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**FOR AND ABOUT WOMEN:
WOMEN'S STUDIES IN NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES 1973-1990**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the
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KAY MORRIS MATTHEWS

----- ,

University of Waikato

1993

To

Rosemary Seymour

(1919-1985)

Pioneer and Visionary

ABSTRACT

This study is about the process of constructing feminist educational history. It has as its focus the development of women's studies in New Zealand universities between 1973 and 1990. The central question addressed is 'how does one research and write a feminist educational history?' Both traditional literary historical techniques and feminist oral history techniques were used to collect research data.

Three theoretical models were then used to arrange and analyse the research material. The five phases of women's history as advocated by Gerda Lerner provided a conceptual framework for the identification of parallel phases of development in women's studies in New Zealand. Phase theory was used by Renate Klein in 1986 to document characteristics of development in women's studies across a number of countries. In this study, I argue that although women's studies in New Zealand shared early characteristics with those of overseas universities, by the mid-1980s it had developed its own unique developmental features. These were closely tied to the small size of New Zealand universities, the strong lobbying power of groups of feminist academics and the competition for students between the universities. Basil Bernstein's theory of the structure of the curriculum offered insights into the nature of knowledge codes and provided a way of conceptualising the university as an academic institution within which feminist academics experienced both constraints and possibilities in their bid to establish women's studies.

This study documents and analyses the history of women's studies in New Zealand universities and, at the same time, serves as a methodological guide for future feminist educational historians.

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A reading of the research diary I have kept throughout the four years of this project serves to remind me of the people who have influenced me and the process of evolution which have culminated in this thesis.

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Much of this thesis has been inspired and written on the Coromandel Peninsula on a piece of land once owned by Rosemary Seymour. Like her, I continue to feel grounded there.

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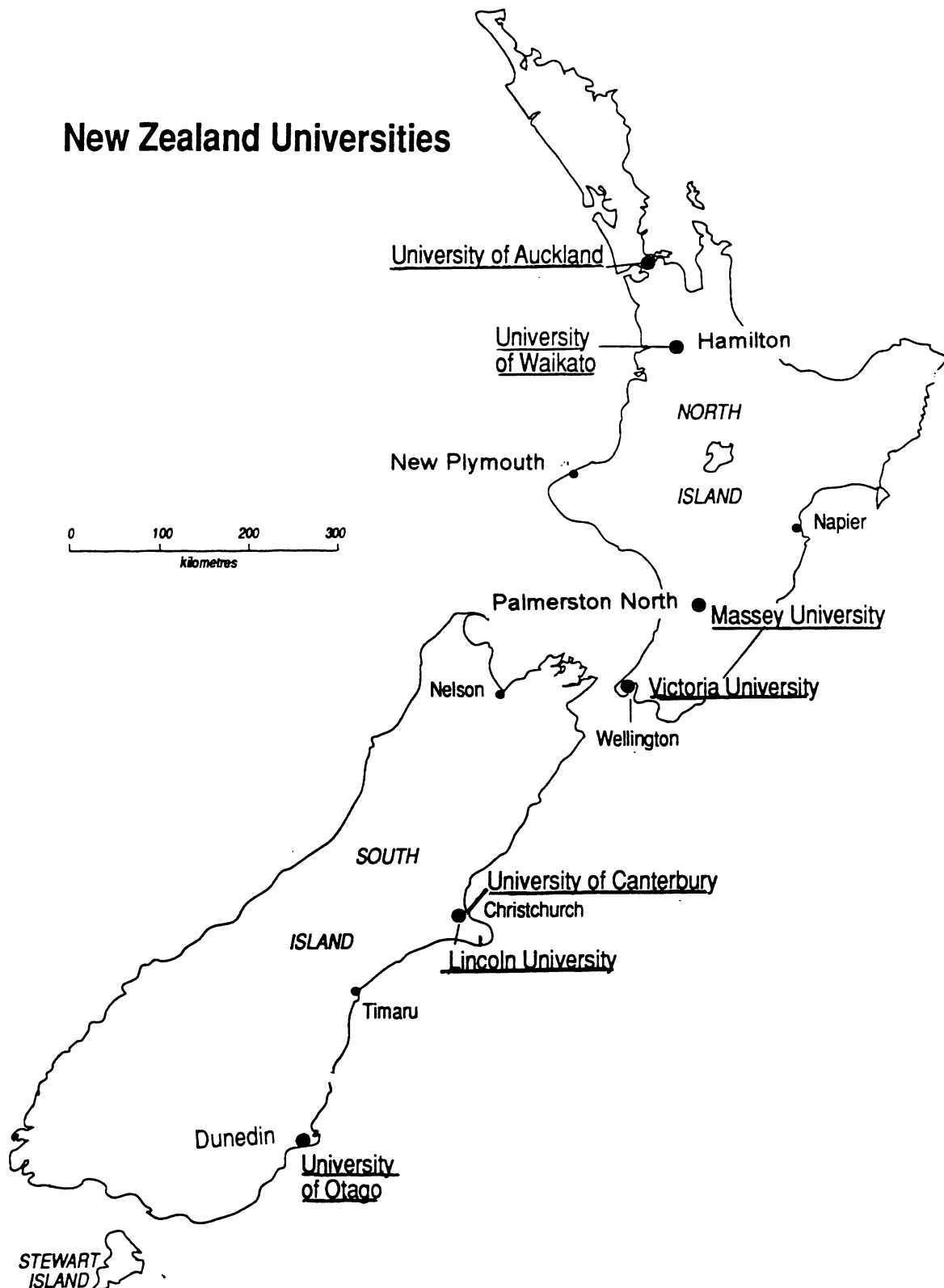
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New Zealand Universities



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.A.N.Z.	Archives and Records Association of New Zealand
A.U.T.	Association of University Teachers
E.F.T.S.	Equivalent Full-Time Students
N.O.H.A.N.Z.	National Oral History Association of New Zealand
N.Z.A.R.E.	New Zealand Association for Research in Education
N.Z.C.E.R.	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
N.Z.F.U.W.	New Zealand Federation of University Women
N.Z.H.A.	New Zealand History Association
N.Z.U.S.A.	New Zealand University Students' Association
W.C.T.U.	Women's Christian Temperance Union
W.E.A.	Workers' Educational Association
W.S.A.	Women's Studies Association

PREFACE

This study has its origins in personal experience and reflection. I am a 'knowledgeable insider', a feminist academic who herself teaches women's studies in a university setting. In this way, the work in which I have been engaged for the past six years has shaped this thesis.

I began work on this study, without knowing it, in 1986 when I joined the staff at the newly established Centre for Women's Studies at the University of Waikato. I developed new undergraduate and graduate courses and experienced first-hand the challenges associated with the development of a curriculum, its implementation and evaluation. Until the end of 1992, I continued to refine and monitor these courses which, by this time, had been modified by colleagues in other universities.

