands of acres of easily plantable pumice country within a 100 miles of a seaport. Being an area unsuitable for agricultural development because of cobalt deficiency, a State forest was established in the 1920s.

As the huge area of forest neared maturity, the government sought overseas advice on how to use the resource. Reports suggested the development of pulp, paper and timber mills at Murupara. This came to be known as the Murupara Scheme, and was to be one of the largest industrial undertakings in the British Commonwealth. The New Zealand government sought co-operation from private enterprise in developing the industry, and advertised world wide. Only one tender applied, a joint venture between a New Zealand company (Fletcher) and two American companies (Merritt and Raymond). The Tasman Group was formed (Anon 1955b:43).

The Group's desire to change the site of the industry, together with investigation into geo-thermal power potential at Onepu, resulted in the decision to establish the mill at a site to be known as Kawerau (Entrican 1955:38). Other industrial advantages of this site were proximity to the Tarawera river for water, and the fact that the town required to service the industry could be built on Crown land.

However, the company was not without difficulties in obtaining land for the mill, as it had to negotiate with Maori owners for over 400 acres. The Maori land owners were suspicious of the new industrial intruders. They saw the mill as threatening their livelihood gained from the land and the river, and the sacredness of the nearby mountain, Putauaki. Though eventually agreeing to sell the land, the Maori owners had their protest. Some erected a fence across the road to prevent access of the contractor's advance party to the land. One resident can also remember that, as a child, she was rewarded by her elders for pulling out survey pegs.

The mill went ahead as a partnership between private enterprise and the State. This was reflected in the capital structure of the company. Upon establishment, it had 10 directors, three representing the Crown, and two the Fletcher company (6). In addition, the State undertook the development of the region, constructing rail links from Murupara (the logging centre 40 miles away in the forest) to the mill, and on to the port at Mt. Maunganui, which also had to be developed. Roads were upgraded and power projects to supply the mill were developed on the Rangitaiki river.

New Zealand also relied on the involvement of overseas companies at all stages of the planning, construction and development of the project. As well as the American companies involved in the Tasman Group and in the mill construction (Merritt and Raymond), one Canadian firm designed the mill, another sent a team of executives and skilled technicians to train key personnel and supervise initial production, and a third was a consultant on forestry for the Tasman company.

In 1953 Fletcher Construction commenced work on the camp at the mill site and the first houses at Kawerau. Progress was rapid. By 1954 the mill was in operation and Kawerau consisted of 484 state rental houses, of which 450 were rented by the company for its employees.

In many respects Kawerau is a clear example of a town based on the capitalist mode of production. The prevalence of one industry and the dominance of one company throw into sharp relief the division between capital and labour.

'Capital' in Kawerau is represented by large scale industry, referred to by Braverman (1974:258) as monopoly capital. A consequence of the development of capitalist societies, monopoly capital is characterised by the amalgamation of small family-based firms into large corporations. Modern corporations are run by specialised management, and have international business interests.

The mill has always been a large enterprise; it is the country's biggest exporter of manufactured goods. But it is now part of an even greater conglomerate of capital, since the merger of Tasman Pulp and Paper Company with Fletcher Holdings Ltd and Challenge Corporation Ltd to form Fletcher Challenge in 1980. This new corporation was established with the aim of undertaking major new development projects. Tasman was absorbed into the corporation, with its shares being divided between Fletcher, Challenge and the new holding company (consisting of Fletcher and Challenge). Tasman was reorganised into three companies, being administered under two sectors of Fletcher Challenge; Forestry and Wood Products and Pulp and Paper. All are under the policy, planning and financial control of the new holding company. Only one of the executive directors of the new corporation came from Tasman.

This organisation made New Zealand's largest ever offshore acquisition in 1983 with the purchase of a Canadian forest products company (Crown Zellerbach, Vancouver, British Columbia). This was done in an effort to obtain a stronger position in the world market. Being part of the country's largest business enterprise further accentuates the way capital directs community life. At the time of the conglomerate's purchase of the Canadian firm, the Kawerau

company was reducing hours of work, and some employees became concerned about the future of the local industry. Fletcher Challenge's first resource development was to be the installation of a fourth newsprint machine at Kawerau, but this decision has been deferred, and this has affected the planning of residential areas in the town.

On the other side of capital are those who do not own, or have access to the means of production, but who must sell their labour power to those who do, in order to survive. This definition of the working class requires further clarification, for as Braverman (1974:404) observes, a key feature of modern capitalism is that almost all of the population are employees of capital. However, not all are subject to capital in the same way, varying in the degree of control over the job, and authority of the position. Between the two extremes of capital and labour Braverman (1974:405) identifies a range of intermediate categories which share in the prerogatives of capital, but which also display the characteristics of the wage worker.

For the purposes of this study I have followed Steven's (1978) analysis of the New Zealand class structure, and taken as a definition of the working class in Kawerau, all the operators, skilled workers, tradesmen and labourers in the mill; that is, those directly involved in production. They sell their labour power and have little control over their conditions of work. However, this is not a homogeneous group. Workers are differentiated according to wages, job designation and rank, hours of work, and degree of authority over others. A basic division in the mill (and the town) is that between hourly paid and salaried workers. The lower levels of line management, foremen and supervisors, "...the subalterns and noncommissioned officers of the industrial army" (Braverman 1974:406) are salaried positions, and they have authority over others. Within New Zealand's class structure as a whole, Steven (1978:127) would define the mill workers as part of the labour

aristocracy, as they comprise a highly organised workforce in the monopoly and export sectors. Because of their position in the labour market, their earnings are typically among the highest in the working class.

Seemingly basic to all definitions of the working class is the notion of the wage worker's powerlessness in the workplace (Critcher 1979:33). I am not able to give a detailed account of the work conditions of the men on the factory floor, as I had no opportunity to experience the workplace in a research capacity. But from my own brief observations in the mill, informal conversations with mill workers, and from information provided by the women in this study, some insights can be gained. On visiting the industrial complex one is immediately impressed with the scale of operation (over 93 acres), the size of the machinery and buildings, the excessive noise and heat in some areas, the heavy work involved in various occupations, the monotony of many of the operators' jobs (which also demand lightning reactions if something goes wrong) and the huge production capacity of the 24 hour industry. Danger is also part of the work environment; the husbands of two of the women in this study had been injured at work, one by machinery and another with chemicals.

The mill is divided into areas of operation: the sawmill, the groundwood pulp mill, the chemical pulp mill and the paper mill. The women's husbands are involved in most areas. They include paper machine operators, a pulpmill worker, a causticizing plant worker, a timber yard worker, and electricians, mechanics, fitters and turners. All occupations are hierarchically graded and distinguished by rate of pay, designation, and even clothing.

According to the women, some of their husbands dislike their jobs. They do not get satisfaction from the work itself, but regard the money earned as a means to a more fulfilling family life. This may certainly be a way of coping with difficult working conditions. One woman talked

about her husband's plans to leave the mill, as soon as he had enough money to go into business for himself. Another revealed how a man may like to keep work separate from home life:

> ...quite often he wants to switch off from all work when he comes home anyway ... he tends very much to like to keep his work and his private life apart ... I don't think he would like me being closely involved in any way with his work ...he likes to keep home sort of his.

From the women's comments about leisure, it was apparent that several of the husbands have little contact with their mates out of work, and spend much of their time doing odd jobs around the home. One husband's chief leisure activity was reported to be watching television, accentuating the home-centred nature of his off-work time (7).

It is not only the men, but also their wives and families who are affected by their relationship to the means of production. The whole of working class life is "...determined by the ongoing processes of the accumulation of capital "(Braverman 1974:378). For example, the patterns of housing development in the town have been shaped by successive expansions of the industrial complex (the second and third newsprint machines and new pulp mill). New residential areas have been provided by joint State, company and local body efforts. The State has controlled the release of Crown land for sections; there has been no subdivision development by private companies (James 1979:132-134). The original expanse of housing, between the town centre and the river, is characterised by 1950s designed state housing. Originally company rental housing, most are now privately owned by employees and many have been renovated. More recent subdivisions exhibit a greater variety of housing design, especially since the late 1960s when sections were made available for private home building for the first time. However, the new subdivisions, stretching up the Tarawera valley toward the forest, are removed from the main shopping area and suffer from a lack

of services (though a dairy and garden centre were opened there in 1984). It is difficult for residents of the area, who are mainly couples with young children and high financial commitments, to develop their own amenities.

One area of housing which stands out from the rest is that built for overseas managerial staff in the early 1960s (James 1979:204). Contrasting sharply in size, style, cost and surroundings, these houses were situated on a plateau overlooking the town. Still known as 'nob hill', this area's exclusiveness has been diluted as now all levels of the mill's occupational hierarchy and employees of businesses outside of the industry reside there. However some parts of the area, including the original managerial houses, continue to be occupied by company staff and the term 'nob hill' still has local salience.

Over the years most employees have been tied to the company through either rental accommodation, or the purchase of a company house, or cheap second mortgage loan finance that the company offers for new home building (James 1979:134-137). In recent years the company has greatly reduced its involvement in rental housing. Only a small pool has been retained for short-term employee accommodation. Instead the company has encouraged employees, through the loan scheme, to purchase or build their own homes.

Distinctions in housing are recognised by residents and can become a source of resentment. Though not referred to in class terms 'better' housing areas are readily identified, and in the past the allocation of company housing was widely believed to be on occupational status, not on need. Often such distinctions are referred to in a disparaging or even embarrassed manner, because they fit uneasily with the notion that Kawerau is a community which people from a wide diversity of backgrounds have built together.

Class and status distinctions are also salient in defining the character of social interaction. There are cleavages between the different levels of the industrial occupational hierarchy, and between those who work within and outside of the major industry. These differences are cross cut, and often accentuated by ethnicity. Distinction is often made between Maori (or Polynesian) and Pakeha. While both are involved in the daily operation of the industry, their experiences within the mill complex have an ethnic component, as job status and ethnicity are related. Outside of the mill, differences are also observed. The Maori have their own institutions - kinship, marae, and church. A local pride in harmonious race relations conceals the prevalence of the Maori in unskilled occupations and among the unemployed, and the vulnerable position of Maori youth. For Maori and Pakeha 'race' has become a political issue; in matters of access to employment and company housing (James 1979:186, 209-211), and in education (James 1979:123-125).

Because most people in Kawerau are linked to the industry directly through work, or indirectly through the family, social observability and knowledge of others are high. It is hard to be private, to shut out the workplace when the mill schedule has to be accommodated and friends, kin and neighbours are all involved: "we've only got the mill ... and that's where all our husbands work ... that's the only conversation most of the men want to talk about."

Such daily intrusion is an irritation that is accommodated, but there is also the control the women feel the mill exerts over their lives. How secure are their husbands' jobs? What will happen to the demand for the company's products in the future? Will there be another strike? "..[if] anything happens to the mill, the majority of the town are affected by it. That particular stress is not an easy thing to live with." Nor is the mill, as part of one's identity easy to ignore. Many residents are

sensitive about the image of their town that is held by outsiders, an image of a rough and raw timber town (James 1979:225-227). One woman admitted that when on holiday, she describes herself as coming from the Bay of Plenty, "... just to get away from the comments that might come with saying you're from Kawerau."

The company's influence is often spoken of with ambivalence. Employees expect the assistance it can provide, and most would agree that their reasons for moving to, or remaining in the town were largely to do with the money they can earn. However, while the company housing schemes are perceived of favourably by some, others feel they are trapped by a web of obligations to the company. One woman exposed the other side of the security of working for the company with her comment, "...the mill owns you body and soul sort of thing".

The company as the source of livelihood permeates almost every subject. In talking about pollution from the mill, many residents are privately critical, but publicly silent. Official complaints from residents about air pollution are very few, in contrast with the many complaints received from farmers about odour and dust from the company's effluent ponds. Evidence from my earlier study suggests residents were resigned to, rather than accepting of, pollution problems in the industry (James 1979:192). They are aware of the connection of pollution with their livelihood, and the ambivalence surfaces again: "It's a rich smell, put it that way".

Having identified 'class' in Kawerau in terms of a relationship between labour and capital, I want to emphasise that this is an analytical distinction which can only partially convey the nature of social groups. 'Classes' are not fixed; they are social processes, ideas and relationships which individuals construct in the course of their everyday lives. People in Kawerau have a class

experience largely determined by the productive relations that they enter into, and they are affected by the decisions of capital, but economic and political consequences are interpreted in locally unique ways.

In his exploration of the meaning of class, E.P. Thompson (1979:12) sees class as process, not category. He refers to it as a social and cultural formation, worked out over time. I include a quote of Thompson's, for it eloquently captures the notion of class as constructed by people in relation to one another:

> When we speak of a class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same congeries of interests, social experiences, traditions and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening (Thompson 1979:939).

In the community as a whole, and among the women in this study, talk of class in terms of capital and labour as polarised and antagonistic groups is not common (8), though when a strike occurs, a conflict view of class relations is expressed by some workers (James 1979:224). In contrast, other residents consider that differences in ranking among people are inconsequential. They characterise Kawerau as a friendly place, where newcomers are quickly made to feel welcome. At one time all have been newcomers, and, at least for non-Maori, no claims to status are able to be made on the basis of affiliation to land or to the area. Furthermore, local organisations, particularly sports clubs, are identified as places where all can meet on an equal basis.

But comments indicate that status distinctions, if not class, are important reference points for interaction with others. The occupational hierarchy furnishes the basis for a powerful and pervasive status system, though this appears

to be used by some more than others. Differences in lifestyle are keenly observed. The town's two hotels and Cosmopolitan Club attract substantially different clientele, as do the various local voluntary associations and clubs. Some homes, modest in outward appearance, reveal a high standard of living on the inside. Consumption is one important base of status classification. Some differences in lifestyle, like those observed in housing, are industry derived, but there are also other bases of status. Together with economic position, ethnicity is another significant criterion of status allocation in Kawerau.

Form of the thesis

The thesis comprises 11 chapters. For the purposes of discussion of the fieldwork, the chapters primarily dealing with this material are divided into two sections. The first, "Wives, Mothers and Workers", maps the broad context of the women's lives, and provides a background for consideration of their specific experiences. The second section, "Coping with the Husband's Job", is concerned with the women's experiences of their husbands' work. Three aspects are focussed on -domestic finances, shiftwork and industrial disputes.

In conclusion, I draw together the theoretical ideas and fieldwork material, and attempt to make sense of these women's lives, in the context of their situation as wives of workers in a town of dominant industry. I am concerned with the nature of their family and domestic obligations, and with the contradictions and conflicts as experienced by the women. My aim is to highlight the women's understandings of that experience, and the complexities of their activities and interpretations relating to 'home' and 'work'. A central issue is the way in which there is a clear delineation, mentally and actually, of activities into a public 'man's world' and a private 'woman's world', and how women are separated from their husbands' world, but must

continually engage with it through their work within the home. I hope that this study contributes to an understanding of two general sociological issues: the relationship between the domestic sphere and the public sphere of production in a capitalist society; and especially, the ways in which gender structures women's lives.

Footnotes

(1) Two sets of interviews were conducted; individual interviews which are referred to here and a series of discussions with small groups of women residing in Kawerau. The methods used for gathering data are discussed in detail in Appendix 1.

(2) The nature of the family in a capitalist mode of production, and the nature of domestic labour as a servicing and productive activity have been widely debated in recent feminist and marxist writing (see especially Molyneux 1979 and Barrett 1980 for detailed reviews). Discussion and criticism pertaining to the debate will not be developed in this thesis, though some understanding of the ways in which women, as wives and homemakers, support their husbands in paid work, can be obtained from the literature (Finch 1983:79). Instead, my concern in this study is with the ways in which women cope with diverse and ambivalent circumstances resulting from the consequences of their husbands' jobs. This involves them responding to external constraints, and acting to create a home. It is a consideration not only of what they do but also of the 'reality' of their circumstances, from their point of view.

(3) No systematic discussion of methods is provided by Dennis et al., so it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which women were interviewed. Their chapter on the family includes the comments of wives, but it is not clear what questions were asked and why, or how the research material was selected and structured.

(4) Most of the literature is concerned with overseas studies. In particular there has been wide documentation of the development of such settlements in North America. One of the most comprehensive overviews is the work of Lucas (1971) on single-industry towns in Canada.

(5) In Kawerau's case the Kawerau and Murupara Townships Act 1953 legislated for the establishment of local government. Kawerau Borough was established in 1954, but a fully independent, elected and constituted Borough Council was not formed until 1968. The town was first administered

by a Town Commissioner and four advisors that he appointed from the local community. In 1958 a Mayor and five commissioners were elected and three commissioners appointed by the company to manage civic affairs. This system operated until the election of a fully independent council in 1968.

(6) Of the remaining five directors, three represented Albert E. Reed and Co. Ltd., London, and the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., and two represented the public (Anon 1955c:58).

(7) Though not applicable to all the men in this study, Lockwood's (1966) description of the 'privatised' worker is of some relevence to the discussion. The privatised worker's main interest in the job is a pecuniary one. His involvement in work and attachment to the enterprise and fellow worker is slight. He tends to live a socially isolated life, with few associations outside of the family. However, as Davis and Cousins (1975:195) observe, the instrumental attitude of the worker to his job is nothing unusual; indeed it is only through work that he subsists.

(8) The word class is seldom used. The women referred to social and economic differences by terms such as 'hierarchy', 'inferior/superior', 'snob', 'cliquey' and 'greasing up' (in reference to workers who get too familiar with their bosses).

TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study has been informed, stimulated and guided by certain theoretical ideas. These are examined in the following sections. The discussion commences with an outline of the broad influences on this thesis, derived from feminist critiques of sociological theory and methods. I am especially concerned with the development of explanations of social life based on the distinctive aspects of women's experience. The second section examines the concepts of 'public' and 'private' and their usefulness for understanding the nature of women's experiences. In the third section I focus on the central theme; women's experiences of their husbands' jobs. Using a variety of sources, I elaborate a theoretical framework for exploring this aspect of women's lives.

The feminist critique of sociological theory and methods

This section constitutes an important pivot for the thesis, as it sets out a philosophy and value stance which have influenced the selection of topic, theories used, and approach to the research.

From the feminist viewpoint sociological theory and research reflect power relations. Sociologists do not construct objective knowledge, independent of their situation (Smith 1974:11). Instead, interpretations of the world tend to be given credence according to the gender of the producer of those interpretations. Feminists have therefore argued that the dominant ideas of our culture need to be challenged because they reflect only a partial view of the world.

A feminist sociology of knowledge is concerned with how knowledge is constructed in our society and in sociology in ways which reflect and perpetuate male dominance. The social processes of acquiring and legitimating knowledge are

defined as androcentric, i.e. male-centred, and the consequences of this are assumed to be control by men of the mental, as well as material world. Men not only control social institutions, but also define the world from their point of view and influence the way women interpret their own experiences. The paucity of women in the overt processes of constructing, gaining and using knowledge is a feature of social structure and organisation. Women are not prominent among influential positions in education, medicine, the law, science, communications and politics, where knowledge and information are produced and legitimated. Examples of male dominance in constructing knowledge in sociology, and its implications for both the involvement of women in the discipline and the treatment of gender as a sociological issue are given by Morgan (1981) and Roberts (1981).

Harding and Hintikka (1983:x) provide an account of the process of knowledge construction that largely excludes women:

> ...the experience on which the prevailing claims to knowledge are founded is ... only partial human experience only partially understood: namely, masculine experience as understood by men ... when this experience is presumed to be gender-free - when the male experience is taken to be the human experience - the resulting theories, concepts, methodologies, inquiry goals and knowledge-claims distort human social life and human thought.

Androcentrism is evident in two ways. First, much of women's experience has been ignored in the development of theoretical explanations and in observations considered necessary for theorising. Second, insofar as women's experiences have been acknowledged, they have been distorted through an interpretation of reality in terms of the experiences, perceptions and beliefs of men (du Bois 1983:106). Such distortion is not necessarily deliberate. But its consequences for sociological enquiry are profound.

Although purporting to be the study of society, sociology has been shaped by the conditions and prevailing assumptions of a predominantly male-constructed reality. Sociology is, in the feminist critique, the study of 'man' in society (Spender 1981). It records the activities of men predominating in institutional situations, and focuses on the 'public' world.

It is certainly important to investigate the doings of men as part of understanding the experiences of women - for example, the mill is a key institution in Kawerau, and one where men undoubtedly predominate. It is there that the world, of which women are part, is constructed through the actions and talk of men; making policies about employee housing and decisions about production and marketing, determining wage rates, precipitating industrial disputes, expressing views about the employment of women in the mill and the relationship of the wife to her husband's job, and so on. Women figure in these matters as talked about and handled by men, but they are not influential in that construction of knowledge or in the decisions taken. What is missing from most sociological accounts, is women's experiences of a male-constructed reality.

The production of knowledge is inseparable from its historical, social and political contexts. Women's absence from the construction of knowledge is an experience shared by other relatively powerless racial, ethnic and economic groups (Allen and Barker 1976:1, Godelier 1981, Smith 1978:282). In common with other subordinate groups, women have been characterised as a 'muted group', under the influence of a dominant system of ideas not directly derived from their own experience. Such a group is prevented from expressing its alternative understanding of the world and must structure and interpret experiences according to the notions of the dominant group (Ardener 1975:xii).

However, women are distinguished from other 'muted groups' in their relationship to those who generate

knowledge. Women's relationships with men are of the most intimate kinds, located in the family and bound up with notions of sentiment and love. Both Simone de Beauvoir (1982:19) and J.S. Mill (1975:439) emphasise the way individual women are attached to men through residence, economic circumstances and status, in much closer ways than they are to other women. Thus, they have strong incentives to defer to their superior. De Beauvoir argues that women do not have a sense of themselves as a distinct group with a history or culture; instead their identity and very existence is predicated on men:

> ... 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 1982:16).

To elaborate further on male dominance in the construction of knowledge, I shall draw upon the work of Gramsci (1971) whose concept of 'hegemony' explains how one class or group is able to maintain dominance over the rest of society. Gramsci analysed the phenomenon of bourgeois supremacy in modern state capitalist society (Femia 1981:25). However, his insights into the relationship between economic and political dominance on the one hand, and culture and ideology on the other, are valuable in considering women's experience and consciousness as a subordinate group in society. Importantly, his ideas suggest that subordinate groups are actively involved in maintaining the dominant world view, and can change it. A significant theme in Gramsci's work is his stress on human beings as "... actors at the centre of the revolutionary process" (Femia 1981:6). This suggests that women are party to formulating the world view, and can struggle to change

it. Women are not always passive receptors of the androcentric world view. Obviously women, as members of social groups, contribute to the emergence and persistence of language and culture, and actively pass on traditions (Elshtain 1982:140). Women do speak and interpret their world, but their views are seldom influential and those which challenge common wisdom and traditional social arrangements are often ignored.

Femia (1981:7) defines Gramsci's concept of hegemony as "... the moral and cultural legitimation of political rule". It is a process of economic, political and cultural domination. Gramsci assumes that economic relations condition social life, but that the dominance of one group over others does not depend on economic power alone. It is their promotion of moral values, symbols, culture and ideology which ensures their supremacy. Gramsci's analysis focuses on the subtle and complex ways in which ideas and practices are disseminated throughout 'civil society', i.e. the range of educational, religious, familial and associational institutions (Femia 1981:29). Permeating into every area of social life, hegemony is an 'organising principle' or 'world view', a consciousness that is internalised to become part of 'common sense' (Boggs 1976:39). Common sense is defined by Gramsci (1971:324) as the traditional perception of the world; it is incoherent, disjointed and episodic, involving contradictions and ambiguity, but being accepted as 'truth'. It is what everyone 'knows' and uncritically accepts. For example, in our society common sense incorporates understandings of 'woman' which associate her 'naturally' with the family and domesticity, and of men as economic providers and protectors.

Gramsci (1971:12) argues that the mass of population "spontaneously" consents to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant group. Here Gramsci distinguishes between two types of political control: one,

coercion and force, the other, consent. Femia suggests that Gramsci uses the term consent to denote a complex process of agreement with and acceptance of the socio-political order; a consent that is not necessarily explicit, nor clearly comprehended by members of the society. The nature of consent is well expressed by Gramsci's notion of 'contradictory consciousness', a perception and evaluation of life which is inconsistent and superficial (Femia 1981:185). Contradictory consciousness stems from the incompatibility of the dominant construction of reality with the individual's experience of her/his situation. Often people cannot clearly articulate their discontents and frustrations, but these may be expressed in inchoate ways:

> Silence and apathy may well be signs of contentment, but they may also disguise genuine grievances which have not yet been given precise form (Femia 1981:186).

In feminist sociological theorising and research, uncovering the 'silences' of women is an important activity in developing explanations of women's experiences from the point of view of women themselves. Gramsci (1971:296), linking the economic with the symbolic, states that women need not only to obtain independence from men, but also to develop "... a new way of conceiving themselves and their role in sexual relations..."

New ways of thinking about gender relations is central to the feminist sociological project. Much feminist theorising has been concerned with understanding the relationship between 'home' and 'work', as experienced by women. This has included reformulation of the concepts of home, family and work.

According to the feminist perspective, the essential distinction between women's relation to paid work and that of men, is that women are primarily responsible for caring for husband and children, over and above any employment outside of the home. These domestic responsibilities have

implications for the nature and extent of a woman's involvement in the labourforce.

When a woman enters the labourforce, there is potential conflict between her responsibilities as family member and as wage worker. A man is affirmed in his family and work identities through paid work, but the consciousness of a woman as 'wife and mother' and as an employee, involves her questioning the compatibility of these activities.

For men 'the family' has a different meaning. As in the case of women, their involvement in paid work is affected by family commitments, but for men paid work - bringing home the pay packet - is their primary domestic obligation. In Kawerau the husband's experience of the mill, its hours of work, rates of pay, industrial relations, work conditions and so on, dominate their experience of family life (1).

The decision to enter the labourforce involves different considerations for women than for men. That women must have a reason for taking on a job is regarded as a topic of investigation by sociologists, while men's motivations are accepted as self evident (Porter 1983:124). Women themselves feel the need to justify their employment. In deciding to 'go out to work', the women I interviewed said they were often influenced by their husbands' attitudes towards a wife having a job. Added to that, a pressing consideration, and continuing anxiety, was how the demands of the job would be co-ordinated with caring for the children and managing the consequences of the husband's job on the household. Part-time employment is often sought by women as a 'solution' to conflicting demands; in turn it reinforces the notion that women's primary obligations are to the family.

In the workplace women have different experiences to men. They are involved in specific types of employment - often in occupations which are similar in nature to

housekeeping and servicing activities carried out in the home. Women are found at low levels in the occupational hierarchy, and on average earn 26 percent less than men in New Zealand (Novitz 1982:297). Women's working life outside the home tends to be episodic, influenced by childbearing and looking after young children, and affected by the husband's job (for example, a new job for him may mean a move for the whole family).

Feminist analysis sees work as not just that which is done for payment outside of the home, as it is generally defined in a society where the market place is a significant determinant of status. Women's activities of housework and childrearing in the home are regarded as having a labour component, because of their servicing and productive nature (Oakley 1974a and b). However, housework differs in important respects from paid work. It has no exchange value on the market, its products are consumed in the home by household members, and the social context of housework is not at all like that of the workplace in terms of working conditions and interaction with workmates and employer. It is usually conducted in isolation, and the housewife is her own 'boss'.

Neither is housework 'leisure', though Stacey (1981:188) observes that for housewives, "... the much-vaunted site of leisure, the home, is their place of work". Leisure is generally defined in the sociological literature in a residual sense, as that sphere of activity not concerned with paid work (Parker 1972:20). It implies the notion of time free from obligations, to be used according to individual choice. The use of leisure in this sense can apply to men in fulltime employment, but is much less applicable to women. Childcare and housework are not paid, but nor are they leisure. Nor is the woman's time her own. It is often the case that her leisure time is fitted around her husband's hours of work. She may have to rely on the cooperation of other family members in order to gain any

free time, or the 'leisure' may be an extension of the domestic role. For example, activities such as knitting, sewing, gardening and 'pottering around the home' which were reported by many of the women in this study as leisure activities, involve the manufacture of goods and services which are consumed within the household. Visiting, another common leisure activity, was often combined with childcare. A woman's domestic responsibilities restrict her free and discretionary time. As Edgell (1980:78) observes, there is no physical or temporal boundary between work and non-work for housewives.

Domestic activities involve much more than labour for women. In important ways they provide satisfaction, status, self esteem, and identity. A woman's work in the home is for those with whom she has an intimate and emotional association. Nancy Hartsock (1983:293) expresses it like this:

> Women also produce/reproduce men (and other women) on both a daily and a long-term basis. This aspect of women's "production" exposes the deep inadequacies of the conception of production as a description of women's activity. One does not (cannot) produce another human being in anything like the way one produces an object such as a chair.

Hartsock's comment points to two contrasting and contradictory elements in feminist analyses of the home and family. These reflect the nature of the institution as experienced by many women. On the one hand, the critique of the monogamous, patriarchal, nuclear family is a major strand of feminist thought. It is argued that women are economically subordinated and exploited through reliance on their husbands' wages for material subsistence, and their primary responsibility for domestic work. For example, Delphy (1977) places domestic service and childrearing, performed through the relationship of marriage, which furnishes the conditions for the appropriation and exploitation of women's labour, as central to women's

oppression. Other feminist writers (for example, Chodorow 1979, Barrett and McIntosh 1982, Wearing 1984) have subjected to critical examination the deeply embedded and influential beliefs that are held in society about masculinity and feminity, motherhood, love, and the home as a domestic haven, and the ways such beliefs perpetuate gender relations.

In contrast to focussing on the oppressive aspects of family life for women, feminist writing has also considered the powerful attraction of family relationships for the emotional satisfaction they provide, as indicated by Hartsock. Barrett and McIntosh (1982) argue that the family is not simply an institution oppressive to women, but that it is strongly appealing in the potential security, protection, intimacy and practical support offered by such relationships. They suggest that the attraction of the family is no superficial delusion, or ideology forced on to passive individuals:

> We see investment in the family as an easily comprehended, indeed highly rational, choice, given the material and ideological privilege accorded to it in our society. (Barrett and McIntosh 1982:21)

For women, marriage and the family offer economic security, and for both sexes, perhaps the only opportunity of developing close emotional ties with other individuals. In Gramsci's terms, notions about 'the family' as a high valued relationship, a 'natural' association and morally desirable, are part of a common sense understanding of the world which is actively embraced by members of our society.

Thorne (1982:2) summarises the contribution of feminist theory to an understanding of the family. It has challenged the view that any particular family arrangement is natural, necessarily functional for society, or unchanging. Instead the family is examined as a social construct, affecting family members differently according to age, class, ethnicity and gender.

When it comes to analysing women's experiences of family relationships, the gap between theoretical concepts (both those of conventional sociological work and those developed in feminist theorising) and individual experience, often seems to be great. Theory tends to oversimplify the complexities of experience by emphasising a few aspects and ignoring, or even distorting others. It is necessary, as Stanley and Wise (1983:68) comment, to explore why women feel their experience is different from that presented in theories. Although the evidence for women's subordination in marriage may be convincing, how can we also explain love and friendship between women and men? (Rowbotham 1983:210). How can men's dependence on women in the family (as well as vice versa) be accounted for? Exploration of the experience of mothering vividly reveals the inadequacies of theory. Elshtain (1982:138) asks, would any mother accept 'producing the future commodity labour power' as an accurate and sufficient explanation of what she is doing? There are, quite clearly, important differences between producing goods and services in the marketplace and producing them in the home for loved ones (Stacey 1981:186-187).

To understand fully how women make sense of their domestic circumstances, including the demands of their husbands' jobs on them, it is important to refer not only to structures and constraints, but also to the specific experiences of individual women, and their perceptions of these experiences. This is the acknowledgment of human agency and individual interpretation of the social world.

Feminist approaches to doing sociological research are concerned with developing ways of making known women's experience. This has resulted in questioning the adequacy of a male construction of reality in understanding the nature of society as a whole, and a conscious reflexive examination of gender as part of the process of doing research. Dorothy Smith (1974:12) cogently expresses the way in which her experience as a woman has led her to question her behaviour as a sociologist:

> The constitution of an objective sociology as an authoritative version of how things are is done from a position and as part of the practices of ruling in our kind of society. It has depended upon class and sex bases which make it possible for sociology to evade the problem that our kind of society is known and experienced rather differently from different positions within it .. It is this exclusion which the sociologist who is a woman cannot so easily preserve, for she discovers, if she will, precisely that uneasiness in her relation to her discipline as a whole. The persistence of the privileged sociological version (or versions) relies upon a substructure which has already discredited and deprived of authority to speak, the voices of those who know the society differently. The objectivity of a sociological version depends on a special relation with others which makes it easy for the sociologist to remain outside the other's experience and does not require her to recognise that experience as a valid contention.

My own experiences in doing the research required for this thesis, and the techniques used, are discussed in Appendix A. In conducting the fieldwork I was aware of many of the concerns raised in the literature about the relationship between myself as researcher and the participants in the study, about the effect of my own personal characteristics, experiences and values on the study, about the importance of recording the participants' own views of the world, and the modification and redefinition of the study in response to my own changing understandings gained during the research (Oakley 1981, Reinharz 1983, Stanley and Wise 1983, Mies 1983).

In writing up the fieldwork I have endeavoured to preserve the characteristic of the research as a dialogue between myself and the women. In my own interpretation, explanation and analysis of their accounts, I have sought to achieve an informed understanding, plausibility, illustrativeness and relevence to the women's experiences. Feminist theory and research is concerned with constructing explanations of social life based on the distinctive aspects

of women's experiences in relation to others, and which do not distort that experience through the use of inappropriate theoretical concepts. Guided by these ideas, I aim to make visible the lives of the women in this study.

'Public' and 'Private' as useful concepts in understanding the nature of women's experiences

Several feminist writers have argued that the study of gender relations necessarily requires consideration of the concepts of public and private (Rosaldo 1980, Elshtain 1981, Gamarnikow and Purvis 1983). The feminist focus on the relationship between 'home' and 'work', its critical examination of sociological concepts pertaining to the family, home and work, all employ, consciously or unconsciously, assumptions concerning 'public' and 'private'. The implications of an apparent dichotomy in social affairs has been central to feminist analyses of women's experiences of sex oppression and the development of political strategies:

> The contradiction which appears clearly in capitalism between family and industry, private and public, personal and impersonal is the fissure in women's consciousness through which revolt erupts. (Rowbotham 1973:xv)

Stacey (1981:173) argues that the uncritical use of public and private as conceptual categories has contributed to the maintenance of beliefs which legitimate the oppression of women. Sociological analysis has tended to focus on activities and actors in the public domain and inadequately dealt with the private (Stacey 1981:182). Feminist analyses have examined the concepts of public and private in terms of the contexts and relationships to which these notions are applied. 'Public' and 'private' are ideas widely used and understood in everyday western experience. They give structure and coherence to social situations, constituting fundamental organising principles (Elshtain 1981:6). Yet they are seldom closely examined or clearly

defined. The meaning imputed into discussions of 'public' and 'private' links two major theoretical and methodological concerns of this thesis: the 'invisibility' of women in sociological accounts, and the ways in which the sexual division of labour structures women's lives.

An overview by Elshtain (1981:4) of the concepts makes the following observations: images of public and private are associated with views of moral agency, evaluations of human capacities and activities, and assessments of the purposes and aims of alternative methods of social organisation. 'Private' and 'public' refer to differentiation of life inside and outside of the home, but their meanings are historically and culturally specific.

Michelle Rosaldo (1980:397), a feminist anthropologist, suggests that the biological facts of pregnancy, childbirth and lactation have provided the basis for a differentiation of public and private spheres in social life. Rosaldo argues that the social consequences of women's reproductive activities and associated domestic obligations include diminished participation and influence in the public sphere. Public activities - involving politics, economics and the forging of links among groups through exchange - are the province of men and constitute the ways in which individuals have gained power and prestige in societies.

> Specifically, if women care for children and child care takes place within the home, and, furthermore, if political life, by definition, extends beyond it, then domestic/public seems to capture in a rough but telling, set of terms the determinants of women's secondary place in all human societies. (Rosaldo 1980:399)

However Rosaldo rejects an explanation which attributes women's relegation to the private purely to biological difference. While women's reproductive activities locate her in the domestic sphere, male dominance is an "... intelligible, though a non necessary consequence" (Rosaldo

1980:399) of biological sex differences. Even apparently universal features of social organisation are not, she argues, simply reducible to biology.

In western thought an important understanding of the concepts of public and private can be traced back to Aristotle, who distinguished between the household and political life. Aristotle's was a dichotomous and hierarchical view of society. Social life and people were divided into two distinct spheres, with the public sphere ruling over the private. For Aristotle, life as a citizen (a public person) was the superior life. Women (along with children, slaves and labourers) did not share in the public life of the State. Women were excluded because it was assumed they had a lesser capacity for reason and goodness. Consequently, women were subsumed in and defined by the household, the private sphere. Nevertheless, their involvement in the household provided the conditions upon which public life rested (Elshtain 1981:51-53).

Throughout western history it appears that domesticity, the family, and children have involved the placing of women in the private sphere. Association of private life with women and childrearing gained salience in the eighteenth century with the setting apart of 'childhood' as a distinctive stage of life (Sennett 1976:92). During this time the child's rights to protection were established in the law, the family came to be seen as the centre of nurturing, and women as the caregivers.

In the nineteenth century such views became even more significant for women, and were epitomised in the bourgeois family (Sennett 1976:178). Rosaldo argues that the meaning of public and private in the nineteenth century was solidifed into a dichotomous view of the world which confined women to the family. She regards Victorian conceptions of public and private as "... our most relevent predecessors" (Rosaldo 1980:402 footnote 20). In the nineteenth century the family

was perceived as an idealised refuge, a world all its own, superior to public life (Sennett 1976:20). Women were seen to be guardians of morality, as well as of the hearth (a somewhat different view of women's character than Aristotle's):

> Women created this order by 'being good' themselves. There was, in fact, very little they could do actively to change their men; it was rather their general example and passive influence which ultimately alone could save men from their baser selves, through their redeeming power 'to love, to serve, to save'. (Davidoff et al. 1976:155)

Studies of contemporary western society indicate that the identification of women with biological reproduction and the 'natural' on the one hand, and explanations in terms of the social/moral divisions between the sexes on the other, prevail in the understandings of public and private today. Many women are active in the labourforce and contribute to the household income; men carry out domestic tasks if only to a limited extent; nevertheless the equating of men with the public, and women with the private are powerful images. There is a strong association of women with the domestic domain, in which family members obtain affection, support and security, and of men with the public world of economics and politics, where competition, aggression and conflict reign (Allen and Barker 1976:1).

Gamarnikow and Purvis (1983:5) speak of public and private as:

> ... a metaphor for the social patterning of gender ... As a model, it directs us to the structure of gender relations, as experienced in institutional, spatial, symbolic and controlling mechanisms.

A good example of public and private as a metaphor for gender relations is provided by Imray and Middleton (1983). Their study also reveals spatial components in gender relations. They found that in an English community men and women have different access to public village space.

Cricket, a high status leisure activity, and only played by men, enjoyed central place both spatially and temporally in the village events calendar. Women's work in the domestic domain however, supported the men's leisure, through their provision of food, clean 'whites' and spectator encouragement. The association of men with the public sphere and women in the private was emphasised by the annual game of cricket between the sexes, when it was customary for the men to let the women win. This 'rite of status reversal' confirmed and symbolised the traditional hierarchical relations between men and women and their respective 'places'in this community.

Control of public space, and women's activities in it by men, is also evident in Ann Whitehead's (1976) account of the relations between the sexes in another English community. In this case the local pub was almost exclusively men's domain. While a few older women were accepted as regulars, young women, married or single, almost never entered the pub. If they did, they were subject to anything from ribald joking to physical assault.

'Public' and 'private' are terms of ordinary language which convey the notion that men's and women's lives are segregated, dichotomous and hierarchical. The issues for analysis in this thesis are to ascertain the way everyday classification of the domains and activities of the sexes is evident in the affairs of the women in this study, and to develop theoretical explanations that account for their experience in Kawerau.

Three facets of women's experiences of 'public' and 'private' will be addressed. First, the ways in which the two domains, described as separate, are often intertwined for women, through their activities as wives, mothers and members of the labourforce. In this context, the view taken by Graham (1983:145) that women are "... positioned at the intersection of two social worlds ..." will be examined.

Second, I shall explore the idea that public/private distinctions impose an order on women in their organisation of everyday activities. Finch (1983:134) has termed this ordering a 'hierarchy of priorities':

> ... the needs of the husband's work are accorded top priority, followed by those of the family (primarily, but not exclusively, children), with a wife's own paid work, actual or potential, coming a very poor third.

Third, the possibility of women acting to influence and intervene in what is understood as the 'public' will be examined; specifically their attempts to become involved in decisions concerning events in their husbands' workplace.

The concepts of 'Incorporation' and 'Mediation': wives coping with their husbands' work

The 'private' is managed by spouses in the face of demands and constraints of the 'public'. Specifically in this section I consider the management by the wife of the domestic consequences of her husband's job, both as conceptualised by her, and as a practical matter. Such management of domestic affairs is a significant expression of the relationship between 'public' and 'private' as analysed in this study.

The concepts of incorporation (Finch 1983) and mediation (Porter 1983) provide guidelines for understanding these processes, and establish a basis for their elaboration in relation to women's experiences as wives of production workers in Kawerau.

Finch draws together research on a range of men's occupations to develop an analysis of the implications of the job for his wife and her daily activities. She focuses on marriage as constituting the initial basis of a wife's relationship to her husband's job. Wives are affected by their husbands' work, and expected to support and accommodate it in a variety of ways, precisely because they

are married. Finch points to the complementary nature of the marital relationship as a partnership. Wives' support of husbands is assumed and expected as their proper activity:

> Refusal to be married to the job so seriously challenges the partnership model of marriage that it is difficult to contain it within a comprehensible public performance as a wife. (Finch 1983:169)

A similar point is made by Christine Delphy who likens the marriage contract to a work contract, arguing that the wife's work is not solely limited to housework and childcare. Drawing from research on French families (1976, 1977), she refers to ways in which the wives of farmers, shopkeepers, self-employed and professionals directly contribute goods and services to his enterprise. Delphy (1976:77) analyses marriage as a labour relationship, arguing that women are subordinated and exploited by their husbands' control of their labour, both within and outside of the home:

> ... marriage is the institution by which gratuitous work is extorted from a particular category of the population, women-wives.

These ideas are further explored by Finch, who suggests that wives' contributions are far more routine and spread over a wider range of male occupations than Delphy indicates; the type of contribution, rather than the fact of the wife's contribution, differing.

Finch employs the concept of incorporation to denote the relationship of a woman to her husband's job. Incorporation involves two central components for the wife:

> ... her incorporation into the structures around which work is organised, and the incorporation of her labour into the work done. (Finch 1983:3)

The first aspect, 'incorporation into structures' refers to the ways in which the wife is constrained by features of

his occupation that impose external or 'public' structures on the domestic sphere. These constitute "... fundamental organising themes for wives' lives" (Finch 1983:2),which must be worked around and accommodated by her.

The processes through which 'structuring' occurs are varied. Those identified by Finch are the income derived from his job and its effects on the family's standard of living; his hours of work; the location of work; and 'bringing home' work - i.e., the consequences of his mental preoccupation with the job and the need to escape from the pressures of work. In this study I have focussed on three structuring processes: the wage, hours of work (especially shiftwork) and industrial disputes.

The wage - how much a man earns, the regularity of payment, and how the money is distributed in the home - imposes certain constraints on the ways wives are able to organise their own and the household's expenditure. Dennis et al. (1956:186) who discuss the finances of the Ashton miner's household in some detail, regard the way the wage is divided and administered in the family as the "... all-important basis of interrelation between family and work". The way household finances are organised in Ashton epitomises the nature of the husband-wife relationship, and their separate duties and responsibilities. Both partners regarded the husband's duty to the family as that of breadwinner. A wife judged her spouse as a 'good husband' on the basis of his providing a regular wage. However, his duty ended with the handing over of the weekly housekeeping money to his wife. With her 'wage', the woman was expected to carry out her side of the marriage contract, the running of the household. The wife lacked any personal financial sources for her own personal expenditure, being very much dependent on her husband's wage, a fact accentuated by the lack of employment for women in Ashton. Furthermore, she was expected to account for all spending beyond the household budget.

The influence of the husband's wage on the wife, shown in Dennis et al.'s study, is also reported by the women in Kawerau. They too regarded their spouses as the major breadwinner. The division of responsibility over money was expressed as the husband providing it and the wife administering domestic finances on a day-to-day basis.

A husband's earnings have implications for lifestyle and status of his family. These are significant matters for a woman running a home. Status and lifestyle derived through the husband's job differs according to his occupation. Papanek (1973:859) observes for middle-class wives, that they are concerned with matters of housing, consumption patterns, friendship and sociability and other indicators of status. Working-class occupations do not of themselves carry high status, though they can, through the wage and the consumption of goods, allow individuals and families to gain standing and demonstrate differences among them. A competitive element in acquiring material possessions appears to be very much part of the Kawerau lifestyle (2).

The women in my study were made particularly aware of the status attributes of their husbands' jobs when a change in job became possible. A move from an hourly paid to a salaried position is an event where the association of occupation with status in terms of housing (3) and socialising patterns, is made. Women told of how friendships with other wives could be threatened when a husband was promoted to leading hand or foreman:

> I actually got under quite a lot of pressure at one stage, 'cos I made friends with this girl, and ah, her husband was my husband's leading hand it wasn't the done thing, he was getting beans at work about [me] visiting the leading hand's house. (Group E)

One woman, whose husband was promoted from an hourly paid to a salaried position, found that friends and neighbours expected the family would move to a house up on 'nob hill':

> (Janice) - ... he was offered several houses up there, and he said he just couldn't live there with these people and knowing that he'd be seeing them over the garden fence and at work ...

The husband's hours of work bring the external timetable of the workplace into the home. These are not the only external time constraints requiring the wife's attention: there are also those of the school, businesses and shops, and her own paid job, if she has one. But Finch (1983:24) argues that the husband's hours of work intrude in a particularly pervasive and demanding way on the woman. His time obligations come first, and the household routines and her activities revolve around these.

The women in Kawerau were affected by their husbands' hours of work in respect of mealtimes and the performance of housework in obvious, and sometimes quite restrictive ways. Shiftwork, or long and irregular hours of work, can mean the wife often shoulders complete responsibility for running the home and must co-ordinate the different routines of family members, ensuring they do not come into conflict. The woman's own leisure time was also affected and several indicated that their decisions to take employment had been influenced by the high demands on time and energy of managing the domestic consequences of their husbands' jobs.

His hours of work can severely limit the husband's time with the family. Though extra money can be earned from shiftwork and overtime, it is not always viewed by the wife as adequate compensation for the loss of a spouse's companionship and help with the children (Hollowell 1968:152). Wives however become committed to shiftwork, as it provides the opportunity for realisation of the family's financial goals. That commitment may not constitute a conscious choice or intention (Finch 1983:166).

Not only the occupation, but related activities such as union work, may also make demands on the husband's time.

Beynon (1973:204), in his study of car factory workers, notes that trade union activity comes into direct conflict with the worker's family obligations as perceived by his wife.

In a situation such as an industrial dispute, public happenings and their consequences intrude suddenly into the private world of the family. An industrial dispute is an example of what Rapoport and Rapoport (1980:160) call a critical work event affecting family life. Such events are sudden, disruptive, and usually of short duration. They upset household routines, place additional strains on family members, and may affect interaction with those outside of the family, such as friends, neighbours and other residents of the community. In such circumstances the wife's management of the domestic consequences of his job and the nature of her contributions to his working life take on a different, even problematic character for her. While there have been examples of wives' auxiliaries - organisations providing relief and welfare services in support of men's political activities (Mitchell 1975:1, Williams 1981:123) - the women in my study emerge as resigned to, resentful of, and even antagonistic toward unions and their husbands' involvement in industrial action.

During an industrial dispute the everyday coping mechanisms involved in running a household are strained and stretched. Industrial disputes occur in the men's world of work, but have unavoidable consequences for wife and family, disrupting the regularity of the wage and the domestic routine. Porter argues that the wives in her study considered 'real life' to be maintaining a home, not the issues of the unionists in the workplace. In her study the women did not see the strike as having any financial benefit to them, but instead it made their job harder:

> Inside their own homes they could control what happened ... some of the virulence about the dispute may have sprung from a sense of betrayal. They felt that, suddenly, their

> husbands had taken leave of their senses and rejected the home in favour of the alien outside world. (Porter 1983:37).

Similar views about strikes were expressed by Ashton wives who felt that their family's welfare suffered "... at the whims of men" (Dennis et al. 1956:227).

One consequence of an industrial dispute is that private relations within families are upset and expectations between spouses made uncertain. Another is that relations of a public nature between groups are redefined. Sections of the mill workforce, and in some contexts hourly paid workers as a whole, are distinguished from others in the town who are not involved in the dispute, for example, salaried employees, those outside the industry whose livelihood is nevertheless affected, or business owners. Polarisation of attitudes, including hostility to strikers and unions on the one hand, and to management and company on the other, casts some occupations as particularly visible and vulnerable to public attack. Trade union officials and members of unions centrally involved in a dispute are often affected in this way (4). The practice of seeking friends from other families in the same occupational group may pay off in such circumstances. At least they will have similar experiences and therefore constitute a 'safe category' of persons (Finch 1983:42) at a time when social relationships may be upset.

The second of Finch's points concerns the 'incorporation' of the wife into her husband's job through her contributions to his work. Finch (1983:75-77) suggests three ways in which this is done: through the wife's performance of domestic work in the home, the emotional support given by wives to husbands, and the more direct contributions of some wives, for example, of professionals and business men, who act as unpaid secretaries or hostesses. The details of a woman's contributions to her husband's work, and the extent to which she is constrained by his job, vary according to the occupation.

Finch (1983:8) argues that all wives contribute to their husbands' work, but this process has been explicitly examined only in relation to middle-class professionals and executives and their wives. For example, Papanek (1973) developed the concept of the two-person single career in analysing a woman's contributions to her husband's work. In the two-person single career, the wife is neither employed nor remunerated in any direct way by the husband or his employer, but she contributes to his work in various ways. His career is her career too; as a wife she is required to 'act suitably', and to meet the demands of geographical and social mobility of his career. It is common for wives as well as husbands to be interviewed for a job, as her conduct could prejudice his chances for career advancement (Papanek 1973:859). For her vicarious involvement in his work, the wife gains status and feelings of achievement (Papanek 1973:856).

The contribution of wives to the occupations of working-class men is a different experience. They are unlikely to perform unpaid clerical or hostess work, nor will they be inspected by their husbands' prospective employers. However, they too will be geographically mobile if their husbands' jobs require it, a situation that most of the women in my study have experienced. The working man's wife's most obvious contribution is through her ability to cope with domestic matters, a complement to her husband's involvement in the labourforce. Dennis et al.'s picture of the daily round of housewives in Ashton clearly showed her servicing the male worker. The home was

> ... a haven for the tired man when he returns from work; here he expects to find a meal prepared, a room clean and tidy, a seat comfortable and warm, and a wife ready to give him what he wants - in fact, the very opposite of the place he has just left, with its noise, dirt, darkness, toil, impersonalism and no little discomfort (Dennis et al. 1956:179).

Luxton (1980:67) also indicates that a woman's efforts in providing pleasant welcoming surroundings and a

comforting atmosphere include dealing with her husband's frustrations, tensions and angers about work, which he brings home.

Finch's concept of incorporation is useful for this study as it challenges the notion that events concerning paid work and family life (the 'public' and the 'private') have no influence on one another. Her analysis points to a variety of features of women's experiences as wives in relation to their husbands' employment which have not been explored in any depth in the sociology of work and the family.

In relation to women's experiences in Kawerau the nature of the mill and its work undoubtedly imposes structural constraints on the wives of workers. Wives plan within a framework provided by their husbands' occupations and associated aspects of hours of work, wages, industrial relations, geographical mobility, access to housing, social relationships with others and the trappings of status.

Incorporation expresses the idea that a woman's life takes its structure and content from her husband's job, the degree and intensity depending on the nature of his occupation and her accommodation to it. His job is "...always there, to be accommodated, responded to and assisted" (Finch 1983:160). Supporting the husband means accepting constraints on the use of one's own time, and juggling commitment. One is always on call. As one woman I talked to, commented, "you're not your own woman once you get married".

Marilyn Porter's concept of mediation provides insights into a woman's experience of her husband's job from a different perspective. This concept refers to the way individuals make sense of their world. It is useful for exploring how people interpret events, the expectations they have, their expression of ideals, and their consciousness.

The concept provides a way of considering the 'common sense' world and the processes involved in the maintenance of hegemony (Gramsci 1971).