My particular involvement in women's studies originated in the final year of my undergraduate degree at the University of Waikato. For the previous five years, my degree pattern had followed the path of many women of my generation, namely that of spasmodic part-time study, balancing a full-time teaching career with university papers offered in after-school hours. As time progressed, the papers towards an education major became less appropriate to my immediate concerns as head of a secondary school department and Fourth Form Girls' Dean. When I left this position to take up a new role, motherhood, my university studies took on another dimension, that of sanity preserver with much needed intellectual stimulation in an adult setting.

In the final year of my undergraduate degree I enrolled in two women's studies courses, which were my first introduction to academic feminism and to learning situations with mainly women participants. Women's studies allowed me the space to explore who I was and where I thought I might be going. There were other women in class and other women whose writings were set texts all talking about the kinds of things that had happened to me: issues associated with patriarchal power relationships and how they affect women's self-esteem; economic independence versus economic dependence; women's education patterns compared to men's; women's paid work patterns compared to men's. I began to theorise around my own experiences, and to interact critically with the material being presented in class. It was new, exciting and challenging.

Although completing the degree was important, so too were the other dimensions of my life, which included the roles of partner, mother and member of a large extended family with its corresponding demands and joys; part-time worker to pay for course fees and childcare and political activist during the winter months of protesting which surrounded the Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand.

By the end of 1981, when it was clear that I would graduate with a good quality degree, lecturers encouraged me to contemplate the prospect of graduate work. This presented a dilemma. On the one hand, my goal had been to complete a first degree that had dragged on for years and to be able to return to secondary teaching armed with a new repertoire of knowledge which would enhance my teaching and career prospects. Our family needed my salary, as we were struggling financially. Graduate

study seemed beyond my immediate reach. On the other hand, I had enjoyed my studies, which seemed to have left me on a threshold of further enquiry. There were new ideas to explore and interesting research possibilities. The emerging analysis I had developed for my own work encompassed gender, race and class and fitted well with my socialist beliefs. There was so much more to be done.

At the beginning of 1982, Jane Ritchie invited me to tutor in the introductory women's studies course, the one in which twelve months earlier I had been a student and she the tutor and lecturer. This was a time of expansion for interdisciplinary women's studies and I was needed to take two large tutorial groups. I was to continue in this role for the next three years. The Education Department invited me to tutor in an introductory educational issues course and to undertake additional marking responsibilities, jobs which expanded over the same three year period. At the same time, I was asked to contribute to a polytechnic programme and as a result, I became, for the next four years a part-time tutor in General Studies at the Waikato Polytechnic.

The income from these diverse appointments enabled me to embark, in 1982, on a masters degree in education, which I completed with a thesis in educational history in 1983. During this time I continued my tutoring work and was the President of the University Creche. This latter position involved negotiations for extending creche facilities, employing additional staff and ensuring that quality childcare was affordable for the students who required it. I was also part of the local Labour Party organisation, an active member of the women's branch of the Labour Party and a

committee member of Waikato Women in Education, a group committed to bringing about change for feminist educators and the students we taught.

My training in educational history and interest in archives led to two more part-time positions at the university. For several hours a week I took on the role of archivist for the Education Department which led in turn to my co-ordinating the Rosemary Seymour bequest of archives and books to the university. Rosemary Seymour was the first woman academic in the Sociology Department at the University of Waikato and had introduced the first women's studies course in a New Zealand university in 1973. Until her death in 1985, she had collected every conceivable article, monograph, research paper and the like which had women as a prime focus. Her collection filled her office, a resource room, a workroom, half her town-house, her study at her bush-retreat and most of her car. The job of collating and cataloguing these materials took months.

I read a great deal of the Rosemary Seymour Collection as I worked to classify and catalogue its contents. I began to appreciate the work of this remarkable woman and wished I had known her better. It became clear to me that this collection not only documented Rosemary Seymour's professional activities, but the formative stages of a new field of university study. Here were stories associated with the struggle to establish women's studies; a coming to terms with a range of newly emergent feminist issues and the resulting debates between feminists inside and outside the university. As an educational historian and archivist, I recognised the importance of these events in the history of an emerging academic discipline. It occurred to me that the history,

of which this was part, represented a thesis topic.

In February 1986, I became an academic staff member in women's studies. The position was a half-time junior lectureship and I was required to teach '21.201: An Introduction to Women's Studies' as well as the first interdisciplinary part one (first year level) women's studies course in New Zealand. Jane Ritchie, the half-time Director of the programme, was the only other staff member. Together, Jane Ritchie and I planned to pilot the part one course for one year on campus prior to offering it as part of the university's new venture into distance education. My work in this area was possibly responsible for a position upgrading in 1987 when I became a full-time Junior Lecturer.

The 1980s were characterised by a rapid growth in women's studies courses and the numbers of students enrolled in them. The Minutes of the School of Social Science record that between 1979 and 1985 the number of courses increased from three to twelve and students from 23 to 188. By 1987, student numbers had risen to 223. The reward to the Centre for Women's Studies was the creation of a lectureship filled by Dr Hilary Haines (now Lapsley). At the same time I was offered a limited term, four year lectureship.

As a lecturer in women's studies I continued to teach the part one course 'Women in Society' both on and off-campus; I designed and taught the first part three course on 'Women and Social Policy'; a second year course 'Women and Social Change', the first 'Feminist History' graduate course, co-taught another graduate course in 'Feminist

Theory and Research' and acted as supervisor for graduate dissertations and theses. Over these years I also worked on this thesis and published within the fields of educational history, feminist research methodology, curriculum social history and women's biography.

There have been other duties besides those directly related to teaching and research. At the university I have served on a number of committees including the Social Science Planning Committee and Committee on Continuing Education. Between 1985 and 1990, I served as the Minister of Women's Affairs nominee on the Council of the Central Institute of Technology at Trentham in Wellington.

These experiences have honed my understanding of the inner workings of tertiary institutions. They have assisted my understanding of the essential elements required when implementing new developments in curriculum and in particular, have made me aware of the importance of the combination of ideas, key individuals and resources. The relevance of all these experiences to this thesis, was that from the outset, it was impossible to remain 'detached' from the research process and the people who were part of that process; I was 'inside' the topic.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with locating ideas about a feminist curriculum within New Zealand universities in the context of a feminist educational history. It is placed in the context of current discussions concerning the nature of women's studies and feminist research methodologies employed in a study of this kind. This particular study posed a number of methodological questions. To what research data, for example, does a researcher turn in order to write such a history? How can information on a group of feminist academics located in seven different universities be gathered? How does one piece together the historical development of an academic subject across the various separate universities? How does one adopt a feminist methodology consistent with an analytic exploration of academic women's experience, a history of women?

The Origins of Feminist History

An interest in women's history emerged along with the women's movement of the late 1960s. At that time many women historians, trained in traditional academic history, began questioning the absence of women as historical actors and sought to include them in their teaching and research. In 1970,

Ann Curthoys challenged writers of women's history to "analyse why public life has been considered to be the focus of history, and why public life has been so thoroughly occupied by men". She argued that "we must find out how the assumptions of female inferiority in public life and subordination in the home have operated in history, and ask why some societies differentiate more than others".¹ What she was asking for was a reconceptualisation of the past and present, one which would require historians to contextualise peoples lives within the possibilities and constraints of their wider social, cultural, economic and political settings. There was an emphasis on the experiences of, and dynamics between, class, race and gender groups.

This approach had not been characteristic of earlier writing about women in history. The approach then had been, as Gerda Lerner scathingly described it in 1979, as the 'add women and stir', 'contributory history'.² This relegation of women's history to a 'contribution history' status was unacceptable to feminist historians; they objected to women in history being judged by male standards of significance. Ivy Pinchbeck in her 1967 **Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution**, for example, merely added women, almost as an afterthought, to a traditional historical account of this era. Women workers were featured and their contributions noted; but the fact that many women workers had also to cope with home-based work tasks was not recognised or analysed as a topic for historical study.

A New Zealand example of contributory history is Pat Grimshaw's 1972 work, **Women's Suffrage in New Zealand**. A significant book, appearing as it did at a time of the resurgence of the women's movement, it presented an account with women as the focus, a contrast to previous histories on the topic written by men. Fifteen years later, Grimshaw reflected on the development of her research. She noted that in the late 1960s

the nineteenth century feminist movement appeared an acceptable subject for research because it happened to fall within the traditional canons of historical writing: it bore on central political change...it was possible to write about the suffragists without assaulting perceived convictions of what was manifestly important about the past.³

In other words, extension of the right to vote to women merely added women to an existing topic, extension of the suffrage, which was already being studied by historians. When women's history emerged in Britain and North America in the early 1970s Grimshaw wryly commented that when she wrote **Women's Suffrage in New Zealand** she did so "outside of any context of feminist activism or any such notion as 'women's' history as a disciplinary area".⁴

Women's history, one of a number of emergent subjects in women's studies, was an academic by-product of a social upheaval which took place in Britain and North America in the mid to late 1960s and slightly later in New Zealand. A number of social activists involved in, for example, anti-war, civil rights, women's liberation and gay liberation movements compelled governments and political parties to acknowledge the legitimacy and strength of their causes. Feminist historians Sara Evans and Alice Echols, have documented the

activities of American women students and academics in these movements. They drew attention to the considerable number who became pioneers in feminist scholarship.⁵

The success of women activists outside university circles in raising questions about injustices, inequalities and discriminatory practices suffered by women in the wider society made feminist scholars raise similar questions about the place of women in what they were being taught or what they themselves were teaching within the university. The approach to the writing of feminist history did not just add "women to the standard canon or plug up the gaps in existing genres or add women's history to the growing list of genres or sub-groups of historical writing".⁶ Rather, as feminist historian Jill Matthews observed, its purpose "was to do over the whole enterprise, to recast the discipline of history so that women's lives and experiences were as integral to it as men's".⁷

Earlier scholarship, such as Barbara Welter's 1966 work 'The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860',⁸ emphasised what was known as separate spheres, the public and private worlds of women's experiences. In 1969, however, in what proved to be a pathfinding essay, 'The Lady and the Mill Girl', Gerda Lerner introduced and insisted on class as a fundamental analytical category.⁹ She drew attention to historians' pre-occupation with middle and upper-class white women's history with little or no acknowledgement of the experiences of women of other backgrounds. Feminist historians Nancy

Hewitt and Lise Vogel claim that this essay signalled the emergence of identifiable feminist history.¹⁰

Gerda Lerner's 1975 delineation of what she called the five phases of women's history was another significant contribution to the writing of feminist history. In what subsequently became known as phase theory, she provided a useful analytical tool for tracing the development of how women can be included in historical scholarship. The five phases in order were labelled male history, compensatory history, bifocal history, feminist history and multifocal, relational history.¹¹

The first phase was the recognition that what Geoffrey Elton had observed in **The Practice of History** written in 1967¹² was true; that women as a group were missing within historical scholarship. However, Lerner pointed out, that such recognition failed to go on to acknowledge that the predominantly male view of history was the version generally valued by students and academics at large as the only knowledge worth having.

Once attention had been drawn to women's absence from written history, women were then added as a group but as Grimshaw pointed out, this second phase occurred within a conventional framework acceptable to the male historians who supervised the first doctorates in women's history.

Eleanor Flexner's 1959 study **Century of Struggle: the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States** was an early example of such writing.¹³

In such work, suffrage came to be viewed as the ultimate goal of the early women's movement rather than as a vehicle for achieving equality in other areas. It did not lead to a questioning of how society was organised but merely to the formal right to gain access to vote. Writers of women's history who omitted a feminist critique, who wrote from a traditional perspective, denied the wider political significance of early feminist analysis.

In the third phase, Lerner suggests, the efforts to include women in history led to the insight that the traditional content, structure and methodology of the discipline were more appropriate to 'masculine experiences'. Here, the focus was on asking new questions about women, in addition to those raised within traditional history. This approach is illustrated in Raewyn Dalziel's 1977 study 'The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Roles and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand'.¹⁴ This important work included gender as an analytical category and challenged Grimshaw's thesis that New Zealand women gained the vote because of their increasing entry into a range of public activities, that is, because they, like men were entering the public domain. Rather, Dalziel argued that political rights were granted because women emphasised their role within the home and family and as such "did *not* threaten a change in women's prescribed sphere".¹⁵ For example, by voting in temperance candidates, women would use the vote to enhance their position in the family through curbing the behaviour of drunken husbands.

The fourth phase reconceptualised knowledge not only to encompass the female experience but to pursue new questions leading to new categories of history through consideration of women's past and present experience. This phase signals the emergence of feminist history when women's experience is allowed to speak for itself and is understood by means of an analysis of broader social, political, cultural and economic contexts. In this way, a pluralistic conception of women acknowledges diversity and recognises that gender is only one among other variables (such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual preference and age) which shape women's lives . Jill Matthews¹⁶

Good and Mad Women: The historical construction of femininity in twentieth century Australia and Kerreen Reiger's¹⁷ **The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940** are examples of such studies which emerged in the mid 1980s. Both used a range of historical source material, such as letters and oral history, to provide women's points of view. They went looking for women other than middle-class or professional women; Australian women whose lives were unrecorded and whose activities were not documented within formal archival holdings. This according to Lerner, is an essential component of feminist history as "much of what traditional sources tell us about women has come to us refracted through the lens of men's observations. The historian of women must question her sources for androcentric bias and must seek to counteract such bias".¹⁸

Lerner describes the fifth and final phase as a gender-balanced perspective where women's and men's experiences are fused into a holistic view of human experience and history includes a comparison of men's and women's experiences. Feminist histories published in the late 1980s which reflect this multi-focal perspective include Shirley Fitzgerald's ¹⁹ **Rising Damp: Sydney 1870-1890** and Marilyn Lake's²⁰ **The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlements in Victoria 1915-1918**. These studies integrated both women's and men's activities, comparing their respective historical experiences.