Mediation is used by Porter to explain how spouses construct a 'reality' about their own and the other's activities; how they come to know about and interpret a situation. Each understanding is partial, and possibly contrasting and conflicting with the other's. The concept refers to a

> ...process of negotiation whereby both the conveyor of the ideas and the receiver are active agents in construing exactly what is transferred. (Porter 1983:12)

Mediation involves the transfer of knowledge from one person, who is able directly to obtain that knowledge, to another who does not have direct access to that situation or knowledge.

In applying the concept of mediation to husbands and wives, Porter argues that men and women inhabit different worlds, as exemplified by the sexual division of labour. In Porter's research the husband's world is that of the factory and the wife's a domestic one. She emphasises that the sexual division of labour means a different reality for women and men, both in terms of what they do, and in the ways they think about the world. Porter (1983:7) argues that the experiences of both sexes are partial ones, and mediation is required if they are to know anything of each other's worlds.

Porter's research focuses on husbands mediating to wives events of the workplace. But both spouses are actively engaged in mediating the events of their daily lives to the other. A woman also interprets her experience in the home, in relation to the children, of employment, of kin and so on, to her husband. She too may select what information to convey, she may encounter a spouse's indifference over her

problems at home or at work, and she may mystify some aspects of domestic activity to derive some status and autonomy from it. There is no simple one-to-one correspondence between the husband's experiences at work and the wife's understanding of them, nor between the wife's experiences at home and her husband's understanding of them. Each interprets the other's information in the light of their own, partial, experience.

Though Porter emphasises two distinct, sexually divided worlds that are dichotomous in the sense of 'public' and 'private', it needs to be emphasised that such a division understates the shared experiences of spouses. Particularly when the husband is off work, there are shared family events, work to be done around the home, occasions with friends, and so on.

Porter uses the concept of mediation to examine how husbands and wives interpret a strike and its effects on themselves, their relationship and their families. The workers and their wives had different experiences of the strike, with crucial implications for the way they viewed that event.

Definitions of events are constructed in both the workplace and the home, in terms of the different experiences of husbands and wives. I found in my study that some of the women who had experienced industrial disputes felt inhibited in expressing an opinion about its effects on themselves and their families, because their views and fears were not necessarily given consideration by husbands, union leaders and others involved in the public, visible side of the dispute.

While Porter concentrates on the process of mediation of information from husband to wife during a strike, this is part of a more general communication between spouses. Evidence from Porter's and other studies suggest that there

is considerable variation in the extent and type of information conveyed from husbands to wives (and vice versa). In some cases wives do not even know how much their husbands earn (Bell and Newby 1976:165). Wives themselves may show "... a massive indifference ..." to the details of their husbands occupation (Porter 1983:90).

As Finch (1983:44) comments, the knowledge wives can gain about their husband's work depends on the character of the job (some are confidential or include highly technical work which is difficult to discuss), and on cultural prescriptions regarding the discussion of work.

In Porter's study there were some aspects of their spouse's work that the women considered to be their business, notably aspects which daily and directly affected their organisation of the household. This included wages and hours of work. Some of the women in Porter's study felt the strike was their business while others regarded it as beyond their concerns. In such a context there are many different interpretations of what is appropriately and rightly a woman's business; of circumstances where 'public' and 'private' are perceived as merging.

Other studies suggest that the wife's interest in and knowledge of her husband's job is experienced differently by members of different classes. While some of the professionals' wives in Papanek's (1973) study knew a great deal about their husbands' work and even in some cases contributed to it substantially as unpaid secretaries and research assistants, the wives in Komarovsky's study of American blue-collar workers knew very little about their husbands' jobs. Conversation about his work focussed on humourous or unexpected incidents and gossip, rather than on the nature of the job itself (regarded by the men as a technical subject) or on the husband's feelings about his work. Indeed, the men's ideal of masculinity prevented them from 'griping' about the job to their wives:

> A strong man bears his troubles in silence and does not "dump his load on the family"; he does not ask for solace and reassurance. (Komarovsky 1967:158)

The men in Opencut (Williams 1981:176) were also reluctant to discuss work with their wives. In both Williams' and Komarovsky's studies the men obviously disliked bringing home work problems, believing the two spheres should be kept separate. Such a separation of responsibility and expertise may be easier for both spouses to handle, especially in a situation where they perceive that the wife cannot directly help her husband in the performance of his job. The women in my study were not knowledgeable about their husbands' work; many saw it as something quite alien to their experience and expertise, and considered they could not influence events in his workplace at all. They nevertheless reported coping with his frustrations and changes in mood that he brought home from the job.

Men are in a position where they can choose if and what information to convey to their wives. In all the studies quoted it is apparent that the husband's interpretation of events is the main, if not the only one available to the wife. She is physically separated from his place of work, and generally receives information through the husband in the isolation of the home and in the context of an intimate face-to-face relationship. In marriage a woman's relationship to her husband is traditionally one of subordination and deference. The husband enjoys a position of traditional authority accepted as natural and immutable (Bell and Newby 1976). His interpretation of events is the infuential one, and accepted, or at least accommodated to by his wife.

The concepts of incorporation and mediation provide useful theoretical insights into women's experiences of their husbands' jobs. But in relation to the situation of

the women in this study, I want to elaborate on these ideas by focusing on how wives cope, manage and contribute to their husbands' work from the point of view of their creation of a home and family life. A wife's efforts in the home not only enable the man to keep on with his job. Home and family are not merely secondary to his job, but entities central to both spouses' lives. They create home and family together, though through different and complementary contributions to the household. On his side it is mainly money, and on hers mainly domestic work.

Involving both their efforts, the household and their relationship are reinforced and maintained through time. These matters, in the usual course of events, go largely unexamined. But the chapter on marriage shows the other side; the marital relationship and the household are precarious entities, requiring constant attention. Their possible breakdown is never far from the women's thoughts.

The wife copes with what the husband experiences on the job. He comes home tired, moody and hungry and it is up to her to deal with these so that he can be an effective member of the household again. Through the provision of money his job enables the household to be established and maintained, but it can also dissipate a man's energy and commitment to home. Money, shiftwork and industrial disputes - all have the potential to fragment the unity of spouses and family life. For similar reasons, the wife's own employment is modified and arranged to ensure the continuance of home and family.

As wife, homemaker and mother, the woman stands central to the institution of home and family in the cases I studied. In actuality these activities take up a major proportion of her life. Her centrality is expressed through a primary involvement in doing housework, looking after children , and all the diverse activities of running a home. She is also central in that, especially if she has no

outside employment, she is confined to, even isolated in the home, for this is the site of her domestic work. In terms of the way she interprets the world, the activities of wife, homemaker and mother are influential in shaping identity and consciousness.

For wives, coping with the consequences of their husbands' jobs on home and family is a purposeful activity that ensures both spouses are able to create a present and future life for themselves and their family. The intention of this study is to identify the specific nature of the women's contributions to their husbands' work, the ways they cope with its consequences on the household, how they perceive its constraints and their understanding of what constitutes a marriage.

In the following chapters issues concerning 'home' and 'work' and 'public' and 'private', as experienced by the women, will be explored. My focus will be on the variety of experience and on individual interpretation of the social world, as well as on the influences of external structures and constraints on their lives.

Footnotes

(1) Comments about men's experience in this thesis are inevitably inferential, based mostly on the accounts of wives, though there was some informal discussion with men working at the mill. My research includes no systematic study of men and gender relations; nor are there other studies of Kawerau which consider men's experiences from such a perspective. The development of sociological knowledge of men in terms of gender (Morgan 1981) is however a necessary adjunct to studies of women which take as a central issue the nature of relations between the sexes.

(2) Returning to Kawerau in October 1984, I noticed the prevalence of video recorders in houses I visited. These seemed to be the latest in popular consumer items, taking over from previous status items such as colour television, swimming pools and barbeques.

(3) Housing is an important sign of the husband's status. In the past at least in Kawerau, access to housing has been very much related to the husband's job in the mill.

It has been customary for technical and managerial personnel, and some skilled trades, to get a house with the job. Unskilled sections of the labourforce, notably timberworkers, (of which over 80 percent are Maori), have been low on the company's priority for rental housing in the past. In the late 1970s a timberworker could expect to wait up to three years for company accommodation. About half of the housing waiting list consisted of timberworkers, a situation which led to industrial action by the union (James 1979:149). (However, company housing policy has changed in recent years, as outlined in the Introduction.)

(4) Examples are given in my earlier study of Kawerau (James 1979:222-225) and further elaboration will be made in Chapter 10.

SECTION I: WIVES, MOTHERS AND WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

> "Whereas for the man homelife is but one, admittedly important, aspect of life, for the houseworker the home is the bedrock of her experience". (Hunt 1980:99)

This section explores the major activities, interests and preoccupations of the women. It aims to convey a picture of daily life in Kawerau, as experienced by them.

The first chapter in this section, "Becoming wives, mothers and workers" includes brief biographical portraits of the women who participated in the in-depth interviews, and places their lives in a historical context by examining the implications for them of leaving school, entering the labourforce, and getting married and having children. The significance of choices and circumstances at these times are considered for the women today. Themes and issues are raised which are taken up in later chapters.

The chapters covering marriage, housework, childrearing, and the women's participation in the labourforce consider the following issues: what marriage means to the women, the organisation of housework within the household, experiences of motherhood, and changes that occur for the woman, her husband and children, when she goes 'out to work'.

The themes of this section are concerned with the dynamics of 'public' and 'private' in the woman's lives:

- the part the community's dominant industry plays in their lives
- the ways in which they combine domestic and paid occupations

Managing the demands of being a wife, mother and employee is achieved through the establishment of principles, procedures and priorities which affirm the primacy of family and domestic responsibilities for women.

THREE: BECOMING WIVES, MOTHERS AND WORKERS

Like the women in Ann Oakley's (1981:30) research, those I interviewed for this study 'asked questions back'. As part of the process of getting to know me, their asking questions also provided me with insights into their own lives. It was through some of these exchanges that striking differences in experience and lifestyle between myself and these women became apparent. Two conversations in particular highlighted the differences and sparked off the idea for this chapter; to examine the transition from school to adult life, and the implications of experiences at that time for the future.

The first example concerns the experience of marriage. I explained that, due to my job, I lived with my husband only at weekends.

> (Speaker 4) - If you'd married a Maori or a Samoan, no way would you ...
>
> (Speaker 2) - you'd be in Wellington (laughs).
>
> (Bev) - Why?
>
> (Speaker 2) - because that's the way it is. Not all of them, but most. I can't even see myself moving as far as [the next town]. (Laughter). (Group B)

The second example, about education, reveals something of the criteria used locally to stratify individuals, as well as the woman's own experience of schooling and her attitude to education. I had mentioned how I had felt as an outsider coming to the town, and was told:

> The biggest thing I think you had going against you, was that you were classed as a intellectual ... it was something to be scared of at the start ... because, you know, if you say the wrong thing, "what's she gonna think?" I mean there's intellectuals that work at the mill, but, this was different. (Group F)

My professional job and independent lifestyle, involving a minimum of family and domestic obligations, contrasted sharply with the lives of these women. The demands of children, husband, and husband's job had frequently taken precedence over their own activities and ambitions.

I have focussed on the transition from school to adult life as a crucial stage in women's lives. There has been no serious, systematic consideration of the ways in which girls become members of gender, class and ethnic groups within a society, as feminist sociologists studying adolescent subcultures (McRobbie and Garber 1975) and education (Wolpe 1978) have pointed out. The ideas presented in such studies underpin this chapter. I am concerned with the extent to which the women's experiences during the transition from school to adult life, and their interpretation of these have 'channelled' the women into their present situation. What were the opportunities and constraints facing them as young women? Were they able to make choices about their jobs, marriage, having children, where they lived? What did they make of their experiences of schooling, the family and interaction with peers? How did they perceive of themselves as young women? How did they develop a feminine identity? How did they respond to the expectations of others - was it a process of acceptance, negotiation, or resistance?

In this chapter I introduce the 16 women who participated in the in-depth interviews. A short biographical note on each provides information on schooling, entry into and participation in the labourforce, family size, social background, and length of time spent in the community. Some indication of individual attitudes and concerns is also given. Additional demographic information concerning participants in the study is provided in Appendix B. Each biography broadly maps out a transition from school to adult life and shows that although experience is unique to the individual, many of the women now speak in common terms. By tracing key events, the biographies present each

woman as an individual, and at the same time, illuminate the wider meaning of their experiences, and the influence of structural factors on personal lives.

The information discussed below is taken from the women's own retrospective (and selective) reminiscences. I commence with the biographical notes and then examine the transition in detail under the following headings: leaving school , getting a job, and marriage and motherhood.

Introducing the Women

The following biographical descriptions are grouped according to the woman's current labourforce status, and family lifecycle stage. These two factors focus on the interrelationship between a woman's domestic and family activities and obligations, and her labourforce experience. In particular, there is a strong association between the age of the youngest child and a woman's labourforce participation. Familial and economic status have been, and still are, crucial in defining the nature and extent of these women's experiences. The table over sets out three groups. Group I consists of fulltime housewives, Group II of women employed in part-time paid work, and Group III of women in fulltime paid work (1).

In the table, the age span of each woman's family is indicated by the arrows. For example, Joanne's children range in age from under 30 months to primary school age.

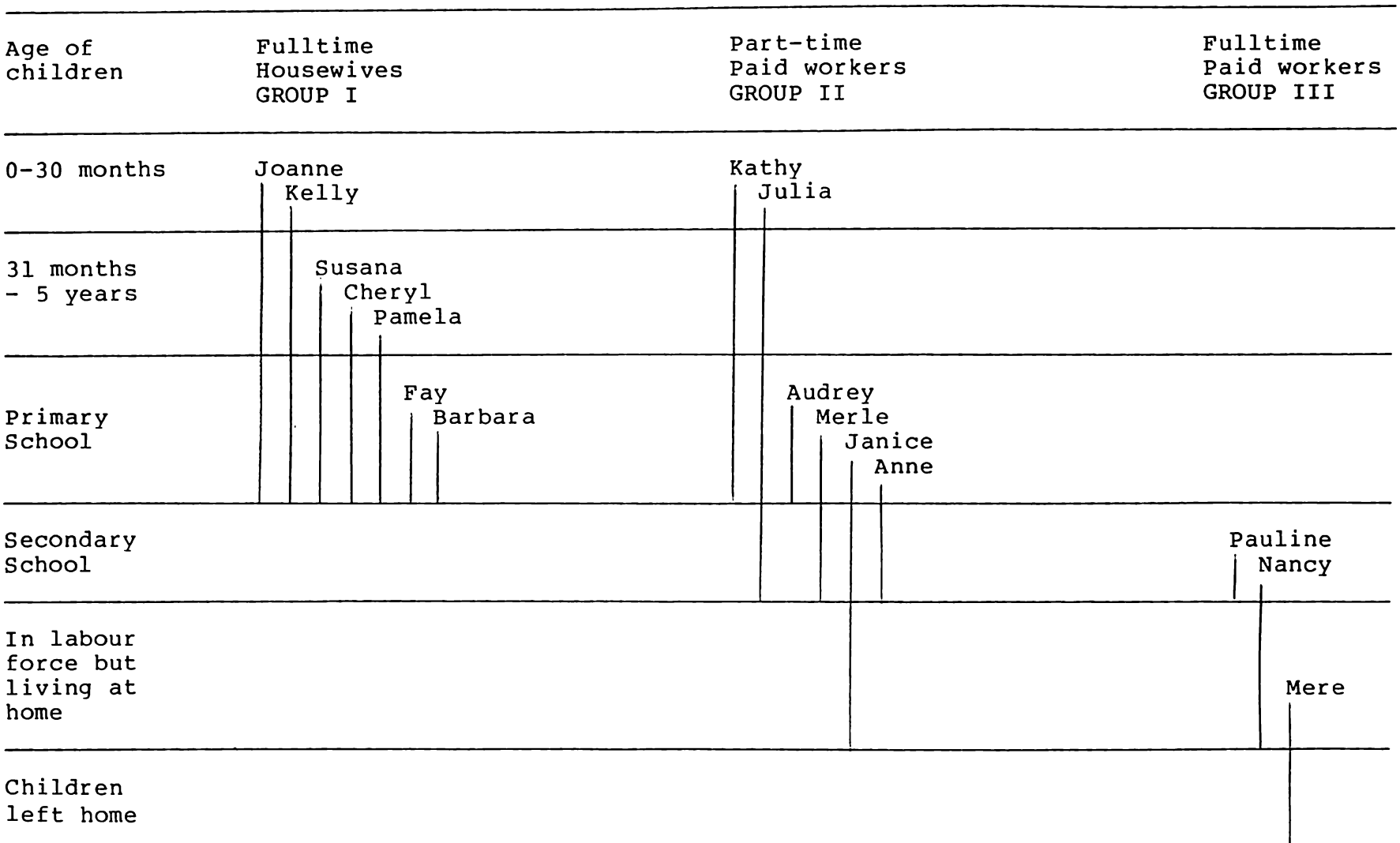
Group I - Fulltime Housewives

Joanne

Joanne has lived in and around Kawerau all her life, except for a short period of work in a provincial city before marriage. A 'part Maori' (2), Joanne has frequent contact with members of her extended family network in the area. Her husband, a Pakeha, also has relatives nearby.

TABLE 1

FAMILIAL AND LABOURFORCE STATUS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN THE IN-DEPTH STUDY



Eager to leave school, Joanne was off to the city, looking for work at 15. She had a variety of jobs, before finally settling in an office job back in Kawerau. Joanne continued working for this firm after her marriage and until the birth of her first child. After the baby was born, she was asked to resume work on a relieving basis. Joanne did so for several months, but found she had to resign, because of difficulties with arranging childcare.

Since that time Joanne has been a fulltime housewife. Now 34, she has three children, the youngest of whom is a baby. She would like a part-time job in the future, so long as she could fit it in with the family, and her sporting interests.

Kelly

Kelly, a young Maori woman of 23, was born in Kawerau and has spent all her life there. She has two children. Her husband, also locally born and bred, works at the mill.

Most of Kelly's adult life has been taken up with family and domestic responsibilities. These have kept her in the home, apart from two short periods in the labourforce. After leaving school, Kelly did not go straight into employment, but was married and had her first child at a very young age. Several years later Kelly got her first job, a part-time position. However, she had to leave for personal reasons. Sometime later, Kelly got another part-time job and stayed in this job until becoming pregnant again. Kelly is now ready for another part-time job, but could only take one that would fit in with her husband's shiftwork, so he could mind the children.

Kelly and her husband are new home owners of a 1950's style, ex-company house, and much of their leisure time is taken up with renovations and developing their section. They are also keen on sports. Apart from these interests, Kelly is busy with her baby, and she is very close to her own family, whom she sees almost every day.

Susana

Susana came to Kawerau with her parents as a teenager from Samoa. She never finished her schooling, but got a job as a nurse aid, and remained in this occupation for the next 10 years until the birth of her first child.

Susana is married to a Pakeha. At 34, she has three young children and is a fulltime housewife. Her husband is a shiftworker, but Susana finds his shiftwork schedule no barrier to the activities she wants to do. Susana is involved in voluntary work, and also likes to drop in on friends frequently. Relatives living out of town receive three or four visits a year from her.

Susana finds Kawerau a friendly place to live, and the pace of life suits her. Her husband has recently finished building the family's home, and they feel very settled in the community.

Cheryl

Like several women in this study, Cheryl came to Kawerau as a child with her family. She is now 27 years old, and married with two children. Her husband works as a tradesman at the mill.

When Cheryl left school with no qualifications, she went into factory work. She left this job after about a year to become a wife and mother. Since then, periods of ill health, childbearing and rearing, and a lack of suitable part-time work, have prevented Cheryl from re-entering the workforce. However, Cheryl would like a part-time job once her younger child is at school. A job would be good, she says, for an interest, and to bring money into the household.

In the meantime Cheryl leads a life very much oriented around the home. Cheryl thinks Kawerau is a good town for young families to live in. She would like to see her own children eventually settle in the community, but is

concerned there will be no local job opportunities for them in the future.

Pamela

At this stage of her life, Pamela, who is 24, is happily and busily involved in raising her two young children. She is, however, also keen to gain tertiary qualifications, and eventually obtain a professional job.

Since she left school as an academically successful student with career ambitions, Pamela's life has not turned out the way she envisaged. By 19, Pamela was married with a small baby, and she had shifted from the large city where she was raised, to Kawerau, her husband's home town. These changes not only meant a new lifestyle, but a new cultural environment for Pamela, as she is Pakeha, and her husband Maori. On their arrival in Kawerau, the young family was absorbed into a large extended family network.

Pamela has had one part-time job since her move to Kawerau. However, she gave it up, as the hours of work (mostly in the evenings) conflicted with the time she wanted to spend with her husband, and the pay was very poor. Now Pamela is involved in a number of community organisations.

The future is not clearly mapped out for Pamela. She may have more children, or start training for a career. A move away from Kawerau is also a possibility in the years ahead.

Fay

Fay, a Pakeha, was born in the South Island. She is 28, and has two primary school age children. After leaving school with School Certificate, Fay went into office work. She had various clerical jobs until her marriage. Then Fay had her children, and completed childbearing by the time she was 21. She has been a fulltime housewife ever since. Fay prefers to stay at home, considering she can do the best for her husband and children that way.

Fay's early married life was spent in a large city, but she and her husband found it hard to raise a family and to get established. So they shifted to Kawerau, one of the many families that came with the expansion of the mill. They were attracted by the prospect of high wages and housing opportunities. After living in company rental accommodation for some years, they have now moved into their own new home.

Fay and her husband are, in her own words, 'homebodies'. Much of Fay's time is spent in running the household and in craft work. Her husband enjoys pottering around the home when he is not at work. Their household organisation revolves around the shiftwork schedule, but Fay does not find this confining. In fact, she enjoys the frequent change in routine and the time she and her husband can spend together.

Barbara

Barbara is one of the women in this study who came to Kawerau with her family as a child. She has lived in the town for most of the time since, apart from a period away as a young adult. Barbara has fond memories of growing up in Kawerau, when it was a much smaller community. Now, living in one of the newer housing areas, Barbara considers the town is divided into separate interest groups. To her, it now seems much less intimate and friendly.

When Barbara left school she went on to do commercial training, and then got a clerical job which resulted in several job transfers around New Zealand and valuable work experience. Then Barbara got married and decided that she wanted to return to Kawerau. Her husband got a job at the mill, and they bought a house. Barbara found no difficulty in obtaining a clerical job, and worked until the birth of her first child. Barbara now has two school age children. She stayed home until two years ago when she was offered the opportunity of a part-time office job with flexible hours

which fitted in well with her family responsibilities. Unfortunately, she was made redundant from this job, and is now looking for work. Eventually Barbara would like to do university studies and get into counselling work.

Group II - Part-time paid workers

Kathy

Thirty-four year old Kathy has lived in Kawerau for several years. She came to teach in the area after training college, met her husband who is a tradesman at the mill, and settled in Kawerau. She leads an active life, combining a part-time teaching job with establishing the family's new home. Much of the family's leisure time is spent around the home and with relatives.

Kathy has worked most of her married life, except for short periods off work, following the birth of her children. The longest period she has had out of the workforce is one year after the birth of her fourth child. Kathy was asked to resume teaching again, and now works in a relieving capacity for an average of two days a week.

Julia

Julia, 35, was born and raised near Kawerau. Apart from some time away for secondary schooling and a spell in a large city, much of Julia's life has revolved around the community and the industry. She can remember the establishment of the mill on land she roamed as a child, and the mushroom development of the new town. Her husband now works for the company, as do many of Julia's relatives.

After leaving school with University Entrance, Julia moved to a large city, where she married and started her family. Having lived in the city for several years, the family then moved back to Kawerau. Julia had always been interested in journalism, but was not able to fulfil her ambition until returning to Kawerau. Now she has been doing part-time work in this field for several years. Concurrent

with this, Julia was working in education. But at present she has only the one part-time job, as she wanted more time at home with her youngest child.

Julia has five children, ranging in age from pre-schoolers to adolescents. She is currently occupied with raising her family, but hopes to develop her interest in journalism. She is also keen on studying for further qualifications, and is active in several local organisations. In addition, Julia and her husband, who both identify as Maori, invest a lot of time in kin and tribal activities.

Audrey

Audrey's labourforce experience differs from many of the other women in this study because of the variety of jobs she has had, and the length of time she has spent in paid work, after leaving school and before having children.

A Pakeha, Audrey was brought up on a farm, and left school with School Certificate. She was unable to take up her first occupational choice, and instead got a job as a shop assistant. Eventually she gained a management position. During this time, Audrey got married. Her husband applied for a job in Kawerau, and they moved to the town, with their new baby, for the first time. Audrey was unhappy at home with the baby and away from her own relatives. So they bought a business in their home town and Audrey was busy running a shop and household for the next two years.

Then her husband got another job in Kawerau and they moved again. Audrey left the workforce and had her second child. During this time, she became enthusiastic about voluntary work and this led to a part-time job as a teacher's aid.

At 32, Audrey enjoys involvement in her job and a wide range of sporting and community activities. She very much

likes living in the town, but is aware of the restrictions on her pursuing qualifications toward a teaching career.

Merle

Although having resided in Kawerau for 13 years, Merle still feels ambivalent about living in this community. Merle's husband got a job at the mill, and she moved to Kawerau with a young baby. A year later she had her second child. Merle took several years to settle in, and one of the things which helped in this process was getting a part-time office job when her second child was two. Merle worked in that job until the birth of her third child. In this period out of the workforce, she had her fourth child. Then, on her employer's request, Merle returned to her old job, and has been working ever since. Merle is now 39.

Merle never expected her family to stay in Kawerau for the length of time they have. She would like to move back to the large city where she grew up. Merle considers the city would provide more educational and job opportunities for her, and she would enjoy being closer to her own relatives. But Merle is aware that her husband does not want to leave his job, and she thinks Kawerau is a better environment than the big city for bringing up children.

Janice

Janice was brought up on a farm, and has lived in and around Kawerau all her life, apart from her secondary schooling.

After leaving school, Janice started on a career in banking. She remained in this job for several years, marrying during this time. Janice married a local, who had started work in the mill after leaving school. She left work to have her first child and for the next 15 years, stayed home raising three children. Then, a few years ago, Janice decided to get a job, and was lucky in obtaining part-time office work.

Now, at 38 years of age, with one child out at work, and the other two becoming less dependent, Janice is thinking about her future. She has a deep interest in health and education, and would like a job involving those areas. However, at present she is aware of the limited occupational and training opportunities for her in Kawerau, and accepts the primary importance of her husband's job for the family. In the meantime Janice's career ambitions are realised through voluntary work.

Anne

Anne is 34 years old, and came to live in Kawerau as a child. Apart from a short spell of work in a provincial city before marriage, she has spent all of her adult life in the town.

Anne's labourforce experience is typical of many women's, with the characteristic movement in and out of paid work according to family and domestic circumstances. On leaving school, Anne trained as a punch card operator. She then left Kawerau and found a similar job in a city, and later got a job as a shop assistant. She eventually returned to her first job in Kawerau, but left when she married. After a few months of married life, Anne looked for employment again and got a factory job. This lasted for six weeks before the factory closed down. Then Anne had her first child, and commenced a period of several years out of the labourforce. When her third child was still a pre-schooler, Anne went back to work as a cleaner, firstly in a relieving capacity, and recently in a part-time permanent position. She has three children.

A significant feature of Anne's life as a Pakeha, is her marriage to a Polynesian. She talks about their different cultural values concerning kinship, marital roles and childrearing. However, living in Kawerau means that Anne is not unusual in having a 'mixed' marriage. Couples in a similar situation predominate in her social network, and provide an important source of friendship and support.

Group III - Fulltime paid workers

Pauline

Pauline was born in a small settlement on the East Coast and has lived in and around Kawerau almost all her life, apart from some years in a provincial city after her marriage. She and her husband, also a local, have been back in Kawerau for some years now. He works at the mill, but their ambition is to move away from Kawerau and to start a horticultural venture with another couple.

Pauline was married at a young age and had her two children by the time she was 20. At this time Pauline was fully involved in childrearing. However, when the younger child was four years old, Pauline took an evening job to regain confidence in the workplace. Later, with the children at school, Pauline got a clerical job, and was involved in this occupation for several years until the family moved back to Kawerau, because of her husband's job. After a year out of the workforce, which she spent renovating the house they bought, Pauline returned to clerical work.

At 32, Pauline is well through the childrearing stage of her life, and looking for further challenges. She has a fulltime job, but ideally would like to train for a professional occupation. However, Pauline realises there are limitations, as she has no formal educational qualifications, and she is concerned that embarking on a career may conflict with her family responsibilities.

Nancy

Kawerau has been home for Nancy since her marriage 19 years ago. She met her husband, a shiftworker at the mill, when she came to the area as a young teacher. Nancy has worked in this occupation for most of her married life, with only four years in the home when her two older children were young, and one year off work after the birth of her third child.

Now, at 41, Nancy holds a permanent, fulltime teaching position. She is facing a transition in her life as her two older children are starting their working life with jobs in the mill. She expects them to remain living at home, at least in the short term.

Nancy, who comes from a remote rural area, enjoys living in Kawerau. She says the town provides for all of her family's requirements.

Mere

Mere's experiences during the 24 years she has lived in Kawerau show the changes that have occurred in her life. Now in her late forties, the well organised, independent life she leads today contrasts sharply with the hectic daily routine of a mother with six young children, a husband on shiftwork and a job of her own.

Assigned to the area as a young teacher, Mere met and married a local man. The young couple lived with his parents, and had their first child during this time. Then her husband was able to rent a house from the company, and later they moved into a home of their own. In the next few years Mere was a fulltime housewife and mother as five more children arrived. Then Mere, still with two pre-school children, returned to work as a relieving teacher for financial reasons. She enjoyed the challenge of being in the classroom again, and within a year was back on a fulltime basis.

Mere has taught in several schools in the area, and has gained positions of responsibility. Her active childrearing role is now over, as all her children have left school. However, three of the six still live at home, and are employed at the mill. Nevertheless, Mere now finds more time for her own job and interests, which include community work.

Some broad similarities and contrasts can be identified in the women's experiences. All of the women have children still living at home, but these range from babies under 30 months of age, to adult offspring in the labourforce. There is also variety in job experience and current job status. All seven of the women in Group I (currently fulltime housewives) have had little or no job experience since having their first child. While four have had a part-time job, only one has held that position for more than one year. This group includes the youngest women of the study, and some who indicated they have not completed childbearing. None have children of secondary school age.

In contrast the three women in fulltime employment (Group III), have teenage children and older. Two have children who have left school, and one has children at boarding school. In these three cases, their active childrearing responsibilities are considerably less than many of the others with pre- and primary school age children. As their children's dependence decreases, many women find they are more able to take on employment. The women in this group have had several years of labourforce experience. They tend to be older, have completed their family, and have professional qualifications, or have built up skills and experience in a particular occupation. The three women with professional qualifications and related job experience before childrearing (two in fulltime and one in part-time employment) have worked throughout most of their married lives.

The family circumstances of the women in part-time work (Group II) vary, as this group includes those with very young children, and also women with teenage children. The ages of one woman's children span these age groups. There are also differences in the length of time the women have spent in the labourforce after marriage and during childrearing. One, a teacher, has been in employment for almost all of her married life. Another took a job after 15

years out of the labourforce following her marriage. Several of the women in this group have been employed while their children were young, in contrast to some in Group I.

The majority of the women (nine) experienced the transition from school to adult life in Kawerau, or the surrounding district. Several had fathers working in the mill. Growing up in Kawerau had certain consequences for their labourmarket prospects, and choice of marriage partner.

Leaving School

When they talked about school, several of the women expressed a strong dislike for it. A sense of urgency was conveyed as they discussed their longing to get out into the 'world outside', and experience the real business and excitement of living.

In an English study, Angela McRobbie (1978) investigates the attitudes of non-academic, working-class girls to school. She suggests that girls develop a "feminine anti-school culture" which revolves around dreams of marriage, family life and fashion (McRobbie 1978:104). It is directed to the world outside of the school. Often the girls who embrace what McRobbie calls an anti-school culture are labelled as failures and problems by their teachers. Their response to the school and its authority structure is to develop tactics of survival and resistance, ranging from giggling and cliquishness, to joking and disruptive behaviour (McRobbie and Garber 1975). Some of the women in my study reported similar school experiences. In one group discussion, the women laughed about their poor term reports, their preoccupation with boyfriends and the trouble they had caused their teachers.

Ten of the 16 women left school at 15 or 16, five at 17 and one when she was 18. Educational qualifications varied, being affected by leaving age. Four left with no

qualifications, two with three or fewer School Certificate passes, five with four or more School Certificate passes, three with University Entrance and one with Bursary. Not all of the women who left school early and with few or no qualifications were pleased to do so. One woman's schooling was brought to an abrupt end when her family moved to New Zealand from Samoa. Looking back, she does not want the same thing to happen to her children:

> (Bev) - What ambitions do you have for your children?
>
> (Susana) - All I want of them is to finish their school life... I didn't even finish school, but I'm hoping they do good in school and get something really behind them. These days if you don't really work hard at school or stay at school you get nowhere.

While some of the women's parents actively encouraged their daughters to gain qualifications, others also remembered how their parents had considered further education for them unnecessary:

> (Merle) - I lived on a farm, and my parents sort of seemed to think that girls only really needed to get a job until they were married. You know, that was the attitude.
>
> They're not pushing them through the education thing. Like Dad was the same .. "No no dear, you go to Tasman, they pay you well." (Group F)

A few of the women had a clear idea of what they wanted to do when they left school. For example, one wanted to go into the policeforce, another into journalism. However, both were unable to pursue their chosen careers, for reasons beyond their control. Some were attracted by a 'non-traditional' job, but in the end opted for something they saw as achievable, in keeping with their gender and socio-economic status (Shaw 1976:143). Most of the women took the first job they could get, regardless of what it was, or graduated straight to marriage and motherhood.

However, three of the women went on to tertiary education, in each case, teacher training, one of the few careers encouraged for girls (Novitz 1982:297). Seven of the women would now like to gain qualifications and train for a career. Almost all mentioned ambitions in health, teaching, or social work.

Limited formal education and specialist training imposed restricted labourmarket opportunities on them. Such constraints channel young women into the secondary labour market (Barron and Norris 1976), and also make movement out almost impossible. Those women brought up in or near Kawerau entered a local labourmarket much more favourable to male school leavers than to female (James 1979).

Many of the women did not leave Kawerau to look for work in a larger centre. Emotional attachment to relatives was a stated reason for remaining in, or returning to Kawerau, but there are also instrumental reasons. The parental home is a source of accommodation for the young unmarried person in this community with its restrictive housing market. For the married ones, a major attraction of the town is employment for men and associated housing opportunities provided by the company.

Several of the women in this study left school with few if any qualifications and went into unskilled occupations. Often they had forged escape channels to the 'outside world' while still at school. These took the form of employment, or relationships with men:

> (Joanne) - I detested school (laughs). I hated it. I think I've learnt more since I left school. I just could not concentrate and I had a part-time job after school which I was really more interested in than school work.
>
> I decided I wanted to leave school before [Mum and Dad] wanted me to leave school ... I was going out with [my future husband] then. And I had better things, a lot more things I wanted to do, rather than waste my time at

> school swotting for exams ... and so I used to wag, and went looking for jobs. (Group F)

All of the women expressed the influence of prevailing cultural notions about femininity and the appropriate feminine role. Differential treatment of the sexes is evident in the structure and organisation of educational institutions, and through the formal and hidden curriculums (Barrett 1980:140-150). In her analysis of the social construction of girls' failure at school, Shaw (1976) argues that their lack of ambition and educational attainment is a result of the requirements of a differentiated workforce, which places women in domesticity in the home and in service-type occupations in the workplace. Shaw suggests that schools prepare girls for the marriage market as well as for the labourmarket. This may account for the girls' lack of ambition and disaffection with school.

> What schools may rather opportunistically be concerned with is the convenient distraction that the girls' romantic hopes provide, which reduces the schools' responsibility for their future ...(Shaw 1976:146)

McRobbie (1978:108) observes that girls at school "... are both saved by, and locked within the culture of femininity." They emphasise some aspects of femininity (such as attention to appearance and attracting the opposite sex) in order to establish an identity for themselves, and as a way of transcending their 'failure' at school. In the end however, the rebellion against school, in favour of the allure of romance and earning money, results in a drift toward domesticity. Many of the women I interviewed were more concerned with marriage than with qualifications at school, because it was seen as a practical response to the few options they perceived for themselves.

Some important differences in the experiences of Polynesian and Pakeha women at school can be observed. The Pacific Island and Maori women did not seem so rebellious or 'anti-school'; any resistance appeared to have been through

withdrawal, rather than through active disruption. The difficulties they recalled had to do with the management of the different cultures of the school and their families. In one group discussion with Pacific Island women, conversation focussed on their strict upbringing. As adolescents, they were acutely aware of the comparatively 'free' lifestyle of Pakeha peers in relation to contact with the opposite sex, and of their position as members of a minority culture in New Zealand. The contrasting, and often conflicting demands of their families and the school were described by one of the women:

> I had to cope with my [culture] at home, and yet at the same time my parents were telling me "when you go to school do as you're told ... " So you do that, you go to school and you do what the teacher tells you, you learn and try hard to please them, then you come home, you try to explain ... and they tell you, "don't you dare tell me what -!" I still get upset because I don't think our parents are aware of the fact that it isn't so easy for a child or a teenager to cope with these two worlds, and it's terribly confusing. (Group A)

Getting a Job

Only one woman recalled a sense of optimism about her future job opportunities when she left school. Pamela attended a single sex girl's school, and left with Bursary:

> I came out of school thinking that women were totally equal. That, you know, what we wanted, we could have.

But reality for many of the women was difficulty in getting a job, and finally having to settle for any work, usually of an unskilled nature. This tended to preclude a career as a practical prospect.

> The only thing that I could find [when I left school], and I really did look hard !

> (laughs) I won't forget that in a hurry! I ended up, I got a job packing meat in [the local butcher shop]. Mum and Dad were horrified! (Group F)

A New Zealand study of women's employment and unemployment (Shipley 1982) found that 'drifting' into the first job is common. This initial experience firmly establishes the woman as a secondary sector worker.

Barron and Norris (1976) describe the labourmarket in terms of a dual labourmarket model. They distinguish between primary and secondary sectors. The former is characterised by highly paid, secure jobs with a career structure. The latter sector consists of semi or unskilled jobs which are typically low paid, low status and lacking in security. Mobility from one sector to another is restricted, as each labourmarket requires different qualifications and type of experience. One woman's labourforce experience is a good illustration of the secondary sector worker. She worked as a cashier, nurse aid, petrol station attendant and clerk, all before the age of 20. Several of the other women have worked in shops and factories, and as cleaners and waitresses. In some cases this has been part-time employment. The experiences of the three teachers stand out from the overall pattern of non-career jobs. But in general, the jobs these women have had are typical of the narrow range of occupations in which women are concentrated (Novitz 1982:297). These occupations are inevitably low paid, and so it is understandable that marriage is attractive. The potentially high wages their husbands are able to earn in the mill undoubtedly help the women in forming and maintaining an attachment to Kawerau.

A consistent theme throughout all the biographies is the movement into and out of the labourforce, according to family and domestic responsibilities. This is particularly apparent in the cases of those women who left school and had only a short period of employment before quitting for

reasons of marriage or the birth of their first child. Other women, although having longer in the workforce, changed or left their jobs upon marriage, or with the shift to Kawerau for their husbands' work. Several re-entered the workforce when their youngest child started school, but it was frequently to a lower paid, and lower status job. Part-time work was viewed favourably, as fitting in with family responsibilities, but it did not necessarily provide job satisfaction, nor the fulfilment of personal ambitions:

> (Merle) - You can't [have ambitions] when you're a part-time worker. You know, part-time work is not even as secure as fulltime work. You're just really filling in, I think, aren't you?

Again, the experiences of the three teachers depart from those described above. Each has continued in the labourforce, with only short breaks while their children were very young. Maternity leave, the demand for teachers locally, and the availability of childcare (3) have all been influential.

In this study the women's job and career aspirations have taken second place to family responsibilities. Engagement, pregnancy, marriage and shifting home are the key events which changed their orientation to the labourmarket.

Marriage and Motherhood

It is clear from these women's accounts, that since leaving school, decisions about their future have been crucially shaped by their relationships with men. For many of the women in this study, marriage and motherhood were a combined experience, occurring in the first few years after leaving school. Seven of the 16 women interviewed in depth were married and had one or more children by the age of 20. A similar pattern was observed among the women in the group discussions.

Early motherhood has a number of effects. It can prevent a woman from gaining work skills and experience which are essential for entry into the labourforce at a later stage. It also imposes economic dependency on the woman, at the same time that she is expected to 'settle down' and act like a responsible adult. These effects can come as a shock, as the following comments show:

> (Julia) - (first child within three years of leaving school) - ..I wanted to do lots of things too ... I used to think how difficult it was for me, I think, when we were first married ... "I'm doing this and I would have loved to have done that, and now I can't do it". But I don't feel that way so much any more.
>
> (Kelly) - (first child within a year of leaving school) - I would like to have got married later and had kids later and just sort of had a few experiences, things like got a job and learned how to handle money.
>
> (Pamela) - (first child within a year of leaving school) - It's closed a lot of doors. I didn't realise how many doors it would close. I thought "Oh yes, get married, have kids and carry on regardless", and that's just not possible.
>
> I had my first child by the time I was 19 and I thought "bloody hell!" (laughs). Oh, I felt old and terrible. (Group F)

As adolescents, the majority of women saw themselves as future wives and mothers. This was accepted as an inevitable progression after leaving school. In this context, marriage is not so much a conscious choice, but rather an expected and unquestioned part of the transition from childhood to adult status. Pauline, who was brought up near Kawerau, and married at 17 commented:

> I didn't really think about it when I was that age ... you just did it ... didn't have time to think ... not many people ventured out away from this place, and the done thing was you just got married and had kids. That was it.

The fact that there may be a choice between marriage and a career, for example, can be quite stressful for individual women, as it was for Pamela. Choosing the 'inevitable' may be seen as a promise of security, but it prevents the pursuit of other ambitions.

Of course, not all of the women felt that their lives had closed in with early marriage and motherhood. Instead they regarded this as their chosen career:

> (Fay) - When I was just a little kid, I always knew I would marry young and have children and that's precisely what I did do ... I've just been one of those sorts of people that was destined to do it ... it's an institution that I thrive on.

Marriage and motherhood are central components of the nurturant role for which girls are prepared:

> (Barbara) - You're brought up as a daughter, you're taught how to cook and iron and what have you ...

The continuity of women's experiences over generations, like some natural cycle, is also apparent:

> (Anne) - You do it automatically with your daughters. You bring them up to be a woman, to be caring for others. It's just a natural thing.

To miss out on the crucial 'right of passage' to womanhood was a source of anxiety for some, like this woman, also married at 17:

> All the girls I went to school with married early you know, there's the "will you ever get another chance?" type of thing. You don't know, at 17. (Group F)

For many women, marriage was the most realistic way of dealing with their situation. Now in her thirties, one woman analysed the choices she had faced as a teenager in Kawerau:

> It's not so bad for the guys 'cos they've got the mill, but there's very few jobs for the girls that leave school. They've either gotta hang around ... or you have to leave, and go to Auckland, or somewhere like that. So, the ones that do stay, the easiest way to sorta get around the whole business is to get married. (Group F)

For these women, marriage and motherhood, more so than getting a job, have meant entry into the adult world. Their experiences have highlighted the 'naturalness' and inevitability of marriage, and the economic necessity of that institution as seen by them. Early marriage and motherhood can severely restrict women's mobility, independence and autonomy, by closing off such options as travel and career development. But for many of the women, courtship provided excitement and a sense of purpose in life that was lacking in their school and job experience. Through marriage and motherhood they achieved acceptance among peers, social status and economic security (if not independence), and a sense of purpose in life.

Concluding comments

In terms of both expectations and actuality, marriage and motherhood have been these women's careers. Although all have had paid jobs since leaving school, marriage and motherhood have interrupted and modified labourforce participation. School was the site where crucial doors opened or closed, depending on the qualifications gained. But job seeking was affected by personal relationships, as well as by educational attainment. For many of the women, the event which profoundly affected the course of their working lives was unplanned pregnancy, and early marriage. The transition from school to adult life can be summed up in two closely interwoven processes: graduation to domesticity and recruitment into the secondary labourforce.

The brief account of the women's lives conveyed in this chapter raises issues which will be covered in more detail

in following chapters. These include: their commitment to marriage, the significance of domestic and childrearing responsibilities in their lives, and the tensions experienced between managing the paid work and domestic commitments of themselves and their husbands.

Footnotes

(1) The use of 'group' in this context is distinguished from the groups referenced in quotations. The former refers to the classification of the women in terms of their familial and labourforce status (Groups I to III). The latter use refers to the group discussions, of which there were seven (Groups A to G). See Appendices A and B for information on the group discussions.

(2) Self-identification of ethnicity is used in this study.

(3) The local college has a creche catering for teachers' children.

FOUR: MARRIAGE - COMMITMENT TO A PARTNERSHIP

This chapter is concerned with women's experiences of living in a marital relationship. Marriage constitutes the context in which they are 'incorporated' into their husbands' jobs, a central theme of this study. Consideration of the marital relationship includes examination of how, as a wife, women administer domestic finances, and manage shiftwork and other aspects of the husband's job. Marriage also involves for the women in this study, the activities of housework and childrearing, and, in some cases, dealing with the demands of domesticity in conjunction with having a paid job. For several, marriage and having children co-incided, so they have no separate experience of marriage as being part of a couple alone. Throughout this chapter reference is made to marriage in association with other experiences, and the women's understandings of marriage are modified by these.

Asking about a person's marriage requires a sensitive approach. Some of the women in this study found it a challenge to reflect on such a personal and intimate relationship. This is revealed in their answers. One expressed how difficult it was for her to talk about her marriage in such a short space of time as an interview. Another would not volunteer any information concerning how she felt about her own marriage. Perhaps more so than any other topic, I am aware of the 'silences' - what the women did not say - and of the difficulties of interpretation and analysis.

A focus of the chapter is what the women see themselves putting into and getting out of marriage. This can be expressed as a tension between individualism and selflessness. I was interested in exploring with the women the subject of sexual equality in marriage, in terms of what they saw as their rights and responsibilities and whether

they considered themselves to be in a subordinate position. In the course of relating their own personal experiences, the women indicated they were aware of public debate concerning the equality of the sexes. Although few used the term equality, the notion had some influence on the way they perceived their own circumstances. This chapter commences with a section on equality. It is based on discussion between myself and the women about the meaning the concept has for them.

The second section deals with the women's experiences of marriage and the meanings that they themselves have constructed in understanding and coping with the relationship. Marriage involves for them: companionship, security, meeting others' needs, and 'working at' the relationship. The last aspect was discussed by them in terms of marital conflict and breakdown. These concerns were raised by them in both the individual interviews and group discussions. Their talk about marital conflict and its management highlighted the significance of marriage in their lives in many ways - the economic, the emotional, the security it affords, the opportunities it provides, and constraints it imposes.

Marriage as an 'equal partnership'

Towards the end of the interviews I asked the 16 women questions on the subject of sexual equality. These prompted comments on their experiences concerning paid work and marriage. Most of the women interviewed asserted that marriage should be an equal partnership, but what is meant by 'equal' differed substantially among them, and even from one situation to another for individuals. The equality of women in marriage, and in the broader context of society, was an issue that most of the women had not considered in an abstract sense, nor in any depth. Equality was not a concept they used in understanding and managing their lives. However, when I asked them about the idea, some attributes

and actions were associated with equality. Equality was discussed in a relative way, in comparing their own experiences of marriage with that of others. An obvious comparison was with their parents' marriage. One woman had vowed not to be "down trodden" like her mother. Another woman admired her parents' relationship and understood 'equality' as spouses sharing housework and childcare.

> (Pamela) - ... mum and dad, they are really equal, they are more equal than I am. Dad does as much cooking, if not more than mum.

She went on to say,

> I'd like to see the men get more sensitive and more able to show their emotions and more able to be gentle and nurturing.

It was common for the women to compare their own marriage with those of friends and acquaintances. Several considered themselves to have a more egalitarian marriage than others they knew, and one or two insisted that it was up to the individual to assert her rights:

> (Kathy) - I'm equal. I've made myself equal ... If you want your husband to trample all over you ... If you want to put yourself down you will be.

Several considered they had achieved equality in their own marriage:

> (Fay) - ... my husband treats me like an equal. He treats me as a responsible adult and as his mate. Most husbands I don't think do ...

> (Pamela) - ... we sort of worked out our own balance that I'm happy with, but ... goodness gracious, knowing the men around here - they walk all over their wives and it's quite accepted!

Some women emphasised that the wife's independence was necessary for conjugal equality:

> (Cheryl) - We've still got a life of our own even though we are married.

(Susana) - A lot of people think if they marry they belong to their husband.

This independence was often expressed as an assertion of personal identity, beyond domesticity and the expectations of other family members:

I'm not the housewife. I don't feel if I'm there just to play mother. I'm an individual and they are to treat me like one. (Group F)

One of the ways a woman acquires her identity is from intimate, daily association with her family; she is the one who looks after the welfare of others and ensures the household runs smoothly. All this is central to pride in herself. Yet these activities demand a selflessness which may conflict with personal interests, ambitions and desires. The woman may experience her own and her family's needs as a tension; in putting others first, she loses all sense of herself as a separate person. One woman recalled in a previous marriage:

I was so dependent on my ex-husband that it was not funny, um, from every point of view, totally dependent for acceptance as a human being literally right from the ground up because I was just so far under his thumb. (Group C)

Many identified 'equality' with women's participation in the labourforce, economic independence and the opportunity to pursue any career. Several of the women interpreted my questions about sexual equality as a reference to equal pay for women, which was generally supported:

(Cheryl) - I know some men don't think it's right that a woman should get more than a man does, but I mean we work just as hard as they do at any job, so I reckon we should be equal with men as well.

(Merle) - I feel that if a woman's as equally qualified as a man to do a job, it should be equally paid.

In recounting her efforts to embark on a career, one woman asserted that she had experienced discrimination

because of her sex in the workplace:

> (Pamela) - ... regards employment I've found out we can't wander in to whatever job we want to - no not at all equal ... science was an interest when I was still at school and I wanted to get into horticulture ... I went up to the company and said "what courses shall I do at Massey which will make me more employable" sort of thing, "I want to get into the labs in another six or seven years time." This was earlier on and they just didn't want to know me!

However, the act of asserting independence, particularly by going out to work, was also seen as a potential threat to marriage and family life. This point was made forcefully by some who felt the woman was responsible for keeping the family together, and that this could best be achieved through domesticity. For many of the women, the notion of equality was compatible with, even accentuated, women's domesticity. Most emphasised that they regarded equality in marriage as involving 'equal but different' responsibilities for spouses. A fulltime housewife who called her marriage equal, explained that she and her spouse respected each other as 'expert' in their own spheres:

> (Fay) - ... the odd time I've had to go away he has just been like a fish out of water and he's made it quite clear how important, and how he appreciates me being home ... he does treat me as an equal and he holds my job in just as high regard as his own ... I guess I'm one of those people who really doesn't function very well in the workforce, therefore the job he has to do is put up on a pedestal, and I think he's such a great person to do it, because I myself think I couldn't.

A Maori woman, dismissing the notion of gender equality as a Pakeha idea, instead described the roles of Maori women and men as complementary, and as equally important and valued:

> (Mere) - The Maori woman has her role and the Maori man has his ...the Maori male cannot do without the Maori woman, especially on the

> marae, because the first voice that is heard on the marae is the woman's and the men can't do without the support of the women ... A woman can't do a man's job and a man can't do a woman's job. They just have those definite separate roles.

A couple of women expressed dissatisfaction with their marriage because they did not feel their husbands were respecting their claims to equality; nor were they sharing in family responsibilities. In both cases the wife shouldered the major responsibility for domestic work, managed household finances and also earned money. One summed up her circumstances:

> Well, you're just made to feel the inferior object of the partnership, I mean, this is my husband's upbringing. You're there to iron the shirts and cook the meals, and what have you.

While all of the women were critical of a marriage in which the wife was virtually a domestic slave, it was often stated that equality could be taken 'too far':

> (Fay) - I haven't taken my equality to the point where a lot of women have, I think they've gone a bit overboard.

Several of the women who regarded their own marriages as egalitarian were concerned about being labelled as 'women's libbers'. Feminism was seen as threatening to femininity and their security in the family. They emphasised their femininity: men and women were different physically, biologically and emotionally.

> (Fay) - Men and women are different. If they weren't opposites, there wouldn't be an attraction.
>
> (Pauline) - I don't want to be a man!