Gerda Lerner's analysis of these five phases was published in 1975, the same year Carroll Smith-Rosenberg documented the work of feminist historians who had begun to add race and ethnicity to that of class as categories of historical analysis. Smith-Rosenberg also introduced another dimension to women's history by drawing attention to how feminist history might best encompass the 'average' women's experience.²¹ She outlined her explanatory model in 'The Female World of Love and Ritual', which advanced the idea that women historically have had a 'separate culture' clearly differentiated from male culture. Drawing on anthropological theories on gender divisions in pre-state societies, Smith-Rosenberg argued that nineteenth century women lived in a private, domestic world of women's activity which was distinct from the public, outside world of men. By drawing attention to female bonding and women's networks in a "closed and intimate female world", she emphasised a distinctive female culture which not only helped to explain the ideology of women's

organisational activities but placed sexual preference firmly alongside class, race, ethnicity and age as categories of historical analysis.

Although separate sphere analysis was a valuable contribution to feminist history Joan Kelly²² and others had begun by 1980 to call for interactive studies of women's and men's spheres. As Louise Newman explains, this was at a time when the term 'gender' was commonly used in feminist history to refer to the social organisation of the relations between the sexes.

By 1990, however, she suggests that "many historians eschew the term 'sex' and substitute the word 'gender'...but usually these terms still maintain and depend upon an opposition between *constructed* social meanings and underlying "*natural*" sexual differences".²³ The point she was making was that the terms 'gender' and 'sex' were being used interchangeably and that feminist historians had now to distinguish between the social meanings associated with 'gender' and the biological differences associated with 'sex'.

In 1988, Joan Scott, influenced by post-structuralist theories, offered historians a new meaning for the term gender in the introduction to her book **Gender and the Politics of History**. "Sexual difference" she wrote, "is not the original cause from which social organisation ultimately can be derived. It is instead a variable social organisation that itself must be explained".²⁴ Scott goes on to explain that in feminist history, gender, not women or women's experience, now becomes the predominant category of analysis. Gender as a category,

refers to an intellectual construct, a method of viewing the world and the people within it. It is part of a post-structuralist approach which New Zealanders, Sue Middleton and Alison Jones, describe as "the multilayered, shifting and contradictory interplay between the power relations /structures of the society and the practices, language, desires, bodies and thoughts of the people who form it." ²⁵

Since 1990, much of the international debate has focused on 'gender history', as distinct from 'women's history', yet both can be seen as sub-sets of feminist history. The feminist historians within each grouping continue to struggle to establish just which one is at the cutting edge of the redefinition of the history of women. For example, this debate flourished at the 1990 Berkshire History of Women Conference which, since its first gathering in 1973, has come to be regarded as perhaps the most influential of the international conferences which has the history of women as its focus. In her paper at this conference, Louise Newman distinguished historians of women as those who explore "why specific groups of women share certain experiences", from historians of gender who explore "how gender (defined as 'sets of meanings constructing sexual difference') operates through specific cultural forms".²⁶ Historians of women, she argued, commonly use terms such as 'woman', 'experience' and 'identity' while historians of gender commonly use terms such as 'gender', 'representation' and 'discourse':

In place of experience, historians of gender speak of representations that are either present or absent in the texts: in place of identities they speak of discourses constructing subjects; and in the place of women's experiences, they speak of gender as that which gives meaning to sexual differences.²⁷

Gender history, with its origins in post-structuralism, emphasises that oppression and power are linked through the use of language. Newman suggested that taken to its logical conclusion, the term 'woman' is a mere social construct or, as Mary Poovey explains it, is "a term whose definition depends upon the context in which it is being discussed and not upon some set of sexual organs or social experiences".²⁸

These two major interpretive divisions continue to exist over just how to determine female identity from an historical perspective. As the American editors of the newly established **Journal of Women's History** predicted in 1989, "it is on these shifting sands of female selfhood and consciousness that future creative work on women will continue to disagree for some time. In fact, this very disagreement... demonstrates the continued vitality and importance of women's history".²⁹

That this disagreement was of interest to an international community of feminist historians perhaps underlay the introduction in the same year of the journal **Gender and History**. The first editorial made clear the journal's goals:

We seek to examine all historical social relations from a feminist perspective, to construct a comprehensive analysis of all institutions that takes their gender-specific character into account. In addressing men and masculinity as well as women and femininity, the journal will illuminate the ways in which societies have been shaped by the relation of power between women and men.³⁰

Meanwhile, in the first issue of **The Journal of Women's History**, a group of French feminist historians gave their account of the emergence of gender history. According to Dauphin et al., this came at a time when some feared women's history might not win scholarly acceptance. This was because of

...the marked preference for topics such as the female body, sexuality, motherhood, female physiology and occupations closely related to a feminine 'nature'; the continued use of the dialectic of domination/oppression which rarely gets beyond a tautological statement...; too many studies on prescriptive discourses, which hardly take into account social practices and the resistance exerted against these discourses...; lack of methodological and especially theoretical reflection and a poor knowledge of the history of feminism and its connections with political and social history.³¹

It has become popular for historians of gender such as Nancy Hewitt³² and Joan Scott³³ to argue that the analytic categories of fixed roles or genders be abandoned in favour of the idea of constantly negotiated states of being and that in calling for a new theorizing to take into account relational states of knowing and existing, all previous feminist theory is called into question. Gender history has raised difficult questions by challenging the theoretical basis of research on the history of women. In so doing, it has called attention to the need to focus on sexual, economic and ethnic minorities and the relevance they have on the rewriting of the history of women.

However, it also represents many dangers for feminist scholarship. For example, Mary Evans suggested in 1991 that the use of the term 'gender' blurs the differences between women and men. It has a neutralizing effect which by including men as well as women, could make it more respectable and acceptable in the world of scholarship. According to Evans "the lure of

'gender' in the academy remains considerable - if only for the structural reason of the appeal of being part of the central concerns of the academy rather than the marginalized periphery".³⁴

The importance of acknowledging and including the contributions of *women* is linked to the original aims associated with including women's perspectives within the curricula of universities. It is widely accepted by feminists that women tend to achieve best in education when the institution validates their particular needs through the allocation of space. This space may take the form of a separate department as in the case of women's studies, or a designated space within a variety of subjects, such as feminist history. If we lose sight of what women want from the academy, then any gains could easily be subsumed by the male dominated curriculum. Evans suggests this has political implications. "... the potential alliances and sympathies between women are weakened, whilst the ideological implication is that the study of society becomes (yet again) the study of groups of apparently equal individuals".³⁵ Somer Brodribb puts it this way: "In the current climate of the de-positioning of women and the re-positioning of patriarchy, pluralism, the discourse of the dominant, is repeated now by the dominated as permission to be other than ourselves." ³⁶

This concern was echoed in the editorial of a recently established journal which has history of women as its focus. In the first issue of **Women's History Review**, British editor June Purvis reminds readers that the origins of

women's history are rooted within the women's movement, that academic history remains "malestream", that there still exist institutions where women's history is not taught and others where "a few lectures on 'gender' are thought to suffice".³⁷ Although she acknowledges that there are new insights to be gained from post-structuralism, Purvis cautions that

we must not let emphases upon the differences between women obscure the unequal differences and power relationships between the sexes....to hear talk, as one does, that women's history is 'at an end' or 'no longer necessary' is alarming. Our past must not be pushed back into obscurity once again.³⁸

These debates are not limited to feminist history alone; they are taking place within women's studies more widely.