Equality was not considered desirable, if it meant women had to be like men. These women made no distinction between biological differences and social roles, but instead saw roles as biologically based, and largely unchangeable.

Several were against sexual equality, because they thought it would mean the loss of women's 'privileges', such as having doors opened, and being given a seat on the bus. One woman summed up this widely held view:

> (Fay) - ... all women like to feel that they're protected, that they're loved, that they're fussed over ...

The women in this study expressed their hopes for their marriage, not in terms of achieving equality, but in terms of achieving respect, companionship, trust, sharing, complementarity, and a degree of independence. Complementarity - different but equally valued roles - was especially emphasised. Only one woman, sympathetic to feminist views, considered that there should not be segregated sex roles. Her background differed from the others in several respects. She was the most highly educated of all the women, and talked at length about the views she had obtained from her parents and school, that women could aspire to any career.

The rest of the women had views which emphasised differences between the sexes. Several supported male dominance in the family. Four stated that they liked to be dominated sometimes by their husbands, and that they regarded him, rightly, as the head of the household. Reservations about sexual equality were frequently voiced. This view was common among both Pakeha and Polynesian women, and did not seem to change significantly among the more educated, those in fulltime work, nor among the younger women. In fact, the two youngest women were more conservative than most of the others in their views about gender roles.

A consistent view throughout the interviews and group discussions was that women keep the family together. Changes in gender roles are perceived as threatening to women's main occupation and her interests, which should be

those of the family, not opposed to the family. The views expressed by the women in this study are similar to those highlighted in Barrington and Gray's (1981) study of 100 New Zealand women. Those women identified primarily with their families, and scarcely at all with other women. They were hostile to the notion of sexual equality, and saw women who stepped out of the traditional roles of wife and mother as selfish.

Although the women did not articulate their experiences of gender relations in terms of inequality, personal oppression, or subordination to their husbands, they nevertheless saw differences in the lives of women and men. They talked of opportunities men had that women did not; of places that men could go and things they could do that women could not.

Some of the women felt quite limited in their opportunities for making friends or socialising, because of their husbands' disapproval of their activities. In one case the wife only met with women friends when her husband was at work. She also commented that the rare ocassions when they went out together were hardly enjoyable as he closely monitored her contact with others at those gatherings.

However, disapproval of women socialising "too freely" was expressed by some. This was thought to harm families. Public sanctions against married women mixing with men were reported as particularly strong. These had obviously affected the way several of the women conceptualised marriage:

> I've got male friends I'd love to invite home but I daren't because I've got a husband. I don't have anything that's, um, sexual, I'd just like it to be a friendship thing. But because he's a male, and because I'm married, I couldn't invite him home. It wouldn't be accepted. (Group F)

> It's very difficult for me to have my set of friends and my husband to have his ... It's not the accepted thing. You know, you have couples [as] friends. (Group E)

Several felt that such sanctions were unnecessarily moralistic and old fashioned, but none were unaffected by them. They were aware of the pervasiveness and power of gossip in a community where, whether people like it or not, they are closely associated through work at the mill. This gives interaction an intimacy and immediacy. One woman observed that "... the gossip hits the walls and flies straight back". Another had found that "... you don't have to do anything in Kawerau, and you've done it!"

Control and censure of behaviour through joking, teasing and gossip (Gluckman 1963, Whitehead 1976) is used by both women and men. However, in this study, incidents discussed by the women related only to the control of female behaviour by men (1). Whitehead (1976) shows the use of joking, teasing and gossip in controlling women's behaviour, particularly sexuality. She also points out that while it is predominantly men who control women, women too use such methods to censure inappropriate behaviour.

Gluckman's (1963) analysis of gossip provides some valuable insights that can be used to examine the ways women's behaviour is controlled. He associates gossip with the maintenance of group unity, values and morality, and notes that it is used by those in high status positions to affirm their superiority. In the context of this study then, the interest of men in controlling gossip to maintain their authority in the family is apparent.

Gossip was a rich source of material revealing the values held about marriage and family life in Kawerau. Sexual behaviour was a prominent topic of conversation, and a close connection was made between morality and marital breakdown. Disapproval of women's behaviour (whatever its nature) was often expressed by derogatory references to sexual behaviour.

The effects of gossip can be harsh and humiliating, especially for women who challenge the traditional sexual division of labour. The experience of one young married woman bore this out. She applied for several jobs in occupations where men predominated. Eventually she got a job where she could use her qualifications. She enjoyed her work and was competent at it, but found it hard to get on with some of her workmates. The personal attacks got too much for her and she finally quit. This woman's experiences became the topic of local gossip and joking, which focussed on ridiculing her in sexual terms. In this way she was publicly chastised for challenging the authority of her boss and the masculine ethos of the work group. Above all she was being sanctioned for unwomanly behaviour.

The women were aware and critical of the operation of the sexual double standard in the community. Women without a husband seemed to be more vulnerable to gossip. One woman recounted the experience of a widow she knew:

> She had a terrible life here, you know, she had men coming, best friend's husband sort of thing ... she was getting pestered all the time by these different men, and women were thinking she was having an affair. (Group E)

Another woman, a solo mother who worked in the evenings, recalled that neighbourhood gossip alleging her neglect of the children had resulted in a visit from the Department of Social Welfare.

One of the clearest examples of the use of gossip to control women's behaviour was provided in a group discussion:

> (Speaker 1) - ... you see you get it in this town where, now any marriage is in upset, or something has happened with it, it goes around the mill like wildfire. Therefore, they know whose wife's run off, whose husband's run off, what one wife is doing, what one wife isn't doing ... and the branding they give to either the wife or husband ... every time we

> pass this chap [my husband's] always saying "ha ha ha, that guy's run off with so and so's wife". That's alright for the man to do it, but when you have the woman doing it ...
>
> (Speaker 2) - The man's allowed to do anything but not the woman.
>
> (Speaker 3) - And I suppose they don't want to come under the judgement of the rest of the mill. (Group B)

This passage shows the ways in which some husbands, through joking and gossip, convey their disapproval of wives' behaviour. The husband is warning his wife that sexual indiscretion is a prime target for gossip. He is also making sure, as the third speaker observes, that his wife understands how her actions may undermine his status in the mill and the community. Those who work at the mill have close knowledge of one another and their families. It is difficult to keep a home life separate from work. The husband is using gossip to maintain his authoritative and superior status (Gluckman 1963); yet his is a precarious position which also relies on the wife's interest in maintaining the unity of their marriage and the family to the outside world. The women in this study strongly identified with the family. The conjugal relationship is a personal, face-to-face one, where hierarchical relations are maintained through intimacy (Bell and Newby 1976:157). Many women perceive they would have a lot to lose in terms of security if they challenged the institution of the family; hence they too have an interest in maintaining it. In this respect, the notion of complementary marital roles affirms the importance of marriage for the women, while the idea of 'equality' introduces an element of uncertainty and thus threatens the marriage as known.

The Meaning of Marriage

In the in-depth interviews there were several questions probing attitudes toward marriage. From the women's answers I have identified four key ideas which sum up their understanding and experience of marriage. These are:

'marriage is companionship', 'marriage is security', 'marriage is meeting others' needs' and 'marriage is something you have to work at'.

'Marriage is companionship'

(Bev) - What do you think makes a successful marriage?

(Janice) - Respect, being a friend to each other, probably above all ... If you regard your husband or wife as a friend you can talk to them .. you know, respect, trust, regarding everything as half and half, equal partnership.

Komarovsky (1967) and Williams (1981) have pointed out that the researcher's equation of companionship and communication with a happy, fulfilled and desirable marital relationship, indicates a class bias. These aspects are more likely to be valued by highly educated people. For some couples non-verbal ways of communicating may be equally, or more, important. For others, companionship may not be expected of spouses; instead friends or kin may be close confidants, and the couple may routinely participate in sex-segregated activities (see Whitehead 1976). However, Komarovsky's and Williams' own studies of working class couples revealed that there were expectations of companionship and communication within marriage, but more significantly among the wives than the husbands. Komarovsky noted that, in general, the wives in her study were more expressive, and more likely than the husbands to mention dissatisfaction with marital communication. There were similar feelings among the women in my study. One woman noted that while she had close friends, her husband had "nobody to confide in, to talk things through". Another woman clearly had high expectations of verbal communication with her spouse which were not always fulfilled.

When asked for their views on marriage, 15 of the group of 16 women interviewed emphasised the importance of

companionship and communication, suggesting that these were, ideologically speaking, highly valued components of their marital relationship. It was expected that the husband should be a friend and confidant; that a couple should spend time together; that a couple should share feelings. Closely associated with companionship, was the expectation of full communication between spouses.

However, experience did not always fit with the stated ideal. In some cases communication was difficult or almost non-existent. One woman went her own way, having little more in common with her husband than a shared residence, their children and a partial dependence on his wage. For another woman, communication usually involved conflict and stress, as her spouse freely took out his own hostilities and frustrations on her.

A few women reported that their husbands were definitely the major and most important companion, more important than friends and kin. One woman arranged her housework around the husband's shiftwork schedule so that they could spend his time off work together. Another wife often accompanied her partner on his leisure pursuits. For a third, the spouse was her close confidant:

> (Kathy) - I don't have women for best buddies. I've got a lot of women that I am friendly with ... but I haven't got a best girlfriend whereas I used to when I was single ... I don't feel I need to have that because [my husband's] my best friend.

The women generally agreed that verbal communication - "talking things over" - was necessary to sustain a happy marriage. Several couples made a point of discussing everyday routine events, such as the children's behaviour, and happenings at home or work. Conversation was a way of bridging the gap between the husband's world of work and the wife's domestic world, but these 'separate spheres' can also pose difficulties for communication. It is often hard for

spouses to find common ground when they do not have first-hand knowledge of the other's daily life. There were some topics that the couples did not talk about together. Several wives did not know much about his world of work. One did not know how much her husband earned. Many had only a sketchy knowledge of the technical or organisational aspects of their husbands' jobs, or of union matters.

The housewife can find it especially difficult to articulate her frustrations with the monotony and isolation of domestic work; she may fear her husband will think her concerns trivial and insignificant compared to events in his workplace.

> (Merle) - ... you feel neglected and you want to say, "Well you don't know what it's like for me at home all day, stuck here with no-one to talk to and just the kids" ... sometimes I used to have it all worked out what to say when he came in and then I forgot to say it ... you'd sort of feel bad about it all day, but the minute he came back it was different ... it sounded um, petty, do you know what I mean?

However, the women were also sensitive to their husbands' frustrations with work, and in this sense his experiences became part of the wife's at home:

> (Barbara) - He walks in and he's had a hard day, and look out! You can see it as he walks in the door. You don't have to ask him.

The demands, in time and energy, of the husband's work can also inhibit the development of close ties between spouses. In a group discussion one woman observed:

> His job seems more important somehow, that's the first thing, and then the kids and myself ... he's a very dedicated worker. Everything is the mill, to him. (Group C)

In such circumstances kin and friends can become important sources of companionship and support. Reliance on kin, including daily, or almost daily, contact was reported

in many cases. Among this group it was not uncommon for regular trips to be made to relatives living at a distance, nor for return visits to be made. Some felt disadvantaged by not having kin nearby:

> (Merle) - I get on really well with my sisters and I really feel that if I lived closer to them that we could do things for each other, and understand each other and talk, you know, be a support.

Contact with kin was valued, and their absence regretted. Notably, women identified special bonds with mothers and sisters, confirming the female-centred nature of kinship in western industrial societies that other authors have reported (Stivens 1976; Duff 1979). For both women with and without kin in Kawerau, friends were important in providing physical and emotional support.

> (Fay) - Her and I are sort of more like sisters, we really are. We've had to be, because she's got no one in town either.

> (Janice) - I think true friends are important to any person ... I've got a couple of friends that I can sit and tell just about anything to, and know that it would be confidential.

Friends were especially appreciated by two women who, by their own definitions, have difficult marriages. One commented:

> ... when [the husband's] in a grot for three days, I've got to talk to somebody ... you've got to get your comfort from somewhere.

Another woman enjoyed a close circle of friends who, like her, were married to a member of another ethnic group. She found that those women understood the restrictions her spouse placed upon her, and the cultural differences needing to be accommodated within her marriage. In contrast to most of the other wives, this woman referred to friends, rather than husband or kin, as the primary source of companionship and support.

In general, friends were mentioned as an important source of social interaction. It was common for couples and their children to socialise with other families. Same-sex socialising, for both spouses, was also common. The strongly masculine orientation of the job encouraged men's recreational groups, of both a formal (e.g. sports teams recruited on a shift basis) and an informal nature. Male sports clubs and the Cosmopolitan Club were important foci of masculine leisure activity in the community. So too were the pubs, but these were also one of the few places where couples could socialise, and single people meet members of the opposite sex. Some married women also used the pubs for outings with other women friends. Many of the women also played sport. That, combined with child-oriented activities were the two main areas of interaction with others outside of the family.

Sex-segregated leisure was seen by some as a way of the wife gaining some independence in marriage:

> (Joanne) - If the husband and wife just do things so much together, it drives me crazy. It makes me feel as though they can't go out on their own and do one thing for themselves ... ring up a couple of girls and say "lets go down to the hotel for the afternoon. Will your husband look after the kids, or mine?" Just things like that, at a moment's notice.

However, other women perceived sex-segregated leisure as disruptive to the marriage. The husband's involvement with his mates was often identified as a source of marital conflict, if it meant he did not devote time to his family or spent too much money with his mates. Wives' single-sex activities also came under scrutiny from some of the women, who considered that they could result in women becoming 'too independent' of husband and family. All in all, companionship and communication between spouses was an expected and desired component of marriage.

'Marriage is security'

(Bev) - For you, what are the most valuable aspects of marriage?

(Julia) - ... belonging to somebody and somebody belonging to you ... having somebody always there I think, and sharing ... of course you can have sex whenever you want it! (Laughs).

(Cheryl) - I suppose my home, and having my family around is the most valuable thing to me, um, not struggling or anything like that.

Security involves many aspects; the material security of owning a house and possessions, the economic security of a regular source of income, the emotional security of a close association with husband and children, the status of being married, and even the security of regular access to a sexual partner.

Marriage can be an important supportive environment for bearing and raising children. It provides respectability, and a necessary material base for women to have children. Some of the women in this study valued marriage precisely for the opportunity to have children, and many of their comments about marriage focussed on children, not husbands:

(Bev) - For you, what are the most valuable aspects of marriage?

(Joanne) - To realise, that I have got children...

(Barbara) - My kids basically (laughs). That's the only comfort I've got.

(Janice) - Having a family ...having a family, home ...having a husband too.

Other authors (see Oakley 1982:237) have also observed that women often perceive the role of men within families (as distinct from their economic support), as shadowy and peripheral. Certainly, the women in this study saw running a home and childrearing as their primary concerns, not their husbands'.

The women appeared to derive security from a sexual division of labour that clearly distinguished the rights and responsibilities of spouses. Responding to my questions about sexual equality, some were especially concerned that changes in the sexual division of labour would threaten the family, and consequently, women's security.

> (Joanne) - May as well just have one sex, may as well just have all males on this earth if you're going to be fighting for equal rights.
>
> (Cheryl) - I don't go to work to do his job, and he shouldn't have to do mine.
>
> (Barbara) - I'd love to see a man have a baby! (laughs) ... that would be lovely and equal, that would!

Basic to their perception of the feminine role, was women's responsibility for both biological reproduction and nurturing. They cited instances where they believed women suffered from venturing outside of the security of marriage and the 'natural' division of activities and responsibilities. They were aware of the strong negative sanctions applied to women who step out of the wife/mother/homemaker role. Many mentioned the criticisms of 'working mothers', sometimes coming from their own husbands. Women unattached to a man also attracted disapproval. Significantly, they were seen as threatening by other women, and this was agreed to be a natural, if unfair reaction by those involved in the study:

> (Speaker 1 - solo mother) - you find you get a lot of hassles from the women.
>
> (Bev) - Why?
>
> (Speaker 1) - Threat, I suppose. It doesn't really matter whether, you know, what you look like, what you talk like, who you are ...
>
> (Speaker 2) - You can't even be a friend.
>
> (Speaker 3) - It's just animal instinct. (Group F)

Women who give up the custody of their children are another group that receive public censure:

> (Speaker 1) - ... there's a puritanical ethic against women who leave their children for whatever reason.
>
> (Speaker 2) - If you leave your kids you have to be a baddy, you have to be in the wrong ...(Group E)

The moral component of the feminine role, and the sanctions placed on those who 'deviate' from the role are strongly stressed in the above comments. Women often support such notions of femininity. It is consistent with their own experience of the family as the primary source of emotional and material support in a market-oriented society.

However, the very security that marriage and the family provide is intertwined with constraints. Close relationships demand responsibilities and obligations as well as privileges. Enjoyment of possessions also involves responsibility. The economic security provided by a breadwinner-husband is usually associated with economic dependence for the wife, especially if she has children. Attaining the status of a married woman usually means giving up some independence and individuality. The majority of women in this study indicated that marriage and parenthood had meant great transformations in their lives. On reflection, these changes were "drastic".

> (Joanne) - How does it change a woman's life? Drastically, for a start!
>
> (Audrey) - ... when the children came along, the drastic part came ... it just alters your whole lifestyle.
>
> (Anne) - Drastically ...you're going from freedom to (laughs), ah - it changes your life.
>
> (Pamela) - It changed mine! Drastically, drastically ... up till then you're very much self centred and all of a sudden you have this

> squalling infant. Oh, we're talking about marriage, I'm talking about kids still ... really I haven't much experience of just marriage as against kids.

The commitment to marriage involves establishing a long term relationship with another person and developing a new identity, defined in relation to others. From a relatively carefree single life, the woman takes on responsibilities to husband and children. With these changes contrasts and conflicts between individual aspirations and independence, and selflessness and security, become apparent. One woman described her experience of marriage as one of "adjustment":

> (Joanne) - For the first few years of your married life women adjust. It's just a different way of life after being single and doing your own thing. And then you've got all the responsibility ... I reckon everyone must have a time to adjust and it must be at least two years, to actually say that you do enjoy being married, well, it took me that length of time anyway.

The quest for security through marriage can be seen not so much as freely chosen, but as an inevitability. It makes sense for a woman to seek economic security and protection. She in turn offers security to her husband, through the provision of domestic skills and sexual and emotional comfort. This is a mutually dependent relationship; marriage being virtually an economic necessity for almost all women and a wife being an economic asset for men. However, it is a partnership understood and expressed, not in economic terms, but in personal and intimate ways - "... shrouded in talk of love, companionship and sharing, and of 'making a life together' ..." (Leonard 1978:261).

'Marriage is meeting others' needs'

I have suggested that getting married and establishing a new household precipitates the development of new sets of relationships for women with spouse, children and kin, and the development of a new identity as wife and mother.

While the women perceived changes in their own lives upon marriage as sudden and far reaching in implications, in their view change for the husband was less apparent, and more gradual.

> (Mere) - My husband was the person who did what he wanted to do, whether it suited anybody else or not. He just went ahead and did it, whereas I couldn't do that ... so, life was quite easy for him, you know, in the bringing up of our children, I did most of it ... I definitely think the woman, well I did anyway, has the harder time, because he just did as he pleased mostly.

> (Cheryl) - He'd come home sometimes from an eight to four shift and he'd want to go out with his mates ... there was a lot of conflict in that sort of thing. I didn't agree with it.

As Mere and Cheryl indicated, wives feel dissatisfied when the husband continues his single lifestyle. The wife's expectations of a companionate marriage are opposed to the husband's ties with his friends. Even when leisure time is spent together, this may be at the expense of the woman's interests - his interests become hers. Often she is a follower, rather than an active participant. One husband played a sport and his wife observed:

> (Merle) - Sometimes I feel as though I'm sitting on the sideline watching the other people getting on with their lives ... I'm the one that makes the lunch and takes the children along and sits, and waits for him to finish enjoying himself out there, and comes home and cleans up after it.

Submerging one's self and interests to other family members is especially apparent in the woman's relationship with her children. Several regarded the care of children as their fulltime career. It was easy for life to be lived vicariously through the children. One woman expressed it precisely in this way, indicating she put much effort and interest into her children's activities:

> (Susana) - And then you have children. Well then the most important thing is to try and

> bring those children up because it's their future ... your life is finished now ... help those children so they can get something behind them when they grow up.

Links between mother and children were expected to continue after the children left home, as it had done for many of the women themselves - "... they still come back to the mother more than they do to the father for advice and things like that."

Several of the women found that interaction with, and obligations to kin increased after marriage. In particular, some mentioned problems in coming to terms with the demands of the spouse's kin. Three women had disagreements with their husbands over relatives' expectations for financial and practical aid. Another woman, who had stayed with her husband's parents for the first few years of their marriage, remembered this as a difficult period, when she had felt 'put upon':

> (Mere) - It was a full house, you know ... It felt very strange for me ... I virtually lost my own character ... everything that I did was for the good of somebody else.

Such comments reflect the importance for a woman of having one's own home. Her home is an exclusive place where a woman can develop her own way of doing things, establish a sphere of autonomy and independence (if largely confined to domesticity), and put her own stamp of ownership and identity on the world.

Continually concerned with meeting others' needs, the woman finds that time for oneself becomes a luxury, while other people's requirements fill the day. Personal activities can only be fitted around the demands and routines of others:

> (Merle) - There's very few women who put their own lives ahead of their family's.

'Marriage is something you have to work at'

(Bev) - What do you think makes a successful marriage?

(Kathy) - Working at it, working at it, and give and take.

(Pamela) - ... the determination to keep on trying and not too high expectations - that you think it's going to be a bed of roses and every problem will be worked out in five minutes.

(Fay) - I think that marriage partners take too much for granted after a short period of time, and if you do that, if you take anything for granted, you're in for trouble.

For the women in this study, the reality of marriage is 'hard work'. The majority agreed that women had the harder job in marriage, citing their greater responsibility for childrearing and running the home. Nancy's was a typical assessment:

I'm sure you'll agree it's the woman (laughs). Men have it made! (laughs) .. they're away from home and working, especially when the family is young, you have to bring up, cope with little children during the day and the cooking and washing and household chores ... although they do help, a few men, but it's not like having the complete responsibility in the home.

However, they also showed an empathetic understanding of their husbands' contributions. They too were considered to 'work hard' for the family. While the women felt constrained by domesticity, they understood the constraints and pressures of the workplace on the husband. As breadwinner, he had no choice about 'working', or 'not working'. Those women who emphasised that spouses share the burdens and responsibilities of marriage gave equal weight to their respective contributions, or mentioned adjustments that both had made in the marriage:

(Susana) - The men reckon they're working hard for the family and as far as the woman's

> concerned, she's working hard at home as a housewife. I think they both do.
>
> (Audrey) - ... the financial consideration of a man for a woman must be immense, and yet for a woman, it's managing those financial things.
>
> (Julia) - I would say it would be equally, speaking from my experience, that both of us had to give up things we would like to do because of the marriage. We had to consider each other.

'Working hard' at the marriage involves for these women coping with marital conflict, understanding the other's point of view and making compromises. The following discussion focusses on the respondents' views about marital conflict and dissolution, and the insight these views give into the ways they perceive marriage and family life. For example, wives' discussion about the 'breakdown' (2) of the family highlights such issues as changing understandings of spouses' responsibilities, parents' obligations in childrearing, and sexual mores.

Many women in the study regarded marital conflict and dissolution as an important current social issue. Several women put forward well developed ideas on the causes of and remedies for marital conflict. While few admitted to having marital problems, all acknowledged that tension and conflict were commonplace.

Explanations for marital conflict and dissolution put forward by the women commonly focussed on the personal level, and identified one particular cause or incident. Pertinent to this study, certain local factors or conditions were also identified as affecting marital harmony. Finally, a few women acknowledged the effects of wider social forces, such as changes in the divorce laws, and decreasing moral sanctions against ending a marriage.

Explanations of marital conflict involving personal motivations and actions placed the blame or fault on one

spouse. Individual choice in, and control over behaviour was assumed. Changes in personal behaviour were also considered possible. The following are two examples of marital conflict explained in personal terms:

> Women getting jobs brings them an independence of the sort which ... causes the breakdown of a lot of marriages.

> He wasn't giving her the time ... she wasn't getting the attention, even though he wasn't boozing, mucking around, he was out hunting, filling his needs, you know, but not her needs.

In talking of individual behaviour, the women mentioned five areas where tension and conflict could arise between spouses - the wife's employment, spouses' leisure, the allocation of housework tasks and childrearing, expectations of sex and domestic violence. These areas referred to the behaviour of both wives and husbands.

One of the main sources of marital conflict was agreed to be the wife taking on a paid job. Many highlighted adjustments that the woman's partner had to make:

> He'd got a taste of the sweet home life ... I think you have more problems with your husband, if you are a working wife, than you could expect from your children. (Group D)

The husband's control over the wife's activities lessened, a point that was clearly made:

> (Julia) - ... it was quite a traumatic thing for me because my husband really didn't believe that a wife should work ... he really didn't like me having all that many interests out of the home. I think he sort of felt my sole interest should be at home with the children.

It was reported that the husband often felt insecure and less important in his role as breadwinner, because the wife too was bringing in an income. Nor could he rely on his wife to be at home, and to fit in with his activities. No

longer did the wife automatically supply the comforts of the "sweet home life". Her entry into the labourforce could precipitate a reassessment of the household division of labour and of the respective responsibilities of the spouses.

Several of the women identified these changes to the conjugal relationship as problematic, and some of those with paid jobs said they made efforts to minimise any challenges to their husbands' position. The dominant provider role of the husband, and the wife's continuing domestic responsibilities were emphasised in many comments:

> I have been lucky to have had part-time jobs ... he doesn't have to stay home and prepare meals and iron because I am at work, no way ... I say if I can't do for [my husband and children] then I must stop work. (Group D)

For many of the women there were contrasts and contradictions between the image they had of their own obligations to spouse and children, and the practical demands of reorganising household activities, given their new paid work obligations. One couple had consciously negotiated the performance of household tasks, but other women who entered the labourforce indicated that very little extra help had been forthcoming from their husbands.

The second area of marital conflict concerned issues of leisure: individual access to leisure activities, the right of each spouse to have leisure without including or consulting the other, and expenditure related to leisure activities. For both spouses this raised the dilemma of balancing family obligations with personal desires.

Disapproval of the husband's friends and his leisure activities was expressed by some of the women. One identified her spouse's involvement in a pub group as a primary cause of conflict in the early years of the marriage. This activity, combined with shiftwork, resulted

in little time together as a couple. The wife considered that it takes "... longer for a man to settle down [into marriage] than a woman". It is interesting that this woman had asserted her expectation of marital companionship, and now her husband rarely goes out with his mates.

While the influence of the male mateship clique was not as significant in the lives of the women I interviewed, as in the communities described in other studies (for example Dennis et al. 1956, Williams 1981), there are nevertheless local features which foster sex segregation. These are the strong masculine culture developed through the nature of work in the dominant industry and associated non-work male groups which centre around sport and drinking. A tension between the hard "man's man", and the "family man" has been identified by Phillips (1980) as a theme in New Zealand Pakeha culture.

Although there was a positive identification with motherhood and domesticity, several of the women pointed out that the never-ending monotonous demands of these responsibilities, and their isolating character, constituted a source of stress for the wife, and an area of tension in the marriage, if the husband was not "understanding".

> We want to be free ... the woman gets so sick of housework ... a woman needs time to take off by herself - leave the children and make him look after the children. (Group B).

Housework was frequently described as boring and routine. Having a break from it was always appreciated. However, it was reported that some of the husbands considered they had "done their share" of work by the time they returned home. Those whose husbands lent a hand described themselves as lucky, or their spouses as "good around the home". A husband who did housework was often cause for comment from others, because this contrasted with common expectations that housework was the wife's job.

> (Susana) - I can go out all day, I come home, the tea's cooked, the children's bathed, pyjama-ed, everything's done ... [my friends] and all of the in-laws too, they said to me, "I don't know how you get away with it."

When husbands avoided domestic chores it was viewed by some of the women as right and proper, and accepted by others as inevitable. but it was widely held that his help with the children was a significant part of the man's responsibility to the family. Not doing housework could be forgiven, if he made an effort to be with the children. This gesture was especially appreciated as a relief for the woman as primary childcarer. One woman told of a disagreement she and her husband had had, over the lack of time he was spending with the children. He had never thought of being involved previously, and she had not asked for his help. After getting upset, and going to the doctor with the problem, she had discussed it with her husband, and:

> ... he said, that's fine, he'd pull round and do his bit. I'd never asked for it before, so how was he to know what was wrong? ... as far as he was concerned I was capable of doing it, I never, ever said help ... he realises now it's got to be a two sided thing, because, otherwise, it would have just ended up sort of like a solo parent.

The boundaries of women's work and men's work are very clear in this example. Neither the husband nor wife had considered that she may have needed help with childrearing; in fact for this woman, the demonstration of her ability as a competent mother was an important source of pride. The husband may not have even be aware of the wife's difficulties.

The life interests of many women are centred on home and children, while men's lives are typically centred on activities outside of the home. His work is particularly demanding of time. Shiftworkers have only ocassional weekends free to spend with the family. On a daily basis

the husband is separated from the children, and his participation in housework and childrearing is something that he must make an effort to achieve.

It should be emphasised that, while the husband's lack of participation in housework and childrearing was identified as a cause of conflict, those activities were still seen to be the wife's responsiblity - the women wanted help and support; they were not giving up their duty. There was no suggestion of doing away with the sexual division of labour in the home. In fact several women were critical of any such ideas.

A wife's agitation for change in the domestic division of labour is limited. The husband's lack of involvement is certainly not seen as a valid reason for serious marital differences. There is evidence for this view in the fact that a husband's regular domesticity is remarked upon. It is also apparent that most of the women strongly identified with their domestic responsibilities, and were fearful of appearing incompetent or neglectful in these areas. In the final analysis, the most important aspect of the husband's involvement in the family, is his breadwinning ability. His inability to provide financially would be an important source of marital conflict, just as a wife's neglect of childcare and housework would be more likely to stir up marital discord than a man's non-involvement in those areas.

Marital conflict could also occur over spouses' different expectations of sex. A point forcefully made was that women and men experience and understand sex differently:

> ... as far as a man is concerned sex is sex, and for the woman, it is more love, and sex is something that comes from love. (Group B)

According to the women, men saw sex as a straightforward matter, of demand being satisfied. In contrast, they were more concerned with the association of sexual

activity with security, commitment and dependence on a man. Several had experienced pre-marital pregnancy which had greatly affected the course of their lives.

In marriage itself, sexual relations were also perceived as potentially problematic. During one group discussion, remedies for the problem of having an 'over-sexed' husband were swapped, with great hilarity. Many found it hard to accommodate sexual activity with the pressures of their own work:

> ... the man has come home, all he wants is "bed woman", that's it, sort of thing, where you're tired and want to unwind ... (Group A)

Being too tired and lacking in energy to enjoy sex was a common problem. Whereas the husband, having finished work, wanted rest and recreation, the wives felt they were never 'off duty', as there were always chores to do, or the children to see to. It seemed like sex was geared to their partners' schedules, not their own. Some women merely responded - "... it's like turning the tap on and then turning it off".

Another personal explanation given for marital conflict was violence of husbands towards their wives. Although I did not ask about this, some women spontaneously offered information about acquaintances or neighbours who had been battered. One of the women indicated that she had personally experienced marital violence (it had been one of the reasons for the breakdown of her previous marriage). Generally, the beating is not an isolated act, but rather is associated with other conflicts in the marriage. In particular, the women mentioned the husband's jealousy and money problems as precipitating factors. Several studies have investigated the ways in which men defuse their work related tensions and anger in leisure and domestic life (for example, Luxton 1980:68, Williams 1981:172). The wife has a crucial role in providing an environment in which he can

unwind. But some women experience the extreme aspect of their role as tension manager, when his frustrations and hostility are taken out on her through physical violence.

The second group of explanations cited by the women for marital disharmony focussed not on what was defined as personal motives or behaviour, but on individual responses to factors external to the couple and their family. In particular, kin, money and shiftwork fell into this category. This type of explanation assumed that individuals were motivated and constrained to some extent by external factors. The individual's responsibility for her/his behaviour was perceived ambivalently however. While stresses on the individual were acknowledged, it was also expected that individuals could consider the effects of their behaviour on other family members.

Kin were appreciated for their practical and emotional support, but it was also clear that the demands of kinship could put strains on a couple:

> [relatives], that's been the one contention in our marriage that's caused the most strife.

An individual's obligations to kin on the one hand, and to her or his own family on the other, were experienced as potentially conflicting by the women. This was mentioned by almost everyone - Polynesian and Pakeha, older and younger women, those with kin close and those living at a distance from kin. Women who had married a man from a different culture were particularly sensitive to the ways relationships with kin had affected their marriages.

Common disagreements were over kin dropping in for lengthy visits, or their expecting the couple to provide labour, goods or services, over and above what was considered an acceptable obligation. In one case a Samoan husband's substantial and continuing financial responsibility to kin was the source of marital discord.

His wife considered that he should have been more concerned with providing for his own children.

For the individual, marriage brings change in relations with kin. Usually it means greater, rather than lesser contact and obligation, with both spouse's families. Contact also appears to increase as the individual gets older.

Another area of marital conflict raised in discussion was domestic finances, though in only a few cases was money evidently a source of major and frequent arguments. (However, occasional disagreements over personal spending, and the allocation of money for household expenditure was common. This will be covered in Chapter 8).

Several characterised their own financial situation as fortunate, attributing this to their husbands' high wages earned at the mill and to the housing schemes offered by the company. Some of the older women, who had moved to Kawerau in the early years, and obtained company houses, said they had never had to scrimp, or "go without", all their married life. They valued the financial security that their husbands' jobs with the company had provided. A younger woman also attributed her harmonious marriage to financial security. Because her husband earned a 'good wage', she did not feel obliged to take a paid job, something that she considered would adversely affect the marriage.

The stabilising role of the wage was frequently emphasised. It was particularly obvious in a situation where the family's financial security was threatened, as in a strike. This was also a reason for wives taking on employment; to tide the family over such periods. The lack of income at such a time was cited as a special trigger of marital discord (as is any upsetter of routine potentially so). A 'good wage' was considered essential for setting up home and raising children, and eased the pressures involved

in establishing a lifestyle comparable with that of friends and neighbours. Keeping up standards was a common concern in the new subdivisions where residents were at the same stage of establishing their homes.

However, not all women in Kawerau share these economic opportunities. Household incomes can differ widely according to the nature of the job. Several women had experienced the financial burden of a mortgage and establishing a home as a point of tension in their marriages.

By far the most significant cause of marital conflict identified by the women was shiftwork. The influence of shiftwork on the household routine and the lives of its members is dealt with in Chapters 5 and 9. At this stage some preliminary observations about shiftwork's effects on marital harmony are presented.

While one or two of the wives did not think shiftwork had caused stress in their marriages, the rest, whose husbands were currently, or had been, on shiftwork, identified a number of disruptive aspects. Shiftwork upsets the household routine, and affects the wellbeing of family members. When the shift changes from week to week, so too does the household routine of meals, sleeping, housework, childcare and leisure. Management and control of the shiftwork schedule is the wife's major task, to be confronted daily. The husband's direct experience of shiftwork results in personal adjustments to sleep and bodily functions, which can involve problems with health and mental wellbeing.

Some wives emphasised how their husbands' moods changed with the shift, and how this had to be taken into account in the running of the household. There was additional stress on the wife too. Some felt that they were left to bring up children practically single-handed. Most disliked the night

shift, missing the security of having a man around. With only one exception, the women asserted that shiftwork hindered communication and cut down on time spent with the spouse. Inevitably, situations in which the wife required support or advice seemed to arise when the husband was on night shift.

It was also hinted that shiftwork provided the opportunity for infidelity, although hearsay and gossip was mentioned rather than any direct experience. These comments, however, supported a widely held view in the community that the rhythms of shiftwork threatened marriages at a very intimate level. It is apparent that within the general confines of the shiftwork schedule, there are opportunities for spouses to act independently and this may lead to marital conflict. With husbands and wives following different work and leisure timetables, it is possible for each partner to meet members of the opposite sex. Disapproval of individuals socialising without their spouses was expressed for this reason.

The Personnel Officer of the Timber Division in the mill also believed shiftwork to be a significant cause of marital problems. He referred to conflicts between husband and wife arising over use of leisure time ("with the family or down at the pub"), and the wife having almost total responsibility for discipline and care of the children. The company was clearly aware of the effects of shiftwork on marriages and consequently on the worker's performance.

Paid work creates a routine which is imposed on individual lives, and the demands of the shiftwork schedule make that imposition obvious. There is a ready tendency to blame shiftwork for marital discord, based on personal experience. But the impact of shiftwork on individuals, couples and families is complex, and often difficult to separate from strains arising from other areas of experience, such as work conditions and the domestic

situation. Shiftwork has become a convenient scapegoat in the community for explaining not only marital problems but also juvenile delinquency and mental illness.

The women's comments on marital conflict and breakdown reveal their views on marriage and the family. They hold marriage in high regard, for both moral and practical reasons. Above all, it is considered an important environment in which to bring up children. Maintaining marriage is seen as something worthwhile in itself. Many take a pride in working at making their marriage a success. The prevailing theme in all the marriages studied is conflict management. In some cases extensive compromise has been made by one of the spouses. In this way conflict is reconciled, and the marriage continues amicably. 'Working at' the marriage was carried out in a variety of ways. For example, one woman had greatly curtailed contact with her family, on her husband's insistence. She observed, "You've got to do it, to keep it in line, keep things right". Another technique was to defer to the husband's wishes, and to boost his self esteem - "Men like to feel they are the important person in the family". One woman declared that she would never take a job that intruded into after work time:

> (Pauline) - I couldn't afford to do that, married to my husband. He's too possessive. Our time's ours, not anyone else's.

A few marriages where conflict was longstanding, frequent and disruptive, nevertheless continued. In one case the wife could not see a way out of the relationship, and so coped by making a separate world for herself, through her job (which gave her financial independence), and her leisure activities. Hart (1976:92) points out that many couples may continue in their marriages because there are no viable alternatives. There are social pressures to stay married, and the future for a solo mother with dependent children may indeed be uncertain. One woman in my study who

had an unhappy marriage, but feared leaving its security, spelt out the dilemmas. For her, divorce would mean moving house, and a lower standard of living for herself and the children. She would receive no help from her own relatives, often an important source of positive support for the divorced person. In addition, she thought the stigma of divorce would be too hard to endure, "...I could never live down people saying 'there goes that so-and-so' ".

Accommodation is a major problem for solo mothers. In Kawerau they face problems peculiar to the local housing market. First, there is minimal provision of private rental accommodation and state housing (James 1979:132). The limited availability of state housing is particularly significant, as this accommodation is typically sought after by solo mothers. In one New Zealand study (Society for Research on Women 1975:31), one quarter of the solo mother respondents lived in state housing.

Second, the company is the major source of rental accommodation and housing loans. The housing agreement is made between the company and the husband (the employee). This has crucial implications for the wife when the marriage dissolves, as the company has certain interests in the property. If the couple's home is rented or leased from the company, then the property must be vacated. If the home is financed with a mortgage through the company, then the wife may be a party to the mortgage, and thus have an interest in the home. In this case repayment of the loan is required, from either spouse (3). However, it is very unlikely that the wife will have the finances to purchase the home. Customarily the company has not made accommodation available to family members in the event of a marriage ending, even for a short time. Officially the company has only had to deal with a handful of such cases in the last few years, and thus it may be seen as a minor problem. However, from the wife's point of view, it is a major issue. Some of the wives identified accommodation problems as the biggest

hurdle in preventing women from leaving a marriage. As one woman commented, "I'd like to know how many marriages are hanging about for that reason, there isn't anywhere else to go".

Concluding comments

I have attempted to display the social context of marriage, as experienced and understood by the women in this study. It has been difficult to talk of their experiences of marriage alone, as marriage involves for them the activities and responsibilities of housework and childrearing, the demands of the husband's job and so on. Issues raised in this chapter are taken up in other areas of the thesis. Though not losing sight of the relatedness of a woman's experiences as wife, mother, home manager, and paid worker I have also tried to identify the specificity of their experience of marriage. This can be brought out by reiterating the themes of individuality and selflessness, the tension experienced by the women between individual desires and aspirations, and responsibilities to husband and family.

Above all, marriage was envisaged by the women in this study as a partnership of complementary, mutually dependent individuals. The correctness and desirability of the traditional sexual division of labour and responsibilities between spouses was revealed in references to caring for children, doing housework, paid work and sexuality. The women expected a husband to provide money for the household, and not to be mean with it. Nor was he expected to indulge in masculine pursuits to the extent that his time with the family suffered. The wife was to spend the money coming into the household wisely, and to run the household competently. Each spouse was expected to appreciate the work of the other. An intimate relationship involving marital companionship and communication was valued and desired, over and above other relationships with kin and friends.

The women's views on marriage, were however, not clear cut. They were characterised by contradictions and ambivalence; the contrasts between ideal expectations and reality. Getting married had closed off some opportunities, such as a job or travel, while it opened up the possibility of close relationships with a spouse and children. Marriage has meant for the majority of these women varying degrees of dependence, yet extensive responsibilities to husband, children and kin. Companionship and communication in marriage are highly valued and enjoyed in different ways by most of the couples. But the pull of male mateship can be strong, and the segregation of the man's world and woman's world is apparent in some of the marriages. While marriage can be an intense emotional relationship, a few women have felt isolated, and others have fought against a loss of identity. Several women commented that they would not marry again, if they were widowed, or had their time over. Their reasons for not wanting to remarry included having too much responsibility for, and obligations to others; economic dependence; and a husband controlling their life. One woman commented, "I'm frightened I'd be trapped in the same place again."

While providing security, companionship and fulfilment in a socially acceptable relationship, marriage also posed a dilemma for many of the women. It constituted a crucial expression of individual identity and purpose in life, but was also the major constraint, because a married woman always has others to take into account.

Footnotes

(1) While wives have their own circle of friends and may use gossip channels and close-knit networks to embarrass their husbands and challenge their power in the family, I was not told of any such instances.

(2) The women used words such as breakdown and failure to describe the dissolution of marriage, indicating they saw such behaviour as undesirable and threatening.

(3) The information about company housing was obtained in personal communications with the company's Housing Officer.

FIVE: HOUSEWORK AND THE DAILY ROUTINE

This and the following chapter examine women's work in the home as housewives and mothers. Housewifery and motherhood are primary activities for the majority of adult women, regardless of their labourforce status. While some who are housewives and mothers are not married, marriage is nevertheless the focal institution through which women enter those roles. The centrality of housewifery and motherhood for most women is acknowledged, but my concern is the specific attributes of these roles for women living in Kawerau. What is it like to run a household and look after husband and children in a community where the mill determines so much of the rhythms of work and family life?

Women's domestic work is generally unacknowledged. It is done in isolation from the family and the public, and its peculiar characteristic is that it is only visible when not done. Yet it involves many tasks and it is frequently time consuming, although there are no specified hours of work. The housewife is her own boss and defines the job, but the work is often hard to control as service activities such as cleaning and tidying are carried out in conjunction with other work which directly involves social relations. Being concerned with the care of others, housework has a strong element of personal service. Therefore its performance not only reveals the housewife's expertise, but her affection for the family as well. "Housework can never be a normal job routine because emotion erupts in its midst" (Rowbotham 1973:73). The overwhelming impact of fulltime housework and childrearing on women's experience and identity is succinctly conveyed by Rowbotham (1973:70 -71):

> Its space is the whole space of a woman's life. A woman does not go to work, she wakes up to work. Home is work and work is home.

In popular imagery housework is women's work. Though men also do housework, the term 'housewife' indicates an exclusive association with women. For the great majority of men their performance of housework and childcare is minor compared to their participation in the paid labourforce and to the overall requirements of the household. However, as Porter (1983:112) argues, the designation of a task or activity as 'women's work' or 'men's work' does not mean that it is solely reserved for that sex; or that not doing the task constitutes a breakdown of the sexual division of labour. Rather, it is the responsibility for those activities which forms the basis of the sexual division of labour. When women carry out domestic work they tend to shoulder the major responsibility; it is their duty to see that the work gets done. For women being a housewife takes priority over other social activities, to the extent that 'housewife' has become an all embracing term for 'wife and mother' (Oakley 1974a:9).

The 16 women who are the main focus of this study include seven fulltime housewives, six women with part-time paid jobs and three women in fulltime paid work. All have, however, spent periods as fulltime housewives when their children were young. Furthermore, all shoulder responsibility for housework and childrearing, regardless of their labourforce status.

Their experiences and perceptions of housework are now discussed. Housework and childrearing are closely associated activities, and some aspects of the latter are also covered in this chapter. The issue of childrearing is however further elaborated in the next chapter. The following discussion starts with an analysis of the daily routine, then examines the household division of labour, and finally considers the women's views on being a housewife.

The Daily Routine

There are differences among households in how women organise their housekeeping and childcare activities from day to day, and week to week. There are, however, constraints which impose broadly similar patterns of household routine on all households.

First, there are the tasks that have to be done to ensure the daily maintenance of household members; the needs of food, clean clothing and so on. Second, institutions outside of the household, notably the hours of work and business in the workplace, the school and the marketplace shape the household routine. Finally, the daily routine is affected by the composition of the household. The number of children and their ages appear as important influences.

In examining the daily routine, special attention has been paid to the following factors: the wife's employment status, the husband's work schedule, and the composition of the household. The 16 women were asked to recall their activities of the previous day, from waking to retiring. The information was obtained verbally rather than through time diaries. Consequently, the women's reports varied in terms of detail and type of activities mentioned. It soon became apparent that their routines could not be differentiated on the simple basis of working days and non work days, or week days and weekends. It became a rather more complex matter. While the rhythms of outside institutions affected household organisation, these were dealt with in a variety of ways by the women.

For the purposes of discussion and comparison of different household routines the day was divided into five time periods (1):

- early morning 6:00am - 8:59am

- late morning 9:00am - 12:59pm

- afternoon 1:00pm - 4:59pm

- early evening 5:00pm - 8:59pm

- late evening 9:00pm - 12.00 midnight

The following activities were examined in each period: housework, meals, childcare, and leisure.

As well as cleaning, tidying and related activities, housework includes the preparation of meals. However this activity has been singled out for separate consideration. The sequence of meal preparation and consumption was a significant activity in the structure and organisation of the day, especially for women whose husbands were on shiftwork.

Childcare involves many servicing activities, such as cleaning, feeding, dressing and tidying up after children that can also be defined as housework. In addition, childcare involves social relations of affection and socialisation, including such activities as playing with the children and helping with their homework. Luxton (1980:111) sums it up as the role of mothers in providing "... emotional, sensual and intellectual stimulation..."

I have already mentioned difficulties in applying the notion of leisure to women's activities (Chapter 2). Their experience of it is different from men's, but the concept is generally used without specific consideration of gender. For women, the home is the site of both work and leisure, and these activities are sometimes not easily differentiated.

Though daily household activities can be broadly categorised as housework, childcare, meals or leisure, many combine several purposes. It has already been suggested that women's leisure may include housework and childcare. Another example is shopping, which is a housework activity, but may combine elements of leisure. These dimensions will be considered in the following discussion.

Early Morning 6:00am - 8:59am

> (Kathy) - It's bedlam in the morning! Making lunches, screaming, getting dressed, yelling, um, Dad's off to work at 20 to eight, and then just sort of feeding and rushing them around and getting them off to school.

The early morning was a busy time in most households. Family members rushed to meet their deadlines. The husband on day shift (2) had to be at work at eight o'clock, the children started school at nine, and most of the women with paid jobs were also at work by that time.

The woman was the coordinator of family activities. Rising between six and seven, she usually started the day before the rest of the family. One woman noted that this extra time enabled her to do some chores without interference from the children. The variety of household and personal tasks were carried out with a military precision in some households:

> (Audrey) - Normally I'm up at six, if there's washing to be done then I get it underway then, prior to going out to work and I have it on the line..and I've usually vacuumed or swept, got the kids' lunches made before they even wake. Then I'll get breakfast for them. If there's any homework, spelling words, we go over them, to refresh things ...[my husband's] off to work by eight ...when I've got a spare moment or I'm just sort of standing here, I'll whizz around and do the window sills ...I do

> all the inside windows before I even go [to work].

What did the women do in the early morning period? Typically they set about getting themselves dressed, and then provided food for other family members. They prepared breakfast and cut lunches (one woman cut eight lunches every day when all her children were at home). Pets were let out, fed and walked. A substantial amount of housework was done, especially by the women in fulltime paid work. The fulltime housewives tended to do less housework in the early morning. But most made the beds and did general tidying up and clearing up after the meal. It was also common for heavier household tasks, such as vacuuming and clothes washing to be done. A large part of the time was taken up in getting the children ready for school. Several of the women even chauffeured their children and husbands to their destinations. There was very little leisure activity in this period, although one of the fulltime housewives mentioned she regularly went for a run before breakfast.

It was noticeable that neither husbands nor children did very much housework in this period. However one of the employed women stated that the morning chores were shared with her husband, and another that her children had been "trained" to help with the housework. In most cases the women made sure other family members were prepared for the day. Only one woman, who had adult children at home, commented that she "only worried about herself" in the mornings.

Shifts influenced the organisation of the early morning period. On the day shift the early morning was typically taken up with housework, childcare and meals. It was a particularly busy period, with the constraints of external timetables having to be met. When the husband was on the

four to midnight shift the early morning routine was a little less hectic. The children still had to be got off to school, and some of the wives to work, but the women did less housework. This was often because the husband was still sleeping, and the rest of the household tried not to disturb him. Housework was generally delayed to the late morning.

On the night shift the early morning activities of the wife and children were interrupted by the arrival home of the husband shortly after eight o'clock. Before his arrival, the rest of the family were busy with the early morning chores. When he got home the husband had breakfast, often a cooked one. Some retired to bed immediately after breakfast, though there was some variation in the husbands' sleeping habits. Others left their sleep until later in the day. The night shift imposed constraints on what the housewife could do in the morning. One wife got up extra early and did her housework before her husband came home. Another commented:

> (Nancy) I'd try to get as much as I could get done in the kitchen, like the dishes washed and the kitchen left tidy so he could go to bed and sleep.

Late Morning 9:00am - 12:59pm

> (Susana) - The quicker you get your housework done, the quicker you can take off, visit friends.

For the fulltime housewife with a husband on the dayshift, this period was characterised by a burst of housework, followed by a more leisurely interval, and concluded with preparation for the lunchtime meal. Here is how one typically spent the morning:

> (Cheryl) - I just potter around the house a lot ... just sort of tidying up, and then I

> walk around the outside a bit, do the lawns and things like that, and I probably do my shopping either Wednesdays or Fridays ...and then [my husband] usually comes home for lunch about 12, and um, we sit and have lunch, discuss a few things about, you know, his job and that, what he's done at work, and he goes back to work ...

At this time of the day some of the more arduous cleaning jobs were got out of the way. These were often followed by an excursion out of the house for shopping or to visit friends. For the women with pre-school children, the morning was also taken up with the continual responsibility of childcare.

Social contact with others characterised this period, and was exemplified at lunchtime. There was an almost equal number of husbands who returned home for lunch, as there were those who took a lunch. Some of the employed women returned home for lunch as well, and in a few cases so did the children. Several of the women mentioned how they enjoyed their husbands' company. Although only a short interval, lunchtime was relatively free of other demands on the couple and provided them with a chance to talk together.

On the four to midnight shift the late morning routine was flexible and for some women was characterised by time spent with their husbands. One woman liked to organise the housework around her husband's shiftwork schedule:

> (Fay) - When my husband's on four to 12, I do all my work in the evening. I was doing the vacuuming at 12 o'clock last night so I can spend the day with him during the day, so I don't have to sort of say to him, "Oh, I've got the washing to do, I can't do so and so."

After staying up till after midnight, she would then be up early in the morning again to get the children off to school before her husband woke. While Fay said she enjoyed

the variety of the shiftwork routine, other women experienced the different demands of husband and housekeeping as conflicting:

> I never liked the four to 12, because it made me lazy. He was home, and I'd never do my washing, we'd just sit ... now that he's permanent days, it's good, because he's out of the house and I can do all my work. (Group C)

This woman's comments highlight an instance where the housewife perceives that her performance of domestic work is visible to others. By sitting around, it may appear that she is neglecting her duty. However, the problem is not only that the housework is not done. The housewife has established her own work schedule and standards. When she is not able to stick to them, she feels she is not doing her job. She sees herself as lazy, rather than as a good housekeeper.

Some of the shiftworking husbands did housework and cooked meals when they were home in the daytime, and this was not confined to husbands whose wives were out at work. Barbara, a fulltime housewife, reported:

> Today, for example, I went over to Edgecumbe first thing this morning, and when I came back he had washed all the floors, done all the beds, and washed out the bathroom.