Most criticisms of methodologies employed by historians of women rest with claims that these methodologies are individualistic, essentialist and subjectivist. Scott³⁹, Hewitt⁴⁰ and others focus on 'women's experience' which they claim relies on a concept of an essential 'woman', an essentialism viewed as politically questionable as it appears to rely on biological determinants. Another methodological concern rests with locating feminist analysis on the same levels of understanding of those participating as research subjects. This is viewed by Joan Scott for example, as an atheoretical approach as it is seemingly not possible for research subjects to analyse and theorise their own experience. "This entails", she says, "focusing on processes of identity production, insisting on the discursive nature of "experience" and on the politics of its construction".⁴¹ The roots of her argument rest with the fact

that 'experience' is already an interpretation of the past and as such, should be contested.

Lise Vogel ⁴² and Liz Stanley ⁴³ offer helpful responses to such criticisms. The analytic use of the term 'woman', they suggest, does not necessarily imply that all women are the same. Indeed, Vogel documents research by historians of women which has recognized 'difference' within the category 'women' for over twenty years. When the term 'woman' is used it is recognised that the category is inclusive of class, race, age, sexuality and able-bodiness. Stanley's belief in a common structure of oppression is crucial here:

There is a common external material reality that all women face characterized by inequality, exploitation and oppression; and it exists precisely because we are indeed women and not men. This is *not* to say that all women are oppressed in the same ways, but rather to recognize that while oppression is common the forms it takes are conditioned precisely by race/ethnicity, age, sexuality and so forth, to produce a common *structure of oppression* which is internally *fractured in content* and so containing difference *as well as* sameness between women.⁴⁴

The criticism that a feminist methodology concerned with experience is atheoretical would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of the term 'experience'. Individuals theorise from their own experience, that is, they observe, catalogue, analyse and reach conclusions about things in their own lives. In research, the theories of informants must stand alongside those of the researcher. Theorising therefore, cannot be claimed as only the elite intellectual endeavour or property of a chosen few.

During the course of this study for example, feminist theory has been drawn directly from my 'experience' of locating, reading, ordering and analysing historical and contemporary documents and of oral history interviewing techniques. That I draw the readers' attention to my personal positioning and experience as a feminist academic within women's studies, quite deliberately locates that experience in relation to the 'researched'. I am researching others like me, feminist academics with experience in and knowledge of women's studies. At the same time, as I discuss further in Chapter Two, I reject any specially designated elevated plane which separates the researcher from the researched.

This study is focused on the lives and work of feminist academics, but the questions it raises about the nature of our teaching are part of a wider argument about the way in which universities are organised, the connection between universities and group interests. It attempts to locate individual and collective struggle and action in relation to larger educational, economic, social and political factors.

Feminist history and feminist educational history in New Zealand

Feminist educational history is a branch of feminist history which examines historical studies on women's education. These subjects and the women academics who teach them, are recent arrivals within New Zealand

universities. With the exception of the University of Auckland (where Dr Raewyn Dalziel first established a women's history course in 1979) and the University of Waikato (where Margaret Avery began introducing topics on women's history in the early 1980s), other universities did not appoint feminist historians until the mid to late 1980s. In 1992, there are thirteen feminist academics teaching courses on aspects of women's history in departments of history, education, classics and art history.⁴⁵

These courses have provided an impetus for research and provided a market for published histories such as the collection of biographies contained within **The Book of New Zealand Women**⁴⁶ and the stories of women immigrants in **A Woman of Good Character**.⁴⁷ Since the last national Women's Studies Association Conference in 1990, however, the forums for presenting this kind of research have mostly been limited to sector conferences such as those associated with the New Zealand Association for Research in Education and the New Zealand Historical Association. Although the former has included women's research 'streams' for some years, it was as recently as 1991, that the latter group first included a specially designated 'women's session'.

This was also the year in which the international doyen of feminist history, Professor Gerda Lerner, presided over a two-day workshop for New Zealand feminist academic historians. Those attending this gathering shared their current research interests. Discussion revealed that the majority held new and lower level positions within their universities. Because few had sufficient

seniority to qualify for overseas sabbatical or conference leave they were dependent upon the ideas and issues raised by visiting scholars or in international journals.⁴⁸

While feminist history has engaged with a variety of topics, New Zealand research in the history of education has been almost exclusively concerned with chronicling the history of educational provision, or more specifically, the development of a national system of education. The majority of the writers of these histories were male academics who have demonstrated varying degrees of awareness of gender issues in education.⁴⁹

During the 1970s and early 1980s, studies began to appear in the area of women's educational history, but in the main they were of the contributory type concentrating on sexual differentiation within the curriculum, the status of women teachers and women's participation in tertiary education.⁵⁰ By the late 1980s, however, a number of feminist scholars had begun to document a wider range of women's educational experiences in New Zealand utilising a variety of historical categories of analysis. For example, Maori feminist academics such as Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Kathie Irwin have examined the marginalisation of Maori women's education and argue that "by constituting Maori women as 'other', Pakeha feminists can 'colonise' and render invisible Maori women's educational experiences, activities and perspectives."⁵¹ Others including Helen May, Barbara Day and I have traced women's participation in early childhood, primary and

technical education using a variety of social theories to account for the reproduction of gender and class relations within educational policies.⁵²

While Margaret Wilson, Rosemary Seymour, Jane Ritchie, Sue Middleton and others have documented early developments within women's studies at their own universities⁵³ to date, there has been little consideration by feminist educational historians of women's higher education in New Zealand. Particularly lacking are studies investigating the impact of feminist ideas on the organisational structures of the university.

Overseas studies by Adrienne Rich, Thelma McCormack and Renate Klein⁵⁴ argue that universities were originally built by men and for men. Men were the students, teachers and governors. While this was generally true for the early New Zealand university foundations, a few women students did graduate from these institutions from as early as 1877. Feminist educational historians have yet to begin to consider some important questions in connection with women's participation in New Zealand universities. These include the conditions under which universities are willing and able to adopt curricular innovations in anticipation of or in response to demands for social change. The research reported in this thesis explores some of the conditions that facilitate or impede organisational innovation in the case of the introduction of women's studies into New Zealand universities. The focus will be on the ways in which women's studies courses and programmes have been developed, maintained and extended and why some universities have been able to establish comprehensive programmes of study more quickly than others.

As a feminist teacher within such a setting I know that many women academics continue to be challenged by feminist ideas in our own lives, by our teaching and administration of women's studies programmes and by other feminists both inside and outside university circles. As yet, however, there has been little written about these ideas or the ways in which they are debated and translated within women's studies. This study therefore, located within the academic subject of educational history, is intended to document both the achievements of feminist academics and the obstacles still facing us. It is a feminist critique of one aspect of New Zealand university education. It aims to reveal women's demands for higher education and the opposition we have encountered. By revealing the complexities of establishing and maintaining women's studies courses and programmes it is hoped the resolve of future scholars to secure a greater stability for women's studies within the university curriculum will be strengthened.

The sections of this study evolve chronologically: women's participation in university education is backgrounded; the subject women's studies, is examined as it secures teachers, status and resources; the groups, traditions and alliances within women's studies are scrutinised and finally the discipline and those who teach within it are then located in the current debates over the future of women's studies in New Zealand universities. Each chapter focuses on the methodological challenges in feminist educational history and then demonstrates how such a narrative can be constructed. The research methodology employed in this study is outlined in Chapter Two including the

dilemmas for the knowledgeable insider within such a research project. Chapter Three presents an historical overview of New Zealand's women's participation in university education, both as students and academics. Links are made to the nineteenth and twentieth century women's movements and how the political processes of the time impacted upon women's university education.

The remaining chapters are divided into three developmental phases. Chapters Four and Five highlight the similarities and the differences between universities as they introduced women's studies between 1973 and 1979. Chapter Six examines the individual and institutional tensions associated with a period of slower growth, 1980 to 1985. Staffing and curriculum development between 1986 and 1990 are the key issues under review in Chapters Seven and Eight. Chapter Nine provides a conclusion to this study as well as an update of recent practice in women's studies from 1990 to the end of 1992.

One common thread runs through this study; the process of conducting feminist historical research. Suggestions are made for the collecting and assembling of research data, for the construction of an historical narrative and for the analysis of that narrative. As its title suggests, this study is intended as a future guide *for* feminist educational historians as well as serving as an historical record *about* the development of women's studies in New Zealand universities.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Just as feminist scholarship has transformed the content of a number of academic subjects, so too has it contributed to change in the ways that knowledge about women has been gathered. In seeking to correct the androcentrism which has characterised much traditional research, feminists have sought to develop their own research methodologies. The debates on the nature of a feminist research methodology (the theory informing the research process) have taken place, in the main, within the social sciences. As was suggested in Chapter One, such debates are a more recent phenomenon in feminist history.

In feminist history, perhaps the closest one gets to a 'feminist research process' is contained within the work of Judith Allen who suggests that feminist historians should read primary source material with an enquiring feminist eye and when appropriate introduce new and more appropriate sources.¹ As a feminist educational historian who has studied and taught within the social sciences over the past ten years (at the University of Waikato, the women's studies programme is located within the School of Social Science), I have come to appreciate that this combined learning

experience has informed my research methodology which as a result has taken on a cross-disciplinary nature. The process of "breaking out " from one traditional academic base and incorporating a range of ideas and research techniques as described by Liz Stanley and Sue Wise,² has forced me to familiarise myself with the literature, theories, and methods of history, education and women's studies. This chapter outlines the feminist research methodology which helped to frame this inquiry.

The Gathering of Data

Data for this study were gathered over a two year period through various methods and from a wide range of sources. This data-gathering and analysis were guided by two principal questions. I looked first to see how extensively women's studies was taught in New Zealand universities and then asked what kinds of issues influenced the development of women's studies in each institution and across institutions. I first collected and read documentary material in public and private archival collections. These materials included pamphlets, newspaper clippings, minutes of faculties/schools, professorial boards and advisory committees, annual reports, policy documents, less formal papers from working parties, memoranda, budget and other financial material, student statistics, correspondence, personal letters and diaries. I then tape-recorded interviews with feminist academics and male administrators to gain an overview of the parts they had played in establishing and developing women's studies. I do not consider one or other of these

techniques to be more 'reliable' than any other. I believe they are equally 'authoritative' as sources of historical information and should be considered side-by-side in order more accurately to invest with significance events of the past.

Documentary material

Gerda Lerner, Judith Allen and other feminist historians emphasise the importance of sources that allow us to delve into the more intimate aspects of women's lives, particularly private letters and papers. Because, like many other feminist and social historians, I am interested in what women have to say about their lives, I relied heavily on private sources of information. Most of such material to which I had access had not been professionally archived or formally recorded as to item, source or period. Much remained in private hands. This posed bibliographic problems, as it is essential in any historical study that a future researcher be able to find the material cited. The forms of citation chosen therefore include the name of the person currently in possession of the papers.

Comprehensive women's studies course lists for all New Zealand universities from 1973 to 1990 were found in each institution's annual calendar. These described most of the 105 women's studies courses and the year in which they were introduced. To complete the overview, names of staff and course information were obtained through a questionnaire mailed to departmental

heads. In addition, most course teachers provided copies of past and present course outlines. I required a framework for arranging the research data because the documentary material from each institution had to be laid alongside the interview transcripts in order to obtain a larger picture of the development of women's studies. The frameworks used were phase theory as developed by feminist historian, Gerda Lerner, (see p. 5) and used by Renate Klein (see p.107) and the theory of the structure of the curriculum developed by educational sociologist, Basil Bernstein. (see p.54)

In order to place my data within a wider socio-historical context which would better enable me to assess the background to the introduction of women's studies, I first analysed women's participation rates in New Zealand university institutions. I assumed that an analysis of women's enrolment and employment patterns over time would show that women's studies could only emerge when significant numbers of women students and staff were present in universities. **The Alphabetical Roll of Graduates 1877-1958, Statistics of New Zealand**, and **The New Zealand Year Book** were invaluable in giving me a chronological picture of the numbers and ability of women graduates. Other useful sources were centennial and jubilee publications of girls' high schools, university histories, W.J.Gardner's **Colonial Cap and Gown**, and James Hight's and Alice Candy's **A Short History of Canterbury College**.³

Secondly, I examined the influence of the women's movement in the wider community on the development of women's studies within the universities.