There was, however, great variation in the men's involvement in housework, indicating that shiftwork by itself does not necessarily reinforce the traditional sexual division of labour in the home; nor does it automatically result in the sharing of household tasks. Some husbands may use the constraints of shiftwork to justify their non-participation in housework and childcare, but others do a variety of chores, at least when they are on the four to 12 and night shifts.

For the women, a major constraint on the four to 12 shift was the timing of meals. The time of the husband's main cooked meal of the day varied among the families studied, from midday to 3:00pm. Wives seemed to be continually preoccupied with meals, and the way this requirement shaped the day and affected the whole family is shown in these passages from a group discussion:

> (Speaker 1) - You think of the meal you cook every night for [your husband]. When he's not there, what do you and the kids do?
>
> (Speaker 2) - I wouldn't bother then.
>
> (Speaker 3) - It's incredible what you do.
>
> (Speaker 1) - You feel you have to, because they're coming home and they might be tired.
>
> (Speaker 4) - Yeah, and besides, with shiftwork, you do tend to spend a bit more, because well, the money's coming in and you've got it so you will spend extra on makeshift meals, to feed the guys a hot meal in the middle of the day and then you get yourself a hot meal at night.
>
> (Speaker 1) - You put yourself out, don't you?
>
> (Speaker 4) - Yes, you do a good deal. Whereas, on a nine to five basis, feeding a man, you probably wouldn't spend as much as you would on shiftwork.
>
> .....
>
> (Speaker 2) - My husband is too tired by the time he gets home to want breakfast. He walks in the door, has a coffee and a piece of toast, has a shower and just flakes ... but teatime he's ravenous ... then I make him sandwiches for during the night.
>
> (Speaker 4) - So, how many meals are you actually preparing for him during the day?
>
> (Speaker 2) - Three - only one cooked meal, and then a snack, could be a cooked one, you

know, bacon and eggs or liver, and then he's got his cut lunch.

.....

(Speaker 2) - [on the] four to 12, I would run around getting everything ready for him and we'd have tea at three. As soon as the kids come home from school we'd sit down and we'd all have dinner together. It's the only time we manage to get him, we'd have our roast dinner together at three o'clock. And about half past six the kids would be a bit, you know, peckish, so I'd give them something light, and they'd go to bed. (Group C)

The night shift also imposed a framework on household activities. The timing of meals was affected, and there was an additional need to keep the house quiet in the daytime while the husband slept. This made housework and childcare difficult:

(Speaker 1) - ... during the day he was trying to sleep, kids were all screaming, hopeless.

(Speaker 2) - and you were carrying the burden.

(Speaker 1) - yeah, like you gotta do your housework, right? It's either keep him awake, or keep the kids awake at night, so we chose him (laughter). It seemed the obvious choice. (Group F)

Several women said they had got around the problem of coping with small noisy children and a tired husband by getting out of the house. One woman who had worked in the shopping mall wryly observed that shopkeepers soon got to know whose husbands were on night shift.

While shiftwork was the main timetable to be accommodated for some women, others had a variety of commitments. One woman had four mornings a week taken up with voluntary work. The women with part-time jobs found

their routines differed from day to day. One woman, a relieving teacher, was 'on call'. For these women, housework was fitted around their own and their husbands' work schedules.

In summary, the late morning period included some housework, childcare for those with pre-school children, meal preparation, and also some free time. Important differences in the organisation of this period were noted according to the shiftwork schedule. However on all shifts meal preparation was a major constraint for the women. This was due to family members returning home for lunch, and the need to provide husbands on the four to 12 shift with a cooked meal at some stage during the afternoon.

Afternoon 1:00pm - 4:59pm

> (Julia) - I can remember coming home and wishing Mum was home like everybody else's Mum. And I'm home, and the kids come in from school, and I say "what was your day like ?" It's good, I think, being able to be home when [my husband's] had a particularly boring day at the mill.

The variety and pace of activities tended to increase as the afternoon progressed. The early afternoon was characterised by cleaning up after lunch, and perhaps some activities with a leisure component, such as sewing, gardening, or watching television. A couple of women purposely set aside time for their own interests. One followed up her voluntary work, and another coached netball in the season. She commented:

> (Audrey) Those two hours in the afternoon, from one till three, are mine. That's my own time. It's very valuable to me.

The latter part of the afternoon was taken up with childcare and preparing the evening meal. Three o'clock

signalled the start of the busy period for those women with school aged children:

> (Kathy) - ... now that the kids are older, my days aren't quite to myself. I'm, you know, picking them up, rushing one to swimming club, badminton, Brownies ... and it's sort of hectic from then, between three and five I'm on the go all the time. Or, if it's a day when they're all home, from the time they get home, just have something to eat, there's homework...

In the late afternoon the women with paid jobs had finished work and were on their way home. Often there was shopping to be done, and then some housework to do, such as bringing in the washing, before starting dinner.

On the four to midnight shift the afternoon activities were geared to the husband's departure for work. Before leaving, he would be given a meal, and food prepared for eating at work later. Some of the husbands on the nightshift slept through the morning, woke in the afternoon, and worked in and around the home.

On all shifts the afternoon was a time of arrivals and departures. On the day shift this period was characterised from mid afternoon onwards by the return home of family members, and a switch from a quiet to a busy time in the household. On the four to 12 shift there was a busy period leading up to the husband's departure for work.

In the afternoon less time was taken up with housework, and more with childcare, particularly after three o'clock. Activities that mothers did with children included talking about their day at school, making them snacks, playing with them, and supervising homework. Some were also busy with ferrying children to and from after-school activities. There was some opportunity for leisure for both the full

time housewives and the women employed part-time, but none for the women with fulltime paid jobs. Meal preparation was less of a feature in this period, although the four to midnight shift imposed its constraints, and the dinner hour loomed.

Early Evening 5:00pm - 8:59pm

> (Nancy) - ... get in the washing, and preparation for dinner. After that would be dishes etc. And ah, a little bit of TV, or just sitting down to read the paper, a bit of relaxing ...

Dinner time was commonly between five and six o'clock for the families in this study. On the day shift the pattern of activity in the early evening commenced with preparation, eating and cleaning up after the evening meal.

Afterwards the younger children were got ready for bed. It had already been a long day for those looking after pre-school children:

> (Cheryl) - By the time they get up to the time they go to bed, you're on your feet with them, picking up their toys and getting their lunch and all that sort of thing. So, I'm really quite had it by five o'clock and you know, I get tea and then I do the dishes and bath them, and then [my husband] sort of plays with them till they go to bed, whereas I just want to relax and watch TV by that time of the day.

For many of the women, particularly those in fulltime paid employment, the evening was the only relatively leisurely time of the day. Most of the household chores were done, there were no more meals to prepare, and the younger children were in bed. Watching television and spending time with older children and husbands were typical leisure activities.

On the four to 12 shift the evening meal was often a light one, involving less preparation than the main meal for the husband earlier in the day. While work involved with the meal was not onerous, the early evening was not necessarily a relaxing time of the day, as childcare continued, without father to give mother 'a break'. One woman had dreaded evenings on the four to 12 shift:

> ... when the kids were little it was shocking because [it was a] busy time feeding all the kids, I wanted somebody to give a hand, it was always the time when one of the kids did foul things. (Group F)

However, as the woman above, and others acknowledged, the four to 12 shift held some advantages when the children were older and less dependent. One woman summed up her favourite pastime in the evenings on this shift as "bed, book and apple, lovely!" Others listened to the stereo, played cards, went visiting, or entertained friends. It was the discretion over their use of time that the women most appreciated:

> You do feel, almost, that you have the privilege of freedom like when you were single. (Group C)

This example shows the variety of constraints marriage and the subsequent way of life imposes on the women's domestic and leisure activities. In particular it highlights the obligations they felt to be a companion to their spouse when he was at home. Many implied that when their husbands were at home, they did what he wanted to do, or did not pursue their own interests if they interfered with his. One mentioned that she did not like to go visiting woman friends when her husband was home in the evenings, as she felt obliged to keep him company.

Evenings on the four to 12 shift were free from the constraints of husband's activities and meals, there were no

key arrivals or departures to organise, the bulk of the housework was done and childcare responsibilities were all but over for the day. However there were exceptions. Some women used the evening on the four to 12 shift to catch up with their housework, preferring to work when their husbands worked.

The night shift had quite an effect on the wife's evening. It was common for the men on this shift to split their sleeping into two periods, going to bed in the morning after returning from work, and again in the early evening after a meal. Their early bedtime affected the activities of others in the household.

In summary, the early evening included meal preparation and eating, some housework, getting children off to bed, and some free time. On the day shift leisure often included the whole family. On the four to 12 shift the evening provided an opportunity for the women to organise their time without the imposition of too many outside constraints. Those families on the night shift did not see much of their father, as he was usually asleep.

Late Evening 9:00pm - 12:00 midnight

> (Mere) - There's always something to do so I never get to bed before midnight, sometimes one o'clock.

For those on the day shift the late evening was typically a time for relaxation. But for those whose husbands were on the four to midnight, or night shifts, it was not quite the end of the day. It was common for wives to wait up for their husbands to come home from work, and one even regularly picked him up in the car. Many of the women also stayed up to wake their husbands who were starting work at midnight.

> (Nancy) - I usually wait on his midnight shift until he gets up. It is hard though. Towards the end of the shift I get really tired and sometimes I go to bed and let the alarm wake him up, but most of the time I stay up, especially the first part of the shift, because the first two nights he finds it a bit hard, after two weeks off, you know, to adjust.

Two teachers whose husbands were shiftworkers, commented that the late evening was the only time of the day when they were able to prepare for the next day's classes. Usually they rushed home after school to see to their children and cook dinner. One commented that she liked the four to 12 and night shifts, because then she did not feel guilty about having to neglect her husband to do school work. This way of dealing with 'spill over' work from her paid job illustrates the woman's obligations to others; the continual adjustment of her employment to the hours of the husband's work, and domestic responsibilities.

While the late evening period was a time of winding down for the households 'on days', as it was free of housework, childcare and meals, the workplace still imposed a discipline. This was especially evident around the change of shift at midnight. In addition, a few of the women found this to be the only time in the day when they could catch up on work related to their own paid job.

While no woman's day has been exactly reproduced in the above discussion of the dynamics of the daily routine, I have attempted to describe a typical day and how it might differ according to the rhythms of work and community life.

There were key times of arrival and departure which signalled changes in household activities. The busiest

periods on the day and night shifts were the early morning and early evening times. These included housework, meals and childcare. Although these periods were also significant on the four to 12 shift, the lunchtime and afternoon periods were also busy.

Alternating intervals of busy activity and less intensive times were reported. The early morning appeared to be the busiest time, and the next period was around lunchtime. After a lull in the early afternoon, activity increased with the arrival of children home from school and adults returning from or going to work. Dinnertime in the evening was a focus of activity, and this was followed by some opportunity for leisure. Then, late at night, there was a final flurry of chores surrounding the change of shift.

For the majority of women free time was scant and squeezed in between other more pressing activities. Few of their so called leisure activities were totally dissociated from the overriding responsibilities of domestic work and childrearing. In contrast the days of their husbands were more clearly divided into work and non-work times.

The greatest share of household tasks and childcare was shouldered by the women. Husbands were more concerned with getting themselves off to work, or with winding down afterwards, than in the general round of household chores. However, in the early evening and evening periods husbands on the day shift had some contact with their children. Those men on the four to 12 and night shifts also spent time in the day with their children, but this was difficult for fathers of school aged children.

The most forceful shaper of the daily routine was shiftwork. In Kawerau, as in other towns with a 24 hour

industry (Dennis et al. 1956, Chapple 1976), the demands of production determine the rhythms of domestic life for all in the community. I have described the daily routine as if the household itself is on shiftwork, because this is how it is experienced by the women. They say "She does that shiftwork as well". The wife arranges meals, housework and her own leisure time around her husband's work. She may even be relied on to wake him or to chauffeur him to and from work. However, the husband's shift is not the only one the woman accommodates. She has a crucial role in coordinating the different schedules of family members and keeping the household running. One woman observed "You've got to live two lives ". For two weeks out of three, the families on shiftwork do not conduct their lives in concert, but in counterpoint. There is no orderly progression from sleep, to work (and school), to home and family life in the evenings. Instead these activities are fragmented, as is well illustrated on the night shift, when at midnight the husband starts his day and the rest of the family have retired. The wife brings the family together; she has the overall view, she irons out the bumps and makes sure the timetables mesh smoothly.

Meals pose a problem for the 'shiftworking' wife, because they can be easily disrupted by the competing timetables of different family members. I heard of one woman who got her husband to use the canteen at work, as this saved her from the inconvenience of having to cook at odd times of the day . I knew another, a part-time worker, who lived in a household with a shiftworker, another day worker, and two school aged children. She had insisted that everyone get their own meals. But these solutions were not taken up among the great majority women in this study. Instead they emphasised the family meal as a meeting time, and expended a lot of effort in organising meals around the

shiftwork schedule. This involved consideration of matters of shopping, extent of meal preparation, and the type of food to prepare.

On the four to 12 shift it was common practice to have a cooked meal, eaten by the whole family, at lunchtime, or before the husband left for work. The women considered it important to have a family meal. One explained that it was the only time the children saw their father on the four to 12 shift. Another commented that on the midnight to eight shift the whole family would have an early dinner together "... whether we want it or not ..." before father went to bed.

The ritual of sitting down and eating a substantial cooked meal seemed to play an important role in bringing together family members who were following different timetables. The meal is a symbol of the family as a unit, and it marks off a period of 'family time' uninterrupted by the demands of outside activities. The organisation of meals that was discussed in one group (ppl43-144) illustrates the importance of food in expressing social relationships and events (Douglas 1975, 1982).

On the four to 12 shift the meal served in the early afternoon before the husband starts work is notable as a main meal, ideally involving the whole family. Many Kawerau families would not find a drink and a snack acceptable as a family meal. A more complex presentation of food is required. In particular, a cooked meal is desirable. One woman commented that she did not bother with a cooked meal for herself and the children when her husband was at work. Women and children can exist on less substantial fare, but a cooked meal is regarded as more "filling", and therefore more appropriate for sending the husband off to work or welcoming him home. However, cooked food in itself is not

sufficient for a family meal. A snack can be cooked, but the main meal requires more formality, and a combination of food; it is a standard the housewife feels obliged to maintain. The same woman described a typical meal eaten before her husband left for work on the four to midnight shift. It was a roast dinner. This type of meal is complex in its elements, combining hot/cold, liquid/dry, and savoury/sweet food (Douglas 1982:93). It is also ceremonial in nature, involving both formality and intimacy (Douglas 1982:103).

While the structure of meals generally differs according to the time of the day and the time of the week, it is significantly affected by the presence or absence of family members, especially the father. The most important meal is not necessarily served at a specific time (such as six o'clock), but is a meal that principally involves the father. The timing of this meal differs according to his shiftwork schedule.

Quite clearly the main meal expresses the nature of family relations. It depicts the family as a close knit group consisting of husband, wife and children, and reveals the significant and dominant status of the father in the family. The cooked meal also symbolises the marital relationship. Cooking is a service to the husband; meals are made to his taste and organised around his comings and goings. The message that the meal conveys is about:

> ... different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across the boundaries. Like sex, the taking of food has a social component, as well as a biological one. (Douglas 1975:249).

The daily routine is not only affected by the husband's job, but also by the wife's outside employment. However in

significant contrast to the husband's paid work, the wife's is far less of an influence on the timing of household activities. While the fulltime employed women did more housework in the early morning than the other women, and 'caught up' after work (and, presumably, at the weekends), there did not appear to be other changes to the domestic routine. Indeed, it was quite clear from the comments of some of those who had paid jobs, that they tried as much as possible to minimise any disruption to the household that their employment might entail. Part-time work was particularly favoured, precisely because it enabled her to fulfil domestic responsibilities.

All the women with jobs outside of the house worked conventional hours and so it is difficult to judge how their working different hours, in the evenings for example, would affect the family. However, some insight is given by a woman speaking in a group discussion who worked on shiftwork in the mill cafeteria (3). Shopping and housework had to be reorganised to fit in with the shifts. Childcare was much more difficult, and it appeared the woman still took primary responsibility. The same woman talked of coming off the night shift at 6:00am, and then having to get her children ready for school, before being able to retire to bed. In comparison, a husband arriving home from the night shift, has breakfast and goes to bed. He is relieved of childcare.

The third factor affecting the domestic routine was the number and ages of children. Having larger families and younger children generally meant more work for the women. Two women had a minimum of domestic work to do; one had two children at boarding school, and the other had only adult children still living at home. For them, there was flexibility in how the day could be organised, and opportunity for leisure.

In contrast, the burden of domestic chores was onerous and the routine more rigid for women with large families and young children. One woman with five children commented that she never had a "pleasure evening", as there was always ironing from the daily wash to do. Another, who had raised six children, talked about the continual demands of servicing children. In such a situation, jobs cannot be ignored or deferred.

> (Mere) - ... it was just work all the time. At that time, because my children were so close together I never thought I would look forward to the time when I didn't have to wash nappies anymore and all this sort of thing. It was just one big rush ... things had to be done and that was it.

When a mother's children are under five, domestic work can be very time consuming and demanding. However, the continual, overbearing responsibility of care diminishes as the children get older, and it is during this time that many women enter part-time or fulltime employment. However, involvement with the children in terms of support and concern often remains, even when they have left home. Domestic work and responsibilities are not bound by the household, but extend beyond to the wider kin group.

The Household Division of Labour

Those sociologists who have asked questions about 'who does what' in the way of household tasks have not focussed on a common set of activities. Some have concentrated on chores predominantly done by women; others have employed a wider definition of what constitutes household work (Edgell 1980:10). The following discussion examines information on cooking, cleaning, doing dishes, shopping, laundry, maintenance of the car, minor household repairs, and gardening. This list covers the major household tasks in

and around the home and includes those typically expected to be done by men, as well as women.

The women were asked about the division of housework and any information on the participation of husband and children has been obtained from them. Therefore, this section focuses on their interpretations of the domestic division of labour. I asked questions about the actual performance of specific jobs, rather than about housework in general, or about whether others would help. In many instances the women commented at length about others' participation and referred to specific incidents. All the women regarded themselves as having the major responsibility for housework, but they also reported some variation as to 'who did what' when specific jobs were discussed.

a) Cooking

Cooking the main meal was usually the wife's job. Seven of the women reported that they alone cooked the meals. The remainder had occasional help from husbands, perhaps once a week. No husband took sole, or major responsibility for the cooking. However, three of the shiftworking husbands sometimes cooked when they were on the four to midnight, or midnight to eight shifts. Two women reported almost daily help with the main meal from the husband, and two other women with teenage daughters occasionally delegated meals to them. Breakfasts and lunches which were light meals needing little preparation were a get-it-yourself affair in several households. But the main meals were generally the women's responsibility, and even if others helped with the cooking, there were indications that the planning and shopping were carried out by the wife. One woman groaned that she detested having to decide what to have for dinner.

b) Cleaning

It was slightly more common for husbands to do household cleaning than to cook meals. But again, five wives did all,

and nine most of the cleaning. Nevertheless two of the women reported quite substantial participation from their husbands, to the extent that they said the job was shared:

> (Pauline) - [he] always does the vacuuming and we share the rest of the work. Like one day he might clean the bathroom, another day I might do it.

In five families children helped with the cleaning. A few of the women relied a lot on their children's help with a range of domestic chores.

> (Nancy) - In the mornings I get up, and I prepare breakfast and they clean up. That's vacuum and dust, make the beds, tidy up the toilet and bathroom and that sort of thing.

c) Doing dishes

This was the only chore done by most people in most households. Only two women, both fulltime housewives, received no help with the dishes, and two other fulltime housewives reported that they did the dishes most of the time. In four families the children had almost exclusive responsibility for this job. On the whole, this was the indoor job that the women did least, and the one that was most widely spread among others in the household. However, husbands were still less likely than others to do the dishes.

d) Shopping

Some studies indicate that shopping is a job husbands are likely to do (Social Development Council 1977:14; Luxton 1980:127), but I found that shopping was more commonly a wife's job. Twelve of the women reported always doing the shopping and said little about their husbands' involvement. The rest said that the husbands occasionally did the

shopping, or both spouses regularly shopped together. For one family shopping was an 'outing' in which all were involved.

While the women in this study reported little involvement of their husbands in shopping, couples in my earlier study pointed to the advantages of shiftwork in enabling them to shop together, especially when purchasing major household articles, such as appliances or furniture (James 1979:79).

e) Laundry

Of all the tasks surveyed, this was most obviously the woman's province. None of the women were currently helped by any other household members. Only one mentioned having had help from her husband when he was on shiftwork. But he had stopped doing the laundry and other household tasks when he went on to permanent day shift.

It is not clear why doing the laundry should be such an exclusively female activity. Automatic washing machines and driers cut down what was once a very time consuming activity, taking most of the day (Luxton 1980:152). But while the wives in fulltime paid employment did the laundry before they went to work, the men did not. Nor did those shiftworkers at home in the day do the laundry, whereas they obviously did other household chores.

There may however be an important skill factor in doing the laundry which makes it 'women's work'. Care is needed in washing and ironing clothes. One woman explained why she will not let her husband do any housework:

> (Anne) - He did the washing when we were first married. He did everything in boiling water. So, you can imagine what woollen jerseys looked like, can't you!

The appearance of clothes is an outward sign of a woman's competence as a housewife, and she may be loathe to trust other family members with the laundry. The boundaries between 'men's work' and 'women's work' seem especially strong for the woman when it comes to a matter of maintaining household standards, and is a reflection of the housewife's status.

f) Maintenance of the car

In contrast to the previous tasks discussed, maintenance of the car was an important masculine activity, with 11 of the husbands taking sole responsibility. However five wives had some involvement, with one wife stating she alone looked after the car.

A range of activities associated with car maintenance were mentioned. A few of the husbands did mechanical work on their cars. Like those men who did tradesmen's jobs in their own homes and for friends, they used skills learnt on the job. However some of the wives were also involved, though in an auxiliary way. They took the family car to the garage, filled it up with petrol and cleaned it. A clear sexual division of labour emerged:

> (Kelly) - I fill it up, but he fixes things and takes it to the garage.
>
> (Kathy) - He's a mechanic ... he doesn't clean it. We all clean it and it's a big mess.

g) Household repairs

Household repairs were generally regarded as the husband's responsibility. Thirteen of the husbands took sole or major responsibility for these tasks. A few husbands did a lot of jobs around the home in their non-work time:

> (Fay) - If anything breaks he fixes it. He's a Jack of all trades and master of none of them, you know, he virtually is. He does his bit. He did that stuff out there, you know, all that roofing, fencing, driveway, fixes our car and any appliances that break. He potters around home an awful lot.

It was not uncommon for husbands to do redecorating and major renovations. Two men had even built the family home. While the women were preoccupied with inside jobs, several of the husbands were involved in household jobs outside.

The husband's participation in outside jobs was regarded by the wives as desirable, because it seemed to affirm his involvement in the family. The anti-social routine of shifts and long hours of work that some of the men experienced could distance them from their families.

> (Audrey) - I try, because of the nature of his job, and him not being around, I try to leave those things for him, so that he does sort of feel necessary.

h) Gardening

Gardening was an activity done almost equally by women and men. In some households there was a gender division, with the wife taking responsibility for the flower garden and the husband the vegetable garden. But on the whole slightly more women than men were involved in gardening, of any type, and some did the lawns, which was often mentioned as a 'man's job'.

Overall there was no job that women did not do, even if it was only done occasionally, or partly, as in the cases of car and home maintenance. In contrast, their husbands did not do the laundry, and few men were involved regularly in

shopping, cooking or cleaning. Women carried out a wider range of tasks than did the men.

Women were more likely to be involved in indoor tasks, whereas outside seemed to be regarded as the husband's domain. The jobs typically done by the men were less routine than those regularly done by the women. While the wives were involved in cooking and cleaning on a daily basis, the household repairs and outdoor work was only done occasionally. When the women did venture into the men's domain, as in the case of involvement with car maintenance, it was likely to be in a domestic way - in cleaning the car and doing routine servicing, such as filling with petrol. Some of the men's activities that were reported, such as putting up fences, concreting and home decorating, had a creative component. Gardening was regarded in a similar way by one of the women, who cultivated exotic flowers, and likewise another woman found handcrafts and preserving to be fulfilling work. But, apart from these examples, the majority of household tasks performed by the women were described by them as repetitive and boring.

Although some studies have shown that husbands are more likely to do housework if their wife is employed, especially in fulltime work (Social Development Council 1977:16), I found a lot of variation in the extent of husbands' involvement. One of the women with a part-time job did all the inside jobs except the dishes, and was responsible for the car and household repairs as well. On the other side, two of the fulltime housewives said they got regular help from their husbands with cooking, shopping and cleaning. But in one case it was apparent that the wife's return to the labourforce had prompted discussion and negotiation which changed the household division of labour. Nancy emphasised that her shiftworking husband's involvement in

housework and childcare was essential to the smooth running of their household.

> (Nancy) - Well, we decided that if I was to go back [to work], especially with the children, that we both had to help each other. He'd have to help with the children as well, and the housework and cooking whenever he could. And that is the only reason why it worked. It was because he also, you know, helped. It was marvellous actually.

The effects of the husband's hours of work on the household division of labour was varied. Shiftwork, which imposes a framework on household activities and personal lives, can provide an opportunity for men to become involved in housework and childcare, as indicated by Nancy's experience. Of the five women whose husbands were on the continuous three shift system at the time of the study, three said their husbands did a range of housework. But there were numerous examples, in both the individual interviews and group discussions, where shiftwork seemed to accentuate the sexual division of labour in the home and make it more rigid. This was especially evident in the discussions about having to prepare special meals for the shiftworker, and having to fit housework around the husband's sleeping time.

The demands of the workplace were felt by four of the wives whose husbands, because of the nature of their jobs, often did overtime, or were on 24 hour 'call out'. Some husbands with regular work routines (day work or shiftwork) have incorporated domestic work into their daily activities, but those husbands with irregular hours seemed to find paid work intrusive on non-work time.

> (Kathy) - At the moment there's been a 'shut' (4) from eight to eight, which means he misses quite a bit of work inside ... normally he'd do things inside the house.

(Julia) - I think he thinks he's done his share. But um, he only has one day off. He works six days on and two days off, and he usually works one of his days off, so that means he's on for seven days and he's off for one day. Normally on that day he goes fishing.

In these cases the wives felt their husbands were justified in not doing domestic work.

There is a 'naturalness' and inevitability about the domestic arrangements discussed. Activities, and associated tools and appliances are identified with male and female work. Cooking, cleaning, washing and so on is 'woman's work', and gardening and repairs 'men's work'. The wife is acknowledged expert with tools associated with her work, and the husband an expert when it comes to the car, erecting a fence, and so on.

Being a Housewife

I'm not the housewife. I don't feel if I'm there just to play mother. I'm an individual, and they are to treat me like one. And I'm not the housemaid. So if you are going to be there in the house, you pull your weight because I'm not going to do all the work. (Group F)

I've got a girlfriend who um, who's got this TV idea of what, you know, being a housewife is. That's her thing. She's a housewife ... Her house looks like something out of 'House and Garden' (laughter). Every cupboard, you wouldn't find a thing, anywhere, you know, not a mark, not a thing out of place in the cutlery drawer, everything's got its place. And, she screams at the kids, all day long. Packs them up first thing in the morning, boots them outside. That's where they stay all day, and she even gives them their lunch outside (laughter). She's crazy. And, the funny thing is, she used to be fat and jolly, and now she's skinny and miserable (laughter). True! (Group F)

These extracts echo some of the experiences of the women in this study; the strong personal service element of housework, the boredom of the domestic routine, the problems encountered in combining housework and childcare, and for some, the rejection of the identity of housewife. But the women's experiences were diverse, and often contradictory and ambivalent for the individual. Sometimes the woman may well have felt a selfless slave servicing the family, her identity submerged in housework and childrearing. Or found housework unfulfilling, boring drudgery. Yet one of the fulltime housewives in this study placed a high value on her work in the home and gained pleasure from doing the job. But significantly she also thought herself "out of the ordinary" for enjoying housework and wanting to remain at home.

While none of the other women in this study so obviously and unambivalently identified as a housewife, several referred to aspects of the experience positively. For example, some said they gained satisfaction from a clean and tidy house. The enjoyment derived from "making the place a home" was also mentioned. This rather intangible process involved activities such as baking, preserving and craftwork, and providing a welcoming and comforting environment for husband and children. The performance of housework appears to be an important way for a woman to express love for her family. In addition, the home-based aspect of the role was appreciated for the opportunity to 'be one's own boss', and for the opportunity to enjoy the children's early years.

Being a housewife is an identity constructed by the woman herself, through attention to standards of housework, the care of children, the protection of 'her' sphere of expertise, and so on. It is also an identity imposed from

'outside' by other family members, such as the husband who was reported as saying, "... a woman's job is home and children and cooking ", and through powerful media images of competent glamorous homemakers, and, above all, of 'natural' domesticity for women.

For the women in this study housework is a 'taken for granted' aspect of daily life, not a matter raised spontaneously by them for discussion. My questions directed them to reflect on an activity they rarely considered. After thinking for a while, most deemed housework 'necessary' for reasons of hygiene and the smooth running of the household. The essential nature of the job in maintaining other family members was spelt out in one or two cases. Its undesirable aspects were more likely to be mentioned than any enjoyable ones. Several women could not find anything positive to say about housework; not even when I asked them to consider it as 'useful' or 'important':

> (Pauline) - (fulltime paid worker)
> It's not useful. It all has to be done, but it's not useful. I can't really see any use for it ... It's a necessity. It's not useful.
>
> (Susana) - (fulltime housewife)
> Housework, you have to do it. But I don't know if it's a useful job or what. I suppose it is useful because you've got to clean.
>
> (Audrey) - (part-time paid worker)
> ... it's just a thing I'm forced to do ... because of my family and the hygiene.
>
> (Joanne) - (fulltime housewife)
> Do I think it's important? It's a tough one that. Yes, 'cos it wasn't till after I'd said it that I realised, you know, because we're supposed to be so many different things, you're supposed to be the accountant, you pay all the bills, as well as all the other roles that come into it, for $24 a month [the Family Benefit for one child].

Paradoxically the necessity of housework was not ordinarily apparent, only when routine was upset:

> (Fay) - ... the odd time when I've had to go away [my husband] has just been like a fish out of water and he's made it quite clear how important, and how he appreciates me being at home.

Like Joanne and Fay (above), Janice was aware of how women's work in the home provides the 'behind the scenes' services that prepare the husband for his day in the workplace. She also made a crucial observation, that the vital work of the housewife is taken for granted. It is not publicly acknowledged, nor has it any monetary value on the market. She further highlighted the 'lesser value' of housework (in terms of market value), by comparing it to her husband's job in the mill:

> (Janice) - If you look at it as a national issue it isn't important! You don't export housework, you export newsprint!

The contrast between housework as 'work', and paid work was made by one woman: "His job's important because that's our living". But it is not only a distinction between payment and non-payment which differentiates housework from other work. The association of housework with the 'private' is also crucial to the way it is perceived. In Kawerau the husband's paid work has a significant public attribute. As part of a large, key export industry, dominant in the community and nationally, his occupation is neither invisible nor taken for granted. The woman has her husband's job continually on her mind as she goes about her routine household work; fitting in the meals, the housework, her own leisure, with his hours of work. In contrast, the husband can forget about his wife's domestic activities, they are done away from his world of work and often during the time he is not at home. Only one wife

considered that her work in the home was as important as her husband's job. She regarded the performance of their respective jobs to be part of the marriage partnership. Some of the other women argued that bringing up children was just as important a job as their husbands', but the same did not apply to his job and housework.

Some of the women made a public/private distinction between their own paid work and housework. Dissatisfaction with a domestic occupation that appeared invisible and inconsequential to others was expressed. Nancy, now in fulltime paid employment, recalled how she felt during the time she had remained at home.

> You sort of got dull, you know (laughs). I felt dull. You really sort of vegetated, you know (laughs). I prefer to be at work.

Nevertheless, the women's experience of housework was not of something quickly got out of the way; it was 'work' in the sense of requiring time, skill and effort. Anne, also in the labourforce, emphasised the never ending nature of housework:

> I don't like doing it. Consequently it only gets done once a week .. housework is a chore and a bore. If I could get someone, pay somebody to do the housework, I would ... Housework will always be there, no matter how many times you tidy and vacuum, it'll always be there.

Housework is time consuming. Cheryl, one of the fulltime housewives, found her days largely taken up with domestic activities:

> Well, there's not really much to do, besides just housework. The same routine, day in, day out, say from eight till seven, when the kids go to bed.

Social isolation appeared as a prominent feature of the women's experiences as fulltime housewives. Physically separate from kin and neighbours, daytime hours can drag and isolation can extend into the evening if the husband follows his own interests. The social context of housework is a solitary one, characterised by endless repetitive tasks and boredom. Housework is not usually done in the company of other adults, though one middle-aged woman recalled that when she had pre-school children, she and her friends would get together to spring clean one another's homes. But usually the job is relieved only by trips to the shops, which is a communal meeting place of sorts. However, even shopping constitutes a daily routine. No wonder that the women said they looked forward to shopping further afield in other centres, that they liked their husbands' company during daylight hours off work, that some had got involved in sports, and that they saw taking a paid job as providing valuable social contact with others.

One woman even said that she had enjoyed participating in the study because it was a change from "... boring old housework". At several points in the interview, she mentioned her aversion to 'routine'. As a fulltime housewife, she tried to build some flexibility into her days. This seemed to be an important way in which she coped with running a home and looking after small children. Taking the youngsters to the beach, or going shopping out of town were eagerly anticipated breaks. She summed up her attitude to housework by recalling, "I said to my husband, 'Get me a housekeeper and I can cope with everything else'". A similar attitude was voiced by others, whose main objections to the experience of being a fulltime housewife were the monotony of housework and the isolation built into the job. Some felt loneliness acutely. In a group discussion one woman recalled her experience as a new resident in Kawerau:

> I sat around for two years (laughs) before I got to know many people .. I was lonely, but I was pregnant, and so, you know, I never went anywhere, just to the shops and home again. ... I got very sick and tired of talking to the walls ...(Group E)

Being housebound was especially felt by some newcomers, such as immigrants and those with no relatives in the town. Isolation was also a problem in the new subdivision areas which were without transport and some distance from shops and other amenities (James 1979:156).

In addition to the isolation and dull routine of domestic work was economic dependency (partial in some cases and total in others). Obtaining money from their husbands, some women felt obliged to keep up a standard of housekeeping. Being at home continually, the housewife's attention is focussed on domestic matters, perhaps to the point of obsession with cleanliness and tidyness. There is a feeling that one must have something to show for the hours spent in the house; that one should be working if the husband is. One part-time employed woman whose husband was on '6 and 2' dayshift and liable for 24 hour call out commented:

> (Kathy) - If he works, I can't sort of do anything, I feel I can't sort of go and visit. I just feel guilt. I feel that because you see he's working long hours to bring the money in. I'll work in the garden or do something, stay in or do something to make up for the extra time that he's working.

Not all the women talked of being a housewife in negative terms. The only disadvantage of being a fulltime housewife, according to one woman, was what she called "pressure from other people", who wanted to know when she was getting a job. She identified how her views contrasted with those of others.

> (Fay) - 'What do you do with your day?' 'What sort of person are you?' 'You must be nuts to want to stay at home' ... women here spend a lot of time at clubs, work, sport ... they can't understand why I spend so much time at home ...

This woman was defensive of the worth of housework and anxious that the activity should not be denigrated. Perceiving the occupation of housewife differently from many of the others, she saw it as including the roles of wife and mother. In contrast, other women clearly distinguished between housework and childrearing. While they did not find housework rewarding, they nevertheless found satisfaction in motherhood. In this respect, the work of childrearing was often favourably compared to paid work:

> (Julia) - Raising the family, being responsible for the children, that part of it I think of course is just as important as [my husband's] job. But not the housework in itself, I wouldn't say.

It was commonly agreed that the best aspect of being a fulltime housewife was, in fact, 'the children'. As fulltime housewives, most of the women had identified more strongly with the activities and responsibilities of wife and mother, rather than describing these specifically as a housewife's occupation. They tended to distinguish between the activities of housework and those of childrearing.

One of the other advantages of being a fulltime housewife was the felt autonomy they derived from being at home. Two women, comparing their situation with that of paid workers asserted that they had more discretion over their time. Fay commented:

> I can work my working day around my own timetable. I can do as I like, and when I like, and how I like it. If I want to live in

> a pig sty that's my prerogative. If I want to live in a house that's tidy, that's my prerogative. But a man has to do what his employer asks of him and expects of him.

This attitude was also characteristic of those women who saw the housewife's job as less demanding than the husband's in the workplace:

> (Pauline) - At least when a housewife gets tired she can sit down and have a coffee and a ciggie. But a man at work can't. I think they've got the hardest role really.

While the housewife may feel some autonomy in her job, concern for the welfare of husband and children is overriding. This determines the rhythm of domestic work and extends an influence over her 'free' time. She cannot do a task when she wants, or neglect the demands of others. Even if the husband puts no obvious pressure on his wife to tailor her work to his, she may still feel obliged to provide services according to schedules external to the household. As a housewife, the woman is free from the direct supervision of others, but not wholly free to chose her own activities, nor the time when to do her domestic work.

Six of the women could find nothing favourable about their experience as a fulltime housewife. Mere summed up a characteristic acceptance of a job that is a wife's to do without question - an inevitable and taken for granted aspect of a woman's life:

> ... Actually at that time I had no chance to think what was good about being at home - it was just work all the time ... one didn't think about advantages and disadvantages - you just did it because it had to be done.

The housewife's occupation is one she constructs herself. It is a reflection of the social conditions in

which she carries out the tasks, including the expectations of others, and also incorporating expectations that are self-imposed. The housewife is

> ... her own supervisor, the judge of her own performance, and ultimately the source of her own job definition. (Oakley 1974b:100).

All the women in this study took responsibility for housework, and showed a commitment to the job. Pride in a standard of housework and conformity to a routine were apparent. However, the way in which housework was routinised, and what was defined as a satisfactory standard of work, differed from individual to individual.

Standards and routines have been examined in some detail earlier. It is however worth re-stating some points. Some of the women had developed a discipline of a strict routine of tasks that were done every day in order to cope with what they perceived as public expectations of their performance. One woman joked that frequent visits from relatives prompted her to keep the house clean and tidy. In setting standards, the women were aware of the expectations of others:

> (Merle) - I am a little bit proud. I wouldn't like someone to come into the house and find it in a terrible mess.

Concern about being publicly judged for one's performance of housework was vividly illustrated when I asked each woman to recall her activities of the previous day. Some showed embarrassment when they could not describe a day full with housework. One commented "Yesterday was a sort of particularly lazy day". Another laughed, and said it would be difficult for her to talk about the previous day's activities, because there was not much to tell. A third was apologetic, "I haven't vacuumed for a week." A fourth explained, "I was

drifting. It was a real piecemeal day. Normally I'm up at six." All in all, they were eager to explain that I had picked a day out of the ordinary, as they had not been as busy or efficient as usual.

The concern with what others think about their performance of housework can have a very personal impact. A few of the women mentioned their husbands' views on housework:

> (Joanne) - My husband always says to me ... try and organise your day so everything's finished by 10 o'clock, but I'm just so disorganised, if someone calls on me, I'm in a real mess ... I'll still make a cup of coffee. I'll still sit in the muddle I'm in and I'll still talk .. my husband reckons that I leave things just so long that by the time I get to them they are a big chore anyway - if I did them more often, it wouldn't be so bad.
>
> (Kelly) - ... my husband doesn't like a messy house or a dirty house. Um, and if I didn't do it all the time, well I suppose he would be in a bad mood.

Only one of the women said that her husband spoke appreciatively of her domestic work. Even so, this was only after she had been in hospital and he was left with the responsibility for home and children. In this instance, her world of domesticity, usually so much taken for granted by the husband, had become a 'problem' for him. As Rowbotham (1973:70) observes, people only notice the consequences of not doing housework. The husband's daily absence from the home contributes to his physical and psychological dissociation from the performance of routine housework. Furthermore, men have an ambivalence about housework; though they may help out at home, to recognise the importance of domestic work is to undermine the primacy of their own major contribution to the household - the pay packet.

Attention to standards and routines was especially characteristic of the women engaged in fulltime paid work.

Some expressed sensitivity to public criticism that 'working mothers' ran the risk of neglecting their husbands and children. One woman in fulltime paid work said that her job prevented her from keeping the house as she would have liked. Having a job outside of the home was not seen as a reason to lower standards, or to shirk housework.

Even in the case of one woman who did not like to work to the clock, it seemed important to be organised. Her understanding of what it was to be a competent housekeeper clearly included adherence to a routine. She expressed inadequacy in doing her domestic work and put it down to a loathing of routine:

> (Joanne) - Routines really annoy me, that's probably why I'm so disorganised.

Having a routine (if not strictly adhering to it) seemed to be the way the women managed their domestic obligations, and showed that they worked in the home. This comprised an important element in setting a standard; some of the women implied that a disorganised housekeeper could not be a 'good' housekeeper.

Talk about standards of housework focussed on two complementary elements: cleanliness and tidyness. The removal of dirt and the restoration of order are core features of such household activities as washing, doing dishes, vacuuming, cleaning the bathroom, dusting, picking up toys and ironing. However, what is clean or tidy to one person may not be to another. Nor are these ultimately achievable states. A house can never be totally clean and tidy, however much a housewife may try to emulate ideal housekeeping standards. Cleaning and tidying are continuous processes.

As far as standards were concerned, most of the women in this study had worked out a level of housekeeping acceptable

to themselves and compatible with their lifestyle. Audrey voiced a common matter-of-fact view, showing neither an extreme of obsession with, nor a neglect of housework.

> I'm not a fanatic in the house by any manner of means. If my house doesn't get vacuumed for a fortnight, then it doesn't get vacuumed, although I do sweep all the vinyl areas every morning ... and I always do washing every second or third day, just depending how it piles up.

Some of the middle aged women emphasised how their domestic working conditions had got easier as their children had grown older. They also seemed to have got more relaxed about housework. One laughed about how she used to find it difficult striking a balance between obsession with housework, and getting the task done:

> My mum used to come and visit me, and I didn't want people in my house, they might dirty it, they might have a smoke or something. (Group A)

For the housewife, the achievement of her own self-imposed standards is a way of gaining reward and self esteem. Perhaps this is why women are often loathe to hand over housework and the care of children to others. It is not only because they may fail to do the job to her standards. She also loses an area over which she has some control, a way of showing her expertise to others, and a source of pride in her work.

Standards and routines are key aspects in how domestic work is done. Originally subjectively defined by the woman, but with reference to the expectations of others, these take on the force of external constraints and obligations. They can be modified by the housewife in her organisation of domestic duties, but tend to be experienced as an imperative in her life. In such circumstances the assumed autonomy of the housewife is fragile.

> (Kelly) - If I haven't done the housework it sort of is on my mind all the time, and I get, you know, I can't think about what I'm doing properly because I keep thinking that I haven't done the housework and the house is dirty or something.

The preoccupation with standards and routines reflected a concern among the women with being a 'good' housekeeper. This was a woman who was efficient, well organised and had a clean and tidy house. But their concern with housework did not simply focus on accomplishing necessary tasks. More importantly, housework was a means of demonstrating their love for the family. They did not speak of housework itself as important, but instead referred to the consequences of housework for the wellbeing of other family members. This explains for them the primary purpose of housework in their lives. Above all, housework is a personal service, which is instrumental in fulfilling the obligations of wife and mother:

> (Susana) - If its clean it's comfortable. And that's good for the children.
>
> (Cheryl) - You want to have a nice clean tidy house and hygienic for the family.

Footnotes

(1) These time periods are based on the divisions used by Berk and Berk (1979) and conform to the conventional 40 hour working week. However, within each time period the contrasting and competing demands of the schedules of each family member can be examined.

(2) A full explanation of the various types of shiftwork is given in Chapter 9. This chapter specfically discusses the effects of the continuous three shift system on the household.

(3) Cafeteria workers work a day shift from 5.30am - 2.00pm, an afternoon shift from 1.30pm -9.30pm and a night shift from 9.30pm - 6.00am.

(4) A 'shut' is a time when mill production is stopped and extensive maintenance is carried out.

SIX: BRINGING UP CHILDREN

This thesis has so far shown that getting married and having children bring major changes to women's lives. One of the most significant changes is the continual responsibility for children which profoundly shapes all experiences and opportunities. Being a mother is not simply one of the things a woman is or does. It is one of the most salient features of feminine identity in our society. Some understanding of the mother's experience has already been provided in discussion of the daily routine and the work of the housewife. This chapter further explores maternal and childrearing activities. To set the scene, an overview is given of the division of childcare responsibilities between the parents. This is an account of actual behaviour, outlining 'who does what' with and for the children. Then the women's perceptions of motherhood, including normative matters, are examined. Finally particular features of raising children in Kawerau are discussed.

Childcare

The women were asked about the following activities which were of a predominately service nature: dressing the children, changing nappies, and bathing the children. Although 11 of the families were past the stage of doing these chores, all were asked what the allocation of these jobs had been. Other household tasks which included servicing children, such as cooking, cleaning, and washing clothes have been discussed in Chapter 5. Information was also sought on activities which can be seen as more concerned with social relations. These included playing with the children, involvement with children's recreation, supervision of homework, contact with the school and discipline. All the women said that they had the primary

responsibility for childrearing, but that there was also some involvement from husbands.

Although I have distinguished between 'servicing' and 'social' aspects of childrearing, a distinction the women themselves made, these aspects are combined in the course of everyday experience of mothering.

a) Dressing the children

This was almost exclusively the mother's job. Only one woman reported that her husband regularly dressed the children. The rest said that they alone did the task, or mostly did it.

b) Changing nappies

More husbands changed nappies than dressed their children. While the majority of women did this job solely, or most of the time, four reported that they shared the job with their husbands. Several of the women observed that while their husbands were prepared to do other aspects of childcare, they had tended to avoid changing nappies. As one said, "He baulked at that."

c) Bathing the children

This was a job likely to be shared by both parents. In quite a few families bath-time was organised in a way that easily involved fathers. Often young children would be washed while either parent was having a bath or shower. However, six of the women said they always bathed the children.

d) Playing with the children

Fathers were more involved than mothers in playing with the children in seven households, and shared this activity

with mothers in five others. This was the area of childrearing where father's involvement was most obvious.

> (Joanne) - He'll make things with them, um, go bike riding with them. He'll go eeling with them, picking strawberries. He loves to do things with the children, and mostly things that they ask him to do.

e) Recreation

Fathers were also involved in their children's organised leisure activities. In 10 households both parents were actively involved:

> (Mere) - Their swimming, their rugby and things like that, and the girl's marching ... we followed them around everywhere they went, both of us.

In the rest of the families mothers were more involved than fathers in their children's recreation. Often their participation included a strong service element, such as ferrying children to and from activities, or membership of club committees.

f) Supervising homework

Mothers were more involved than fathers in this activity. However, six women reported that their husbands participated. Only two fathers took the major responsibility for supervising homework, and in one case this was where the wife's first language was not English.

g) School activities

Activities mentioned in this category included attendance at school sports days, helping with school trips, helping in the classroom, attending interviews with teachers, and school committee work. Occasionally fathers took time off work to participate in some of these activities. In five of the families both parents spent time

on school activities. But in the rest of the families mothers had exclusive, or almost exclusive contact with the school.

h) Discipline

Mothers disciplined the children more often than fathers in 10 households. Only two fathers were reported to be the main disciplinarian. Usually mother was involved because she was 'on the spot'. Sometimes father was used as the 'ultimate deterrent'.

> (Audrey) - ... he sort of, is the final warning, and the kids know, if Dad's gonna belt them, then they've gone too far.
>
> (Cheryl) - I think 'cos I'm around them all day,so they just don't take much notice of me when I growl, but when their father growls they know when to jump.
>
> (Nancy) - If they were bad, you know, if it was something really naughty, well then he would.

In some of the group discussions a few women expressed dissatisfaction with having the major responsibility for discipline. Shiftwork was often cited as a reason why fathers were not more involved in disciplining their children.

> The only disadvantage I find with shiftwork with having older kids ... is that [my husband] is very seldom there when I need him, as far as discipline goes. He seems to miss the kids, or he sees them for about 10 minutes between school and him going to work, and it's a bit hard to try and go into some great long and detailed explanation of the sins they've committed that day. That's the trouble, it takes me two or three days to catch up with him ... it's very hard when you've got big boys though, my word doesn't carry the same weight as his does ... one word from me and they just carry on. (Group C)

This group's comments highlighted the problems mothers faced. They thought that the father should not always be the disciplinarian, as then the children saw him only in that role, and the mother would have no authority. But it was also acknowledged that some wives shouldered the burden of bringing up the children, and that the responsibility should be shared. While it was simply assumed that many of the other childcare tasks were either the mother's or the father's responsibility, discipline was a major point of debate.

Disciplining children is a task that carries with it uncertainty, yet it was acknowledged by the women as a crucial aspect of their responsibility as parents, and basic to the development of the child as a member of the community. Julia articulated some of the pressures that mothers feel; ability to discipline children fairly and competently is a mark of the 'good mother':

> ... they've all had different needs and different problems ... I go to bed at night thinking "I growled far too much today . I spoke before I listened today. I jumped to conclusions today when I should have waited."

Disciplining children was a common area of conflict between spouses, mentioned by nine of the women. Disagreement revolved around the degree and type of discipline considered appropriate. Often one parent thought the other too strict or lenient. Disagreements arose over defining the limits of behaviour and how the child should be punished.

> (Pauline) - He thinks I'm too soft with them. He thinks I don't discipline them enough ... I'd rather sit down and talk about it nicely. But he won't he'll just give them a lecture and tell them what they're doing wrong and that's it. No argument.
>
> (Pamela) - He can't stand them crying for nothing, you know if they come in crying for

no immediate reason he really can't handle it. That's a great source of disagreement.

Conflict over discipline was referred to by several of the women who had married men of a different culture. One, a Pacific Islander who had married a Pakeha, commented on how her ideas about bringing up children had changed:

> (Susana) - When we were brought up they were very strict you know. We weren't allowed to answer parents back no matter what ... even if we were 21 we were still under our parents. Whatever they say, we do. Right through until the day they die. Then I come over here and I see a lot of these children ... they don't want to do anything, they answer back. It takes me a long time to get used to that. Now, I don't really want to bring my children up the way I was brought up, but half and half. As long as they respect.

A Pakeha woman compared her own and her Maori husband's childhood experiences:

> (Pamela) - I sort of encourage the kids to talk out what's bothering them ....he's been brought up that you respect your parents and do what they say ... whether he'll have difficulty with the kids ... I don't know, that might be a conflict in the future.

While mothers had almost total and constant care of the children, the father's involvement tended to be in a narrow range of tasks and for a specific duration. One woman carried out all eight of the tasks surveyed, and another woman seven out of the eight. Counted together, three activities - dressing, changing nappies and bathing the children - were exclusively or mainly carried out by half the women. None of the husbands participated equally with their wives in all three of these activities. The mother's involvement with the children seemed to have been especially intensive when they were young, and the physical aspect of childcare particularly demanding. Several of the women mentioned that their husbands

had "taken more interest" in the children as they had grown older. However the women also tended to be involved with school activities, supervising homework and discipline more than their husbands.

One husband was reported as participating with the wife in almost all aspects of childrearing:

> (Nancy) - He's looked after them when I wasn't around, and he's helped me in the preparing of meals, and discipline, in everything really ... we've shared most things.

But it was far more typical for the fathers to be involved in the 'fun' activities:

> (Janice) - He talks to them. Takes them out, teaches them to drive ... he plays pool with them ... buys them something ... provides for them in general.

> (Barbara) - ... he does involve himself with them quite a bit but in his own way. Not so much as a family unit ... he might have [our son] out in the garage tinkering under a car or something like that.

Fathers had most contact with their children through play and leisure. Their time with the children was usually undisturbed, and their attention undivided. They did not spend as long with the children as did the mothers and were less likely to be worn down with the day to day demands of childcare. This difference is revealed in one comment:

> (Fay) - Only once has he been left to tend to the children. That was a couple of months ago when I had to go into hospital and he had to do the lot, and he reckoned, "No way lady ... you can have that job. I'm not."

The fathers' participation in affective activities with their children was considered to be crucial by many of the women, and more important an aspect of fatherhood than involvement in the service areas of childrearing. One woman

talked at length about her husband's general lack of contact with his children. This had been the cause of a major crisis which was still being resolved at the time of the interview. She was pleased to report that he had started to read to the children and take them on outings. The image of the 'good' father as one who entertains the children while having little routine involvement in childcare has also been observed in other studies (Oakley 1974b:139). The clearest statement of this view was provided by Cheryl:

> ... he'll take them out for rides and that, just to give me that extra bit of break, which I enjoy, which I think most fathers should do ... He reads them bedtime stories, which I think is a good thing too. Um, it doesn't hurt them to take a bit of responsibility for the kids when they get home. But otherwise that's about all he really does with them. But I think, you know, he's doing the important things with the kids, like reading to them, playing with them, spending just that little bit of extra time with them.

Wives saw husband's involvement with their children in this way as part of marriage as a cooperative and complementary partnership.

When father looks after the children, he is 'giving mum a break'. However, 'the break' is not usually from other work. While dad plays with the children, the mother is usually catching up on housework. One woman succinctly described what happens:

> (Nancy) - ... when they step in, it's usually just for the pleasurable moments or the disciplining now and again, that sort of thing, because they're not at home all day.

In a few cases the women reported that their husbands had very little involvement with the children. This was sometimes due to his leisure interests, but hours of work also impinged on family life. While being a good provider was considered by the women to be a key aspect of

fatherhood, the demands of his job were often resented, especially when his long absences at work intensified the social isolation and overbearing responsiblities of motherhood. Merle recalled when her children were young and her husband did a lot of overtime:

> Just another day to get through with the children and on his day off he'd spend it under the car, working. And that was my life.

Earning extra money is often crucial for the man with young children and a new home. In the early years the father's provider activities may be almost totally absorbing of time and energy, as are the servicing aspects of childrearing for the mother. Some of the women who were financially established and who had older children indicated that their husbands had given up shift and overtime work. The reduction in earning capacity had been compensated for by the increase in time for the family and leisure. For couples with young families who were also establishing their homes, the wife's dilemma between the husband earning much needed money, or being at home helping with the family, was acutely felt in some cases.

Experiences and perceptions of being a mother

The servicing element of childrearing, concerned with the everyday repetitive, often mundane chores of cleaning, feeding, dressing and tidying up after children, is often the most demanding and time consuming, especially when the children are young. Mere's description of coping with six youngsters at bath-times and mealtimes indicates the way servicing tasks are routinised and structure the mother's activities. In this case childcare took on some of the characteristics of the assembly line.

> (Mere) - ... clothes all around me, and kids having baths, two at a time sort of thing, yelling out, "You two in, you two out, come

> on! "... undress the next two, get those two out of the bath, dress them, put these other two in ... feeding them was like dealing cards, you know, two sausages for you, two for you, two for you, that sort of thing.

Elaborating further on mealtimes, Mere commented,

> I'd sort of just have a peck at the bench ... at that time well we just didn't sit down at the table together. I found it easier to feed them first, get them out of the way ... never sat down with my family for years at the table.

In some situations the basic necessities of caring for children can override all other interaction between mother and children.

According to the women, it was the development of close personal relationships with their children that made childcare worthwhile and gave mothering its significance and purpose. Much of their talk about looking after children focussed not on the routine chores, but on the relationship formed. Apparent from several comments were the important emotional and personal rewards they derived from mothering - the delight in watching a child grow and develop, and the establishment of close ties:

> (Barbara) - I love to get out and play with them. To me, I would get up in the morning and play quite happily with them for hours on end, whether it be basketball outside, or in here fighting on the floor or what have you.

> (Pamela) - I've enjoyed it. It's been richly rewarding. Yes I've enjoyed it, I really have. It's fascinating. The kids sort of make every day new and special. I don't know - I couldn't see myself living without them. I feel good about it.

In contrast to the servicing aspects of childcare, the women regarded the social relationships developed with children as potentially creative, involving the guiding and shaping of an individual:

> (Barbara) - Getting your morals across to them and just crossing your fingers and toes and anything else you can think of and hope to hell they'll listen to your sound advice.

The women agreed that the most enjoyable part of being a fulltime housewife had been spending time with the children while they were young. For several, staying at home at this stage was preferable to taking on a paid job.

Some experienced a tension between the servicing and social aspects of mothering - between being an efficient housewife and devoting time to the child. One incident illustrates well how some women saw these responsibilities as conflicting:

> (Joanne) - ...the kids were bringing the bucket of dirt in ... they were probably bringing the bucket in to show me the dirt that they'd actually achieved to put in and the only thing I could see about it was the mess that they were creating ...

Distinctions between housework and childrearing were made in several contexts. Getting young children involved in housework did not seem to be common. Older children were more likely to be expected to do domestic chores, though in two families it was the father, rather than the mother, who had such expectations. In these cases the spouses disagreed over how much housework the children should do. The mothers focussed attention on the youngsters and their activities; they held higher priority than housework or the women's personal interests.

Despite the satisfactions of a creative and emotional nature to be gained from being a mother, all the women nevertheless expressed ambivalence about the experience. Motherhood was characterised as a mixture of pleasure and frustrations, of fun and hard work. The contradictions of being a mother were voiced by one, "It's a hard-working pleasure". Another laughed, "It's not all bad, lots of good parts."

Reservations about their abilities as mothers came through in many of the women's comments. At one stage of the interview the women were asked to sum up their experiences of motherhood. Three were non-committal, saying that being a mother was "alright", "good" or "not too bad". It was common for the women to highlight the negative aspects of motherhood; the day to day difficulties of coping with rearing children and running a household, their worries and their fears of inadequacy. Five women summed up their experiences in such a way. Two encapsulated their experiences of motherhood by saying they would not like to do it again:

> (Anne) - If I knew then what I know now, I wouldn't have done it.

> (Pauline) - Well, I wouldn't like to do it all over again, that's for sure ... It's been an experience. I've got no regrets now, but I wouldn't do it again.

Another emphasised how raising children had meant continual anxiety for her. She revealed how it can be a sole and lonely responsibility:

> (Fay) - Well, it's been a tough one for me ... Right from the day when my first child was born, I took the responsibility of caring for her to the extreme, I think.

There were no confident assertions that they were good mothers, and their efforts were sometimes jokingly referred to as "a disaster". One woman stated bluntly, "Well I never thought of myself to be a good mother". She explained that she found it difficult coping with four children and a part-time job. Other women also played down their obvious mothering skills, and saw themselves at fault for not being able to handle a wide variety of commitments.

Sometimes a feeling of relief was expressed, of having - so far - met the challenges of a tough job. There was a sense of achievement to be gained from childrearing:

> (Nancy) - I've been fortunate. I've had three healthy children. I've been fortunate also that, you know, educationally they've done well .. Behaviour-wise they haven't caused us any trouble yet.

Having "pretty good kids", as one mother put it, was generally attributed to luck, rather than to skill or competence. None considered herself naturally suited to be a mother; nor had any found the job easy. In fact, many considered their husbands to be better parents than themselves:

> (Joanne) - ... I would say that he was good and I was average (laughs) as a parent ... he's more responsible than I am (laughs).

> (Merle) - ... he was very good with the little ones ... I didn't really enjoy babies or toddlers ... he's possibly got more patience than me.

In contrast to their comments about the father's good natured tolerance or patience, the women characterised themselves as impatient, and quick to anger. They tended to judge their own parenting performance on how the daily business of childrearing and servicing of children was managed, but assessment of a man's performance as a father was usually based on his affective relations with the children. Clearly, mothers and fathers were involved in different aspects of childrearing, as the information on the allocation of child care chores showed.

Neither Pakeha nor Polynesian mothers in this study articulated a taken-for-granted mode of bringing up children, where guidelines were clearly established as 'part of life'. The 'inevitable', 'natural' process of rearing children was anxiety-raising for all the women. They perceived demands from outside; public expectations to raise well-behaved, socially adjusted children. They talked of mothering as "tough", of never knowing if one was doing the right thing.

The intrusion of 'expert' knowledge from doctors, psychologists etc, into childrearing practices is a feature of our culture, according to Wearing (1984:61). She suggests that these ideas influence public opinion and become incorporated explicitly or implicitly into mothers' understandings of their performance of mothering. Influenced by the pronouncements of experts, mothers are concerned about the possible adverse effects of their employment on children, about having children cared for by others, about the progress in growth and development children should make at specific 'stages', about the type of disciplinary practices parents should follow, and so on.

Throughout the interviews, the women emphasised that bringing up children was time consuming and hard work. They saw it as a job which was never straightforward, yet it was often assumed to be easy by others:

> (Audrey) - ... it's damn hard work. It's a constant thing, it really is. And you never know when you've done right or wrong.
>
> (Cheryl) - [my husband] thinks it's not hard work looking after kids, but it is ... a lot of my time goes to my children, you know, spending most of my day with them, whatever they want to do.

There were many challenges. Bringing up children involved much more than making sure they were fed and clean. The women were concerned about their children's schooling, the influence of the child's peer group on behaviour, and their future job prospects. One woman described childrearing as a series of crises to be overcome. Another, whose children ranged in age from pre-schoolers to teenagers, showed how the mother's job is complex and alters as the children grow older. This can be a source of anxiety for mothers who feel they need to recognise the 'stages' of their children's development and respond appropriately, in terms of public and expert views.

> (Julia) - ... they've all had different needs and different problems ... I suppose by the time you've brought up your tenth you know exactly what to do .. there's all sorts of challenges on ahead, and no sooner are they out of that stage and then it's on to something else.

Nor did the mother's concerns cease when the children left home:

> (Mere) - ... you're always worried about them ... or, if it's not them, it's their children ...

The Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian women seemed to feel, even more keenly than the Pakeha, that they should heed the advice of (Pakeha) experts. Some saw this as a way of overcoming the problems they identified for their people in a society dominated by Pakeha culture and values:

> (Speaker 1) - ... I believe a lot of parents have really opted out because they cannot cope. They don't know how to handle the situation.
>
> (Speaker 2) - And that's why you see a lot of our Maori kids out there, they're in the courts, they're in the prisons, you name it, and it all stems -
>
> (Speaker 3) - It's all sheer frustration -
>
> (Speaker 2) - From that type of upbringing. The parents love their children but they just don't know how. At the moment I'm reading a book, it's called "Parent Effectiveness" and it's teaching me how to handle my children. (Group A)

The need for a mother's constant care of her children, especially at the pre-school stage, was strongly asserted. Several stated that ideally a mother should give her children fulltime care until they were five. Some were critical of mothers of pre-school children who entered the workforce. Mothers who "dumped" their children on others, or generally neglected them were frowned on. The child's welfare was seen to be principally the mother's concern:

> (Cheryl) - I think you give your kids a better chance in life ... I spend quite a bit of time with them, they hardly ever go away from me .. I want to stay home until they are both at school before I go to work.

There was quite a strong feeling that parents, and mothers especially, should care for their own children. This attitude was obvious when child minding was discussed, and was not only applied to mothers taking on paid work, but also in other situations.

> (Fay) - My husband and I are very, very independent. Things would have to be a really rather urgent state of affairs before we'd call on a neighbour for something like that.

> (Cheryl) - I know with my little one, she's three now and um she's very close to me. And she doesn't even like it if I go away for a couple of hours, just to leave her. You know, I sort of feel as though she's not secure enough yet to be left for a long period of time.

A range of childcare sources available to the women, including creches, babysitters, friends, mother/mother-in-law or other relatives, husbands and older children were reported. But this does not mean that they were frequently used in the majority of cases. If it was done regularly, giving over the care of children was not done lightly. Some of the women in the labourforce who regularly used a creche, babysitter or relatives, emphasised that they looked for a high quality of care.

Leaving children in the care of others, apart from the case of employment, was rare on other occasions. Going out with their husbands was an infrequent event for most women, and reserving time to oneself away from the children was uncommon and viewed with surprise by some:

> (Merle) - Um, I've never actually had a break like that ...

(Fay) - I've never said I've wanted one.

(Janice) - I don't have a break ! (laughs).

The exception was one fulltime housewife who had a regular "morning off" from her children:

> (Joanne) - It is my time out of my house to do my own thing ... It does really sort of leave me quite refreshed after having the morning off. It only costs $3 to take them to the daycare, and I've said to my husband that it's the best $3 that I've ever spent.

Being a mother meant more than providing security for the children - mother was the security. It was generally agreed that only mothers could give children what they needed. Being 'on call' was crucial to being a good mother.

> (Audrey) - I'd like them to, you know, be able to say, "Mum was always there when we needed her".

A mother's responsibility for her children was reiterated in many contexts, by both Polynesian and Pakeha women. None reported a regular reliance on kin for childcare, and a collective approach to childrearing was not evident, even among the Polynesian women. Two young Maori mothers stated that they preferred to be 'independent' from relatives. In one group discussion some middle aged Maori women gave another perspective on the role of the extended family in childrearing. These grandmothers saw the young women as shirking their maternal responsibilities in expecting the older generation to babysit. These women had a variety of commitments on their time, including employment and voluntary work in the community, and were not automatically available to look after young children.

The women in this study expressed images of motherhood similar to those found by Betsy Wearing (1984) in her study of Australian mothers. Wearing found that the women viewed motherhood as an essential part of the adult woman's

identity, as an important vocation and hard, but rewarding, work. A 'good mother' was considered to put her children first, and to be the primary (and constant) care-giver (Wearing 1984:Chapter 4).

The women I interviewed regarded nurturance and sacrifice as the key elements of motherhood, and the responsibility of maternal care to override all others. Yet when asked what they disliked about being a mother, they expressed dissatisfaction with the ties of responsibility, of being constantly in demand. Marriage had narrowed opportunities for some, but having children had even more firmly set the course of their lives. Personal ambitions of a career and travel were dreams to be remembered. Having a paid job, and even getting time to oneself took careful organisation, and were almost impossible for some of the women with young children. Ambivalence about being a mother was apparent. Selflessness, a central feature of their image of the 'good mother', was also the part of motherhood they found most difficult to accept.

Bringing up children in Kawerau

The majority of women saw significant benefits from raising children in Kawerau, and referred especially to the quality of life that the town provided. The most appreciated aspects were its sporting and leisure opportunities, and the surrounding Bay of Plenty area renowned for its magnificent lakes, beaches, forests and rivers. In 1979 I found there were over 100 voluntary organisations in Kawerau. Of these about one third catered specifically for children and young people, or included these age groups (James 1979:39).

The women said they found the quiet pace of life offered by Kawerau ideal for raising children. They did not have to travel far to use public facilities, and described the town as "safe", for a number of reasons:

> (Speaker 1) - I like the mall ... it just seems to me so safe for the children, you could go shopping, and if your kid roamed, there is no fear of a car hitting it.
>
> (Speaker 2) - If any kid goes missing, somebody knows who it belongs to. No child ever gets lost here ... Safe in every way you could think. You know, material-wise, house-wise, kids-wise, everything. (Group C)

One major aspect of security was economic. The women had come to, or remained in Kawerau because their husbands' jobs provided an opportunity for the family to achieve a desirable standard of living. This point was revealed in one group discussion:

> (Speaker 1) - ... we moved here mainly for a house, and the money so he could support me and the kids.
>
> (Speaker 2) -... because of the cost of living and everything increasing now and what you try and do for your children, you know you really would, you'd be really back in the slums in the city.
>
> (Speaker 3) - The standard of living is a lot higher here than it would be anywhere else.
>
> (Speaker 4) - My husband was in insurance before we moved here ...we were still going backwards before we moved we just couldn't save enough to get ahead, to put a deposit on a house.
>
> (Speaker 2) - We're all in the same sort of bracket aren't we? We've all come here really young, either starting a new marriage, or a new home, it's the first big shift, but not many of us move away, do we?
>
> (Speaker 4) - We came for two years, still here. (Group C)

Many saw Kawerau as a 'better choice' than elsewhere for bringing up children for a variety of reasons that combined the affective and economic. Over the years commitments had been made to the town, in property, friendships, and a way

of life, by both parents and children. One woman had been brought up in Kawerau, but moved away in her youth and then married and started her family in the city. She made a conscious decision to return, because of the benefits she saw in raising children in Kawerau. While she implied material advantages in the move, she emphasised reasons of sentiment:

> (Julia) - We made a decision to come back here because I didn't want to bring my children up in the city. I wanted them to have some Maori background, some community life and that type of thing ... Our kids will have roots in Kawerau. No matter wherever they go, they know this is their home ... I feel I belong to this place, and I feel good that they will also have somewhere that they think they belong to. Their family, they're all buried here.

While most agreed that young children were well catered for in terms of schooling and recreation, there was some concern about raising teenagers in Kawerau. There were few activities, apart from organised sports, which catered for them while providing an unobtrusive form of social control. Unsupervised adolescents sometimes came to the notice of the police, and eventually the public. A few mothers were quite worried about their children becoming involved with a "bad element", and expressed concerns about the local secondary school.

While parents in larger towns and cities can exercise some choice over their children's schooling, Kawerau parents have only one local secondary school option. Of the 16 women interviewed in depth, five had sent one or more of their children to boarding school. Another woman's child attended secondary school in a nearby town. Some considered their children would be better educated and more disciplined elswhere. Other mothers preferred to send their children to a school with which they had family connections. Sending

youngsters away to school was also seen as a way of introducing them to a different way of life than that typical in Kawerau, and of preparing them for eventual departure from the town. It was also a way of providing their children with a better chance of entry into higher education than would be likely from a small, provincial State school.

The Polynesian women had their own specific dissatisfactions with local educational facilities. One group discussion revealed the conflicts felt between their own customary ideas about upbringing, discipline and so on, and what was perceived to be the schools' more liberal approach which, to them, encouraged disrespect in children.

On the topic of conveying their language to the children, some of the Maori women had strong opinions. One asserted that the school, in teaching Maori, was another example of a Pakeha institution taking control of Maori matters:

> ... it is my heritage, my thing to hold, you know, taken our land, just about taken everything. After all, we were beaten at school to stop speaking, leave our Maori language to us ... (Group A)

Some Maori women voiced reservations about their children being taught ways and customs of tribes other than their own, while a Cook Island woman said her children got no understanding of their heritage from the school (1).

But while these women were critical of what schools could provide culturally for their children, they had also found it difficult to pass on language and customs in their own homes. The dominance of English and of Pakeha society was apparent. In some cases the Pakeha husband gave his Polynesian wife no encouragement to introduce the children to their maternal heritage. There was even some hostility to a language other than English being spoken in the home:

> (Speaker 1 - Maori) - You get a husband like mine where Maori was not allowed to be spoken in the home.
>
> (Speaker 2 - Samoan) - Unless you have the same race in that household and you're able to speak it in the home, yes, but if you've got the intermarriage, if the other half doesn't agree, boy! (laughs) ... [my husband] heard me one day talking to the kids in my own language and hit the roof, and he said, "Don't you confuse the kids, they go to school, they have to speak, they come back and be very very confused." Of course I believed him then and I never bothered any more.
>
> (Speaker 3 - Maori) - Well I tried, I did try to teach my children, but with their father passing rude remarks ...
>
> (Speaker 2) - That's the part I get so angry over, they take the mickey out of you. (Group A)

Educationally Kawerau did not offer much, considering the women's high aspirations for their children in terms of training, qualifications and good jobs:

> (Julia) - It's only now that the children have become teenagers ... they need to get out and experience lots of other things than what they've been exposed to in Kawerau.
>
> (Pauline) - It's a mill town. There's nothing else happening. There's just the mill. That's all it is.
>
> (Janice) - I'd like them to get away and do training in something, like a Technical Institute course or maybe training in a specialised sort of field .. I hope what they will do is stay at school long enough to get School C and preferably UE ...

The women envisaged their children doing better than the parents had done. They had already laid the groundwork for their children's upward mobility in coming to Kawerau, and in achieving a comfortable standard of living. This was not a matter of snobbishness, but seen as a way of giving their

children a chance in life. As one woman observed, "I think you always want a little bit better for your children."

At the very least mothers expected their children to get School Certificate. One woman said she would like her sons to learn a trade, and another hoped her children would have professional careers. These were considered secure and useful occupations. Status distinctions were clearly made between unskilled, and skilled or professional jobs: "I don't want to see any of my children working in a shop down town."

Only one mother wanted her children to remain in Kawerau after finishing school. Eight flatly said they did not want their children to stay. The rest were unsure, said they did not mind, or indicated it was a decision for their children to make. However, all acknowledged that their children would probably have to move out of town in order to get employment, and certainly for further training or qualifications. One mother with young children thought that her family would move before the children became teenagers, because of the lack of local opportunities she perceived for them and herself. Another woman talked of sending her unemployed teenage daughter to Australia. She hoped relatives there would find a job for her. However, most also hoped their children would, after getting qualifications and experience, return to the town. The valued continuity of family ties over generations was expressed by several.

Wanting the best for one's children meant not wanting them to work at the mill. The production jobs in particular were disliked. A contrast in terms of working conditions between 'clean' white collar jobs and production jobs was made. The latter were perceived to be low status and 'dead-end' occupations:

(Pauline) - If they got a good job at Tasman perhaps. But I'd prefer them to go away.

(Kathy) - If they come back here, it has to be with qualifications that they're getting a job in the mill.

(Nancy) - I didn't really envisage them going to Tasman, that wasn't part of my plan at all ... well I didn't want them to go and be Tasman workers, you know (laughs). I thought perhaps they would, perhaps secure a job, a professional job, sort of thing.

The women were clearly reluctant for their children to follow their fathers and work in the mill. This can be understood as parents wanting their children to achieve higher status jobs than themselves, to experience better working conditions, and to achieve independence from the company. The last reason was keenly expressed by some, yet it is that association with the company that brings the family its standard of living. It was true that reasonable wages and assistance with housing were appreciated by the families, but there was nevertheless a feeling of being held captive by the company.

In actuality the range of choices open to young people entering the labourforce is narrow. One woman indicated that she had ambitions for her children beyond the mill and Kawerau. However her ideas were modified when her son was accepted for a mill apprenticeship. Knowing the vigorous competition for such positions, she considered him very lucky to get the job. The mill is often the first place many parents turn to when seeking work for their children. It is the major employer of labour in the town, but more than that, many expect the company to look after employees' children. It is one expression of community members' reliance on 'Uncle Tasman' to provide. One man who had worked in the mill for more than 20 years told me that when he asked for (and got) a job for his son, he had reminded the company of his long years of service. A woman asserted

that it was the company's moral obligation to provide the young people of the town with work (2).

Through their aspirations for their children the women conveyed their own ambivalences about living in Kawerau and about the influence of the mill on their lives. Whatever the women's fears for their children in staying in the town - of unemployment, of being 'stuck in a rut', or of becoming 'captive' to the company - most also hoped their children would, eventually, settle in Kawerau. The advantages of working for the company, in terms of income and accommodation, had to be weighed against a perceived narrowing of opportunity and outlook by remaining. For their daughters they were especially concerned about a lack of employment prospects, and even for sons, these were not great. The women were aware of the economic constraints facing young people in a town where one industry dominates the labourmarket, and where there is a hierarchy imposed by the mill, making clear distinctions between 'workers' and 'management'. But they did not conceptualise their children's chances as solely confined by local circumstances and social background. The women firmly believed that an individual could achieve their ambitions through their own efforts, and many considered the way to deal with perceived status barriers was to place great emphasis on education as the key to success. Others minimised any notion of status differences by saying that whatever their children wanted to do was their personal choice, as long as they were happy.

Such individualistic responses revealed an optimism in the face of quite adverse local and national employment conditions for young people. They were the responses of mothers who were sincerely concerned with obtaining the best future for their children, even if that future was an uncertain one. As a safeguard, most of the women kept in mind the advantages Kawerau had offered them in case visions

of their offspring transcending their own class and status situation did not eventuate.

Footnotes

(1) Since the conclusion of fieldwork I have learned of Maori parents in Kawerau who send their children to the bilingual primary school at Ruatoki, their home village, about three quarters of an hour's drive from Kawerau. This was done because of dissatisfaction with the lack of emphasis on Maori language and culture taught in Kawerau schools.

(2) Tension between local expectations of the company to provide jobs for youth and the company's employment practices have become more apparent since the conclusion of fieldwork. The local youth unemployment rate has increased, at a time when the company is pursuing a policy of non-replacment of employees who leave. This policy is aimed at reducing costs and to make the company a more internationally competitive enterprise.

SEVEN: EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES

So far, discussion has focussed on activities centred on domestic matters: marriage, housework and childrearing. Attention now shifts to the women's experiences and perceptions of paid work. Nine of the 16 women interviewed currently combine domestic with paid employment responsibilities. The opportunity to take on paid work, the type of job obtained, attitudes towards their own job and toward paid work for women in general are deeply influenced by the women's domestic situations. A major theme of this chapter is the ways in which the women manage the demands of both paid and domestic work. Discussion is divided into two sections. The first deals with the women's experience of the local labour market. The second explores beliefs and attitudes concerning the involvement of wives and mothers in paid work.

The experience of women in paid work in Kawerau

The number and range of jobs available to women in Kawerau are restricted. Over and above limitations imposed by personal and domestic circumstances, the nature of the local labour market itself largely determines employment opportunities. Women, and other groups such as school leavers and the unskilled, are disadvantaged in a labour market dominated by an industry which requires a skilled, adult, male labourforce. The pulp, paper and timber industry is the largest employer of labour locally. Women are excluded from production jobs in the mill by custom, and until 1982, also by law (1). Their almost total absence from managerial, technical and professional positions in the industry is apparent (although recently women have obtained jobs in accounts, personnel and the laboratories). On the mill site women are most visible in clerical, catering and some cleaning jobs. Other towns dominated by a single

industry based on the extraction or utilisation of primary resources show a similar absence of women from the industrial labourforce (see for example, Chapple 1976, Dennis et al. 1956, Luxton 1980).

In the town itself the pattern of female employment is little different. Secondary industry is poorly developed and a range of retail, commercial, business and public sector employment is lacking (James 1979).

Although faced with the restrictions of the local labourmarket and their particular domestic circumstances, all but one of the 16 women have spent time in paid work in Kawerau since their marriage. For some however, their stint has been of a few months' duration, and in casual or temporary part-time employment, such as office work and waitressing. In Chapter 3 it was found that the women had entered typically female occupations, characterised by low pay, generally unskilled, and requiring little in the way of education or training. Those who had professional jobs were also in traditional female areas of employment. The women's labourforce participation showed the major influences of childbearing and rearing. These experiences had determined their movements into and out of the labourforce, and the types of jobs chosen. In these respects the labourforce experience of the women in this study is similar to that of most New Zealand women (Novitz 1982; Shipley 1982).

I was told of many instances of employers advertising positions locally and being inundated with replies. The number of applicants probably reflected a small proportion only of women seeking paid work. Further, the perception held by women, like those quoted below, of the local employment situation as catering predominantly for men would be likely to discourage many from seeking employment.

> (Pamela) - ... I really can't see there's much opening to do anything in Kawerau ... I

> think we'll just have to move away from Kawerau, because there is nothing much here I could do.
>
> ...there's only jobs here for men and not really that many jobs for married women and I 'spose in that respect one can say it is a man's town. (Group A)

One married woman recalled what had happened when she registered for work at the Labour Department:

> When you go to register with the Labour Department he'll say alright, that's fine, of course there won't be any jobs ... it's a man's working town. (Group E)

The effort to find work was additionally complicated for most by their home circumstances. The demands of the husband's hours of work operated as a barrier to employment for some women who considered that running the household around shiftwork gave them more than enough to do. Others said that if they too went out to work, they would never see their shiftworking husbands. The pressures of accommodating meals, housework and childcare with the shiftwork schedule imposed restrictions on their activities. Some women regarded a paid job as incompatible with the type of family life they were working to achieve. But other women had had a different experience of shiftwork. Their husbands' help with childcare and household tasks during time off from work had enabled them to take on a paid job.

The care of children was arguably the most significant factor to be taken into account in decisions about paid work. The presence of pre-schoolers in the household was a primary reason for women to cease or curtail their labourforce involvement. In one case re-entry to the labourforce was prevented by the birth of another child:

> (Joanne) - ... I was disappointed when I found out that I was pregnant. I thought I was going to be so smart ... I had it all set

> out that B. was starting school the following year and I was going to be getting a job.

All seven of those who were fulltime housewives did not want fulltime paid work, although five of them expressed interest in getting a part-time job, if one were available. Most of the women dismissed the idea of a fulltime job, saying it would interfere with their domestic duties. It was a strongly asserted principle that mothers with pre-school children should not work.

Six out of the nine currently employed had part-time jobs and were content with their hours of work. They regarded part-time work as compatible with caring for their family.

> (Julia) - I think my family's very very important and I would never pursue any job to the extent that it means that the family suffered in any way. Like, I know I couldn't manage to do a fulltime job, because it would be just too much.

Two of the women earned money by working at home. In this way they were able to accommodate their domestic commitments and have a measure of financial independence. As dressmakers for private clients, they had some autonomy over their employment, in that they could choose their hours of work and how much work they wanted to do. However, it was not a regular, secure, nor well paid occupation. While the work leavened their economic dependence, the women were still housebound, perhaps even more so than other housewives because the job made additional demands on their time. Though not strictly 'outworkers', because they were employed by individuals rather than a firm, their employment situation can be likened to that of outworkers.

Some women in Kawerau were engaged in outwork. I knew two women (not participants in this study) who sewed for firms in their own homes. They owned industrial sewing

machines and overlockers - a substantial capital outlay. Both had become outworkers because they said they could not find any other suitable employment. One, a qualified cutter, had not been able to find any vacancies in her line of work in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Neither had children to care for, which is typically the major reason why women take on outwork, but both would have had transport problems had they obtained employment outside of the home. While these women had a regular supply of work, they had less autonomy over their jobs than the women who sewed for private customers. One complained that she was always under pressure to do orders quickly. She frequently worked nights and weekends, which curtailed the time she could spend with her husband, a situation they both resented. The two women were on very low rates of pay, and neither was aware of the appropriate award rate. Nor were they union members.

The husband's attitude toward his wife working also had some bearing on her decision to enter the labourforce. In no instance had going out to work been solely the wife's decision. However, the husband's responses had ranged from one who took on domestic and childcare responsibilities so that his wife could go out to work, to others who were against their wives getting a job. The wife's interpretation of the husband's view was that a 'working wife' threatened his own position of authority in the family and status as breadwinner, and resulted in the wife neglecting her duties in the home (see quote below). The possibility of the wife's economic and social independence through paid work, and its implications for the marital relationship were acknowledged by both husbands and wives, for example:

> (Julia) - I don't think he'll ever really be too happy about me working, but he accepts it ... he still thinks the housework is my responsibility. Doesn't mean just because I've got a job I can shirk all what's at home

> .. his idea is that mum should be at home. Mum should be in charge of all what's at home, and he goes out and makes the money and takes care of us all in that way ... I think too perhaps he could be a bit frightened it might sort of threaten our unit. I might sort of go off on a tangent and find new people and things to do which don't include us as a family ... but I think the first reason would be that he wants to know that he's providing for us.

As Julia indicated, some women did go out to work, despite their husbands' attitude. Others found their husbands supportive, but their comments suggested they had deferred to their husbands' views, and gone to work because he had not minded. One said, "I'm pretty lucky, he doesn't mind me going [to work]". Another's husband had been "very approving" when she had raised the subject of getting a job. Though some husbands had had to accept their wives' employment, while others encouraged it, clearly many found the extra pay packet advantageous. Six of the women currently employed explicitly mentioned that their husbands saw financial necessity as a valid reason for wives going out to work. Two fulltime housewives also indicated that their husbands would like them to get a job "for financial reasons".

The limited opportunities for female employment in Kawerau were reflected in the ways the women in this study had found jobs. Of those who were currently employed, only two had applied for, and successfully obtained, an advertised job. Most of the others had been offered a job by an employer. A few had learned about the job through a friend, and one had made a job for herself, by convincing an employer that her skills were required in his business. The use of informal and direct channels, rather than reliance on newspapers or employment services, was crucial in getting a job. This was emphasised in more than one group discussion:

> It's a matter of who you know. I was very fortunate. One day I rang up there, [my friend] said go and tell them there's a vacancy, and you want it. So, I did just that and I got it. (Group G)

> I started work by working for a friend, and it was one of those things that happens. She owned a shop ... I stayed there for a while, basically part-time, and then I left ... she sold out and got a job ... she left there and she said to me "I'm leaving. Would you like the job?" and then my next job, I go to [another shop] and they're looking for somebody to work there ... it was just circumstances that came up, I just sort of drifted into work. (Group D)

While getting a job seemed simply a matter of luck to some, it was apparent that certain attributes, such as clerical skills and nursing and teaching qualifications, were in demand. Word got around about suitable prospective employees in a small town. Job opportunities appeared to have been more plentiful in earlier times. Those women who had re-entered the labourforce 10 to 15 years ago had a different story to tell than those who were faced with a scarcity of jobs in 1981 and 1982.

The women took for granted their involvement in domestic work, and their husbands' role as the family provider, but they considered that their own participation in the labourforce had to be explained. Their re-entry into paid work after a time at home was the subject of a conscious decision, and not an automatic or expected event.

> (Anne) - (part-time employed) ... I can't be bothered with this business of going to work at eight o'clock in the morning till five o'clock at night. What do you do with the kids? I'm not one to go out to work and leave the kids at home ... I never had any intentions of going to work until the kids were all grown up and married.

Anne's views are similar to many of the other women. But why, if they 'had no intention' of going out to work,

did the majority of the women in this study do so? Anne's response was "it was just earning money", and what she liked about the job was "pay day". Earning money was considered important by almost all the women, for two reasons: for the family's economic security, and for the woman's own financial independence.

Several women simply said they had gone out to work because the family needed the money. Two women who re-entered the labourforce before all their children started school indicated that their pay packet had been instrumental in providing for a young family. Some women regarded their earnings as an important buffer against financial insecurity, for example, in times of strike. Like 'target workers', other women were earning money for specific financial goals. Those who had children at boarding school, and another who was investing in some land, fell into this category. Although Kawerau was widely regarded by those interviewed in this and an earlier study (James 1979) as an affluent town providing good wages and cheap housing, the wife's wage had meant the difference between an adequate and a quite comfortable standard of living.

Working for the money was also important for achieving financial independence. Being economically dependent on another was felt keenly by some of the women who had difficulties in getting money from their husbands for housekeeping expenses, let alone personal spending:

> [My husband's] tight, I mean <u>tight</u> with money ... so I went and got this job. I saved what I got ... I went and bought my children their swimming pool for Christmas and paid for it, with my own cash ... it's a terrific feeling ... It has made me a lot more independent of him. And I don't need him to say "no, you can't have this." I'll just go and get it now. (Group C)

The desire to have one's own money and discretionary power over it was not confined to those whose husbands were

miserly or irresponsible with money:

> (Pauline) - ... when you're working you can afford to do a few things. When you're not working you can't afford to go out shopping. Plus I like my independence. I don't like having to ask people for money ... I don't ask him for money. It's just me. He's always said, "Don't be silly. Just ask me." But I'm not like that.
>
> I think that with the best of relationships on the financial side, you still feel in a way that you have to ask him for everything, or that it's really his because he's earned it, you know? He still is actually the one who brings it into the house. (Group B)

While 'the money' was indeed regarded as a legitimate reason for getting a job by the women, some conflicting feelings were nevertheless expressed:

> (Janice) - Ah, I think to be honest there's a lot of women saying that they only work for the money. I've said it myself here on the edge of it, and I think that probably for another two years we're going to need it until the kids ... I think that if you've got no dependents and you're just working for the money, then you're so damn greedy ... [if] a man is really earning a liveable wage, there's no need to do it.

Janice's comments point to a major contradiction for a wife and mother taking on employment. Providing for the children's material needs was a frequently cited reason for going out to work. Yet providing for the children in this manner furnished the dilemma - it contradicted the belief that mothers did the best for their children by remaining at home. Another woman's comments revealed the dilemma well. She asserted she would only take a paid job if "forced" to because of economic necessity. She outlined the consequences of mothers entering the labourforce, as she saw them, for the family and society as a whole:

> (Fay) - ... and that's unfortunate, because it reflects on the marriage, the children and

> you have statistics of marriage breakups and children with psychological problems.

Women found they had to earn money for practical reasons. But many felt guilty about having a job, fearing they might disadvantage their children emotionally and developmentally, if not materially.

A further insight into what is meant by "working for the money" can be gained from the women's comments. They generally agreed that money was necessary for the well being of the family. After all, the prospect of money, or financial advantage of some kind, had been the motivating factor in most families' shift to Kawerau. But working purely for the sake of money was also criticised. This criticism was applied to men as well as women. In both instances, the pursuit of money, if it overrode everything else, was considered a threat to family life. This was expressed by one woman whose husband had once worked shifts and done a lot of overtime. Both spouses had felt the long hours of work were cutting him off from the family. Eventually he switched to 'five and two' day work (2). Although the family suffered "quite a drop in wages" according to the wife, she regarded this as being more than compensated for by weekends free of work. It was however clear that the husband's provider role is not taken lightly. It is only when the family has achieved what is considered a comfortable standard of living that a different attitude to the husband's hours of work develops. The same woman explained:

> Work is work. It's to get money to live with ... We'd by that stage had our own house and car, so what was the point of working all your life, you know?

For the husbands, "working for the money" was the prime motivation in getting a job. It can be said that they had no choice; any other reason (such as "to get out of the

house") would have been regarded as strange and inappropriate. The man's right, and indeed obligation, to work for money was never questioned, unless his provider activities encroached so much that his links with the family (his reason for earning money) became tenuous. But the women felt they had to elaborate on why they went to work. For women simply to be in it "for the money" seemed to be materialistic in a way that directly contradicted their assumed primary role as nurturers. Employed women who did not have dependents, who did not have heavy financial commitments (such as a mortgage), or who were not establishing a home, were often described as selfish. One woman commented, "She doesn't need to work ... she doesn't need the money." An important reference point was the husband's wage. If this was a reasonable amount, many considered there was no need for the wife to earn also.

However, needing the money was not the only reason given for going out to work. The other common reason was "to get out of the house". It was generally acknowledged that the workplace could provide women with more than a pay packet, that there were social benefits to be gained. Furthermore, the independence associated with having a paid job meant more than financial autonomy. It meant increased confidence and self reliance. For one woman, going out to work had resulted in her learning to drive. Others mentioned making new friends and developing new interests. Audrey summed up many of the social benefits of paid work for women:

> There's the challenge and the stimulation ... the fresh conversation that I can bring into the home ... prior to me going [out to work] I'd just sort of sit and wait for [my husband] to tell me what had happened ... I think if I didn't have that job you know, I'd probably be quite a drag on [him], 'cos I'd be so whiney. I'd moan, I would. I'd be so bored.

Importantly, their jobs provided contact with other adults and mental stimulation. "Going out to work", a

phrase used frequently by the women, emphasised how having a paid job meant leaving the confines and isolation of the home. A break from the routine drudgery of housework and the intensity of fulltime child care was greatly appreciated. The limiting conditions of fulltime housewifery were well understood - "it nearly drives me insane sometimes staying at home" - but there were also reservations about taking a job for personal reasons. These reasons, which emphasised independence and personal interests, were seen in opposition to the crucial feminine duty of service to others.

Some feared that the married woman's new found economic and personal independence which derived from paid work would shake the foundations of marriage and have serious consequences for all family members:

> ... nothing else to do at home and they're bored stiff so they go to work .. well all of a sudden they realise the independence of it and buck the system and the husband says, well, you shall do this and that, and [she] says no, I'm earning my own money, why should I? This is where you have to be careful, very careful that you have harmony in the home. (Group A)

Other women were well aware that the possibility of making a life for themselves, separate from home, husband and children, had been a significant reason why their husbands had shown little enthusiasm for their going out to work.

The conflict between independence and service to others seemed to be felt by many of the women with paid jobs. This became especially apparent when they discussed the disadvantages of having a job. Most of the disadvantages were associated with trying to manage employment and domestic responsibilities.

> (Anne) - (part-time employed) - You've got two jobs then, haven't you? Your housekeeping, the running of the house, the kids and um, going to work. Your hassles are there all the time.

Three areas of potential conflict between home and work were identified: children, the housework and the husband. The overall responsibility for domestic matters rested with the woman, whatever her employment status. This profoundly affected the way the women thought about their work. If things went smoothly at home, having a paid job was not considered a source of stress. But if the children were ill, or if childcare was difficult to arrange, the woman found the paid job a burden.

The range of childcare services used by the women was outlined in Chapter 6 and the point was made that their use was reported with reservations and justifications. Several had been lucky to get jobs with hours that could be accommodated with domestic responsibilities. Part-time jobs in school hours were especially preferred for this reason. Four women had overcome the problems of arranging alternative childcare by taking their children to work with them. One was a cleaner, and the others worked in schools. Childcare arrangements often required careful organisation. One woman, who has worked almost continuously since marriage, explained how she had combined childrearing and fulltime work:

> (Kathy) - They couldn't get into the creche till they were one. So, my eldest, the lady next door, I paid her ... at lunchtime [I'd] breastfeed her .. and you know, bedded her down, and went to school, back at three, and she didn't have her next feed till four, so it worked in quite well. So with all of them, I carried on.

Other women relied on shiftworking husbands for childcare. However, not all husbands were so willing or able

to look after the children while their wives were out at work. In one case the husband had agreed to his wife getting a job, but,

> He said ... make sure that the kids were set up and organised. Because he wouldn't do anything like that.

The women not only worried about their children. They also worried about "getting behind" with the housework. Compared to the daily routines of the fulltime housewives, those of the women in the labourforce appeared to be busier. The ones with the most inflexible household routines were women in fulltime employment. The employed women also seemed to be more concerned with standards of housework. Some expressed pride in the way they managed two jobs - "I can cope with work and still do all the things in the house as well." Others reported a relentless pace from early morning to late at night. Home was not a place of escape from work, and "time off" seemed to have little meaning. One woman with a part-time job had found a way of relieving some of the domestic burden. During an illness she had hired domestic help, and decided to retain those services when she returned to work. She would never have considered hiring a cleaner in ordinary circumstances, but had found that the arrangement "just makes such a difference to your whole life."

How the husband 'coped' with a wife in paid work was also a concern to the women. His attitudes and behaviour often had a significant affect on how the woman organised her days. However, when the wife took on a paid job, she was not so free to fit in with the husband's hours of work, nor his leisure. She was no longer at home when the husband returned from work. Nor, if the husband was a shiftworker, could the couple spend time together on his days off. One woman said that she thought husbands found it more difficult than children to adjust to their wives having paid jobs, precisely because they lost that service and companionship.

Domestic responsibilities not only affected the women's paid work on a day-to-day basis, but also had implications for their future involvement in employment. The employed women were asked if they had any ambitions about their work. Two replied a flat 'no', but the rest indicated they did have ambitions, if not in their present jobs, then in other fields. However, these ambitions were often regarded as unrealistic, because of their long-term family commitments, restricted opportunities for employment and further training locally, and immobility because of their husbands' jobs. A move away, for the whole family, was considered in one case. But the rest accepted the situation.

> (Julia) - I've been quite often tempted to take all sorts of opportunities that have come up at work. Things that I would very much have liked to have done. But I know that those things will lead on to other things, which would mean I would have to go away from home to do further study or, you know, things like this which I can't do ... if I had no children to worry about I might consider it.
>
> (Janice) - ... I know living here there's no scope, and I'm not a person who's prepared to say to my husband, "Come on, get moving. Get another job so I can do such-and-such."

Several of those with paid jobs also did voluntary work. Many of these activities were in fields in which the women had expressed interest in a career - in health, education and social work. It appeared that voluntary work was a way for some of the women to satisfy career ambitions which could not be fulfilled through the local job market.

Attitudes towards Women in the Labourforce

All the women participating in the in-depth interviews were asked for their opinions on mothers taking paid jobs at three different childrearing stages: the pre-school years, school years and after the children have left school. Views about employed mothers were also aired in the group discussions.

Asking questions about attitudes prompted the women to talk about their own employment status, as well as matters of principle. Contradictions between the two soon became obvious, when some of the women expressed disapproval of mothers going out to work, yet had themselves worked in the same circumstances. There was considerable ambivalence about mothers going out to work. One part-time worker stated bluntly:

> (Janice) - I don't really like working women at all, full stop. And that includes myself.

Another, also disapproving of 'working mothers' considered that she had been forced by economic circumstances to go out to work. But she would have preferred to stay at home. The women were sometimes aware of the inconsistencies between their stated beliefs and practices. Their ambivalence revealed the complexities involved in combining domestic and paid work responsibilities.

Most debate was over whether women with pre-school children should go out to work. No woman unreservedly supported the idea of mothers with young children working. However, one believed that women have a right to work, "as much right as men do." But she still recognised the problems for employed mothers with young children. The mother's vital role in rearing children was emphasised. The women recognised that caring went beyond the physical to the child's emotional and intellectual development. One fulltime housewife saw women as facing a straightforward choice between employment and motherhood:

> (Fay) - I don't agree with it .. I sort of feel that in our day and age you've got the choice whether you have children or not. If you get married and decide to go ahead and have children then you've also got to accept the responsibility of looking after them.

The enjoyment of rearing children was also emphasised. The return for a mother in staying home was spending time with her children. Employment would jeopardise this fulfilling activity.

> (Susana) - (fulltime housewife) - ... the only thing that's so sad about it, they miss a lot of how their children grow up.
>
> (Pamela) - (fulltime housewife) - ... they're missing out on the precious years.

One woman considered there was absolutely no reason for mothers in Kawerau to work, as she considered families to be financially well provided for. However other women disagreed. Economic circumstances were generally recognised as compelling. The situation was described as one where women were "forced" to go out to work. A few also acknowledged that some women with pre-schoolers needed to work for their own personal fulfilment:

> (Pamela) - (fulltime housewife) - ... I know some women who are absolutely miserable staying home with their kids, and it serves no useful purpose if they just have to stay home, because they're women and their kids are little.

The principle was clearly stated: the women regarded the pre-school years as a time when a woman should stay home with her family. This principle was not only held by the majority of women in this study, but was also pervasive in the community in which they lived. Publicly it was held more rigidly than they did themselves. In one case it affected a woman's decision to remain in the workforce. The mother of a pre-schooler, she had resigned from her fulltime job when told by her employer that she was not being a good mother by continuing to work. (But she had later been offered her old job back, in a part-time capacity, because of staffing shortages.)

Despite the principle, 10 of the 16 women had been employed (or were currently employed) when their children were under five. Three had fulltime jobs, and seven had part-time jobs. One had only worked for a few months, being forced to resign when her childcare arrangements broke down.

The women reconciled the differences between the principle and their behaviour in a variety of ways. Several emphasised that their individual circumstances had required them to seek paid work. Most mentioned they had taken jobs through financial necessity for the family, a reason they regarded as legitimate. None explicitly stated that she had taken a paid job because of dissatisfaction with fulltime domesticity. To give this as a primary reason seemed to be an admission of not being able to cope with a woman's 'natural' role.

There were other ways that mothers of pre-schoolers rationalised their involvement in the labourforce. One woman, strongly adhering to principle, rationalised the part-time job she had before her youngest child started school as not a 'real' job:

> ... that was really to get my confidence to get back into the workforce .. I didn't really believe in working while the kids were under five. Once when my youngest was at school that's when I started work.

Those who had combined employment with caring for pre-school children made special mention of the trouble they had taken to secure satisfactory childcare. It was generally agreed that if women went out to work, their children had to be well cared for.

> (Kathy) - (part-time employed) - I wouldn't work unless my kids were well looked after ... I can go to work with peace of mind, knowing they're well looked after ... other mothers I don't agree with [their working] because the kids are just piled on to anyone.

The principle in respect of mothers of school-aged children going out to work was to approve, but with qualification.

> (Kelly) - (fulltime housewife) - Oh I think it's good...
>
> (Julia) - (part-time employed) - Quite a sensible idea, I think...
>
> (Merle) - (part-time employed) - Well, there's nothing wrong with that ...
>
> (Mere) - (fulltime employed) - I think that's fine.

Nine of the 16 women had worked, or were currently working when their children were school-aged. Of these, three had fulltime jobs.

In contrast to the previous emphasis on economic circumstances for seeking work, in this case personal development was most evident. While financial necessity was still regarded as a common reason it was expected that mothers who had stayed home until all their children started school, could now properly be looking for other challenges.

> (Pauline) - (fulltime employed) - Well, sometimes for their own sanity, I think, a lot of women have to get out to work.

Two fulltime housewives thought that mothers should not work, but instead should be at home, available for their children when they returned from school. Other employed women also regarded it as important that children should have adult supervision after school hours. A common fear was that children of employed mothers could be neglected, "... walking the streets or at the Space Invaders." Part-time work was favoured, precisely because of its flexibility in accommodating domestic obligations. Julia summed it up well:

> ... because I've only got a part-time job I've never really found that [my job] interferes.

A part-time job was regarded as the ideal compromise. But even this did not always guarantee that paid work and domestic obligations would not conflict:

> (Janice) - ... I feel as guilty as anything every day when I go to work and the kids are at home and on holiday.

The public's concern, as expressed in popular gossip, was the possible neglect of children. Employed mothers of pre-school children were considered to risk their children's physical, emotional and intellectual development. Employed mothers of school-aged children were a concern because if their children were unsupervised, they might become delinquents.

The benefits a woman could personally derive from paid work were emphasised when the employment of women with children who had left school was considered. The majority strongly supported the idea of such women in employment. This was generally regarded as a time for the woman to develop her personal interests, after having cared for others most of her adult life.

> (Audrey) - Ohhh, yes, absolutely. Because, you know, there's no way, after having your life occupied for, say 18 years of that child's life, when they go it must be a hell of a vacuum ... there's no way you can expect a normal woman to suddenly, you know, to waltz around an empty house and feel so unwanted. After all those years of dedication .. I think mentally and physically, you know, they must feel terribly unwanted, um, and there's no stimulation, you know, nothing there for them, and they've got to have something to occupy their time, definitely.

But four had reservations about mothers taking on paid work, even when their children were independent. One woman's comments are quoted at length, as these illustrate a particular understanding of the mother's role in the family.

> (Fay) - ... my children never see their grandmother because grandma's working, and this is another sign of the changing times ... I feel sad that my kids, they can't enjoy their grandparents ... There are so many different reasons why our whole society, marriage, children, schools, delinquency, so many things contributing towards it. And I think working grandmothers is one of them ... I think people in the middle age bracket have just got so much to offer. But they're so busy nowadays. I mean, it's just an accepted thing now if you say your mother's working ... where once upon a time grandparents were part of the family, as a unit, morally ... you'd know that grandma was there and the kids might go to her after school and watch her making jam or whatever ... school holidays are on just now. My husband's mother's tied up working. My own mother's working. The children can't appreciate that. They don't know what it would be like to go and spend a day with their grandparents.

This woman's comments made explicit what others had suggested; that a mother's obligations to care for her children and interest herself in their concerns should continue after they leave home and extend to caring for the next generation. She saw women's entry into the workforce as severing the links between the generations and family members, and believed that this led to divorce and delinquency. Notably, she saw women's involvement in the family to the exclusion of other activities as necessary and morally right.

Three women who voiced reservations about the employment of older women raised the contention that married women workers take jobs away from other groups, such as school leavers, who are deemed to have a greater right to work. In Kawerau, where young people are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, public criticism of married women workers is common. In the case of women whose children had left home, some implied that such women who worked were selfish. A clear statement of this view was given in one group discussion:

> .. the amount of married women - I'm not talking about young marrieds who are getting a home - I'm talking about um, middle aged, fifties or over, who've got husbands working, who don't need the money, and they're just working for something to amuse themselves and there's young kids leaving school and they got no jobs ... there's this big cry about the unemployed, yet you got those women ... I feel for young marrieds, starting a home they need that extra money, and I feel for young kids leaving school. (Group G)

Other women who were employed, and may have felt sensitive about criticism of married women in the labourforce were quite defensive of their position:

> (Janice) - I don't think that taking all the married women out of the workforce is going to give everybody a job.
>
> (Pauline) - Well, I really think that it's policy to have unemployment, so don't blame the married women.
>
> I've had this said to me, they said "Oh you're doing a child out of a job." I says no, I've got a daughter at home unemployed. I says, if she can do my job she'd be the first to get it. (Group D)

Faced with public criticism of married women and mothers in employment, some of the women had well-worked out justifications for their own situation. They asserted that employers preferred married women for their maturity, work experience, skills and stability. With their husbands employed locally, and property commitments, these women would not be "up and off elsewhere". Others pointed out that youngsters straight from school could not step into their particular jobs.

A final question asked what was thought of women working in the mill in production jobs, most of which involved shiftwork. When the research for this thesis was undertaken, women were prevented by law from entering many

of these occupations (see Footnote 1). However, there is now no formal barrier to women doing a wide range of jobs in the mill. Women's job opportunities would be greatly enhanced if they were able to enter production jobs. However, while formal barriers have been overcome, traditional attitudes about appropriate work for women are still strongly held by both sexes.