While sixteen years of the feminist publication **Broadsheet** cast some light, it was the **Rosemary Seymour Collection** of feminist archival material bequeathed to the University of Waikato, which provided key information. In 1973, as Rosemary Seymour prepared to teach New Zealand's first university course in women's studies, she found little relevant local material available for her students. Systematically she set about collecting newsletters of New Zealand women's groups, conference papers with women as their subject, magazines and as she once told me, "anything she could get hold of". These New Zealand resources were supplemented by extracts from overseas papers and journals she collected or was sent, as well as books from her own personal library. By 1985, this collection had become the most comprehensive of its kind in New Zealand with over 3000 books and a vast array of papers. The books have since been integrated into the women's studies section of the University of Waikato Library and the papers arranged and indexed.

The conventional meaning of 'archives' as defined in **Archifacts -Bulletin of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand**, is that they are "non-current official (or administrative) records that are worth *permanent* preservation".⁴ This definition presents a number of difficulties for historians of women. Many women's activities have not occurred in the public domain, and personal papers, diaries, correspondence and the like, while not 'official records', do constitute primary documents. This has not always been recognised by descendants with such records in their possession. Often

'grandmother's' papers documenting a private familial world have been considered less significant than 'grandfather's' papers documenting activities in the public sphere. The latter are more often found in New Zealand archives and museum library collections than the former.

What is needed is a broader definition of archives to allow records of women's activities to be included. Kay Sanderson's definition of 'private archives' is helpful, including as it does "all archives and manuscript groups of non-governmental, non-public provenance e.g. business records, family records of voluntary organisations, private papers relating to individuals and families etc".⁵ In addition, Sanderson's professional guidance on the arranging and describing of 'private archives' is useful for the ordering of women's archives. From first-hand experience, I felt reassured by her description of "overwhelming confusion as you fumble amongst letters, bus tickets, minute books, and scraps of paper" ⁶ and her practical advice for dealing with it all as I embarked on the description of Rosemary Seymour's bequest to the university.

The emergence of the subject 'women's history' in the 1980s resulted in an increasing demand for manuscripts, records and photographs associated with women's activities. This was the focus of a meeting of women archivists and librarians held at the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand Conference in New Plymouth in 1985. I attended this meeting in my capacity as the University of Waikato employee assigned the initial responsibility for the

Rosemary Seymour Collection.

Speakers drew attention to recently published works such as the **Herstory** diaries which contained biographical portraits of New Zealand women and to the bibliography prepared by Patricia Sargison of the Alexander Turnbull Library, **Victoria's Furthest Daughters: a published bibliography of primary sources for the study of women in New Zealand**. Both publications, while pointing to the existence of significant collections of primary documents relevant to the study of women's history, also highlighted the difficulties researchers experienced locating such papers within institutional archival holdings. It was generally agreed that such difficulties stemmed from the traditional cataloguing and indexing systems used by archives, museums and libraries. Those attending the meeting undertook to add women's manuscripts to their collections, to consider methods for the improved identification of women's archives and to form a women's archives committee to network more widely and report on progress. I was elected Chair of this committee, a position I held for several years.

That women's papers and photographs were worthy of preservation so that women's lives could be more accurately documented was highlighted from 1986 on, through the National Library's poster, post-card and calendar reproductions of nineteenth century New Zealand women's activities and in the 1988 publication of **Women's Words: A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the Nineteenth Century in the National Library**.

Accessions as listed in **Archifacts: the Bulletin of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand** reflected the addition of women's manuscripts to a number of repositories around the country. Because a number of lesbian feminists believed that lesbians were rendered invisible in some archival collections, lesbian archives were established. In Wellington, as the Lesbian and Gay Rights Resource Centre collection and in Hamilton, where Zoe Catherine Alice founded the Lesbian Herstory Archives of New Zealand.

The importance of preserving women's archival material was brought more sharply into focus in 1988. Those commissioned to write biographical essays on women for the first volume of **The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography**⁷, a sesqui-centennial project, and in 1989 for **The Book of New Zealand Women**,⁸ came to realise that researching women's lives is time consuming and calls on a repertoire of detective-like skills unlike any other research we had undertaken. For example, as the editors called for more women to be included within the first volume of **The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1769-1869** women members of regional working parties were continually frustrated by the minimal recorded acknowledgement of women's contributions to early New Zealand development and consequently by the lack of primary source material.

Of this, I had first-hand experience. Assigned a 500 word essay on Sophia Bates, New Zealand's first post-mistress, I spent over 40 hours between the

Post Office Archives, Military Archives, Education Board Archives and Church Archives in Auckland trying to piece together the story of this woman's life. By way of contrast, Sandra Coney's 1986 work **Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985** indicates how a women's history can be enriched when institutional archives recognising women are available.

In 1991, the subject of women's archives featured on the conference programmes of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand (ARANZ) and the New Zealand Historical Association (NZHA). As Chair of the ARANZ session, I aimed, first, to promote discussion between custodians of the archives and the researchers who used them and second, to encourage the sharing of information about the kinds of New Zealand manuscript collections. As a panel member of the NZHA session, I wanted to share the outcomes of the ARANZ discussion and to encourage historians of women to enter into more open dialogue with the archivists and librarians. Because the need for a national finding-aid for women's archives became increasingly apparent at both conferences, a small working-group has been established to conduct a feasibility study.

Feminist historians and archivists need to remain vigilant about both the collection and preservation of women's archives if women's history is to remain within the mainstream of historical scholarship. The collection and conservation of women's archives remains an ongoing task. Writers of

women's history require women's archives in order to research their topics but archives can only be made accessible to researchers if archivists can preserve them from decay. Although not unique to women's records, the deterioration of paper means expensive conservation on micro-film or having to restrict access to documents. In turn, the restricted budgets of most archival institutions means that hard decisions have to be made as to which documents are more worthy of conservation. Archivists need to guard against a situation where the expense of conservation could lead to the downgrading of women's records.

Research model

For the purposes of this study, I required a research model compatible with a feminist 'standpoint' perspective⁹ - one which would enable me to reflect on my 'insider' status in women's studies. Because the two are integrally linked I shall deal with each in turn.

Feminist methodologies which are premised on standpoint epistemologies as advanced by Nancy Hartsock, Liz Stanley and others¹⁰ are concerned with the ways in which tell women of their experiences through texts and narratives. The category 'women' is deliberate. It underlies a belief that all women share, by virtue of their being women, a set of common experiences, not because of any 'biological fact' but because the category 'woman' is socially and politically constructed. It is important to emphasise, however,

that I am not claiming that all women share the *same* kinds of experiences. Different groups of women in a variety of social contexts have widely differing lives. A unitary category 'woman' works for this study because in focusing on 'academic women' it is their gender which distinguishes them from academic men. At the same time, it is important to note that by definition, 'academic women' are 'privileged' in relation to many 'other women', but subordinate in status in relation to most academic men.