My suggestion that women might work in the mill on shifts raised some important issues concerning their experiences as wives and mothers. The possibility of shiftwork extending employment opportunities for women, and making available different hours of work which could be made compatible with domestic responsibilities, was not considered. Instead their assessment of women working shifts upheld a continuation of the traditional family and domestic patterns they knew. Explanations and rationalisations were made to reassert the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker partnership. The prospect of women on shiftwork was, for many, too disruptive of the family. While women's daytime employment was seen as a problem that could be accommodated, nightwork seemed to confront directly the notion of the wife as prime nurturer, who kept the family together through her service activities and emotional support.

None of the women said they would like to take such a job. Even one who had been a nurse and was thus used to shiftwork dismissed the idea of working in the mill. Their reservations focussed both on shiftwork itself, and on the nature of the mill working environment.

There were the physiological and psychological problems associated with shiftwork to consider, such as insomnia, upsets to the digestive system, and bad temperedness. Most of the women in this study were well aware of the effects of shiftwork on the individual, indirectly through their

husbands' experience, and on the family through their own efforts in running a household to fit in with the continuous three shift system. For the last reason alone, some of the women quickly dismissed the prospect of shiftwork for females as further complicating their lives.

Most were also concerned that the discipline of shiftwork would interfere with the care of their children.

> (Anne) - ... if they've got pre-schoolers at home, what happens to those small children? There's so many things that kids will get into ... I'd hate to think what would happen to a lot of the children because the mothers would be sleeping during the day.

Other women's comments focussed on the difficulties shiftworking mothers would have in performing the emotional and socialising aspects of childrearing. One woman feared that such mothers would not spend enough time with their children. Her comments were similar to those wives of shiftworkers who had complained that their husbands never developed close relationships with their children, and seldom disciplined them. Supervision of children was a prominent concern. In this context the problem of juvenile delinquency in the community was again raised, and it was implied that the fault for wayward youngsters rested with the mothers. In contrast, no argument was made that shiftworking fathers might be a factor in the development of juvenile delinquency. Alluding to local incidents, one woman commented:

> (Pauline) - ... the woman being at work at midnight and not knowing where the kids are .. at least if the mother's home she's going to think, where's so and so? But if she's at work she's not going to know ... The problem would probably get worse if you had women working shiftwork. It's bad enough now.

The women said the husband too would suffer if his wife did shiftwork. Several commented that the husband, as major

provider for the family, could not be expected to look after himself and the children.

The mill environment was a strongly masculine one in the women's minds, and for this reason many could not envisage themselves employed there. Reference was made to the physical demands of the workplace - "men are basically a stronger breed anyway." Others thought the workplace would be "dangerous" to women. The association of men with the world of the mill, and the concern that a wife's intrusion into it - especially if she were earning the same rates of pay and experiencing the same conditions of work - would directly challenge his position as family breadwinner, was articulated by several women. Cheryl summed it up by saying "I reckon that's just a man's job, working in the mill."

Concluding comments

> (Merle) - (part-time employed) - ... you sometimes feel as though you're working all your life and there's never any let up.
>
> (Fay) - (fulltime housewife) - ... you've got to be a special kind of person to hold down a job I think, with children at school, with shiftwork and your husband ...

Ambivalence about having a paid job was felt strongly among the women. The world of work was seen as a 'man's world', emphasised by the predominantly male composition of the mill which overshadowed all other employment in the town. Paid work for women was not easy to come by, and in addition, prevailing attitudes questioned and circumscribed the right of wives and mothers to take employment in many circumstances. Furthermore, when love for the family was so closely associated with and expressed through domesticity and service to others, the move into the world of work, even for a few hours a week, could be perceived as a threat to family relationships.

The women's disapproval of the involvement of wives and mothers in paid work reflected a general belief that a woman's first responsibility was to care for her family. Various undesirable effects of 'working mothers' on the family were mentioned. These included ill disciplined and cared for children, badly run households, neglected husbands, and the undermining of the husband's authority in the family. In these ways women's involvement in employment was said to threaten the stability and security of family life. Herself a key component of this stability and security, the wife and mother was expected to be home when other family members returned from a hard day at the mill or at school. The housewife's provision of affection was as equally important as her service activities.

Yet employment was a major fact in the lives of nine of the women. A dilemma between principle and behaviour was revealed. It was managed by priorities which the women used to order their responsibilities. These priorities are well summarised by Finch (1983) as, firstly, the husband's work, then the children, and finally, the woman's own work.

Such priorities are practical responses to their situation. First, the women cannot earn as much as their husbands. In Kawerau they have been traditionally excluded from high earning occupations in the local labourmarket. It makes sense for them to enhance their husbands' earning capacity, through domestic support.

Second, that women should have the primary responsibility for children, and that young children especially need a mother's constant care, are important cultural beliefs in our society (Wearing 1984:60). Many women see it as a choice between having a family and having a job, and a combination of the two always requires putting the needs of the family first.

Third, a significant source of personal identity for women is derived from close relationships with others, especially husband and children. For many, being a wife and mother is likely to be more emotionally fulfilling than commitment to a job, particularly if they are unlikely to have challenging and interesting employment.

Women adjust their lives to fit in with their husbands' jobs. Her employment is accorded low priority by both spouses; it is of a different order and status than the husband's. For example, her job and related aspirations are affected by his job mobility and employment prospects. Sometimes wives fit their jobs around their husbands' work by taking part-time employment or outwork. Most importantly, she is not defined as the family breadwinner. A suggestion that women take on shiftwork raised a comparison between women's and men's jobs. This prompted the women to distinguish the type of work they considered suitable for themselves and their domestic circumstances, and which would not upset the traditional marital partnership. Clearly, such a job would not involve shiftwork.

All these features differentiate the wife's employment from the husband's, and enable the women to cope with the dilemmas of principle and behaviour. Their involvement in paid work is characterised by adjustment, modification and deference to their husbands' work. This leaves the principle of their responsibility to home and family intact.

Footnotes

(1) The New Zealand government denounced the ILO Convention 89 covering night work of women employed in industry in 1981. This resulted in the repeal of legislative prohibitions on nightwork, specifically Section 13 of the Factories and Commercial Premises Act. This change in the law came into force in March 1982 and enabled women to do shiftwork and nightwork in factories under the same conditions as men. (Anon 1982:2).

(2) The conventional 40 hour working week, Monday to Friday at work, and weekends off.

SECTION II: COPING WITH THE HUSBAND'S JOB

INTRODUCTION

> "The rhythm of domestic life is the rhythm of the working-day, the working-week, and the weekly wage-packet". (Denis et al. 1956:184)

The theme of this section is women's experiences of their husbands' jobs. Particular issues raised are: the consequences of his job and how they are coped with by the wife, her contributions to his performance as a worker, and how she conceptualises the influence of his occupation on her and the family.

In previous chapters discussion of the woman's activities within and outside of the home necessarily included reference to the husband's job, and in this section three aspects which illustrate the nature of wives' 'incorporation' into their husbands' work are specifically addressed.

The first two chapters look at ongoing matters of domestic organisation, which nevertheless require discussion, negotiation and cooperation between spouses -decisions about the paypacket, and the imposition of an industrial timetable on the family.

The third chapter examines a potentially conflictual event within the community and within households - an industrial dispute. While none of the families were involved in an industrial dispute at the time of the research, for many this has been part of their experience, and for all it is a salient feature of living in the community. In writing this chapter I have drawn extensively on my fieldwork in 1978, which included observation of a six week long industrial dispute in Kawerau. Issues considered are: the implications of an industrial dispute for household organisation, the mediation of information about the dispute to the women, and the women's interpretations of the event.

Domestic finances, hours of work and industrial disputes illustrate dynamic and divisive features of the marital relationship. In examining these aspects I am influenced by Heidi Hartmann's (1981:368) notion of the family as a 'locus of struggle', in which family members are engaged in different activities and have possibly conflicting interests in those processes. This tension constitutes the conditions under which wives develop ways of coping with their husbands' jobs.

EIGHT: THE ORGANISATION OF DOMESTIC FINANCES

The everyday organisation of domestic finances is the topic of this chapter. The husband's wage symbolises the woman's relationship to his job; she is affected by how much he earns, the regularity of his work and payment, and the method of payment. The way the wage is handled contributes to an understanding of the marital relationship: the financial rights and responsibilities of spouses, discussion over money matters, and power and authority relations. When the wife takes a paid job, this may mean more than an addition to family resources; it can provide the basis for a reallocation of financial rights and responsibilities, and a reinterpretation of marital roles. Nevertheless, it is the man who brings the principal wage into the household. That he earns it, and that it is 'his money', are strong themes in the women's experience of domestic financial organisation. I am concerned with what happens to the wage packet when it comes into the household: the money management pattern that is developed, decisionmaking about household expenditure, the allocation of responsibility for expenditure between spouses, personal spending, and disagreement over money matters.

Of the 16 women who were interviewed in depth, six had no earnings in the previous tax year. Part-time employment was common among the women, and resulted in low incomes. Six with part-time jobs earned less than $5,000 per annum and one just over that amount in the same period. The three women in fulltime paid work contributed substantially to the household budget. One earned over $8,000 and two over $15,000 (1).

For the women with no paid employment, economic dependence on their husbands had a crucial effect on the way

they experienced and thought about the organisation of domestic finances. The women with part-time jobs were, to varying degrees, financially dependent on their spouses, and even the women with fulltime jobs tended to consider their husbands the major income earners.

As well as differences in the women's employment status and their access to money, the combined incomes of spouses varied. One couple had a combined household income of under $20,000, while six were over $30,000. (In the latter category were two non-earning wives). Most women considered their husbands were earning 'good wages', and this opportunity tended to accentuate and consolidate the status of the man as breadwinner in the family. In conjunction with this, some of the women argued that few wives in Kawerau should 'have' to go out to work through financial necessity.

Money management patterns

A look at studies of British working-class community and family life shows two typical ways of managing finances in families where the wife is not in the labourforce. In the first pattern, the husband hands over his paypacket to the wife, to be managed by her as one of her tasks in running the household (Dennis et al. 1956:189, Pahl 1980:318). In the second, the husband gives his wife a weekly sum of housekeeping money, from which she takes care of regular household expenses (Young 1952:307, Dennis et al. 1956:187, Pahl 1980:319). Where both spouses are earning, research indicates that it is common for incomes to be pooled for household expenditure, for example in a joint bank account. (Pahl 1980:322). One researcher also mentions a practice where husband and wife keep their earnings separate, each being responsible for specific items of household expenditure. This is assumed to be confined to high income earners (Edwards 1982:326).

What is clear from my study is the variety of money management patterns developed among the households, and the processes of negotiation, delegation and consultation between spouses as part of managing domestic finances. One difference from the earlier studies, such as that of Dennis et al.'s, deserves mention at this point. No longer does the husband come home with his pay-packet. Payment of the wage into a bank account by the employer, the practice of automatic deductions from accounts for the payment of regular bills, and the use of the joint bank account, all impose a structuring on domestic financial arrangements, including spouses' negotiation of financial rights and responsibilities. (2).

The findings discussed in this chapter reflect the relatively high incomes of some of the families where the husband's wage is augmented by shift allowance and overtime payments, and the wife is also employed. I suggest that high incomes provide a flexibility in arranging money matters while in contrast, low incomes may impose a stringency and discipline which in turn affects relations between spouses.

Of the 16 women, five said they took major responsibility for managing domestic finances. In one case the couple discussed finances, but the wife implemented all decisions made. She dealt with all the finances, running the bank accounts and allocating the money according to weekly and monthly expenses, and personal spending requirements.

> (Fay) - He gives me his whole wages ... and I divide it through and pay off [the hire purchase] and $10 for his truck and $10 for the car for gas. If there's a bit left over, I'll pay off the power bill or something like that ... so the bills come out and what's left I utilise for food.

Fay, a fulltime housewife, and her husband have separate, complementary family responsibilities. She does the housework and looks after the children, while he copes with household repairs and outside jobs. Managing the finances is viewed by both spouses as part of Fay's domestic role, and it is taken seriously by her:

> (Fay) - Because he's given me the independence, and I feel the privilege of using the money, I don't abuse it.

In another case, the wife found herself managing the domestic finances by default:

> (Kathy) - The money's just ours (laughs). I mean, he doesn't even hold the money. I do. I run the money, but not by choice, because he's just never bothered.

Sometimes the wife's management of domestic finances has stemmed from the husband's inability to manage money:

> (Pamela) - ... if he was spending it we would have great disagreements because he tends to be very free with money ... the presents and things - the more expensive the better and he would just spend the whole amount.

> (Mere) - ... he used to spend so much money just writing out cheques and people used to borrow money off him.

These examples show two situations where the wife takes major responsibility for financial matters. Spouses may define financial management as part of the wife's domestic responsibilities, though both make financial decisions. But in other cases, her involvement in the organisation of domestic finances reflects the husband's difficulties in handling money, or his opting out of the task. The wives in the latter circumstances were not altogether happy with their arrangements. One clearly felt she was taking over what should have been her husband's responsibility:

(Bev) - Do you like the system you've got with the joint cheque account and you organising all the finances?

(Barbara) - No. I'd prefer my husband to do it, but he wouldn't. He won't.

(Bev) - What? Him to totally control it?

(Barbara) - Yeah, yeah, take it off my back, right out.

Twelve of the 16 couples had a joint cheque account, and through their access to this, wives were involved in the management of domestic finances. I found that all couples having a joint account also had other accounts to which only one spouse had access. Several of the employed women have their own savings and cheque accounts, and some of the fulltime housewives have their own account for receiving the Family Benefit. Several husbands also have their own bank accounts.

In only a couple of cases was the wife's access to money for the household and her personal requirements controlled totally by the husband. One husband gave his wife an amount each week for groceries and petrol. He wrote out cheques for the bills, which the wife paid. The husband had his own spending money, which was budgeted each week. The wife, a full time housewife, requested personal spending money:

(Cheryl) - If I have any personal expenses I just ask him and he'll give me that little bit extra just for me.

Although Cheryl said that she was happy with the financial arrangements, further comments revealed the restricted access some wives have to money:

(Cheryl) - ... if I want something, I have to do my sewing which is my pocket money for myself ... that extra bit of money comes for me, and that's my little bit of extra housekeeping money too.

Another fulltime housewife, who looked after routine expenditure, also found her personal spending was sometimes questioned by her husband:

> (Kelly) - We've got a joint account. I just write out everything what I think we need, write out the bills and everything and take that out of it ...
>
> (Bev) - You were saying about disagreements you have over money matters.
>
> (Kelly) - I write out what I spend the money on and sort of, he'll just go through and look at the bank book and wonder where the hang all the money's gone. He doesn't think, um, he forgets about the telephone bills and the power and things. Um, he sort of thinks that I'm just wasting it, I think ... he sort of thinks I take $5, go down town and spend it .. just as well I wrote it down, so I can show him. Otherwise he would think I was spending it all on myself.

For Kelly, the Family Benefit appeared to be an important source of funds for her own personal requirements.

> (Kelly) - I spend the kids' Family Benefit on things they want. So, at the beginning of winter I get all their winter clothes and then when I've finished theirs, the next couple of Family Benefits I spend on myself if I want to buy new clothes. So, that's usually how I get my things and I just go, you know, I don't sort of ask him.

Other women also received a housekeeping allowance from their husbands, and its amount was one of the most discussed aspects of the domestic finances.

> (Bev) - What happens if you need more housekeeping?
>
> (Susana) - And then we discuss it. See, he knows, I sent him down. He knows the prices of things ... When I first married him he wasn't that good. It's just up to the person training their husband. So when we first got married I ended up saying "I'm not just going

> to buy the groceries myself ". So he goes down. To me, the man's got to know the price of groceries. Because, mainly the argument these days with married couples, is the man will blame the woman. What did she do with the money, and this and that, you know. They've really got no idea of the price of things these days. So its better to send the husband down now and again to do the groceries. So they know exactly what you're talking about.

Not all the women have "trained" their husbands, as Susana has done. Few husbands do the grocery shopping, and even if they do, this does not guarantee that more money will be allocated for housekeeping. As Pahl (1980:322) has pointed out, the husband controls the means of housekeeping. The allowance is not likely to change over time. It is not linked to inflation, nor wage rises. Generally the husband is not familiar with the price of groceries, and it is not his job to make the budget stretch. If he does go shopping at all, it is likely to be an occasion for buying 'extras':

> (Kelly) - ... it's a lot dearer when he comes shopping. He doesn't think in terms of the account ... [he] sticks everything in, all the dear things.

One couple had two joint accounts, one for each wage. Their incomes were kept separate, but each had access to the other's money. Each spouse was responsible for particular items of expenditure. The wife expressed satisfaction with the system:

> (Nancy) - ...I've always felt as though, right from the time we got married that I always wanted my own account. I felt independent. And the same with him. Although we can still use each other's account. That's how it's worked, and it's worked well for us ... Fortunately we've never had disagreements. Um, we never, you know, he's never queried my spending, and usually if it's any big spending, we always talk about it first. So, therefore, we've never really had any hassles over money. I think it's worked well. But I don't know whether it's because of both of us

> sort of being compatible, or whether it's our system.

The money management system of this couple may reflect the level of income they jointly enjoyed. They had the highest combined income of those interviewed, and the wife the highest income of all the women. This gave each a degree of independence in deciding matters of personal expenditure, and together some flexibility in deciding on household expenditure.

Decisionmaking about household expenditure

I have limited information on spouses' decisionmaking processes. A range of areas in which financial decisions are made, and the perceived importance and frequency of decisions was not investigated. However, the women were asked to comment on decisionmaking processes in three areas - buying a new car, buying new furniture, and buying major household appliances such as the washing machine and freezer. In each of these areas, over half of the women said that the decision was a 'shared' one. Among the couples who did not make a joint decision, the husband was likely to have made decisions about buying the car and appliances. Often it was mentioned that the husband dealt with "anything mechanical", particularly by the wives of tradesmen. Wives were likely to initiate and dominate decisions about buying furniture. Even among those who said they made shared decisions, it was apparent that women and men were seen to have different areas of authority and expertise:

> (Janice) - I suppose [my husband] would initiate something, you know, he'd be looking at the mileage in the car or the rust on the body, or something like that, and he'd say, you know, "how about we start thinking about this?" It's usually joint.
>
> (Bev) - Who decides when to buy new furniture?

(Janice) - Well, I start that way (laughs). I say, you know, "I saw a really neat something or other, what do you reckon?"

Edgell (1980:59) suggests that the more important, though less frequent decisions tend to be made by the husband, and the less important, everyday decisions are made by the wife. Decisions involving large sums of money and relating to the husband's 'breadwinner' role were generally regarded by the couples in Edgell's study as "very important" or "important". These included moving the family and buying the car. The "less important" areas were considered to be buying food and clothing. I found in my research that the wives made the decisons about food and clothing. In contrast, the decision to move to Kawerau was clearly husband-dominated. Edgell defines decisions about children's education as "very important" and generally made jointly. This I found to be an area where wives initiated suggestions to send a child away to boarding school, and it was then discussed between husband and wife.

Overall, husbands had more say in decisions involving large sums of money, and in most areas except the routine day to day financial activities concerned with the housekeeping. This is understandable, as the husbands earned more than their wives, and in several cases, were the sole breadwinner in the family.

Expenditure responsibilities

The patterns observed in financial decisionmaking were also evident in the division of responsibilities for expenditure. It was common for each spouse to have responsibility for certain items, as in Pauline's household:

(Bev) - So what do your wages generally go on?

(Pauline) - I generally get the groceries, and the items that I might need or the kids might need. I don't buy any of his clothing. He gets his own.

(Bev) - OK, so what's his wages spent on?

(Pauline) - The mortgage, the farm, kids' education. No HP at the moment because we haven't got any. And any holidays, outings.

A fundamental division in the way expenditure is allocated between husband and wife can be observed. In many instances, all regular expenditure such as hire purchase, rates, telephone and groceries are taken out of the husband's income. In a town where many families rent accommodation from, or finance their own homes through the company, a portion of the husband's income is also set aside for this purpose. It is overwhelmingly the women who pay, from their allocated resources, for the children's clothing and most of their other requirements. Sometimes this involves a substantial outlay for the wife, for example, when purchasing school uniforms and fashion clothes for teenagers. The wife's income is also saved, or goes for the purchase of 'one off' items. Such a division of expenditure reinforces the stereotype of the male breadwinner role. His income is seen to provide the 'essentials', and hers the 'extras' (Whitehead 1981:106). Sometimes this division of responsibility is revealed in the way the woman described her contribution:

(Bev) - What would your earnings be spent on?

(Janice) - The extras, I suppose. I've bought a cabinet that we've had built into the lounge. Any holidays, clothes, um, supplement the housekeeping I suppose, because I certainly haven't saved any.

The idea that the wife's wages go on the 'extras' is widely held among this group of women. But this does not mean that the wages of some wives do not go on regular expenses, nor that their contribution to the purchase of major items is insubstantial. In fact, a woman's earnings are important for improving the household's standard of living. For example, Audrey, who has a part-time job, banks

all her wages as savings - "...if we want a new lounge suite or a trip or a change of car, then that money's there."

Personal spending

Wives and husbands differ in both their access to personal spending, and in the need to justify such expenditure. Men tend to have easier access to money for personal spending than do their wives. They have the opportunity to earn extra money through overtime or double shifts. Wives mentioned that men will work a stint of overtime or extra shifts to get money for household purchases, or for their own personal use. Women, if they have a job, are, on the whole, in low paid jobs and in part-time work. Nevertheless, the importance of having an income cannot be overlooked. Several wives stated that the main reason for getting a job was to have some money of their own.

I found that the wives whose access to personal spending money is most restricted are those without a paid job. These also tended to be the women with pre-school children and their ability to particpate in the labourforce (if jobs are available) is limited. Another group of women who had restricted access to personal spending money were those whose husbands did not want them to go out to work (3).

Several ways of dealing with a lack of personal spending money, or restricted access to the husband's income, were mentioned by the women. One was to take on casual paid work able to be done in the home (outwork). Some women relied on the Family Benefit for personal spending money, and others took money from the housekeeping or joint account. Unlike some of the husbands, the women did not have 'pocket money' which was allocated as part of the domestic budget. The husbands' pocket money was for work-related expenses (for example, lunch money), and for social and recreational

activities centred on the pub or the club. In contrast, some wives were dependent on their husbands for personal spending money, and to obtain it required a process of careful negotiation, persuasion and justification of expenditure:

> (Joanne) - He's even said to me, "Go out and buy yourself a frock" ... all I'm really waiting for is for him to give me the okay, and I'm really just trying him and I know that he will...I told him about this neat blouse...but it cost $28 and he says to me, "Go down and get it!" So I got into the car and drove back down to the shop but it was too big...so a month later I went to town and picked up a frock there for $32 and I came back home and I said "you know that blouse you said I could have?" (laughs), and he said "Yeees" and I said, "Well I didn't buy it because it was too big, remember? Well, I bought a frock instead, for an extra $4." And he said "that's all right". (laughs) So he's good like that.

That many husbands expect personal spending money as a right, whereas many wives have to request money from their spouses illustrates the fact of his breadwinning capacity, and that women are more likely than men to be non-earners. The non-earning wife is forced to rely on collective resources, whereas the man has his own, individual funds. This situation, and its implications for relations between spouses is clearly identified by Whitehead(1981:105):

> ..in bourgeois society, the appearance that the wage is individually earned by the labour of the employed worker alone, combined with the dominant concept of private possession, create the basis for the power of the (male) employed worker to compel a sum for individual consumption. The domestic worker cannot compel such a sum, and her needs (and desires) are merged with those of other dependents, such as children.

The women's comments suggest they experience a dilemma between their own needs and what they perceive of as those

of the family when it come to personal expenditure. This is apparent for those who must scrimp some money from the housekeeping, or who resort to using the Family Benefit for personal spending. Kathy's comment sums up the feelings of many of these women that their family comes first:

> ...my goals have changed. Whereas before [marriage] perhaps everything revolved around myself, you know, and the money that I worked for ... whereas now I get more pleasure in giving to the kids. I'd rather work to get them more, and miss out. You know, things like clothes and that don't worry me the same.

Both women and men have interests in providing for the family, but they are achieved in different ways. The wife experiences a conflict between spending money on her children or herself; feeling that any consideration of her own needs may conflict with the performance of domestic and childrearing responsibilities in a nurturing and selfless way. There is a similar dilemma for the husband, but it is felt in a conflict between his associations outside of the home with workmates and friends, and his obligations to the family. For example, most of the disagreements over the husband's personal spending related to expenditure on drinking with mates. There may be several reasons for the wife's disgruntlement. She may expect the husband to spend his leisure time with the family and as a companion to herself, rather than with his mates. In some instances the use of money for drinking, rather than for the family finances, was questioned. But despite the wife's disapproval, it is apparent that she has little influence over his spending habits.

Information that the women provided on their own and their husbands' personal spending showed that the men tended to have more expensive recreational interests. One husband was heavily involved in yachting. While such expenditure was taken out of the family budget, this is not necessarily

so for women's leisure pursuits. In one group discussion fundraising for a women's netball team was described:

> They're raising their money their own way without penetrating into their savings or upsetting their husbands ... they do it in such a way that their husbands do not get upset and so it doesn't in a lot of cases interfere with their football. (Group C)

This comment aptly shows how women's personal spending is not legitimated in the same way as the husband's personal spending. By fundraising, these women had seen that their personal spending did not interfere with the financial requirements of the family as a whole. The notion of "maternal altruism" has been used by Whitehead (1981:107) as the defining theme of women's relationship to money.

Disagreements over money matters

The women appeared content with the money management practices in their households. The majority answered no when asked directly if they had disagreements over money matters with their spouses. But further comments revealed disagreement over personal spending, the general cost of living, and financial responsibilities to kin. Arguments over personal spending were mentioned again and again:

> (Joanne) - He reckons I used to jump up and down and he used to let me, 'cos it made it look as if I was quite powerful (laughs) ... but he said he's still got the money anyway. It was never large amounts you know, it was only $10 or $20 to go down to the club or something, and I'd really go beserk about it.

Joanne's comments uncover the nature of the husband's and wife's relationship to money and to each other. He earns it and has the power of distribution and expenditure, while her protests do not rest on such an indisputable base.

Wives' inability to influence decisions about financial matters is also evident when it comes to financial

responsibility for kin. This is an area of disagreement for one woman, married to a Polynesian:

> It just goes on and on. It was a few dollars. Now it's a few thousands of dollars that we have to give, and it'll go on and on and on, while his parents are still alive ... they think, you know, you've got a money tree out the back, and the pressures are so great on you ... there's nothing I can do because I'm not classed as the breadwinner.
>
> (Bev) - So you just accept it?
>
> I have to. It's not my money.

Although she would like to discuss his family responsibilities with her husband, this woman is discouraged, because she does not think her views would be considered. While others may have contractual commitments, such as mortgage and hire purchase, obligations to kin are just as forceful for her husband, and not altogether voluntary. She is aware of the force of tradition, kin pressure, and his situational control, as money earner, over their family's finances.

Power and privilege can never be equally distributed in any enduring and intimate relationship such as marriage, which is expressed by Bell and Newby (1976:157) as a relationship combining identification and difference. Each spouse is dependent on the other's complementary contributions to the maintenance of the household, but inequalities in their occupational status, access to money and what comes down to 'bargaining power', give a particular character to their negotiations over money. Husband and wife are engaged in a 'game' (albeit an earnest one) where he controls the money and she must use her control over domestic matters to gain a say and share in financial affairs.

Wives' economic dependence and the principle of shared money

As a general rule, the women were responsible for the day to day management of domestic finances. Williams (1981:153) terms this practice "matriduxy", but points out that the routine handling of money does not necessarily mean wives have the power and authority to decide expenditure. In my study I found that some wives discussed financial priorities with their spouses but others were less influential. In a couple of cases the women were very little involved in such decisionmaking. One wife did not even know how much her husband earned. It is inevitable that the husband has greater control over financial decisions than the wife in a situation where he is the sole or primary income earner. The woman is economically dependent, and can exercise few options; it all rests on his provision of money each week. The extent of male control over finances appeared most clearly in the circumstances of the wives reliant on a housekeeping allowance, with no income (or under $5,000 gross per year), and with little or no access to their husbands' earnings.

Most of the women nevertheless expressed satisfaction with the way money was handled in their households. They experienced the husband's authority over finances as benevolent:

> (Susana) - ... if I want anything, I ask him, he gives.
>
> (Joanne) - ... he's really flexible ...he's not that mean.

However one woman articulated her dissatisfaction with a situation where the husband controls the purse strings, but the wife is expected to run the household:

> (Anne) - I think it should be up to the woman. She's got to do the cooking and the feeding and all the rest of it. It's all very well

> for a man just to say, "Well, here's $60. That'll feed the lot", because it just doesn't when you've got children. And with the cost of living now, your groceries, you can buy the same groceries each week and it'll cost you differently.

Another woman revealed the precariousness of her economic security, indicating she would like to leave her husband, but is afraid of not being able to survive economically as a solo parent. Such comments, referring to marital conflict, reveal the nature of financial relations between spouses. While the daily management of financial matters may be largely cooperative and effective, in a crisis the husband's command over money becomes overriding, and cooperation between spouses breaks down. As Lee Comer (1982:186) observes:

> ... [the husband] can sweep away the nonsense of shared money, merely by stating the truth. He earns it and he gives it to her ... such are the politics of economic dependence.

The women most satisfied with their situation did have some access to money. This group included those earning more than $5,000 gross per year, and those with access to a joint bank account, and/or their own account.

Contrasting attitudes toward economic dependence were apparent. Some women seemed to accept it and to develop ways of dealing with it. They tended to speak of their husbands' generosity and understanding of a wife's financial requirements in running a home. But others in paid work emphasised how important it was to their pride and self-esteem to earn their own money. It meant a degree of antonomy and command over one's life. One could make a decision and carry it through, without necessarily consulting the spouse.

> (Merle) - ... when I first started working, that was the first thing I bought, was a new automatic washing machine, and I was really quite proud of this ... to think that I'd

> earned enough money to buy that. And I bought that, my new sewing machine. That was the next thing I bought. And after that, I didn't buy anything big, only small (laughs). And yet, if there's things that I want for the house I'll kind of be determined and so I'll get it out of my own [money].

In some cases, getting a job had been a response to difficulty in obtaining money from their husbands for housekeeping and personal spending requirements. In such situations the energy and commitment of wives to the household was evident. They sustained the household, making a variety of contributions - money, domestic activities - while in contrast the husband seemed to have a fixed, routine contribution. The following comment indicates a situation such as this:

> ...up until the time I went back [to work] we lived on just my husband's pay and the Family Benefit, and most of the things I think we got at that time was through the Family Benefit because my husband used to drink a lot, you know, and all this sort of thing. There wasn't much money available to me .. and of course when I went back [to work] getting paid the extra money was really good ... I think most important of all at this stage was the money. We needed money. You know, we'd brought our children up with no luxuries really, and oh the money came in handy at the time. We were able to get things we couldn't afford before.

The women most often talked about the mangement of financial matters between spouses in terms of sex segregation (4). It was only in reference to discussion about expenditure that a joint approach to money matters, in terms of making shared decisions, was apparent. Fay stated "we've worked together with everything, absolutely everything". But all the women indicated that within the framework of cooperation, spouses had separate financial responsibilities and activities. This was expressed in terms of spouses running separate bank accounts, and

dividing up the responsibilitiy of expenditure on different items. Segregation was especially obvious in the management of day-to-day domestic finances. The arrangement was described as one where the husband gives his wife money and she is left to get on with the running of the household. Shopping and prices were identified as the wife's sphere of expertise; in contrast to the husband's lack of knowledge about such matters. Domestic financial practices then, exemplify in various ways the sexual division of labour in the household.

But when it came to matters of principle, and the expression of ideal behaviour concerning the management of domestic finances, the joint involvement of spouses was an important theme.

The principle that the husband's wage should be shared with his wife was articulated by the women, both those earning and not earning. Those women with no, or little income, argued that the wife's housework and childrearing duties entitled her to share in her husband's wage. This was seen as part of the complementary rights and responsibilities of spouses. "Our money" was an important notion in guiding the women's management of domestic finances. It was reflected in the widespread use of the joint account, and basic to their negotiations for housekeeping money, personal spending money, and to their involvement in financial decisionmaking. The following extract from a group discussion illustrates the principle:

> (Speaker 1) - I don't take any money off him, but anytime I want some money I ask him, he gives.
>
> (Speaker 2) - Yeah, but there's a lot who won't.
>
> (Speaker 1) - In other families, he reckons he works, he earns it and it's his. I don't agree with that.

> (Speaker 2) - Like my friend's husband, never gives her a cent - fend for herself. She gets nothing.
>
> (Speaker 3) - But what's his is hers, what's hers is his. That's how a married couple should be.
>
> (Speaker 4) - That's the ideal to me, I agree with that. (Group B)

But there is an unresolved tension between the wage, earned by the man outside of the home, and his money; and the principle of "our money". The man's wage symbolises the sexual division of labour and responsibilities both inside and outside of the home. The pay-packet, fought for in the workplace, is a significant part of a man's identity as husband and father. It denotes the achievements of the male worker in coming to grips with difficult conditions and tasks requiring strength and endurance. This is the shaping of a masculine identity through work - "The wage packet is the provider of freedom and independence: the particular prize of masculinity in work "(Willis 1979:196). The division between 'public' and 'private'; the man's world of work and the woman's world of the family is perceptively observed by Willis (1979:197), who describes the wage as a symbol of 'machismo':

> ...it is won in a masculine mode in confrontation with the 'real' world which is too tough for the woman.

The husband provides the family's means of economic subsistence through the opportunity of employment in a high earning occupation, and his original control of the money is never totally relinquished. It is far more difficult for the wife to make claims on "our money", because of her lesser financial contribution. Her spending has to be justified in terms of the collective needs of family members. The meaning of "our money" changes in situations of personal spending and in household expenditure, and is different for husband and wife.

For the man, the wage is the central element of his domestic responsibilities to wife and children. This was acknowledged in the women's comments. They saw their own economic contributions as secondary to their husbands'. As noted in Chapter 7, many of the women saw taking on a paid job as an additional component of their nurturant homemaker activities, rather than as comparable to their husbands' status of breadwinner in the family. Furthermore, his lack of involvement in doing housework or minding the children was overlooked in favour of, and his time spent away from the family justified in terms of, his breadwinning obligations. In one group discussion a woman expressed it like this:

> The kids have solely been my responsibility because [my husband's] not interested (pause). He is as far as making sure they've got everything they want. If they want a day out or anything like that I've got to do it because he won't do it with them. But he'll provide the finance always. I've never ever been short of that. (Group F)

While the man is defined through his paid work and the wage (Willis 1979), the woman is defined through her work in transforming the wage from an impersonal source of support into care and security for family members:

> While the market provides the setting for the reconciliation of private production and socially determined need, that reconciliation is primarily the work of women. Women are responsible for "nurturance", and while nurturance requires many kinds of activity, in its concrete aspects it can only be accomplished through the careful management of income. (Weinbaum and Bridges 1979:193)

Many community studies (Delamont 1980:146-7) show that it is women, as housekeepers, who are crucial in maintaining the social status and respectability of the family. This is achieved through the wise management of the husband's wage, in budgeting, prompt payment of bills, and foregoing

personal expenditure. It is also evident in her ability to keep the house clean, and in the healthy, well cared for appearance of husband and children. The woman's wise use of the wage not only enables her to perform the nurturant duties expected of her, but seems to be a crucial component of her self-image as a 'good' wife and mother. Satisfaction and self esteem is derived from being a competent housekeeper. The women were aware of others' judgement of their ability to run a home, and the following comment stood out, as revealing feelings of inadequacy over the management of domestic finances:

> (Kelly) - I'd like to go to, if they had something, I don't know if they have classes, but if they had somewhere I could go, but I'd like to (laughs), I'd like to go just by myself. Um, go and somebody teach me how to budget.

This comment shows how being a housewife is as challenging and demanding for the woman as the husband's job is for him. Through her domestic activities, the housewife tackles the consequences of his job for the family and the running of the household. Housewifery is an occupation involving skills that must be learned, a structure in which tasks are done, and standards to be reached. The wife's domestic work complements the husband's provision of the wage in the household economy. It establishes the basis of her claim to "our money", but also furnishes the framework in which her access to money is negotiated and through which the collective enterprise of 'the home' is made a reality.

Footnotes

(1) There are differences between the employment status of some of the women at the time of the interview and in the tax year previous to the interview. One not in paid work in the last tax year had a part-time job at the time of the interview, and two who had part-time jobs previously were not in the labourforce when interviewed.

(2) While in Kawerau in October 1984, I talked to an hourly-paid mill worker, the husband of one of the women in the study. He intensely disliked the company's practice of automatic payment of employees' wages into bank accounts. He regarded it as personally inconvenient and as an invasion of privacy. He was waging a largely unsuccessful lone battle against the company to get his pay-packet 'in the hand'.

(3) A New Zealand study of women and money found that the women least likely to have their own spending money are: women under 25 years, women in lower income families, women with dependents, and women living in urban areas (Society for Research on Women 1981).

(4) The questions I asked about financial matters in the in-depth interviews (see Appendix C) did not appear to encourage answers emphasising segregation rather than joint involvement of spouses.

NINE: MANAGING SHIFTWORK

Every day at 8:00 am, 4:00 pm and midnight, the streets of Kawerau are busy with workers travelling to and from the mill. The mill operates four work schedules, each appropriate to particular operations: a continuous three shift system, a two-shift system, '6 and 2' day shift, and '5 and 2' day work.

Using a continuous three shift system, the productive industry is operated 24 hours, seven days a week. Under this system, four shifts of workers work six days, followed by two days off. The shifts rotate each eight day cycle from days (8:00 am - 4:00 pm), to evenings (4:00 pm to midnight), to nights (midnight to 8:00 am). In a 24 hour period three shifts are working and one is off work.

The two-shift system operates on a five day working week, with weekends off; two shifts are worked, a day shift from 7:30 am - 4:00 pm and a night shift from 6:00 pm to 2:30 am. This system operates only in the timber yard and saw mill. On the '6 and 2' day shift the employees work six days followed by two days off, but they only work the day shift. This is often referred to as "permanent day shift." '5 and 2' day work, conventional hours of work, consists of Monday to Friday day work, with weekends off.

The term shiftwork refers to hours of work differing from the usual routine of day work with weekends off (i.e. the normal hours of work). Shiftwork directly or indirectly affects everyone in Kawerau. There are no national statistics which assess the extent of shiftwork throughout the New Zealand labourforce, so Kawerau cannot be compared with other areas on this basis. However, its major industry includes a large number of jobs involving shiftwork, and these workers live in close proximity. In contrast, shiftworkers in large urban areas are usually spread over a

number of industries and a wide residential area, so a 'shift environment' is unlikely to develop.

Kawerau is sometimes called a 'shift town' by both locals and outsiders, and in terms of its industrial and community characteristics has more in common with certain single-industry towns overseas (Luxton 1980; Williams 1981) than with other New Zealand communities, except Tokoroa, which is also dominated by the timber industry (Chapple 1976). In the town centre it is not unusual to see husbands and wives doing the shopping together in the middle of the day. Some shopkeepers also notice when a father is on night shift, as the wife and children come down town to let him sleep in peace in the daytime. Kawerau had weekend shopping long before it became popular in other communities. A food market is open seven days a week to cater for shiftworkers' families and others. Some say that local organisations suffer from a lack of personnel because hours of work prevent participation on a regular basis. Shiftwork even touches school life; sometimes in beneficial ways, when fathers are able to attend school functions. However, taking children out of school for a family outing on father's day off is less well regarded by some teachers.

In 1976 workers on the continuous three shift system made up 45 percent of the mill workforce. Two-shift workers comprised 17 percent, '6 and 2' day shift workers 22 percent and '5 and 2' day workers 16 percent (1).

Only two of the 16 women who constitute the central emphasis of this study have not experienced some kind of shiftwork. Six of the women have previously experienced the continuous three shift system. However, over the years their husbands have switched to '6 and 2' day shift (three) or '5 and 2' day work (three). At the time the fieldwork was conducted five women had husbands working continuous shifts, six on '6 and 2' dayshift and five on '5 and 2' day

work. This chapter is mostly concerned with the families who have previously, or are currently experiencing the continuous three shift system (11 in all). Reference will also be made to the six families on the '6 and 2' day shift.

I am particularly concerned with the women's experience of their husbands' shiftwork within the context of running a home. Shiftwork imposes a predictability and structure on domestic life. It provides certain opportunities as well as constraints in the lives of the women in this study. One of their most significant understandings of shiftwork is of it as a way of life 'out of step' with that of others, both within and beyond the community.

For most of the men there had been no choice about doing shiftwork; it was part of the job. They were however well aware of the financial advantage of working on continuous shifts compared to the conventional hours of work, and even to the '6 and 2' day shift. For example, a 'greaser' on continuous shiftwork would earn about $2,000 more per year than a greaser on '6 and 2' day work. A 'tradesman mill wide' on continuous shiftwork would earn over $4,000 more than a '6 and 2' day shift tradesman in a similar job (2). By far the lowest wages in the mill were to be found in the timber division, not only because of the skill level of the work, but also because many of the jobs involved no shiftwork. Understandably, a decision to change to day work was not easily contemplated, as it meant an accompanying drop in wages. Money was important to these families, especially at the childrearing stages of the life cycle. However, this was also the time when the man's obligations as worker could conflict with his duties as father and husband. Allocating time to the family and time to earn money could become a dilemma.

The women in this study have experienced the effects of shiftwork on their own lives to varying degrees. A few,

like Barbara, whose fathers were shiftworkers at the mill, also married shiftworkers. For some, shiftwork has dominated their married life. Mere's and Nancy's husbands have been on continuous shiftwork for over 20 years. Now their own sons are involved in the same rhythms of work. In contrast, Kelly's husband has only been on continuous shiftwork for a year. Many aspects of these women's lives cannot be fully explained without reference to shiftwork. The rhythm of paid work has already been highlighted in the investigation of domestic work (see Chapter 5). Shiftwork's influence is felt in many ways; on individual wellbeing, on family relationships, on social life and on the community as a whole.

Shiftwork also affected the conduct of this research; meetings and interviews were often organised around the husband's hours of work. Entering people's homes, I was continually aware of the possibility of disturbing a sleeping shiftworker.

Shiftwork is pervasive. Sometimes obvious, sometimes difficult to pin down, the experience of shiftwork differs widely from one individual to another. However, ample research has demonstrated that despite the variation in individual responses to shiftwork, the changing work patterns and night work aspects of shiftwork adversely affect workers and their families (Carpentier and Cazamian 1977).

A variety of responses to shiftwork was apparent among the women in this study. Some were enthusiastic about it. The three who were most positive emphasised the opportunities shiftwork provided for marital companionship and activities involving the whole family.

> (Susana) - As a shiftworker he spends more time with the children ... I like him on shiftwork. We see one another more.

(Fay) - I love it ...he's got Wednesday -Thursday off this week. We plan to go over to Ohope.

(Kelly) - I like it ... I think it's helped us. Before, he used to just come in from work, read the paper, watch a bit of TV, have tea, have a shower and go to bed and we hardly talked ... I think it's brought us together since he's been on shiftwork ... I see him a lot more often and we do things a lot more.

None of these women had paid jobs and were able to take advantage of the husband's days at home, unlike the employed women. They tended to organise their days around the shift schedule, arranging their work and non-work activities to fit in with their husbands. Perhaps the flexibility of their own domestic work schedules disposed them favourably toward their husbands' hours of work.

But most of the women were resigned to shiftwork as 'part of life', speaking both of difficulties and of aspects they had come to regard as advantages. Over the years they had adjusted to the rotating shifts and some showed attachment to a system which had become familiar.

(Barbara) - It doesn't [affect me]. I was brought up with Dad doing shiftwork. I don't even notice it.

(Nancy) - I suppose the pressure is on me but I don't really notice it. I've only just thought about it actually.

Several women, especially those whose husbands had left continuous shiftwork, emphasised the difficulties of coping with shiftwork, rather than any advantages. The following quote vehemently outlines some of these difficulties:

[shiftwork] it throws out their home life, it throws out their sex life, it throws out their eating habits. A hell of a lot of marriages in this town break up because of it ... kids,

> you've got to keep them quiet, you know, while the guy's sleeping in the daytime ... tempers sort of flare, and it's not something that's very easy to control ... you're not getting a natural life you know ... Shiftwork, it's not natural. You're trying to conform to a pattern that's not real. (Group G)

Of course, shiftwork is real for those involved; it is a dominating fact of life for the majority of the mill workforce. But, for many of the women who organise their lives around the shiftwork schedule, something unreal or abnormal persists about it. Shiftwork was often described as an unnatural way of life, as it upset bodily functions and the habitual domestic routines of meals, sleep and even lovemaking.

Many of the disadvantages of shiftwork were identified in the way it disrupted other activities. There was no dissatisfaction with the dayshift, but the evening and night shifts required adjustments in routine and curtailed opportunities for leisure and socialising. A lot of women reported that the husband's shift and social invitations often clashed. One commented, "... you can't expect people to roster their functions around your particular shift." Another reflected, "There isn't really a social life". Furthermore, the continuous nature of shiftwork meant that the husband has only one full weekend in eight free of work obligations. Wives of the '6 and 2' day shift workers, as well as those of the continuous shiftworkers, complained that the loss of the weekend limited the time he could spend with the family and in doing domestic duties.

> (Kathy) - ... whereas most families, um Dad cleans the car on a Saturday and Dad mows the lawns, well we haven't had that ... the kids don't see him as much, with him not being in, in the weekend.

Other studies (for example Banks 1956; Brown 1975) have pointed out that not all periods of the day and of the week are equally valued by workers and their families. Individuals expect to allocate different activities to mornings or weekdays, than to evenings or weekends. In particular, the weekend is regarded as an important time for leisure, and the days off during the week a less than equal compensation by many shiftworkers and their families. Even after years of shiftwork, many like to organise their social activities around the 'true' weekend (James 1979:214). One woman's main criticism of shiftwork was the loss of the weekend - "Saturday and Sunday don't exist as a day of rest".

Even though many families in the town are directly affected by shiftwork, there is little formally organised leisure activity catering for shiftworkers. Club activities centre on the evenings and the weekends, preventing regular participation for many shiftworkers. The exceptions are social and sporting activities which are arranged among and by members of the same shift. An examination of husbands' club membership did reveal that continuous shiftworkers were unlikely to belong to voluntary organisations, and that the '6 and 2' day shiftworkers were not involved in weekend clubs.

This difficulty for shiftworkers resulted in many taking up solitary activities which can be enjoyed at any time. Pursuits such as jogging, fishing and hunting were popular. Some women reported that their husbands had very little contact with others on their days off, but instead worked around the house, or watched television. Another view was given by a mill employee who noted that some workers seemed to spend their off duty hours in the local pub. Other workers pointed out to me that drinking alcohol was a way of relaxing and ensuring sleep after the night shift. Meeting

mates at the pub is probably an important source of companionship for these men who are separated from day workers and restricted in their opportunities for socialising.

Despite shiftwork's effects in restricting leisure activities, the women also said that their husbands liked the time off during the day that shiftwork provided. One husband had decided to take a shiftwork job so that he could spend his daylight hours off work developing their new home and section.

In many ways the shiftworker is separated from the rest of the community by his hours of work. One study termed the experience of not having leisure when others do as "social extinction" (Carpentier and Cazamian 1977:48). A shiftworker, reported in my earlier study, observed that not only is the shiftworker isolated from the normal round of community activity, but he also becomes part of a separate life: "One tends to live in that shift's world" (James 1979:214).

Wives' social activities were also affected by their husbands' hours of work. In the group discussions some said that they were unable to make commitments to club membership or organised leisure activities because they could not be free at the same time each week. Nor could they rely on their husbands for babysitting when he was on the evening or night shifts. However, some wives of both the continuous shiftworkers and the '6 and 2' day shiftworkers belonged to a range of clubs and organisations including Maori committees, Pacifica, Brownies, school committees and sports clubs. Though five of these 11 belonged to no organisation, some at least fitted their interests around shiftwork.

Women also reported that shiftwork could provide opportunities for socialising. Wives got together when

their husbands were working in the evenings, and visiting friends and relatives did not seem to be limited by shiftwork. In this sense, shiftwork offered women opportunities to develop their own areas of autonomy within a general framework of the constraints of the husband's work schedule, and the demands of running a home and looking after children. Some women used the time when their spouse was on the '4 to 12' shift to do what they liked, and contrasted this with the obligations they felt to keep their husband company when he was at home.

Williams (1981:181) suggests that the husband's shiftwork prevents a woman from taking on paid work outside of the home, because of the burden of accommodating domestic duties to his industrial work routine. The women in my study did not identify shiftwork as a major restriction in this respect. But one woman, a fulltime housewife, clearly stated that she would not consider getting a job, for this reason:

> (Fay) - I think most men like to feel they come first and if I had to say "I can't be with you today, I have to work", because of his shiftwork, you know, there'd be some weeks when I wouldn't see him at all and I don't think I'd like that.

In contrast, two women in a group discussion commented that they had been able to take on paid work precisely because of their husbands' shiftwork schedule. This allowed the man to babysit during the day on some shifts:

> If [he] had been on '8 to 5', I doubt whether I would have ever started work. I started work when [my child] was six months old, so I have basically worked all my marriage, and I could never have done it if he hadn't been a shiftworker ... [the child] really had one parent with him ... where I left off, [my husband] took over. (Group D)

The most significant aspect of shiftwork that the women identified as a 'problem' was its disruptive effects on the household routine. These effects were emphasised with the change of shifts:

> (Mere) - ... you were just getting used to one routine - you know you'd take two or three days to get used to that, and that shift's finished.

Another woman described the influence of shiftwork on her days as overriding:

> (Cheryl) - Everything's worked around shiftwork. You know, you're sort of doing your thing to suit their time.

The adjustments required to mealtimes was a particular burden. The husband of one woman insisted on having a hot meal before he started work, and upon his return home. She was cooking meals at all hours of the day and night, over and above the regular family meals, and this required extra effort and organisation. In contrast, one of the women enjoyed shiftwork because of the variety in routine. She was however the only one to view the changes in household routine that accompanied each shift so positively.

Shiftwork can isolate the husband from family and community activities, and confine the wife in the home. Being alone while the husband was working on the evening and night shifts was a strain. The women felt uneasy being the only adult in the house. Some could not sleep, and others missed the spouse's help with the children at the busy time in the evening. One woman observed that " ... every time I've had a disaster, [he] is on midnight. It's unbelievable." Sexual relations were also constrained by shiftwork, having to fit in with the work routine. One woman, whose husband had been on continuous shiftwork for many years joked about this disruption: "... after the night shift our reconciliation is always a bloody disaster!"

But others had not adjusted to, nor accepted the dominance of the shift over their personal lives. Having been introduced to shiftwork when she got married, one woman fiercely resented the nights alone:

> I just used to hate it, you know, I would never see him, and burst into tears every time on midnight to eight, you know I'm lying there alone in bed thinking, "What the hell's going on?" (Group F)

On her insistence, the husband switched to day work. In another case the husband had gone off shiftwork as soon as he had married, as he considered shiftwork detrimental to family life.

A woman who, in other respects, preferred her husband to be on shiftwork, disliked the nights alone. However she emphasised that neighbours 'kept an eye' on one another when husbands were away at work.

> (Fay) - ... you tune in to anything that may go on in that house, you know, if it looks like trouble, they're there.

Keeping a watchful eye on one's neighbour is part of a general reliance and mutual cooperation that springs up among neighbours. Respect for the shiftworker's routine is obvious:

> (Nancy) - ... they've been on shiftwork for years ... you know, the lights are on, I've sort of felt secure knowing there's someone there .. with both our families, we know that R. is sleeping now, and they know that G. is sleeping so no-one in the house will go out and mow the lawns ... I think it's just a matter of working in together. We try to do that, you know ... Everyone has been considerate, even when the kids were young, we didn't have kids running through each other's homes and that sort of thing ... I think it just makes for a good relationship.

While loneliness at night had been keenly experienced by most women at some stage, there were also a few who felt lonely in the daytime too. On the night shift some husbands slept for most of the day, and on the evening shift they were not around to help with domestic chores and the children.

In her study, Williams (1981:180) discovered that one third of the wives who identified shiftwork as a 'problem', referred especially to the tension it generated in the marriage. Women in my study also provided evidence of this in their efforts to keep children quiet, to get meals ready on time, and to soothe a short-tempered husband. Some shifts seemed to be worse than others for stirring up conflict:

> (Barbara) - '12 to 8' if he's had a bad run and he's tired. That's a bad one, and you've got to be perceptive enough to see what they're like when they walk through the door in the morning ...

But others found shiftwork had enhanced their marriage, and commented on how they looked forward to their husbands' company during the day (the most enjoyed aspect of shiftwork). This enabled spouses to share activities such as shopping, childcare and leisure. However, a few women found that having a husband around in the daytime disturbed their own routine and autonomy in the home.

> (Anne) - ... one week he'd be home all day. Oh, I just couldn't stand that...I would have preferred him to have been on permanent day shift which he is on now. I can come and go as I please.
>
> When you have them at home all day they're under your feet all the time and you say "get out, get out (laughs), go to work, do something !" That's what I find most, I can't seem to get going, because it's so broken. (Group A)

Some wives were isolated by the almost total responsibility for childcare that the circumstances of shiftwork had helped impose on them. This responsibility was especially overbearing when the children were young. Children had their 'shifts' as well, which could only be partially co-ordinated with the husband's shift schedule. Young children could not always have meals with their fathers, and babies had their own routines. There were difficulties in looking after children when their fathers were sleeping in the daytime, and in coping with youngsters single-handedly in the busy evening period. School-aged children saw very little of their fathers on evening and night shifts.

> Like I had him doing three shifts, you know, each week different shifts, plus um, [my daughter] had her shift as well, and then I had baby who had hers. Up at nights, and all different hours. Three different, and where's the time for me? (Group F)

However other mothers described some positive effects of shiftwork on childrearing. One woman said that her husband had developed a close relationship with his pre-school child since going on shiftwork. Others mentioned that having father at home in the daytime was an advantage when they needed a babysitter. This was an especially important consequence of shiftwork for some of the employed women. Some fathers also attended school functions on their days off work. Continuous shifts certainly gave a father the chance to become involved with his children, but not all spent their time off work with the family. It was also apparent, that while pre-school children, who were based at home, saw their shiftworking fathers in the daytime, older children had less contact. Problems in disciplining older children were mentioned by some of the women, who observed that their husbands were distanced from day-to-day family upsets, especially when working nights.

Many mill occupations carry with them the obligation of shiftwork. This is clearly beyond the control of wives, and perceived as such by the women. They responded to such circumstances by organising around the shiftwork schedule as best they could. Some regarded the decision whether to do shiftwork as their husband's alone:

> (Julia) - It was his decision [to go off continuous shiftwork] ... if he wanted to go along with shiftwork I'd go along with that ... He's the one who's got to put up with it, so he makes the decisions about that.
>
> (Fay) - That's his choice. Whatever he wants to do I'll back him and that's honest ... I try the best I can with whatever decision he wants to make.

In all, six of the husbands had switched from continuous shiftwork to day work. A variety of reasons for the change was mentioned by their wives. One had been promoted to a day job. Another had developed a keen interest in a weekend sport. Three had changed to day work because they could not adjust to the rotating shifts, either physiologically or psychologically.

> (Cheryl) - ... he got really quite crook so he thought if he could get on to a day job it might help ... he was sick on night shift.
>
> (Julia) - ... it drove him completely mad. He survived it for a year, and for the last month of that year he came home and he said things like, "I don't think I can bear it much longer. It's driving me silly."

One woman had persuaded her husband to go off continuous shiftwork after 23 years. She had argued that he was getting old, and that as their children were grown up, the financial necessity of working shifts had diminished. This husband's decisions about shiftwork had obviously been influenced by his wife.

In another case, a woman, who blamed marital breakdown on continuous shiftwork, told her husband she would not

remain in Kawerau if he ever worked 'round the clock'.

> I don't want to sleep with him not being here ... with four to twelve [shift] quite a few of the wives are at socials alone, and I haven't liked that ... I've seen husbands who are never home. They're here there and everywhere. Of course they're idle. Of course trouble will start.

I found that shiftwork is often cited as a convenient explanation for personal and public troubles in Kawerau. Several women in the study believed shiftwork 'caused' marital conflict and breakdown, not only because of strains on individual health and well being and disruption to the domestic routine, but also because the hours of shiftwork could allow spouses to lead separate lives and establish intimate relationships with others.

Women with husbands currently on continuous shiftwork expressed concerns which indicated some attempt to get their husbands off shiftwork. Some were worried about their husbands' health, especially those who had worked continuous shifts for many years. Lack of sleep, irritability, digestive disorders and a general feeling of lassitude were commonly mentioned.

> (Nancy) - I think in the long run it's been hard [for him] ... more so when there's daylight saving it's been terrible, really hard on him ... He did say the shiftwork takes about 10 years off your life (laughs). I think it's tiring, yes ... his routine is broken into.
>
> (Fay) - His health may not stand up to it, it's tough on the guys, it really is. He gets a lot of stomach problems when he swaps on to night shift, with acid in the stomach and he used to take medicine and stuff, and he used to continually eat food and keep his stomach full and it really throws your system.

Research (Griew and Phillip 1969, Phillip and Griew 1970, Carpentier and Cazamian 1977) has shown that the

disturbances to body rhythms and the adverse effects on mental and physical health to which continuous shiftworkers are vulnerable, do not diminish over time. Difficulty in sleeping is likely to increase with length of service and age, as are health problems. Carpentier and Cazamian (1977:34) argue that, rather than the individual adjusting to nightwork over the years, the body becomes more intolerant to it. The experience of one worker in my earlier study confirms this - "I was told it would take three months to adapt [to shiftwork] ... I spent 11 years looking forward to that" (James 1979:214). However, in an industry which heavily depends on continuous shiftwork for production, it is not easy to transfer to day work. One woman's husband had waited for about two years before a vacancy on the '6 and 2' day shift arose in his section. In one of the group discussions a woman mentioned that her husband, whose health had deteriorated while he was on continuous shiftwork, had asked the union to back up his request to be put on to day work.

Concluding comments

In Kawerau the industry sets the pace of life. Shiftwork's effects extend beyond the factory gates, shaping families and the character of the community itself. While enabling the economic, technological and organisational requirements of production to be met, shiftwork also raises difficulties.

The negative effects of shiftwork have been emphasised in this chapter, because they stand out in the women's experiences of their husbands' jobs. While the adjustment of husbands to shiftwork centres around its effects on their health, non-work time, and contact with family and others, shiftwork also poses special difficulties for the women. It constitutes a 'problem' for wives in the way shifts need to be integrated with the personal and collective routines of

household members. Shiftwork regulates household time, determining meals, housework, childcare and leisure activities. The shiftworking family is differentiated from others on day work who appear less tied to the 24 hour industry. Through her responsibility for domestic work, the wife is continually concerned with management of the shiftwork schedule.

Shiftwork penetrates into the intimate life of the couple. As wives, women have the task of emotionally supporting their husbands in shiftwork, which often involves for both partners mental and physical stress. The shiftworkers' wives seemed very sensitive to their husbands' moods and how they were affected by the shiftwork routine. Women can experience loneliness and anxiety on the evening and night shifts. With a husband absent at work for long hours, and at any time of the day or night, a woman has to become self-sufficient. A special problem was mentioned by a few of the wives: shiftwork may provide the opportunity for spouses to 'stray'.

There is no doubt that shiftwork is overpowering in its effects. It can be disruptive of individual and family routines, isolating for the husband and lonely for the wife. It can accentuate traditional gender roles by consolidating the husband's dominance in the family over matters such as childrearing, the allocation of household tasks, and the organisation of family life. And, shiftwork can easily be blamed for private family troubles and community problems.

What the women enjoyed about continuous shiftwork is less easy to identify. It seemed to depend on individual responses to the character of shiftwork; the wife's reaction to being alone on the evening and night shifts, how her husband copes with night work, and the extent to which personal and domestic activities are arranged around his schedule. Increased marital companionship and more time

with the children were considered advantages of shiftwork, but these benefits were by no means widely experienced.

Overall, the women's attitudes to continuous shiftwork involved mixed feelings. While it was emphasised that the husband's days off during the week were enjoyed, some found having a husband at home disturbed her own routine. Husbands with free time during the days and in the week could become more involved with their children and share in the household chores, but they were also separated from their families most weekends and through night work. The rotating shifts were contrastingly described as a nuisance, but also as relieving the monotony of the housewife's daily routine. The evening and night shifts had their advantages and disadvantages. The opportunities for joint weekday activities, such as shopping out of town with the husband, were appreciated, but having to fit meals around shifts, and other constraints on family activities were regarded unfavourably.

Shiftwork provides contradictions for the women in their experience of their husbands' work. This is evident in two respects in this study: first, in relation to domestic finances; and second, in relation to the sexual division of power, labour and responsibility in the home.

The women appreciated the high wages their spouses earned, and accepted that getting a good income meant having to go on shift and/or work overtime. The association of shiftwork and high wages has a direct bearing on what the wife can do in her daily and weekly management of domestic finances, and thus on the family's standard of living. Wives clearly have a financial interest in their husbands' shiftwork. The women in this study were aware of the seductive appeal of the extra money that shiftwork provides (and their family's dependence on it), but they also acknowledged the sacrifices made for possible future material benefits for the family.

The women felt their husbands earned their good wages by doing shiftwork and overtime, 'paying for it' in terms of poor health, disrupted sleeping patterns and a loss of time with the family. The women saw themselves as working hard for that money too, through their ability to cope with the demands of shiftwork. One women's comments about shiftwork revealed the contradiction:

> There's the money, "It's all worth it you know (laughs)." (Group F)

Though shiftwork exerts a strong influence on the habitual routines of individuals, and the family as a whole through its own rigid timetable, it can also open up opportunities for reassessing and renegotiating spouses' activities and responsibilities. For the women in this study, shiftwork combined opportunities and contraints. Two contrasting patterns emerged. Some wives found shiftwork advantageous for organising their own social activities,and in enlisting their husbands' help with housework and childrearing (especially in the case of some of the employed women). But others indicated that their lives were even more subject to constraint under conditions of shiftwork, and that husbands could justify a lack of domestic involvement by reference to the demands of shiftwork on their time. Shiftwork's influence in structuring wives' lives was greatly apparent in some instances, where the whole family routine was subordinated to the husband's work schedule:

> (Kelly) - If he's on a '12 to 8' sometimes he'll sleep in the morning and the baby and I will go out somewhere so the house is quiet, or if he's awake well he stays home and we stay home and he works around the house so we do things around the house. If he's on '4 to 12', sometimes he sleeps in, so my housework gets done later ... It just depends which shift he's on. It does affect me. And if he's on day shift, well the work gets done

earlier, because we have to get up earlier and get breakfast.

In this way, shiftwork can be understood as reaffirming the male-breadwinner female-homemaker pattern, and accentuating the subordination of the wife's interests to those of the husband and his work. The subordination of wives is not necessarily associated with the circumstances of shiftwork, but evidence in this and other studies (Dennis et al. 1956, Luxton 1980, Williams 1981, Porter 1983), suggests that wives take the burden of minimising the negative effects of shiftwork on their families, and they usually get very little personal advantage out of shiftwork's structuring of family life.

For the women in Kawerau, as for working-class wives in other communities, shiftwork is a 'fact of life' required by capitalist industry. For the most part, these women are resigned to its routine. They not only 'put up with', but actively work to 'make the best' of the consequences of shiftwork.

Footnotes

(1) The company provided these statistics.

(2) Based on 1983 statistics provided by the company.

TEN: THE 1978 INDUSTRIAL DISPUTE

In this chapter I intend to examine wives' experiences and interpretations of industrial disputes.

The dispute most immediate in the memory of the women in this study was the one lasting for six weeks in the autumn of 1978 (1). Events surrounding the dispute dominated newspaper headlines. Special emphasis was given to its implications for New Zealand's domestic and overseas newsprint markets. The dispute initially involved issues relating to relativity payments (the Pulp and Paper Federation), an internal union dispute about union leadership (the Timberworkers Union), and a protest at the suspension of one member of the Engineers Union after he refused to do a job in dirty conditions. Mill production wound down as a result of industrial action by the three unions, and consequently members of the remaining eleven unions on the worksite were suspended by the company under the Industrial Relations Act 1973.

Company action in suspending the mill workforce was regarded by many workers as a threat to job security and condemned by one union official as "oppressive" (Whakatane Beacon April 5, 1978). The unions demanded that the company give notice of two weeks suspension to workers. The National government of the time stated that it was committed to its industrial relations policy and did not favour changing the law relating to the suspension of workers. The company was told it could not go outside the government's industrial policy in negotiating with the unions; and if it did, that the government would withdraw support from the company (NZ Herald May 6, 1978; Daily Post May 10, 1978). The effects would be a loss of export markets for the company and their production restricted to the internal newsprint market (NZ Herald May 9, 1978). Rumours of

company liquidation (Evening Post May 3, 1978) highlighted the seriousness of the situation and contributed to antagonism toward unions in the town.

Almost the whole of the hourly paid mill labourforce was directly affected by the dispute, though not all were affected in the same way. Most of the Timberworkers Union members were suspended. About one sixth went on strike and a few remained working in essential services. All of the Engineers were on strike, except the one suspended by the company. Most of the Pulp and Paper Federation were suspended, though one third resigned. All the rest of the mill workforce was suspended, except for a minority kept on in essential occupations concerned with security, safety and maintenance. Being 'on strike' or 'suspended' had the effect of determining when a worker could get unemployment benefit. Those on strike, or who had resigned from work, only qualified for the benefit after being off work for six weeks.

The wives whose husbands had been suspended also made a distinction between the two categories. Others, antagonistic to the unions' industrial action, tended not to differentiate how particular sections of the labourforce had been affected by the dispute. One woman, angry with a newspaper's continual reference to striking workers, rung up and demanded an acknowledgement that many of the workers were actually suspended. This difference was important to the women - because as wives of suspended workers they felt even more vulnerable and powerless in the face of the actions of the company and other unions. The women considered their husbands had been caught up in a dispute not of their own making.

Richard Hyman (1977:145) points out the power of the media as "... merchants of persuasive definitions ..." in defining situations and producing public opinion. What is

newsworthy is not generally presented in a detailed, complex way, but is typically characterised by superficiality, trivialisation, and sensationalism (Hyman 1977:146). News reports are selective in the way they discuss disputes, in their coverage of events, and in emphasis given to the various parties involved. In particular, Hyman suggests the media conveys dominant social values about industrial conflict being illegitimate and threatening to social order. The concepts of 'the country' and 'the national interest' being threatened are often evoked (Hyman 1977:149).

Newspaper reports of the 1978 dispute tended to conceptualise it as one over money. (2) A number of complex and long-standing industrial and internal union grievances which had come to a head at the same time were reduced to a "10c claim" (Daily Post April 2, 1978). Reports emphasised the cost of the stoppage to the company, and to local businesses. Publicity was also given to the Mayor's appeal to the unions to return to work for 'the good of the community', as he believed its economic survival to be at stake (NZ Herald May 8, 1978). Attention was also paid to the hardship wives and children were having to endure (Whakatane Beacon May 12, 1978; NZ Herald April 28, 1978).

The newspapers tended to publish views which assessed union action as deviant and morally wrong. Unions were seen as controlling the course of the dispute, as the powerful parties. The dispute was described as "crippling" (NZ Herald April 18, 1978), and as doing "irreparable damage" (Whakatane Beacon April 28, 1978) to the mill. Unionists were described as "unrelenting" (Daily Post April 24,1978).

Much less exposure was given to union interpretations of the dispute. However, their criticism of company action in suspending workers, and allegations of government interference in negotiations received some coverage (Daily Post May 6, 1978; NZ Herald May 11, 1978). Even though

union views were presented in news items, editorials, such as the Whakatane Beacon's of May 2, were strongly critical of union action. Headlined "The Image of Kawerau", the editorial exhorted the parties in the dispute to think about the damage they were doing to the community. This viewpoint linked the dispute with another sensitive feature of the local world-view - the town's image - by charging that the unions were instrumental in perpetuating Kawerau's unfortunate image as a 'strike town':

> Kawerau in particular has long deplored its national image as a place of unrest and confusion. Not so long ago the people were insisting the image was not of their making -the public did not understand; it was the construction workers, you know, itinerants not the steady workers employed by "Uncle Tasman". There have been at least two major stoppages of national significance since the still recent bad old construction days. (Whakatane Beacon May 2, 1978)

While the media are influential in shaping attitudes to industrial disputes, especially when people do not have access to information about the issues, one of the women in this study was sceptical of the media's impartiality, and did not meekly accept information given out in the news:

> They just blow it up out of all proportion. Honestly, what's reported on television, and what goes on in town, is two different things ... If the media left us alone, things would be healed a lot quicker ...(Group C)

Schisms quickly appeared in a climate of confusion over the issues, and of fear about the dispute's consequences for individuals, families and the community as a whole. One woman, wife of a suspended Pulp and Paper Federation member, remarked that talk about the events among wives often developed into arguments. Another woman, wife of a salaried worker and indirectly affected by the dispute, observed:

> ..they got very cliquey, it was one of the most damaging things that happened ...

> feelings became pretty hot because they were pinpointing different areas, you know, different sections of the mill as troublemakers.

Living in Kawerau during the dispute, I also noted antagonism among groups. People did not confine their criticism to the events of the 1978 dispute, but drew on bitter memories of earlier industrial troubles. Some blamed the unions, saying their actions were destroying the town. Individual interests were apparent in fears that property values and businesses would be damaged. Others argued that workers were ungrateful in hurting a company which provided them with good wages and housing.

Union members were also critical of events. Some believed the company had engineered the dispute for its own ends; it was commonly understood that the company had stockpiles of newsprint at a time when world markets were oversupplied, though this was denied by management (Whakatane Beacon April 28, 1978). Many were also bitter over the company's use of the suspension clause. Consequently, in public discussion of the dispute, there was a polarisation of attitudes, with some placing blame on management and the company and others on the unions and workers.

Many in the community regarded the dispute as a 'problem', for individuals, families and the town as a whole. However, as Hyman notes, what is assigned problem status by one group may not be a problem for another, or may be for quite different reasons. Further, he argues that industrial conflict is defined as a problem by companies because it disrupts production, constitutes a challenge to management control, and contradicts the idea of a 'harmony of interests' in the workplace which gives legitimacy to managerial power. (Hyman 1977:161)

For the workers, industrial conflict is not in itself a 'problem'; instead the 'problem' lies in the actions of management in attempting to limit the rights of workers or threatening working conditions (Hyman 1977:167). For example, the suspension of workers became the major concern of unions in the 1978 dispute, and their main efforts were directed at extending the notice of suspension given by the company to an interval more favourable to workers' interests.

But the wives of workers in this study clearly defined disputes as a 'problem', in very immediate and personal ways; as stressful to family members, economically damaging and disruptive to the household (3). Their views were similar to those discussed by Hyman (1977:141), who argues that conventional hostility to union action is based on three assumptions: industrial conflict is outdated, unnecessary and irrational; it results directly in economic disruption; it is evidence of excessive trade union power. Hyman (1977:141) however points out that unions are essentially defensive organisations, concerned with improving the conditions of the workplace and the status of the worker. Compared to employers and government, unions have little power, and that power legally given, such as the right to withdraw labour, is sometimes threatened. In the 1978 dispute the government raised the possibility of passing emergency legislation forcing unions to return to work "... to save the company and our exports" (NZ Herald May 4, 1978).

One woman considered unions should be unnecessary, but accepted them as a 'necessary evil' in a large industrial complex:

> (Pauline) - I've always been the sort of person that if you want something you fight for it yourself. In a place like that it's a bit hard ... I know they have got to have

unions for wage negotiations and what-have-you.

Other women saw the unions' role as the protection of workers, though they also thought that most had strayed away from that principle:

(Kathy) - ...you get the odd one that's going overboard, but in general, they are there to help the worker ... there is a need for them, to protect the worker.

(Fay) - I feel with the unions at the moment they're working for the reverse of the worker. They sometimes cause more trouble than it's worth.

(Janice) - ... the whole system should be changed somehow to get back to what I think the original idea of the union was, which is protection.

Most of the women believed the unions wielded too much power, and referred to instances where they felt workers had been manipulated or coerced into going along with union action:

(Pamela) - I imagine the pressures are pretty strong to sort of toe the line. People that stand up and disagree get shot down.

(Janice) - I know darn well that a lot of people didn't want a strike, they didn't want to be involved or anything. They had no option, and if they tried to speak out against it, it just wasn't worth their life or their job.

(Audrey) - Quite often it's only a few hotheads that can incite the men to take this action, even though the men don't want to do it, they're that shit scared of being pointed out as someone who voted against it.

During the dispute a union delegate commented to me that he considered the men were often swayed by the force of oratory; he believed the style and presentation of ideas at union meetings were much more important for gaining rank and file support, than the content of the speech.

According to one woman, the union's power was not only that of verbal persuasion. She implied that threats to individual union member's property and family had been made in some disputes, both against workers critical of the union stance, and against supporters of the union.

Some saw union power as a threat to the futures of everyone in the town:

> (Fay) - Living with the thought that at any one time, because of one union, that mill could shut, that's the only thing that I don't like living here, is that threat of a strike always holding over your head, and it's <u>not</u> an easy thing to live with.
>
> (Nancy) - It was depressing, um, wondering whether we would have to move out eventually, or, not knowing whether the mill was going to close down or what.

The main reason for women's hostility to disputes was that they resented the financial disruption to their household. This was something they felt directly threatened their ability to be good wives and mothers:

> (Cheryl) - ... it was pretty hard, you know. Um, trying to manage the money so it lasted ... not really knowing where the next lot of food was going to come from ...

The dispute was initially welcomed by a few couples as a chance to catch up on home renovations and repairs, but it soon became a source of frustration as funds ran out:

> (Susana) - It was horrible. You can't pay your bills, you can't do what you wanted to do. You know, trying to save up to finish the house off, do the section.
>
> (Kelly) - ... there was a hell of a lot of things that needed doing inside and outside, and we just didn't have the spare money to do anything so we sort of got frustrated and bored ...

During a local radio talkback on the dispute in 1978 (4), women callers expressed an overriding concern with the economic costs to their families. The wife of a Pulp and Paper Federation member commented:

> ...he would rather work, he'd rather feed his family, clothe his family without all these hassles ... I depend solely on what my husband brings home in his paypacket every week ... they bring home the paypackets and the wives pay all the bills. It doesn't really strike home when they go on strike, but the wife - she pays for the electricity bill, she pays for the clothing - so the man really doesn't have to come home and work out where every dollar goes from his pay. But if more men did that then I think they'd realise what they're doing to their wives and families.

Families in which the wife had a paid job were better off (5). It meant not having to deplete savings, or a faster economic recovery after the husband returned to work. One fulltime housewife estimated it took four months after the dispute ended for her to clear up the bills. During the dispute families relied on firms with which they had hire purchase agreements to suspend payments. It was difficult to get credit at local shops, which experienced a severe downturn in trade as the dispute lengthened. Those who rented, or had housing loans from the company, were able to cease payments until they returned to work. Then double payments were deducted until the family was up to date again. Several of the women were cynical about there being any financial benefits to be gained from union action, and in fact believed that their families lost money. They could not see that strikes achieved much at all:

> (Susana) - ... to me ... the more they earn, the more they want, the men. And they never stop till the price of things stop ... It goes on and on and on.

Husbands too were aware of the financial and emotional costs of the dispute on themselves and their families. In

my earlier study I found that the dispute had forced some husbands to assess their responsibility as breadwinner if the mill closed. This was depressing for older workers who saw their future employment prospects as very limited.

Aid, in the form of money and food, was available to the striking and suspended workers from unions and from a specially established local organisation, the Community Relief Committee. Several unions provided money vouchers for their members which could be redeemed at local grocery stores and supermarkets. The Timberworkers Union, however, launched a major welfare operation which catered for their members and any workers unable to receive aid from other sources. The organisation of the welfare operation reflected the predominantly Maori composition of the union. It was run along cooperative lines and reliant on group involvement and kinship to get things done. Teams of men went hunting, fishing and eeling. Others obtained meat and vegetables from a variety of sources. Some food was bought, but most was donated to the union. Wives were involved in organising the distribution of food, through street networks of union members, and from the depot set up at Rautahi marae. Union members living outside of Kawerau, as far away as Taneatua, were provided with food parcels. By the final week of the dispute, one of the organisers of the welfare operation estimated that 80 percent of the union's members had received aid.

The Community Relief Committee was run by a local minister. Members of local organisations such as the Kawerau Rugby Club Ladies Committee, churches, the Maori Women's Welfare League and other service organisations attended a large inaugural public meeting and helped establish the Committee. Unlike the Timberworkers' welfare operation, the Committee set up guidelines to screen prospective recipients of aid. It constituted a typical

Paheka mode of organising charitable activities. Some thought this action would inhibit people from seeking help, and one Maori woman commented that it was contrary to Maori ways.

Other unions also seemed to limit the availability of vouchers to families in immediate financial difficulties. Women whose families had savings believed they were ineligible for aid, and some were bitter about this, arguing that their good budgeting actually put them at a disadvantage. Inequities in dispensing aid tended to highlight divisions within the community between the 'respectable' and the 'disreputable', and the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving':

> (Janice) - ... the jolly pubs and TABs and things never emptied out, and it made you rather bitter to see that sort of thing going on.
>
> Some people who had saved theirs [money] spent it for the things they needed, and the ones who had peed it all up against the wall went and got all these free things. (Group C)
>
> We are ones who have gone without and have saved, and we've got nothing from it and I think this is really quite unfair ... Anybody who went to the union and had money in the bank, well just don't bother to come ... we have gone without and now we cannot get any help at all. (Radio talkback participant, wife of union member)

Local gossip and newspaper reports (Whakatane Beacon May 5, 1978) highlighted the abuses of the system, but those running welfare activities emphasised the need for the services. Nevertheless, some requiring aid felt the stigma attached to their position. The three women in the study whose husbands had got union vouchers, all remarked on how they had hated to take aid:

> (Fay) - ... it just about killed our pride to have to go down there on the sixth week and

> get it. It really did. I just didn't like doing it at all, but we had to. We had just run out of supplies altogether.
>
> (Cheryl) - Well, my husband didn't like to sink that low, but I mean in that sort of situation you have to ... we didn't get things that we didn't really need. We got the basic things.

Several women mentioned they received help, in money and food, from relatives and friends. Two families left town and stayed with relatives for all or part of the duration of the dispute. One husband was able to get a temporary job in another town.

A lack of money was not the only problem the women identified. As well as affecting the family's income, the dispute disrupted the daily routine. At first it seemed marvellous; there were no shifts needing to be accommodated. But having a man at home all day, and perhaps a bad-tempered one at that, meant further unwelcome unpredictability in the women's lives:

> (Bev) - How did the strike affect you personally?
>
> (Anne) - Tragically, he was home all the time (laughs) ... he was bored silly ... who wants a man around home? No woman. Well, a lot of women I know don't want them around home.
>
> (Cheryl) - ... having the man around the house, bored stiff and getting in your way and, you know, niggling at you (laughs), going crook at you .. he would mope around the house all day.

Hyman (1977) suggests that popular opinion is antagonistic to industrial action. He emphasises the significant role of the media in producing interpretations of events which give legitimacy to the views of government and company over those of unions. As Gramsci (1971) put it, a subtle but pervasive ideology perpetuates the dominance of

certain ruling groups in society, such as the bourgeoisie. Their ideas are disseminated through various institutions, including the media, and become part of individual conceptions of the world, or 'common sense'.

The visibility of industrial conflict contributes to public hostility towards such events as strikes. While the effects of a dispute may be dispersed throughout a large city, and immediately felt by only a small section of the population, in Kawerau industrial conflict in the dominant industry has massive, sudden and obvious effects on the whole population. If they are not directly affected by being off work (or by having a husband off work), individuals are likely to be involved in support industries to the mill, in the business area (where some employees were laid off in the 1978 dispute), in schools (where the effects of the dispute are noted on children), or to have kin, friends and neighbours directly affected. Whatever their situation, individuals are likely to be drawn into debate, and to find themselves aligned with one group or another. 'Strikers', 'suspended workers', 'business people', 'management' and so on, are known to one another in a variety of situations and relationships. Rumour, labelling, stigmatising and personal antagonism are difficult to avoid. In Kawerau one cannot 'get away' from industrial conflict; the only option is, as some families chose, to leave town for the duration.

The women in this study aimed their frustrations about the dispute at the unions; none were clearly supportive of their action, and a few were quite bitter over the way they believed the unions to be controlling their lives. The union was a target less upsetting of close personal relationships than would be blame of the husband, and more accessible than the company. There was no criticism of company action in suspending workers, nor of government

intervention in the dispute. The wives seemed resigned to company and government decisions; these were beyond debate. The women may have felt antagonistic to the unions because it was something which they were more directly associated with through their husbands' jobs, than either the company or a remote government. They lacked information about the dispute, so they tended to personalise the issues and criticised the unions on the basis of how their family's welfare was threatened. Though they understood that their husbands had a limited influence on the deliberations of the union, this organisation provided an immediate target for their fears and frustrations. They felt the unions to be responsible for the mill closure, and that it was up to them to make the move toward resolving the dispute.

The women themselves had limited experience of unions. Most had spent several years outside of the labourforce; the jobs they had taken up, such as clerical work, factory work, cleaning and teaching do not have strong unions; and several had worked in small firms where the employer-employee relationship was a personal one. Several expressed no interest in union matters in their own occupations, and this attitude was carried over to their husbands' union involvement (6). There is also evidence that women whose husbands had been union delegates saw this as an additional unwanted stress on him, and a further intrusion on his time with the family, to be coped with by the wife on top of the other demands of his job. At the time of the dispute, one union delegate had told me he was aware of the strain his union activities was putting on his wife. Much of his time was taken up with the union's welfare operation and his home had been taken over as the headquarters, open 24 hours a day.

One woman expressed a lack of interest and self-confidence, when it came to any discussion of strikes, and 'politics' in general:

> (Mere) - I didn't want to know about it. I felt, you know, there's nothing we can do. It's all to do with the union, things like that. I feel a bit hopeless about unions and strikes and that ... I don't understand strikes. I don't want to have anything to do with them. I feel (pause) lots of people talk about say, like those Springboks (7) and things, I'm not a person who knows (pause) I don't read the papers too much. I don't have time. I say to people, "I've got enough problems living my own life and doing the things I have to do without having to worry about all those issues", which I suppose I should, but there's enough people worrying about them, and they don't seem to be able to solve the problem, so what can my little mind do? (laughs).

Although insisting she was not qualified to speak on 'political issues', Mere was vocal on issues to do with the education of Maori children, and was involved in several Maori organisations. Like some of the others, she made a distinction between women's and men's concerns. Appropriate concerns for women were considered to be community and welfare related, to do with the provision of local amenities, children and families, and the cost of living. Industrial disputes and union matters were defined as men's business. But the division of interests was not compelling. Some women referred to their responsibilities for family welfare and domestic finances as giving them the right to speak about union action.

For some couples the dispute was the subject of arguments and accusations. Wives demanded more information, which often the men could not supply. Husbands were important, though not the only, sources of information about the dispute. Of the 16 women, only three did not discuss the event with their spouses, and two of these indicated that they would have liked to discuss the dispute with him. Only one said she was not interested in talking about the matter. Even those women whose husbands were not off work

talked about the dispute. A great deal of discussion went on between some couples:

> (Kathy) - What we'd do, how it would affect us, is it worth it, yeah we talked about it all.
>
> (Nancy) - The reasons for the strike, and the different reactions of the different people to the strike, and the union meetings they were having at the time, and the results of that. What would happen if we had to move.

Discussion of the events with others, including neighbours, workmates and other wives of workers provided further information, and as one woman observed, confusion:

> (Barbara) - Well, every husband seemed to come home with a different point of view. And then the wives would sit down and talk and you'd say "Well so-and-so said such-and-such". Boom! "Don't know what they're talking about!" So it was very hard because they were all angry towards one another and what have you, so you just didn't know where you were, who was telling the truth.

Husbands were not always a useful source of information, as the women found when they swapped notes and discovered the men had come home with different reports of the same union meeting. The husband may have difficulty in understanding the union's decisions, or verbalising them to outsiders (Hunt 1980:159). Although in the workplace, he too relies on obtaining information 'second hand' from union officials and management (Porter 1983:29). Furthermore, the 1978 dispute involved a number of complex issues which could have been variously interpreted. One Pulp and Paper Federation member's wife participating in the radio talkback explained the difficulties she faced in learning about the dispute from her husband:

> ...my husband is one of those men who sometimes doesn't really understand. The people up there will put over their point of

> view, they will tell the men what's going on and they seem to side step, and you get people like my husband ... who are willing to come home and say "I'm out for another week", and that's it. The poor wife is still really misinformed.

Those women who were in paid work at the mill, or outside of the industry, in Kawerau's businesses or schools, came across views critical of the unions. One woman, whom I met during the course of my earlier research, was a company employee and continued to work while her husband, a Pulp and Paper Federation member was suspended. Sometimes these different experiences, and exposure to a variety of interpretations of the dispute became a source of conflict between spouses. The wish to gain more, and accurate, information was expressed by several women in the study:

> (Nancy) - We only learn what is passed around from one person to the next, and sometimes it's not accurate anyway. Or it could be a biased opinion you know. In a lot of ways we are not really enlightened.

Much discussion ensued when I asked the women whether they thought wives should be entitled to express their opinions to the unions. All had a definite view on the matter, regardless of whether their family had been involved in a dispute.

Five were against any input of wives into union affairs, on the grounds that disputes occurred in their husbands' place of work, and was his business. These women perceived a clear division between the activities of home and work, and between their own and their husbands' sphere of expertise. This was a complementary view of marital roles, coupled with a principle of 'non-interference'.

> (Julia) - I might think the strike is a silly thing. [But] I don't think I would involve myself, and I don't think my husband would like me to either .. I wouldn't think it was

> really anything to do with me. It's his job .. It's his decision.
>
> (Pauline) - I don't really think they should have any say because they're not there. They don't know what's going on, they don't know what the environment's like, they don't know what the work superiors are like ... you can't really speak on something you don't know about. It's all very well to sit at home in your cosy little kitchen and have coffee with your neighbours and talk about it, but they don't really know what it's like up there ...
>
> (Cheryl) - I don't think a woman really understands what the men go through up there. I mean, sometimes we think it's just stupid when they go on strike just 'cos they want more money than what they're getting ... I don't think I'd like to be involved in that sort of thing.

Four of the women were unsure whether wives should have a say in union matters. Two said it was not a good idea, but considered involvement would depend on the severity of a dispute's effects on their family. Like the first group they believed wives and husbands had different jobs and spheres of influence.

> (Merle) - ... wives don't want strikes on the whole do they? They would rather the men get back to work and do without the rise or whatever ... possibly if I was affected badly ... If I thought my husband was wrong in his stand, I would.

Another woman also considered that the wife should not, as a rule, intrude into her husband's work, but pointed out that disputes did in fact affect wives, and she argued that there should be some union acknowledgement of their views:

> (Joanne) - I can see where the housewife has missed out because of stubborn men's attitude ... because they go on strike the money does not come into the house and it starts affecting the wife ... I think they should have a bit of a say, but not as much as the men, because it's the men that have got to do the job.

Seven women were adamant that wives should be included in union stop-work discussions. Like the rest, they considered that husbands and wives had complementary and separate family obligations, but it was precisely because of the woman's day-to-day responsibilities in managing the household and looking after the children, that they argued for wives' involvement:

> (Susana) - ... us wives should speak up and say we're sick of strikes and things like this because it's really the wives and children that suffer.
>
> (Audrey) - ... women can put a different angle on things 'cos they've got to put up with the hardship, I mean the kids have still got to go to school, the kids still wear out clothes, the power bill's still got to be paid ...
>
> (Nancy) - Oh I think they should be involved, after all they are handling a lot of financial problems in the home, and any strike does cause financial problems.

These women saw themselves as much more concerned with the practical aspects of running the home than their husbands. Some suggested that, because of this, wives were also more likely to arrive at solutions, and in a short time:

> (Anne) - I mean, well, women could sort them out quite easily ... They should say when the men should go out or not. Half their problems a woman could sort out within a couple of hours (laughs).

Some were keen on wives being involved in union decisions about strikes, but were hesitant about collectively organising with other wives (8). One indicated that she and her friends had discussed the possibilites of a public wives' anti-strike protest, though nothing came of it.

> (Barbara) - Got plenty ideas! (laughs) We could run the world quite successfully us women. But ah, whether anybody'd have the guts to put it into action. I doubt it very much....we just console each other. Make up all the things we're gonna do. Gives us something to do (laughs).

In 1978 I talked to some wives who expressed similar frustrations about their powerlessness to have their point of view heard in the dispute. They discussed the possibility of going to the Pulp and Paper Federation meetings, but decided their protest would be futile. In the radio talkback at the time, several wives expressed a desire to attend union meetings. One woman said she had asked the secretary of her husband's union if she could attend:

> He said definitely not and I got a good dressing down from him ... he said "you go out there and get a job and run the mill and then you can come to the meetings", and I said to him I felt the wives were just as important, 'cos we put the meals on the table and find money from somewhere and we should be allowed to know what's going on ...

I asked this particular union official about the wives' requests to attend meetings. He was scathing of their criticisms of the Union and did not acknowledge they indeed lacked reliable information about the dispute. His stand was that nobody had a right to attend meetings unless they were a member of the union. He held strongly the ideal of the male breadwinner as the head of the household, and was vehemently against what he saw as wives' intrusion into the male domain of work. In contrast, wives of Timberworkers Union members were invited to meetings, and those I talked to in 1978 who were involved in the union's welfare operation were supportive of the union stand.

Though some of the women indicated interest in public protest against the unions, it seems to me there are several reasons why they did not do so. Such action would have been

perceived by some as disloyalty to one's husband, of withdrawing support at a time when they were very concerned with keeping the family together. It would have meant schism in the family, and failure as a good wife and mother. One woman commented how her husband was feeling conflicting pressure from the union and her - "he felt sort of helpless. He was assailed from both sides". In addition some, who believed that the husband should be dominant in the household, were adamant he would not approve of their involvement in such protest. For other women, public action would have overstepped the boundaries of women's concerns, and intruded into the male world of work. They encountered the antagonism of some union officials, confirming their view that wives' action would be unwelcome.

Concluding comments

When the men stop work as a result of an industrial dispute, their relationship to the workplace and to their family is suddenly altered. They are no longer on call to the mill's rhythm of work; nor do they receive a wage. The wives do not have such a direct experience of the events within the mill gates; they continue in their employment inside and outside of the home. But they are affected by the loss of the breadwinner's paypacket for an unspecified time, they must adjust to having a husband at home, and, as 'strikers' wives', they must face antagonism from other residents in the community.

In an industrial dispute, the 'male-breadwinner female-homemaker' ideal becomes an important reference point in individuals' perceptions of events. The dispute involves two aspects which call into question the ideal, and the associated division between the worlds of home and work. It takes away from the breadwinner his ability to provide, and makes it more difficult for the wife to carry out her part in running the household. The spouses' respective areas of

expertise are threatened. The husband is at home, physically intruding in the wife's domain, yet, because of the lack of money he cannot involve himself in the usual 'masculine' tasks, such as household repairs. With him around, the wife feels she is being prevented from conducting her usual routine, already made more difficult by the cut in household income. The division between home and workplace is blurred, as the wife is affected by the decisions of management and unions and events of the workplace. But she has no easy access to reliable information, nor any public or legitimate channel through which to express her views. Most women are reliant on spouses as mediators of information, (Porter 1983), but many are disappointed by his apparent inability to explain the events, and feel that he does not understand their domestic position.

As Heidi Hartmann (1981) argues, the family is a 'locus of struggle' where wives and husbands undertake different activities and responsibilities. From this arises potential for tension and conflict. During a dispute habitual practices and agreements concerning the appropriate and expected responsibilities of wife and husband are upset, and the apparent private autonomy of the family is challenged by the decisions of government, company and unions. Many of the women react by blaming the unions and seeing their own interests, as homemakers, in direct opposition to the unions. The women's dependent economic circumstances and primary family responsibilities stand out as important features affecting their perceptions of, and reactions to, industrial disputes.

Footnotes

(1) Of the 16 women who participated in the in-depth interviews, three had not experienced their husbands being off work because of a dispute. Two of these were wives of salaried employees (Audrey and Joanne), and the husband of

another (Julia) started at the mill after the 1978 dispute. Of the rest, Janice's and Nancy's husbands were salaried employees at the time of the 1978 dispute. But both these women had experienced their husbands being off work through several previous disputes. The material for this chapter is obtained from the in-depth interviews, the group discussions, and interviews and participant observation carried out during fieldwork in 1978. James (1979:218-225) provides an account of the dispute.

(2) The tone of newspaper coverage of the dispute may have been coloured by the effects the dispute had on stocks of newsprint held by newspaper publishers. Tasman is the sole supplier of newsprint to the domestic market. The dispute stopped delivery of newsprint to the papers, and the Newspaper Publishers' Association considered obtaining supplies from Australia. The dwindling supplies of newsprint in themselves became newsworthy. (See NZ Herald April 28, 1978).

(3) Although the women were hostile to disputes, or were resigned to union actions, rather than supportive, wives in Kawerau have given public and active support to their husbands' unions. This is most notable in the case of wives of members of the Timberworkers Union, who were involved in the organisation of welfare services for workers' families in the 1978 dispute. Wives' support of union action has also occurred in Tokoroa, again through the provision of welfare services (Varnham 1980), and in the 1912 Waihi strike wives even attacked strike-breakers (NZ Herald October 10, 1912).

(4) Radio 1XX (Whakatane) May 9, 1978.

(5) Of those women whose husbands were off work during the 1978 dispute, three had fulltime paid work (Kathy, Mere and Pauline), one a regular part-time job (Merle) and one irregular part-time work (Anne).

(6) Geare et al.'s (1979) investigation of women's participation in unions found that it was generally low, and affected by home and family commitments, barriers within the union structure itself (such as the timimg of meetings), and the attitudes of male unionists, many of whom did not consider union positions appropriate for women. They noted a widespread lack of interest in union matters among the women union members surveyed.

(7) Mere is referring to conflict surrounding the 1981 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand.

(8) While there was no organised protest against the unions by Kawerau wives in 1978, some 30 women and children

responded to a dispute in December 1982 (after my interviews were concluded) by picketing union meetings (Evening Post December 21, 1982; Dominion December 22, 1982). Perhaps the timing of the stoppage, just before Christmas, prompted the women's actions.

ELEVEN: CONCLUSION

A theme throughout the study has been 'private' and 'public' as categories used by individuals in organising and understanding their lives. In certain situations, and in the ways experience is expressed, the women in this study identify public and private divisions as 'real'. These divisions are thought of as real, physical entities. Such distinctions, as are made between the home and the workplace and between 'man's world' and 'woman's world', constitute important features of order and structure in their lives. This thesis is concerned with how the consequences of this 'reality' are worked out in the women's lives - how they behave in respect of such 'reality'.

But private/public is a socially constructed duality. Though the private world of home and family is seen by the women as a female one, and the world of work and the mill essentially a male one, the consequences of spouses' activities are not confined to their respective domains. I have been concerned to show how analytical separation of the 'public' domain of work, and the 'private' domestic sphere obscures important features of social relations (Finch 1983:4, Stacey 1981:173). Theoretical conceptualisation of 'private' and 'public' as separate and dichotomous is inadequate for analysing women's experiences in Kawerau. Lived experience is more complex, and the 'boundaries' between 'private' and 'public' are context-bound and changeable.

The study has necessarily focussed on women's activities in the so-called private domain - home, marriage and the family - but it has paid special attention to the links and the relationships, as well as the divisions, between 'private' and 'public' as experienced and understood by the women.

In chapter 2 I identified three aspects of 'private' and 'public' pertinent to this study: the intertwined nature of 'private' and 'public' as experienced by women (Graham 1983); the ways in which the categories impose an order on women's activities, as indicated by Finch's (1983:134) discussion of a 'hierarchy of priorities' employed by women as wives and mothers; and the notion of women, though central to the 'private', acting to intervene and influence events in the 'public' domain (as exemplified in Porter's (1983) discussion of wives' reactions to strikes).

The study considers women's experiences in managing the consequences of the public sphere of work through coping with their husbands' jobs, and, in some cases, their own employment. In particular, I have sought to examine the nature of women's contributions to their husbands as members of the labourforce. The notion of service has been useful in analysing this relationship. The woman's contributions to her husband's ability to do his job, and to the continuance of marriage and family as a way of life for them all, are enduring and essential, but largely unacknowledged in public ways.

I have looked at the woman's contributions and the nature of her service, not only within the context of a specific type of community (a town of single-industry) but within the context of marriage. This relationship shapes a woman's life in a very fundamental way. If she were not attached to a man, she would not be in Finch's (1983) words, 'married to his job'. She would not be daily and pervasively concerned with maintaining and actively creating a home and family life for husband, children and herself in the particular way that the Kawerau industrial situation imposes on her; for example, in relation to shiftwork and the predominance of male only work opportunities.

Descriptions of the women's experiences is a prominent part of the study. Fieldwork has investigated what wives

actually do, and their understanding and interpretations of their responsibilities in terms of their husbands' jobs and the creation of a 'home' and family life. The women's domestic work includes management of matters consequent on the mill timetable and industrial relations, budgeting, providing meals, doing housework and caring for husband and children. In some cases this is conducted in conjunction with their own paid work and its associated demands.

Ideas and concepts from other studies of single-industry and working class communities have influenced my enquiry. Previous research has characterised single-industry towns as male-dominated and sex segregated (Dennis et al. 1956, Luxton 1980, Williams 1981). Women are specifically disadvantaged in terms of a lack of employment opportunities and consequent economic dependence on husbands.

Kawerau is typical in these respects. It is a community divided into two worlds based on gender difference. This difference is a prominent and enduring feature of the organisation of family and working life, apparent in both ideology and in the actual ways people conduct their affairs.

The sexual division of labour in Kawerau, involving a division between public industrial production and private domestic activities is not unique, but shares many characteristics of the organisation of production and work in modern western capitalist societies.

Wives of men in many occupations are called on to manage the consequences of their husbands' jobs, but I have argued that what happens to women in Kawerau reveals the relation of a wife to her husband's job in a particularly stark form. The community is conceptualised by residents as a "man's town". The public world is clearly male, epitomised by the mill where economic and political decisions are made which affect the whole community.

The mill was perceived by the women in this study as exclusively a male domain. Husbands were admired for the jobs they did, in an environment which was largely unknown to the women. Mill occupations were regarded by the women as demanding, tough, even dangerous. Not one could see herself in a production job or doing shiftwork. Such a possibility of women's employment was regarded as conflicting with women's traditional domestic responsibilities and a direct challenge to the man's duty as family breadwinner.

Yet the wife was involved in handling the consequences of conditions of work at the mill too; essentially within the confines of the home and in the framework of her domestic activities. The domestic nature of the wife's relationship to her husband's job is one 'forced' on her by the organisation of industrial production in that community. In contrast, spouses involved in farming or business may develop a more co-operative mode of work where the family is the unit of production (Delphy 1977:5; Finch 1983:9).

The most important principle articulated by the women is that of women's association with homemaking, and men's with economic support of the family. While experiencing the difficulties of running a home and looking after a family, the women nevertheless upheld the principle.

What stands out in this study is the women's adaptability and resilience in coping with the consequences of their husbands' jobs on themselves and their families. To some extent this reflects how the small number of women participating in the research were selected. They were chosen in terms of their having families, and a husband employed at the mill. The study shows how the women make order out of a potentially chaotic mix of household members' activities and the imposing schedules of institutions external to the household. Their time and energy are

devoted to the maintenance of the home, compromised and divided among a multitude of demands and priorities. Through all of this, the woman must also maintain herself as a person. This raises conflicts of choice for her, between 'self' and 'service to others'.

The notion of woman as homemaker places the identity of wife and mother as central to women's lives and involves her in service of a particular nature to others. Such service differs from the husband's obligations to his family. In specific ways it takes priority over her own personal desires, and is expected to continue all her life, from one generation to the next. The nature of that service has been revealed in this study in a consideration of the ways in which wives are 'incorporated' (Finch 1983) into their husbands' jobs.

The husband too serves the family; through paid work, which similarly takes priority over his personal desires. But his work, of a 'public' nature and valued on the market, is organised so that there is regular 'time off', holidays, sick leave and so on. Furthermore, he receives extra money for extra time worked. In contrast, the woman, as housewife, experiences her priorities to the family very differently. There is no payment, no regular pattern of being 'on duty' and 'off duty', no holidays, no union to safeguard working conditions. And although the housewife may be her own boss, she is also accountable to her husband for her actions in maintaining the home, which is, after all, a joint enterprise. Relations between spouses take place within a context of power. The husband is a figure of traditional authority in the family (Bell and Newby 1976) and the wife's activities are circumscribed by this.

The nature of 'service' for the wife can be understood as accommodation and compromise. This is clearly illustrated in relation to the husband's hours of work, an

example of the intrusion of the 'public' into the 'private'. The imposition of the industry's hours of work on the household was an experience shared by all the women, but it was dealt with by them in a variety of ways. All, however, showed a degree of subordination to the demands of an external timetable. There is no way that a wife can change or influence the hours of work. It is a condition of her husband's employment which places her in a relationship to the mill that is indirect and mediated through him. The effects of shiftwork were noted by the women as particularly pervasive, dominating relations between spouses, between the husband/father and other family members, and between family members and others.

The accommodation of the wife's domestic work to her husband's hours of work was especially apparent in her provision of meals. The cooked meal is an important symbolic and ritual event which conveys meaning about what a family is, the woman's place in the home, the man's relationship to the family, and the relations between the sexes. Mary Douglas (1975:249) analyses the meal as a 'code', expressing the pattern of social relations. I have argued that the meal symbolises male dominance in the family, the wife's deference and service to her husband, and the unity of the family. The meal, its timing and composition, indicates the importance of the husband's breadwinner status and the arduous nature of his job. A wife 'cooks as a service' to her spouse and in compliance with his timetable. She is expected to provide the right sort of food at the right time. A 'proper meal' (a cooked meal) is expected on the husband's return from the job, or, if he is on the evening or night shift, before his departure to work. It prepares him to go to work and replenishes him afterwards.

The family meal is also an important way of uniting family members in the face of the potentially disrupting and

fragmenting force of the industrial timetable. It brings the family together at a time when Dad is available. It symbolises the unity and security of the 'private', yet in the way it is organised it also reveals how features of the public take precedence within the private.

A woman's contributions and service to her family are primarily expressed through her activities within the 'private'. In comparison, a man's are expressed through his attachment to the workplace and his provision of the wage. Earned by the man in the male-dominated workplace, the wage exemplifies the sexual division of labour and responsibilities; the differences between the male world and the female world.

In this study the man's wage is not only a significant symbol of gender distinctions because of where it is earned, but also because of its amount. Most mill occupations attract higher wages than men can earn elsewhere, and certainly more than can be earned by most women. Although my enquiry has not been explicitly concerned with the husbands of the women studied, it has revealed aspects of men's experiences and relationships with women and children in the context of the 'private' (1). In particular, I have considered a man's relation to the wage from the point of view of his activities in the family in respect of the organisation of domestic finances.

The involvement of men in the family is seen through the eyes of their wives. The husband's presence in the family emerged as a dominant one in respect of the provision of the wage and the organisation of domestic finances.

The way money was handled among the families in this study indicated the nature of spouse relations as collaborative and geared to maintaining the home as an effective unit. This involved efforts at financial control

and regulation on both sides. The husband is in a strong position, in that he ensures the family's means of economic subsistence through his earnings. It is 'his' money, and that original control is not totally relinquished within the household - though it may be compromised, according to the way couples arrange their domestic finances. Importantly, it is generally the wife who deals with the day-to-day financial matters of the household. The division of tasks and responsibilities was clearly expressed by the women; he earns the money and she is responsible for seeing that it is spent wisely in the interests of the family. The wife's management skills are crucial for the family's wellbeing and serve as outward indicators of the family's standing in the community.

But when it comes to large sums of money and important financial decisions, it is a matters of joint decisionmaking and acknowledgement of the respective knowledge and expertise of each spouse. It is here that the wives' deference and lesser influence in money matters was revealed in several cases, as the husband became more involved in financial decisionmaking. While it seems that the wife has authority to maintain the 'private' (the home), financial decisions involving 'public' matters, such as changing the husband's job, or status indicators like a house or a car, sway more to the husband.

Differences in spouses' relation to money were also apparent in respect of personal spending. Like other studies (Dennis et al. 1956:201, Hunt 1980:47, Porter 1983:119) I found personal spending to be an area of conflict for some spouses and a dilemma for wives. An examination of personal spending arrangements highlighted the tension felt between self-interest and the collective requirements of the household. For the wife with no personal income (and even for wives in employment) her wise management of the

household budget directly conflicts with her personal spending requirements. Many women commented that they spent money on the children, or saved towards household purchases, rather than spending on themselves. Fathers too were expected to 'put the family first', as evidenced by some wives' criticism of husbands' expenditure on leisure activities. But the wife's personal expenditure is not legitimated in the same way as the husband's; it is not so much of a right, and not allocated as part of the budget, as in the case of some of the men.

The wife's involvement in the labourforce is an entry into the 'public' which changes the nature of public and private for the couple as both are now money earners. The woman is no longer exclusively concerned with the home, and the public invades the home through her paid work as well as his. Costs to the private stemming from the wife 'going out to work' are perceived by both spouses, and affect the way her job is managed. Even if fulfilling the largely male criterion of money-making, the woman's own monetary contribution to the household is treated as secondary to the husband's. It is secondary in the sense of being a lesser amount, and the job itself is perceived to be less important and of a less permanent nature than the husband's.

The secondary importance of the wife's earnings is conceptualised by the women in a way which highlights the domestic consequences of wives' employment. Though on the surface of it, entry into the labourforce seems to challenge the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker ideal, it is achieved in a way which retains the principle. The wife's wage is not regarded as the family's 'livelihood' but as a 'back up' for collective needs - savings towards furniture and appliances, the family holiday, or a source of funds in a time of strike. None of the women considered it feasible to have strong ambitions about their job, regarding it as a

'fill in', or just a way to get money. Others indicated they had given away serious career aspirations as domestic responsibilities increased. Involvement in paid work for women opens up the possibility of reassessing 'private' and 'public' boundaries. But the women managed their employment so that it did not challenge the primacy of women's identity as wife and mother, disrupt the children or husband, or constitute intrusion into his sphere of expertise - breadwinning.

The women attempted to resolve the conflicts inherent in coping with the demands of being a wife, mother and employee - the difficulties of operating in both 'private' and 'public' worlds - by establishing priorities in their affairs; by putting husband and children first. The women saw themselves as helping out the husband as major income earner. As with his participation in domestic matters, the wife's involvement in employment was perceived, not as an equal responsibility, but as an auxiliary contribution. The women's employment was managed to affirm their primary concern with family responsibilities; they were 'working for the family'.

The husband's wage, and all that it symbolises, in terms of his masculinity and identity as husband and father, and his primacy as economic provider for the family, give a secondary quality not only to the wife's financial contributions to the household, but also to her domestic contributions, the maintenance of home and family. They are taken for granted as the expected activities of wife, mother and homemaker. Her contributions are made in response to his public work obligations, shaped by happenings in the workplace and defined by the nature of his job.

It is in such circumstances that accommodation and compromise, as prominent attributes of the wife's situation are revealed. It may appear that the woman is autonomous in

her domestic work, having no 'boss' or clearly delineated standards to abide by. But the understanding that she is engaged in service for others through love, and the strong association of identity with 'success' in creating a home and family life, show her experience to be an ambivalent one, shaped inevitably by her relationships with others.

The woman's unavoidable and unambiguous involvement in service for other family members is unpaid, carried out in the private domain, and within the context of personal relationships. The relationship most significant for investigation in this study has been marriage. Discussion of wives' experiences of their husbands' work in a single-industry town cannot be separated from consideration of conventional western ideas and practices concerning marriage.

This study is, however, limited in that it has not systematically compared the experiences of Pakeha and Polynesian women with respect to the ways they perceive marriage, domestic and family responsibilities. Nor have I considered the implications for a woman of being married to a person of a different ethnic group and cultural background. This is common in Kawerau, experienced by five out of the 16 women involved in the in-depth interviews and several who participated in group discussions. Specific study of these women would, no doubt, elaborate different perspectives on and methods of coping with their husbands' jobs, in addition to the variety of understandings and practices already identified.

A more systematic elaboration of Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian women's experiences would involve an approach sensitive to their interpretation of the nature of life in Kawerau, and with the question of ethnicity as a central focus. This would suggest an emphasis on events and activities such as the continuity of obligations (financial

and otherwise) to the extended family, and kinship gatherings such as tangi - and how such matters are dealt with in the context of the demands of the mill on workers and their families. It is apparent from my fieldwork that Polynesian women experience a social reality where people are judged and reacted to on the basis of colour and culture. This has consequences in their relations with others, both in the private and public domains.

In this study one view of marriage predominated among both Polynesian and Pakeha: marriage as a complementary partnership of spouses with separate duties and responsibilities. It was not the rigidly sex-segregated, antagonistic type of marriage where spouses were separated in work, home and leisure, that was reported by Dennis et al. (1956) as characteristic of the single-industry town they studied. (Nevertheless, such elements were apparent among the Kawerau families; in the allocation of housework responsibilities, the lack of male involvement with day-to-day child care, and the general sexual division of labour, both domestically and publicly).

Like the wives in Komarovsky's (1967) study, the Kawerau women had expectations of companionship and communication in marriage. This co-existed with the notion of separate male and female worlds. The essense of the complementary partnership was expressed by the women as a combination of spouses' respective 'expert' skills, and being a companion to each other.

The expectation of companionship did not imply a full sharing of domestic and financial responsibilities -'egalitarian' sex roles as noted by Williams (1981:136) -but the women did expect to share in their husbands' wages, as part of the marriage partnership and the enterprise of maintaining a home. By helping and supporting their husbands in the performance of their jobs, through attention

to home and family matters, the wives expected his acknowledgement of their efforts, and to derive some understanding of the nature of work and workplace from the worker.

However, expectations of marital companionship and communication sometimes differed from actual experience. The demands of paid work on the husband compromised family time, and spouses differed in the extent to which they were able to talk about their respective experiences in the home and the workplace. Some women indicated that they found it difficult to confide in their husbands about happenings at home and their feelings about domesticity. These seemed trivial in comparison with events in his workplace, where issues of public importance and with widespread implications arose.

When it came to talking with the husband about his job, a few of the women experienced little communication. But most gained impressions of work, workmates and the workplace from husbands' discussion of gossip, incidents, problems encountered, and relations between workers. Some wives were particularly interested in union activities and questioned their spouses on such matters. There was also interest in husbands' job-related ambitions - some were studying for trade certificates. The women encouraged their husbands and often acted as sounding boards for them to express anxieties about work. But not all husbands liked to 'bring work home' and told their wives very little about the job. A lack of communication was most apparent when it came to technical aspects of the occupation. This was an area in which the wives expressed little interest, and in which they felt most removed from their husbands' work.

A division of activities into male and female, and the partial nature of spouses' understandings of each others' experiences (Porter 1983) were most clearly illustated in

this study by events surrounding an industrial dispute. Unlike their husbands, the women lacked direct experience of industrial action at the mill, and made sense of it in terms of experiences available to them - notably how they were affected in looking after the family.

The most important mediators of events to the wives at this time were their husbands. Yet there appeared to be little effective communication between spouses. Many male workers, from rank-and-file employees to union leaders, regarded disputes as solely their business, as 'public' matters to which the 'private' must acquiesce. This, of course, meant the exclusion of wives from union decisionmaking and even, in many cases, from discussion about the issues, privately and publicly.

A sudden, disruptive and personally worrying event such as a strike brings into question accepted notions of behaviour and beliefs. It prompted some of the women to query the right of men alone to make decisions about matters located in the 'public' sphere of the workplace which had domestic repercussions. Though the wives in this study eschewed the possibility of public protest, they asserted that their point of view at least should be taken into account. The women resented what they regarded as a lack of understanding on the part of the men and the unions of how strikes made their domestic work difficult, and threatened their efforts to nurture the family physically and emotionally. The strike undermined the housewife's personal standing, derived from a job well done.

The dispute brought home to the women their domestic position; its vulnerability, yet indispensibility. The women were vulnerable in that the dispute had cut off their main source of income, upon which they relied in running the household. But their efforts to make home and family life a 'success' were even more critical at such a time. The women

were aware that they were especially required to be 'understanding wives'. They knew that their husbands had little control over events, particularly those members of unions who had been suspended by the company. But the women could not fully identify with their husbands' position. The nature of the women's family responsibilities, clearly different from their husbands', resulted in tension and conflict for some couples. This was not an easy thing to overcome, and coloured many of the women's attitudes towards living in Kawerau.

The research methods used in this study arose out of relationships developed over a period of time with women resident in the community. Becoming known within the community, and getting to know some of the women well on a personal level, have enabled me to conduct the research in a way which attempts to portray their actual experiences and understandings of living in Kawerau. In particular, such an approach has enabled me critically to examine divisions between 'private' and 'public' and between 'home' and 'work' as experienced in the community.

Women, as wives and mothers in Kawerau, are in many senses confined and isolated in the home and distanced from public events. However, they are also part of the public world through employment (for some) and through the domestic services they provide for their husbands which enable men to devote time and energy to public matters.

But running a household and the creation of a fulfilling home and family life by the woman for herself and family are not simply to be seen as examples of subordination to the husband's job. They are achievements in their own right; "life-projects" (Hunt 1980:183) for both wives and husbands. The dilemma and contradiction for both spouses is that home and family aspirations can only be fulfilled through male employment in a large, technically efficient, export

industry. This involvement provides the means of subsistence, but at the same time, can present a threat to family relationships.

This study has shown that 'private' and 'public' are not static reference points in peoples' lives. The boundaries between 'private' and 'public' are constantly managed and maintained by women in the course of activities both within and outside of the home. They deal with matters which emphasise that the family is not a private, autonomous world in which individuals can act, uninfluenced by the community and industry. In Kawerau the mill provides the conditions within which many family decisions must be made: from the daily conduct of household affairs and organisation of leisure according to the rhythms of the workplace, to the circumstances of home occupation and ownership which are reliant on company policy. Even the occupational futures of their children will be weighed with the possibilities, advantages and disadvantages of 'working at the mill' in mind.

Divisions between men and women, work and home, public and private, were created, affirmed and questioned constantly as the mill workers' wives in this study went about their business of coping with the consequences of their husbands' jobs.

Footnotes

(1) This study has raised questions concerning the study of men in terms of gender, including their practices as members of a gender group, and their understandings of the world as constructed through gender. A few studies have provided insights into men and gender issues in the workplace and its consequences in the home (Dennis et al. 1956, Morgan 1981, Willis 1979). Further research on single-industry towns could consider the male worker's relation to the wage, male composed and oriented groups in work and non-work situations, male attitudes to and relationships with the family, and the ways in which the

workplace, such as a mill, typically embodies the commmonly understood masculine attributes of toughness, strength and danger. The unions are also 'masculine' organisations, both in terms of membership and style of operation.

APPENDIX A

THE RESEARCH PROCESS: A REFLEXIVE ACCOUNT

How the research was done

This appendix considers my reflections on the total research process, from its conception to completion; the specific methods used, what happened during the study, and my relationship with those who participated in the research. Ann Oakley (1981:31) lists the many aspects on which research reports do not usually comment, including the researcher's social and personal characteristics, respondents' feelings about involvement in the research, hospitality offered to the researcher, and the extension of the research encounter into more broadly-based social relationships. Oakley (1981:58) criticises approaches to research which do not include reflexive accounts of the researcher's involvement, saying:

> ...the mythology of 'hygienic' research with its accompanying mystification of the researcher and the researched as objective instruments of data production [should] 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 admit others to their lives.

I am especially concerned to talk about these issues in relation to my study, for they, as much as details of method and research procedures, tell how I obtained my knowledge about women's lives in Kawerau.

Over the past six years I have had long-standing, intermittent contact with people in Kawerau. This study evolved out of that contact. Valuable insights for the present study were gained during a community study I did in 1978, when I lived for a year in the town (James 1979). My

husband lived with me in the community and worked on the local newspaper. During this time I obtained detailed information concerning the town's demographic features, the range and nature of institutional services provided, concerns of local residents and so on. In addition, I was able to experience aspects of community life and to develop some understanding of local meanings, and of the sorts of interpretations that are placed on community events. During my stay I rented a house which had originally been one of the company rental housing stock. This gave me some impression of the living conditions experienced by many mill employees. I was also fortunate to stay with mill employees and their families on several occasions, and to be taken on tours of the mill (both official and unofficial).

The idea of investigating women's experiences of living in Kawerau grew out of my earlier research, which showed up distinctive differences between the experiences of women and men in that town. For this particular study, I wanted to present the women's experiences in their own words, and to develop analysis which stemmed from the research material. I was concerned that the study should constitute more than a collection of individual stories; a major task in consequence, was to view these experiences within the wider contexts of the organisation of family life and paid work within their community.

The research developed from my own experience of the town and through contact with many women (some over several years). In order to obtain information in a systematic and disciplined way, I decided to use in-depth semi-structured interviews in association with unstructured group discussions (each technique is examined below). In the course of the research I also drew on discussions with company personnel and informal conversations with residents, and consulted statistics and other published material. I

chose these techniques because I believed they would facilitate a sensitive examination, rather than imposing rigidly my own conceptual framework on the participants in the study. The study focuses on how individuals interpret their experience(1).

The in-depth interviews were conducted with women who are wives and mothers, as I am particularly interested in their experience of living in a single-industry town. However, a wider range of women participated in the group discussions. (See Appendix B for a description of these groups and of the individuals interviewed in depth). Their views provide some useful contrasts to facilitate my understanding of those to whom I chose to limit my in-depth enquiries. The next sub-section examines the nature of the group discussions, which were free-flowing and recorded on tape. Their subsequent analysis was instrumental in formulating questions asked in the in-depth interviews.

For comparative purposes it would have been valuable to investigate men's experiences of 'home' and 'work' in Kawerau. I was unable to undertake such a study, for various practical reasons. However, informal observation, conversation and note-taking did involve men.

The study is inherently limited in that it examines the lives of only a small number of women. Sixteen were involved in the individual interviews, and 32 in the group discussions. Seven women participated in both. Inevitably, from what has already been said, the women participating in the study were not chosen on a random basis. They were selected according to their domestic circumstances and their acquaintance with me. I do not claim that their views and experiences are representative of all women in Kawerau, or of women in other towns.

Constraints of time and distance influenced the number of interviews I was able to do. During the research for

this thesis I was not resident in Kawerau. In all I conducted four fieldtrips in university holidays over 1981 and 1982. During these times I resided a few kilometres outside of the town, but had frequent contact with the participants in the study.

The group discussions

The first step in conducting the research was for me to refine my general knowledge and experience of families in Kawerau and thereby focus on women with a range of experiences of living in the town. This called for an informal situation where I could explain my research interests, receive some feedback, and generate discussion on what the women regarded as salient features and issues of concern in their lives.

Small discussion groups served these purposes well. The women involved were recruited by friends I had got to know during my earlier research. They selected themselves for participation in the study.

Thirty-two women brought a diversity of experience and interests to the group discussions. They included single women, married and solo parents; employed and unemployed women and fulltime housewives; Pakeha, Maori and Pacific Islander. Their husbands worked in a variety of occupations within and outside of the dominant industry. They represented several age groups, from young mothers in their twenties to grandmothers.

Ranging in size from three to six, the groups provided an informal, intimate and friendly environment. Within each group the women knew one another, having been recruited on the basis of friendship or common involvement (such as sport or workplace). All except one group met in private homes (the exception met in a school building). These were 'once

only' meetings, called for the purpose of my research, but in several I got the feeling that for some of the women similar conversations had occurred at other times and in other gatherings.

Conversation was aided by refreshment. Throughout the study I received hospitality in abundance, not only in the way of food and drink provided in an almost ritual manner as part of the interviews and discussions, but also from friends upon whom I sometimes relied for a place to relax and recharge my energies.

The group discussions were largely free-flowing. I commenced by introducing myself and explaining my interest in their experiences as women living in Kawerau, and particularly in the effects of the dominant industry on their lives (2).

The discussions were lengthy (often over two hours) and wide ranging. Their impressions of Kawerau, the early days of mill construction and community development, their own employment experiences, coping with shiftwork and strikes, pollution from the mill, bringing up children, the prevalence of gossip in the community, problems of isolation and depression faced by housewives, money worries, marital conflict and breakdown, the lack of shopping facilities and other shortcomings in services were some of the topics discussed.

There was very little hesitation or awkwardness in getting the women to speak. Group members were known to one another, and my presence, as part of a group, was less intrusive than in the case of a face-to-face interview with one person. In fact I was surprised how freely some of the women poured out their problems in front of a group, and a tape recorder. (In this sense, the group functioned like a consciousness-raising group, though this was not its deliberate intent) (3).

There were a couple of occasions that demonstrated the tape recorder was never completely forgotten by some individuals. They would laughingly ask me to ignore a comment when I reviewed the tape, or to switch it off when what they regarded as a sensitive issue was raised. I also observed that, in both the group discussions and individual interviews that came out of those meetings, conversation would continue after the session had finished and the tape was switched off. Sometimes it was only at this stage that important concerns or ambivalences would be revealed. In both the case of group discussions and individual interviews I made notes about what occurred before, during and after the meetings. This included information about the participants, the surroundings, and the discussion.

The group discussions followed no set pattern, and participants were encouraged to raise topics of interest or concern. If discussion lagged I introduced issues in the form of anecdotes or general opinions and asked for their responses. (Some of the questions in the in-depth interviews were presented in this way as well). For example, I asked several groups what they thought of a local view that married women, with husbands earning 'good money' at the mill, should not take on paid work.

The group context of interaction revealed the common ground of the women's understandings of living in the community, and encouraged the exchange of ideas. It soon became clear there was wide agreement on some matters. Kawerau was deemed to be a 'man's town', and also a 'great place to bring up children'. Such statements are clearly understood by local women, rich in meaning but seldom elaborated. These common wisdoms became important points for me to explore.

Each group had its own character, arising out of the combination of participants and the issues they highlighted.

In one large group, all except one were Pakeha. Much of their discussion revolved around the transition they had experienced (or were about to experience) from being mothers at home to seeking employment - a difficult task in the community. The demands that childrearing exerted on women were revealed, and the rights of mothers to take on employment debated.

A second large group consisted of Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian women. They compared their respective childhoods in small rural communities, the cultural differences experienced, and the pressures of being Polynesian in a Pakeha-dominated community and society. Prominent concerns were education and employment opportunities for their children, and the way in which their young people are perceived to be social problems by others in the town. Relations between Polynesian and Pakeha were raised in another group, this time with a more personal emphasis as three had experienced 'mixed marriage'. Much of their discussion explored this issue.

A fourth group provided a different perspective on Kawerau to the others. All were middle-aged women who had lived in the town almost since its establishment. Three were European immigrants whose husbands or fathers had been recruited to the mill labourforce. They were able to talk about the development of town and industry, and associate such events with changes in their own lives.

A younger group who lived in one of the newer subdivisions discussed the problems they encountered as residents of such areas, and another group which included a single woman and solo mothers discussed the accommodation and employment difficulties they had encountered in the town.

While most of the women expressed some dislikes about Kawerau and recounted specific problems they had

experienced, one group developed a coherent and sophisticated critique of the town. The basis of their dissatisfaction with Kawerau as a place to live revolved around what they saw as the power of the dominant industry and company over the community.

One consequence of group discussions may be that individuals feel reluctant to challenge the common wisdoms expressed collectively. However, most seemed to find it easy to voice disagreement. This may have reflected the non-threatening atmosphere of the groups and that participants were already known to one another. However, individuals were involved differently - a few said almost nothing. In the smaller groups conversation was more evenly spread than in the larger. A disadvantage of the group discussions was the range of subjects raised, and often their treatment in a superficial way. It became apparent that another situation, such as a one-to-one interview, would provide a different type of information.

The in-depth interviews

The group discussions enabled me to identify interesting topics and to make contact with particular women likely to be suitable to interview in-depth. The women were selected for interviewing through a variety of channels. I asked seven of the women involved in the group discussions to participate in the in-depth interviews, and all agreed. They were chosen on the basis of their domestic circumstances; they were married, had children and their husbands were employed at the mill. Many of the women involved in the group discussions did not fit those requirements I had identified in selecting participants for the in-depth interviews. As well as the seven from the group discussions who agreed to participate, three were known to me from my former research and the rest were

obtained with the help of friends and through those already interviewed. (I was amused to learn at a later stage that those who knew me were 'grilled' for details about the project and myself by prospective participants).

I was guided in my choice by my main theoretical interests: the sexual division of labour and the relationship between home and workplace. I decided to concentrate on women who were married (legally or de facto) and had children. I was especially interested in talking to women with dependent children, but I also sought those with older children so that changes in the experience of mothering could be explored. Most of the women I interviewed had teenaged children and younger. However, one had three adult children still living at home and another had children who were resident away at school during term time.

Although an investigation of domestic work is a key concern of the study, I have not limited my focus to fulltime housewives. By interviewing both employed and non-employed women I have gained insights into how a paid job is managed in conjunction with domestic responsibilities, and how a woman's employment status changes over her adult life. (Investigation of previous as well as current employment was made).

I felt it was important to gain some understanding of Maori women's experiences of living in Kawerau, not only because a sizeable proportion of local residents are Maori (about 30 percent), but also because of the valuable understanding and support I had received from some Maori women during my previous study. In addition, some of the contrasts that had arisen in the group discussions concerned the different experiences of Polynesian and Pakeha; these were in relation to childrearing, marriage, cultural values, living standards and discrimination. In the course of the

group discussions I was also fortunate in being introduced to several Pacific Island women, one of whom elaborated her experience in a lengthy in-depth interview.

Finally, being aware of the fundamental division in the town between hourly paid and salaried employees, I wanted to focus on women whose husbands were production workers in the larger of the two mills which employs the majority of the local labourforce. This requirement was imposed in an effort to ensure some commonalities among the women. The inclusion of wives of middle and upper-level management would have introduced further diversity of experience in such areas as income, lifestyle, housing and in relation to their husbands' jobs (Pahl and Pahl 1971, Papanek 1973, Edgell 1980). This would have required a far larger number of interviews to develop a detailed comparison. While most women in the study were hourly paid workers' wives, I did end up interviewing four wives of salaried workers, though none were wives of middle and upper level management staff. The husbands of three of these wives had been promoted up the ranks of the hourly paid positions to line management positions, and therefore fitted within Steven's (1978) broad definition of the working class as outlined in the Introduction. These women were able to share particularly valuable insights into the mill's occupational hierarchy and its influence on wives. They talked about how their husbands' changes in rank in the mill had affected their association with others, and residential status.

The individual interviews were conducted by means of a questionnaire which set out a range of questions to be asked of each participant (see Appendix C for the questionnaire). I commenced each interview with an explanation of my research interest and an assurance that confidentiality would be respected (4).

The questions covered the following topics in sequence: personal details, the household daily routine, the domestic

division of labour, the woman's work history, attitudes towards paid work for women, childrearing, views about marriage, domestic financial arrangements, the husband's job - shiftwork and industrial disputes, leisure activities of family members, views about sexual equality. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The limitation of a formal questionnaire is to impose the interviewer's concerns and pre-conceived understandings of the situation on the participant. However, within the structure of the interview I made sure that free-flowing discussion, sensitive to the women's concerns, took place. The sequence of questions was not followed in every case, and the questions were phrased to encourage each woman to elaborate on her experience. Often in response to the women's answers, questions were modified, or additional ones asked, so that dialogue developed.

The interview questions were constructed from two main sources; the group discussions and other sociological studies of work and family life. From the group discussions three issues emerged which highlighted the sexual division of labour and women's experiences of home and the workplace. These were domestic financial arrangements, shiftwork and industrial disputes. Each focuses on a particular facet of the woman's relationship to her husband's job. The first examines this through the way decisions are made about the husband's pay-packet in the household, and the second focuses on how hours of work affect domestic organisation. Though neither of these situations is without the potential for conflict, each is part of the daily and weekly routine of the household. The third facet, industrial disputes, provides an opportunity for examining a crisis; when the routines and expectations concerning the pay-packet and hours of work are disrupted. In such situations the complexities and contradictions of social relationships may

be revealed. Domestic financial arrangements, shiftwork and industrial disputes constituted the key areas of questioning and subsequent analysis. Important contextual background was provided by the remainder of the interview questions.

I was also guided in developing the questions by the studies of Komarovsky (1967), Edgell (1980), Hunt (1980) and Williams (1981). Edgell includes the questionnaire schedules he used in his book, and the others provide information on questions asked within the body of their work. Komarovsky and Williams were particularly helpful references for developing questions about images and expectations of marriage. Williams also included questions on domestic finances and shiftwork. Edgell was useful for constructing questions relating to domestic finances, the domestic division of labour, women's participation in the labourforce, and views about the equality of the sexes. Hunt provided additional guidelines to questions about the domestic routine, women's experiences in the labourforce and attitudes towards paid work.

It became apparent during the early stages of analysis that the interviews did not include all the information I would have liked at that stage to obtain. There were also questions that proved unclear, or the answers to which suggested matters that I had not come adequately to appreciate. For example, one of the strong, early impressions I had was the youthful age of marriage of some of the women. The combination of early marriage and motherhood appeared as a significant experience in their lives, but I had neglected to ask for simple details of such experiences, for example, age at marriage and at the birth of the first child. These and other questions were included in later interviews. In some cases the content of the interviews themselves, or a check back with the women concerned provided an adequate answer.

My awareness of sexist assumptions inherent in the questions formulated, which in turn may obscure the experience of women, was not always as acute as I would have liked. For instance, I asked if the spouses talked about the husband's job, but neglected to inquire about conversation concerning the wife's occupation. This was corrected early by some women mentioning how they talked about their own employment or day at home. I tried to word questions in a neutral manner, to avoid assumptions about gender which might have prompted a certain response. For example, I was careful not to imply that women should automatically take responsibility for domestic work, or that mothers should not take on paid work. However, many of the women strongly supported sex-differentiated activities. In particular, the questions on women's employment elicited much support for the view that motherhood should take priority over paid work. Like Woodward and Chisholm (1981:177) I found that the nature of many of my questions were perceived by some to emphasise a preoccupation with paid work, marital conflict and sexual inequality, rather than with the satisfactions of being a housewife and mother. This came out as the interviews progressed and enabled me more fully to understand their views. Certainly, the facts that I do not have children, that my marital situation is different from theirs, and that I have a feminist perspective, underline the differences in our experiences and views. These differences were to prove valuable in stimulating discussion, and in encouraging the elaboration of points of view.

Involvement in the research certainly affected the way the women thought about their lives. They considered aspects of their lives that may not have been consciously examined before, especially in an interview setting and, for some, in conversation with a person little known to them. Marriage and the equality of the sexes were issues which

prompted careful, and occasionally uncomfortable, reflection on their own situation.

The questions that the women found most difficulty in responding to were the final ones concerning sexual equality. I included these general questions to get some idea of the way they saw the relations between the sexes. It was clear that many had not thought about the issue in an abstract way. This in itself was an important discovery. It also emerged that almost all saw sexual equality as a matter of 'equal rights'. The areas most frequently referred to were access to male-dominated occupations and equal pay. Many also took equality to mean a 'unisex society' where sex differences would cease to exist - a vision of society they did not support. Most saw sexual equality as offering only limited gains for women, often at the expense of the family, a world with which they identified, and in which they felt secure. Some saw it as a matter of individual choice; the way in which a woman chooses to conduct her own marriage and life; not as a feature of social structures and relationships. Comments from Polynesian women, and wives in mixed marriages revealed that, for them, equality has different cultural meanings. A shortcoming of this study is that, although non-Pakeha women are included, the distinctiveness of their views and experience, related to their involvement in a Pakeha-dominated society, is not fully explored. This thesis places their experience largely within a Pakeha conceptual framework, thus providing a limited understanding of their lives in Kawerau.

In-depth and semi-structured interviews have been used extensively in recent studies of women from a feminist perspective and have resulted in much knowledge being gained about women's lives. Depending on the questions asked, and the atmosphere of the interview, detailed information can be

gained, and sensitive issues carefully treated. The interviews I conducted used structured questions, but elaboration of ideas was encouraged. Many open-ended questions were also included. Each interview finished with the suggestion that the woman might like to make additional comments relating to any particular question, or to ask me questions about anything they wished. Almost all made further comments, and they indicated to me some of the women's main concerns. At this stage of the interview they had had time to think through their ideas and could present them in a way unconstrained by the framework of particular questions. For example, one woman expanded further on her experiences of a mixed marriage; another discussed what she considered were the causes of marriage breakdown; and a third told of her annoyance at how her husband's occupational status affected her interactions with others in leisure situations.

More than half the women asked me questions at the conclusion of their interviews, and a variety of topics were covered. I was asked about the research: why I was doing a degree, what I would do with the information, and how I would "make sense of it all". One asked about confidentiality, while another wanted to know how other women had responded to the interview. In addition, I was asked for my views: what I thought of Kawerau as a place to live, Maori-Pakeha relations in the community and equality between the sexes. A desire to know about my views and life was also apparent in the group discussions (see Chapter 3). In all cases I responded, and feel that especially in the group discussions, my willingness to answer questions was important for the development of trust.

While the interview as a research technique has been used extensively in feminist studies, it has also been subject to criticism (Oakley 1981, Graham 1983). The main

criticisms concern the suitability of the method for revealing authentically women's lives. Though using the interview in her research on motherhood, Oakley made critical changes to the traditional textbook interview procedures, because she found them incompatible with interviewing women. Oakley (1981:36-37) found the traditional interviewing framework restrictive because of the associated assumptions about the interview as a mechanical instrument of data collection, and the relationship between interviewer and subject as a hierarchical one, between passive subject and neutral and detached interviewer.

Oakley outlines three reasons for developing personal relationships with the women in her study. First, she did not want to relate to the women simply as sources of data to be mined. Second, she wanted to develop the interview as a way of recording women's experiences. Third, in order to gain rapport, Oakely felt it was important to give of herself in the interviews. "No intimacy without reciprocity" seemed an especially important consideration when conducting several interviews with each woman over a period of time (Oakley 1981:48-49).

While Oakley promotes the interview as a useful means of documenting women's lives, Graham, in her discussion of the survey method, raises the feminist theme of women's silence in the construction of knowledge (this point is taken up in the Introduction). She argues that in crucial ways the structure of the interview subtley obscures or only partially records women's experiences. Interviewing with questions drafted by a woman does not of itself remove the shortcomings of the technique. For example, the interview focuses on verbal communication, so that what cannot be put into words cannot be taken into account (Graham 1983:143). To some extent I experienced this difficulty in asking

questions about sexual equality, a concept which had little or no meaning for some of the women. An emphasis on verbal communication can also be problematic when interviewing women of another culture. As well as possible misunderstandings, there may be important non-verbal communication which is missed by the interviewer. Furthermore, an emphasis on speech means that the interviewer is relying on the respondent to report truthfully and accurately on feelings, past behaviour and future intentions - a demanding expectation!

When interviewing for this thesis I was alerted to the significance of non-verbal communication in conveying meaning. Hobson (1978) comments that one of the problems in transferring spoken to written language is in recording the significance of intonation, pauses, changes in volume and other non-verbal communication. She suggests that laughter is of particular importance in understanding women's interpretations of their experiences. Laughter can indicate many things which words themselves hide; a taboo subject, avoidance of criticism, or awareness of contradictions in attitudes or behaviour (Hobson 1978:81-82).

Finally, Graham (1983:143) observes that the interview only provides a snapshot of reality. The information gained is assumed to be accurate and representative of the individual's experiences and views, yet interpretation could change over time and from one context to another. Repeating interviews can overcome some of these difficulties. Though not able to do this, I did have the advantage of talking to some of the women both in groups and individually. This allowed me to explore further their views and to compare the 'common wisdoms' of the group with individual understandings of the world.

Clearly, the interview method has its limitations and should not be used uncritically or unreflexively. However,

I consider, like Oakley, that it can be an important method for recovering the details of women's lives.

Analysis

All interviews and group discussions were carried out by me. They were tape recorded and then transcribed on to a word processor. I was helped in this tedious and time consuming task by three assistants. I made sure the transcriptions were as accurate as possible, by checking them with the tapes on completion. Transcribing the interviews was straightforward, as the quality of sound was good, but the group discussions posed their own problems. In some, passages of conversation were impossible to decipher because of laughter, individuals speaking too softly, background noise (often children), and several people talking at once. This was especially the case with the larger groups, some of which developed into lively, party-like affairs. However, I was still able to transcribe most of these tapes, and gained some of the most telling insights from these discussions. I did not transcribe some parts of the group discussions which had no relevence to the study, or which revealed personal troubles which were not the business of the research to probe (5).

I used the "Editor" program of a PRIME 750 computer to organise and categorise the interview and discussion material. This enabled me to do an efficient, comprehensive and systematic cataloguing of the material. The computer cannot of course construct analytical categories, impose them on the material, and interpret it. Initially I read a selection of the interviews and group discussions, identifying the main themes and issues raised. A list of categories was made in this way and covered the following areas: childrearing, class and status relations, children's education, the women's education, domestic finances, gender

relations and sexual equality, gossip, housework, kinship, leisure, views about Kawerau, intermarriage, marriage, marital conflict, friends and neighbours, Pakeha-Polynesian interaction, shiftwork, strikes, views about the company, women's paid work, women's work histories, the husband's work, and housing. To each of the categories was attached key words used by women in the study to express the same ideas. The 'common wisdoms' of the groups were useful references. For example (not all categories and key words are shown):

Category	Key words
Shiftwork	shift, four to twelve, weekends, midnight, days off, routine.
Strike	stop work, union, media, dispute, suspended.
Money	breadwinner, good wage, comfortable, commitment, security, budget.
Marriage	partnership, respect, give and take, companionship, depend.
Housework	housewife, cleanliness, washing, cooking.

Using a computer programme I located all passages where the key words occurred and built up a file of material on each theme. Material was easily cross-referenced.

The categories were purposefully broad, and as much as possible of the interviews and discussions were included. Inevitably, parts did not fall into the categories I devised. These were, however, minor compared to the material covered, and kept in a 'miscellaneous' file. This was consulted while writing and information used from it where applicable.

The next step was writing. I have tried to convey the essence of these women's lives by using their own words as

appropriate. All are quoted (6), though some feature more than others, if they epitomised a view held by many, or if their particular experience required some elaboration. Inevitably I have interpreted their words, and imposed categories and structures on the processes of their lives.

Obtaining feedback from the women involved in the study is a valuable way of reflecting on how I have interpreted their stories. This has not been done in any extensive or systematic way, because of the constraints of time and distance. However, in a recent trip to Kawerau in October 1984, I was able directly or indirectly to contact nine of the women who were involved in the study and give them copies of several of the chapters. Their responses were interesting and encouraging. One wrote "Feel you have really captured a good picture of the community". Where applicable, some of their responses have been added as a commentary to the study in the final stages of writing the thesis.

Concluding Comments

Finally, I would like to review the methods and techniques I have employed, in terms of their usefulness and applicability to the aims of the research. My main purpose has been to find out about women's lives in New Zealand, particularly their domestic experiences, and to identify and conceptualise aspects of their experiences. In carrying this out, my study has been confined to an examination of a small number of women in a community of a particular type - a single-industry town.

The thesis takes its order and structure from two main sources; first, the diverse influences, insights and understandings gained through my association with the women and their community over the last six years. Second, I have

been guided by feminist ideas concerning sociological theory and research. These have sensitised me to the processes involved in coming to 'know' and 'theorise' about social life.

Those writing about the process of doing research from a feminist perspective have rejected the notion of any particular method as the only correct or appropriate one. However, Klein (1983:89) observes that since research and theorising are largely conducted within a male-dominated frame of reference, feminist researchers need to consider "...which methods are best suited to our quest for feminist knowledge in which women's concerns are central and inspire our questions."

The literature has most strongly impressed on me that doing research about women should be guided by the following principles: it should be woman-centred, non-manipulative of the participants, reflexive and politically committed (in the sense of being concerned with the possibilities of change in women's lives). I can only evaluate partially my activities as researcher in terms of how they have reflected such concerns; in the final analysis the study itself, and the way it is viewed by the women involved provides evidence of those concerns.

The study is woman-centred in its themes, participants and the development of a theoretical account of their lives. I have attempted to derive from the women's experiences and their understandings of those, explanations of life in their community which reflect their reality.

Describing and conceptualising women's experiences from perspectives alternative to those of traditional, androcentric theory is however a difficult task, since the "...languages and theories we have to work with still lack the very concepts by which the experience and reality of

women's lives can be named, described and understood" (du Bois 1983:110). Such a task requires, in Gramsci's terms, a break from the hegemony of the androcentric world view and the development of new concepts that express the nature of women's experiences.

In conducting the research, I have been aware of the importance of non-hierarchical, non-manipulative approaches. Though mainly reliant on the interview as a way of obtaining information, I argued earlier that it cannot be used uncritically. It is hierarchical and distancing in effect if used as a 'tool of data collection' (Oakley 1981:32), rather than to facilitate communication between researcher and participant. Oakley (1981:51) precisely identifies the contradication inherent in the interview technique (as understood in conventional social research terms) - the need for rapport and intimacy in order to gain information conflicts with a desire for interviewer 'neutrality'.

Clearly, my involvement in this study is not an inpartial one. I have become committed to the community and to individuals within it. I have expressed opinions on various local and other matters to people in this study, and have become as defensive of the town's 'bad image' (James 1979:225) as any resident.

I have come to know some of the women well over the last six years and regard them as friends. The stimulating and interesting nature of some of the in-depth interviews reflects the value of developing relationships with others prior to and as part of the research process, rather than remaining the neutral, unbiased interviewer. In retrospect, spending time resident in the community during this study, conducting more than one interview with each woman, and perhaps also organising follow-up group discussions, would have helped greatly in making the research process more egalitarian and collaborative, and thus more fully reflective of the women's experiences and concerns.

I have attempted a reflexive approach throughout the study. The contrasts between my own experiences, background, characteristics and views, and those of the women have been an important source of information and a sensitive means of examining and changing the emphasis and direction of the research. This is shown most obviously in Chapter 3, which was inspired by the women's questions about my background and domestic circumstances. The exchange of information between us underlies the thesis as a whole.

Lastly, feminist discussions of methodology have emphasised issues concerning the accessibility of research, its usefulness to the participants and its political implications. Klein (1983:90) makes an important distinction between research 'on' women; that, though looking at women's lives many do so using androcentric theory and methods; and research 'for' women. The latter Klein defines as research which attempts to take the participants' needs, interests and experiences into account, and aims to be instrumental in improving women's lives in some way. My research was not formulated with any overt political goal in mind, but I believe it opens up ways for women to consider change. By participating in this study, both as individuals and collectively in group discussions, the women have become more conscious of their experiences. Information provided by this study can be used by them and others to understand, analyse, and perhaps change their lives and the conditions of the community in which they live.

I would like to leave the reader with one impression - of the abilities and achievements of these Kawerau women, and above all of their indefatigability, determination and dedication in dealing with home responsibilities, their own employment, and their husbands' jobs.

Footnotes

(1) The following works on methodology have been useful in directing my approach to the research: Glaser and Strauss (eds) 1967, Douglas 1976, Bell and Newby (eds) 1977, Roberts (ed) 1981, Bowles and Klein (eds) 1983, Stanley and Wise 1983.

(2) My focus on the industry was not challenged by any of the women, including those whose husbands were not directly connected to the mill. For them also, the mill was an important reference point in their daily lives.

(3) In a consciousness raising group women talk about their individual experiences together and from that build an understanding of 'being a woman' in the context of their situations.

(4) Many of the participants in the study knew one another and undoubtedly talked about their involvement in it. The difficulty for me has been to preserve the women's anonymity to the reader. Yet at the same time the nature of the study requires discussion of details pertaining to family and work circumstances and extensive quotation from interviews and discussion. This can easily identify an individual in a community the size of Kawerau. Sensitive to the requirements of confidentiality, I have used the conventional methods of changing names, and personal details where it does not affect discussions and analysis, and in some instances omitting names from quotations.

(5) In the former category fell discussion about illegal activities, the loss of one woman's dog and the detrimental effects of pop music on the younger generation. In the latter were included trouble with kin and marital violence.

(6) I have indicated in the text whether quotations are from individual interviews or group discussions. Quotes are direct and any emphasis is the woman's own. I have edited out phrases such as 'you know' and 'ums' when they became excessive. Omission of words is indicated by: ... Lengthy pauses and laughter are indicated in brackets thus : (pause). Grammar has not been changed, though clarification (my interpretation of what was said) is provided in some quotes in square brackets []. In most cases quotations can be identified by name or group affiliation. Occassionally this has been deliberately ommitted when a matter is of a sensitive, intimate or potentially embarrassing nature.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION CONCERNING PARTICIPANTS IN THE STUDY

I PARTICIPANTS IN THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS:

Fulltime Housewives

1 Joanne

Years in Kawerau:	10
Age:	34
Own definition of ethnicity:	part Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	3
Husband's occupation:	Foreman: '5 and 2' day worker

2 Kelly

Years in Kawerau:	23
Age:	23
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: Continuous shiftworker

3 Susana

Years in Kawerau:	16
Age:	34
Own definition of ethnicity:	Samoan
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	3
Husband's occupation:	Operator: Continuous shiftworker

4 Cheryl

Years in Kawerau:	15
Age:	27
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: '6 and 2' dayshift worker

5 Pamela

Years in Kawerau:	5
Age:	24
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Production Worker: '5 and 2' day worker

6 Fay

Years in Kawerau:	7
Age:	28
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Operator: Continous shiftworker

7 Barbara

Years in Kawerau:	20
Age:	28
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Operator: Continuous shiftworker

Part-time Paid Workers

8 Kathy

Years in Kawerau:	10
Age:	32
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	4
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: '6 and 2' day shiftworker
Own occupation:	Teacher

9 Julia

Years in Kawerau:	13
Age:	35
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	5
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: '6 and 2' day shiftworker
Own occupation:	Journalism

10 Audrey

Years in Kawerau:	7
Age:	32
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Staff: '5 and 2' day worker
Own occupation:	Teachers aid

11 Merle

Years in Kawerau:	13
Age:	39
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	4
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: '5 and 2' day worker
Own occupation:	Clerical worker

12 Janice

Years in Kawerau:	20
Age:	38
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	3
Husband's occupation:	Superintendent: '5 and 2' day worker
Own occupation:	Clerical worker

13 Anne

Years in Kawerau:	23
Age:	34
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Samoan
Number of children:	3
Husband's occupation:	Production Worker: '6 and 2' day shiftworker
Own occupation:	Cleaner

Full-time Paid Workers

14 Pauline

Years in Kawerau:	5
Age:	32
Own definition of ethnicity:	Pakeha
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Pakeha
Number of children:	2
Husband's occupation:	Tradesman: '6 and 2' day shiftworker
Own occupation:	Clerical worker

15 Nancy

Years in Kawerau:	19
Age:	41
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	3
Husband's occupation:	Foreman: Continuous shiftworker
Own occupation:	Teacher

16 Mere

Years in Kawerau:	24
Age:	48
Own definition of ethnicity:	Maori
Definition of husband's ethnicity:	Maori
Number of children:	6
Husband's occupation:	Production Worker: '6 and 2' day shiftworker
Own occupation:	Teacher

II PARTICIPANTS IN THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS:

Group A

Five women, including Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian. Several had mixed marriages to Pakehas. Only one had a husband who was a mill worker. Their ages ranged from the early thirties to late forties. All had children. Two were employed part-time, one as a cleaner and the other in clerical work.

Group B

Four women, in their thirties. Included Maori, Pacific Island Polynesian and Pakeha. All had been brought up in Kawerau and their husbands worked at the mill. All had children, pre-school and school aged. One was a solo parent. Two had part-time jobs.

Group C

Five women, Maori and Pakeha. All had husbands working at the mill, and all except one had experienced shiftwork. In their thirties, they had children ranging from pre-school to school aged. Three had part-time jobs - cleaner, shop assistant and school helper.

Group D

Five women, all long-standing residents of Kawerau. Included European immigrants. All in forties with older children. All employed in occupations including clerical, shop work and insurance. Husbands worked in the mill.

Group E

Six women. A varied group including Pakeha, Maori and European immigrants, solo parents and ranging in age from late twenties to forties. Some had husbands working outside of the dominant industry; one had his own business. Only one woman was employed.

Group F

Four women, all brought up in Kawerau and now in their early thirties. Included a solo parent and one woman without children. All had husbands working in the mill. Two were fulltime employed in clerical work.

Group G

Three women, two solo parents and one single. All fulltime employed. One, a European immigrant, had lived in Kawerau for over 20 years, and the other two had been brought up in the town.

APPENDIX C

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

I. BACKGROUND DETAILS

First of all, I have some background questions:

1. Where were you born?

2. How long have you lived in Kawerau?

3. How old are you?

4. Now I would like to know who lives in this household.

   (a) Firstly - how many adults are there?
   - what is their relationship to you?

   (b) And - how many children are there?
   - ages of children.
   - what is their relationship to you?

5. Own ethnicity.

6. Husband's ethnicity.

7. Do you have a paid job?
   What is that job?

8. What is your husband's occupation?
   Is he on shiftwork?

9. How old were you when you left school?

   Did you have any qualifications when you left school?
   (If so, what were these?)

   Do you have any further qualifications?

IIa HOUSEWIVES ONLY

1. First of all, I would like you to describe to me your day at home. What did you do yesterday, from the time you got up, to when you went to bed?

   - was this a typical day? (If no, what was different about it).

   - (shiftworkers' wives only) does shiftwork change your daily routine?

   If so, in what way?

2. What do you think are the best things about being at home?

   What are the worst things about being at home?

Now I'd like to ask some questions about any jobs you may have had:

3. Have you had a job - (a) since you came to Kawerau to live?
   - (b) since you left school?

   (If yes, go to 4)
   (If no, go to 5)

4. What was that job?

   Why did you leave it?

   (Go through and find out for all jobs and reasons for leaving up to present).

5. Would you like a fulltime job now?
   Why/Why not?

   Would you like a part-time job now?
   Why/Why not?

   (If yes, go to 6)
   (If no, go to 7)

6. What type of job would you like now?

7. Is there a time in the future when you would like a job?
   Why/Why not?

   (If yes - what type of job would you like?)

8. Would your husband like you to have a fulltime job?
   Why/Why not?

   Would your husband like you to have a part-time job?
   Why/Why not?

IIb PAID WORK - WOMEN

I would like to ask some questions about your job as a ..... (occupation).

1. How many hours a week do you work?

2. Is it a permanent or temporary job?

3. How long have you been in your present job?

4. How did you come to get this job?

5. Why did you choose this job?

6. What do you like about your job?

7. Is there anything you dislike about your job?

8. What do you look for, in a job?

9. Have you had any other jobs - (a) since you came to Kawerau?
   - (b) since you left school?

   (If yes, go to 10)
   (If no , go to 11)

10. What was that job?

    Why did you leave it?

    (Find out all jobs and reasons for leaving up to present.)

    Why did you decide to return to work?

11. Did you discuss - going to work)
    - returning to work) with your husband?

    What did he think about your going to work?

    What does your husband think about you working, now?

12. Now I would like you to describe your day.

    What did you do on your last working day?

    (From the time you got up, to when you went to bed)

    - was this a typical day?
      (if no, what was different about it?)

    - (shiftworkers' wives only) does shiftwork change your daily routine? (if so, in what way?)

13. What do you consider are the benefits of working outside of the home?

14. What are the disadvantages of working outside of the home?

15. What you do think are the best things about being at home?

16. What are the worst things about being at home?

17. How do you find, having a paid job, and looking after the home as well?

18. Do you have any ambitions about your work?

III DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE FAMILY

Now I have some questions about who does the housework in your family.

1. Who has the major responsibility for housework in this household?

2. Do other family members help you with the housework?

3. I have a list of jobs here. Could you please tell me who does what?

   - cooks meals
   - washes the dishes
   - maintains the car
   - does the household repairs
   - looks after the garden
   - does the shopping
   - does the laundry

4. What does your husband do around the house?

5. Do you think housework is a useful job?
   Why/Why not?

6. Do you think housework is as important as the job your husband does?
   Why/Why not?

IV ATTITUDES TOWARD PAID WORK

I would like to ask you your views of women working.

1. What do you think of women with;
   - a) pre-school children)
   - b) school age children) working?
   - c) children who have left school)

2. What would you think of women working in the mill, on shiftwork, if it were possible?

3. Some people say that married women shouldn't work, that they are taking jobs away from others who need work more. What do you think?

V CHILDREARING

Let's move on and talk about bringing up children.

1. Who has the major responsibility for looking after the children?

2. I have a list here, could you please tell me who;

   - dresses the children
   - changes nappies
   - baths the children
   - helps with homework
   - talks to their schoolteachers
   - plays with them
   - corrects behaviour
   - is involved with their recreation activities

3. Does your husband help with the children? What does he do for them?

4. (Working women only) Who looks after the children when you are working?

5. Who looks after the children when you want a break?

6. Who looks after the children when you and your husband want to go out?

7. Who has the most say in decisions about bringing up the children - you or your husband?

8. Are there some things that you and your husband disagree about in bringing up the children? What are these?

9. Who is the main disciplinarian - you or your husband?

10. What's it like, bringing up children in Kawerau?

    What do you like) about it?
    dislike)

11. Do you want your children to;
    - stay in this town when they grow up?
    - work here?
    - marry here?

12. What ambitions do you have for your;
    - son/s
    - daughter/s

13. (For intermarried)

    Do you think that the fact that you and your husband come from different cultures has a bearing on the way you bring up your children?

    (In what ways?)

14. How would you sum up your experience of parenthood, so far?

VI MARRIAGE

Now I would like to ask your views on marriage.

1. How do you think marriage changes a women's life?

2. Who do you think has it harder in marriage, a man or a woman?

3. What do you think makes a successful marriage?

4. For you, what are the most valuable aspects of marriage?

5. (For intermarried) What's it like, married to someone from a different culture?

VII FAMILY FINANCES

Now I would like some information about how the family handles money matters.

1. How much did you earn in the last tax year?

2. How much did your husband earn in the last tax year?

3. Who handles the day to day money matters in this household?

4. Who;
   - keeps track of the bills?
   - decides when to buy a new car?
   - decides when to buy new furniture?
   - decides when to buy new 'white wear' (fridge, washing machine)?
   - looks after the housekeeping expenses?
   - looks after the children's expenses (e.g. clothes, toys equipment, schooling)?

5. How do you organise your finances? For example, in some households, the wife gets a set amount of housekeeping money. In others, husband and wife have a joint cheque account. There is a lot of variation over this, and no one 'correct' way.

6. Ideally how do you think that family finances should be organised?

7. Do you have disagreements with your husband over money matters?

   (Yes - go to question 8)
   (No - go to question 9)

8. When disagreements arise over money matters, what are they about? What usually happens?

9. How important are high wages to your family?

VIII HUSBAND'S WORK

Now I have some questions about your husband's job.

1. You said your husband is ..... (occupation)
   - is this an hourly paid, or salaried job?

2. How long has your husband been in this job?

3. Has your husband had other jobs in the mill?
   What were these jobs?

4. Does your husband talk to you about what goes on at work? (if yes) what sort of things do you talk about?

5. Do you take an interest in your husband's job?

6. Is your husband at present on shiftwork, or has he ever been on shiftwork?

   (If yes, answer questions 7 - 13)
   (If no, go to 14)

7. What type of shiftwork?

8. How does shiftwork affect;
   - you personally?
   - (for working women) - what is it like, having a husband on shift, when you are working as well?
   - your husband?
   - your children?

9. What do you like about shiftwork?
   What do you dislike about shiftwork?

10. Can you personally change any of the disadvantages of shiftwork?

11. Would you like your husband to go off shiftwork?

12. Do you think that conflict is more likely in a marriage where the husband is a shiftworker?

    Is there any shift which seems to stir up conflict?

13. (For those whose husbands were previously on shiftwork) - why did your husband go off shiftwork?
    How was he able to go off shiftwork?

14. Has your family experienced a strike, since you have lived in Kawerau?

    (Yes, answer questions 15-17)
    (No, go to Leisure questions)

15. How did the strike affect;
    - you personally
    - your husband
    - your children

16. Did your husband discuss the strike with you?
    (If yes) What aspects did you discuss together?

17. How involved do you think wives should be in union decision making?

IX LEISURE

I'd like to move on now and ask some questions about your leisure interests.

1. How do you, personally, spend you leisure time?

2. How does your husband spend his leisure time?

3. As you involved in any community activites?

4. Is your husband involved in any community activities?

5. Do you and your husband have interests together, or do things together? (If yes) Can you describe to me your common interests?

6. How important are family and relatives to you?

   Which side do you see the most - your side or your husband's?

   What type of contact do you have with your relatives?

7. How important are friends to you?

8. Do you have friends of your own?

9. Does your husband have friends of his own?

10. Do you and your husband mix with his workmates and their families?

11. How important are neighbours to you?

X GENERAL

Finally, I have some general questions that I would like your views on.

1. Some people say that equality between the sexes has been achieved (e.g. women now go out to work) would you agree or disagree that the sexes are equal?

2. Do you think that equality between the sexes in all walks of life if a good thing or a bad thing? Why?

3. What do you like) about living in Kawerau?
   dislike)

4. Is there anything else you want to add, in any of the areas we've covered, or about anything at all?

5. Are there are questions you'd like to ask me?

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