A feminist standpoint is characterised by the taking of everyday life as its starting point. When a feminist standpoint is the basis of the researchers' analyses, it is they who have the power to interpret and represent others' lives. Nancy Hartsock¹¹ substantiates this claim by drawing attention to three premises of standpoint methodology. First, that one's material life (what one does for a living and related facts about material surroundings) structures and limits one's understanding of being. Second, that members of more powerful and less powerful groups will potentially have different understandings of the world. Third, that the dominant group's view will be "partial and perverse" in contrast to the subordinate group's view because, so long as the group is dominant, it is in the members' interest to maintain, reinforce and legitimate that dominance and particular understanding of the world, regardless of how incomplete it may be. A feminist standpoint research methodology in this study implies a level of awareness by both the researcher and its participants' location in women's studies and our respective lived experiences in this location.

The participatory research model developed by Joan Shapiro from Temple University proved an ideal companion to this approach as it accounted for the positioning of the researcher as a 'knowledgeable insider' and yet was flexible enough to allow for the use of a variety of research methods. Shapiro's model had grown out of another research model, illuminative evaluation, which had begun to deal with the criticisms and questions raised by both feminists and non-traditional educational evaluators. Introduced by Malcolm Parlett, David Hamilton and others¹² in 1977, illuminative evaluation was used to measure the effectiveness of innovative projects in education. Its techniques included participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and analysis of documents. Proponents of this approach believed that the researcher could be both a knowledgeable insider and independent outsider. Feminist educationalists such as Kathleen Weiler¹³, Patti Lather¹⁴, Sue Middleton¹⁵ and Alison Jones¹⁶ have more recently argued for a research methodology which does not position researchers as detached from their objects of analysis. Alison Jones, for example, draws attention to "the tradition of objectivity in the social sciences-and elsewhere-[which] has insisted that the 'I' who writes the text is not welcome; for the 'I' represents subjectivity and bias, enemies of truth".¹⁷ She points to the "new traditions in social enquiry, expressed in their most recent forms by postmodernists and feminists" and goes on to say that the:

'I' is central; that our accounts of the world *can only be* constructions, made up from the language, meanings and ideas historically available to us. The old distant voice of the objective observer/writer is seen as a fiction, and as a mechanism of power which ensures the domination of certain accounts.¹⁸

Shapiro identified the positioning of the researcher as one of the key problems of the illuminative model. While assessing *The Next Move*,¹⁹ a project to assist women working in higher education to better plan their career paths, she found that although projects can be planned in a democratic way and there is collaboration in the planning of the methodology, many who have not been asked to participate feel left out. Those who do participate do so because they have 'good feelings' towards the project; Shapiro, however, was concerned that this in fact helped to focus the study *on* women rather than being of assistance to women.²⁰ Researchers who were both independent outsiders and knowledgeable insiders were under considerable strain. In a feminist setting it was difficult to be an independent outsider while at the same time accepting that there had to be some subjectivity on the part of the researcher. It was also hard to ignore the voices of those who wished to become involved in the evaluative process. Shapiro concluded that researching women's projects had to be a participatory endeavour where the voices of all those who wished to speak could be heard.

Participatory research models allow the researcher to acknowledge particular biases relevant to the project. This was essential for this research project given the small size of the New Zealand feminist community and my association with curriculum development and teaching in women's studies. From the outset I had a reasonable knowledge of the kinds of women's studies courses taught in other New Zealand universities and knew the

majority of women teaching those courses. It was not possible therefore for me to assume the position of neutral outsider in this research. I was most definitely a knowledgeable insider, sympathetic to the teaching of academic women's studies and the generation of feminist research.

By adopting Shapiro's model of participatory research methodology I was able to make clear to those I planned to interview that I was not pretending to be anyone else other than a feminist academic involved in feminist teaching and research. My agenda was clear; in asking them to assist in the process of research they would be contributing to a study which focused *on* their work in women's studies. The findings would be available *for* other women interested in the development of women's studies. By inviting them to participate I was indicating that as a sister academic I was genuinely interested in relevant past and present work.

Shapiro's model took account of feminist interviewing techniques; it did not require the one-way process characteristic of traditional interviewing and the need for interviewers to remain 'uninvolved'. Ann Oakley summarises this approach when she says the goal of finding out about people "through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship".²¹

Oral History Methodology

Investigating the historical development of women's studies called for a research approach which would enable the academic women associated with its development to document their experiences. Oral history has been described as "a technique for generating and preserving historically interesting information from people's personal recollections by means of tape recorded interviews".²² The information obtained through interviews becomes another source of data, to be analysed along with documentary evidence as a means of eliciting information, attitudes, and feelings (about policies, practices, intentions and outcomes) which may not appear in the formal record.

Oral history's value is not unchallenged. Critics of this research technique cite faulty memory, personal bias and the intrusion of extraneous motives and agendas unrelated to the interview. In this study problems of contamination of evidence through rationalisation or modification of responses by the interviewee were considered more likely than problems of memory loss. Such problems can be partially offset, but not wholly eliminated, by checking each informant's testimony against other oral and documentary sources.

Margaret Avery in 1985 explained why she believed in the value of oral evidence properly gathered:

One of the most significant and radical influences which the development of the oral approach has had upon the practice of history is to raise all sorts of uncomfortable questions about the "reliability" of written sources...Oral evidence and written evidence must both be subjected to rigorous critical analysis...Oral and written evidence should be regarded as complementary, not as alternatives or rivals and the historian should apply all his/her interpretive skills to both in order to reconstruct a meaningful picture of the past.²³

Oral history is an historian's legitimate research tool of special value to feminist historians which

only becomes a method in the hands of persons whose interests in it go beyond the immediate pleasure of hearing/learning the history being told. As scholars, we use information derived from oral history, and, in that way, it becomes a method, and methodological questions arise from it. But it can only become a feminist methodology if its use is systematised in particular feminist ways and if the objectives for collecting the oral data are feminist.²⁴

In this study a feminist oral history approach has been used to gather data about previously overlooked aspects of the everyday lives, activities and feelings of academic women.

The narratives of feminist academics are placed within an analysis of the hierarchy of the university culture with its standardising and accountability mechanisms. Documentary records may indicate the names and levels of courses these women teach, the numbers of students with whom they interacted, the books the students were expected to read and so on. They do not give insights into the perspectives and feelings of these women as they undertook these academic duties.

I had had a previous experience with oral history as a research technique. In gathering the data for **Behind Every School: The History of the Hawke's Bay Education Board** ²⁵ I had wanted to obtain some of the lived educational experiences of former pupils in Hawke's Bay primary schools. Over an eighteen month period I conducted, with a research assistant, over sixty interviews; the sheer volume of data gathered forced me to think critically about my whole approach to the gathering and use of oral evidence.

I shared my experiences and described the techniques adopted at the inaugural conference of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand Conference in 1988. Having guided undergraduate and graduate students through oral history projects of their own since that time, I have developed and refined a training manual explaining oral history approaches,²⁶ conducted workshops throughout the central North Island and contributed to radio programmes on this topic. The methods used in research continued to evolve in this study as I sought new techniques to assist in the streamlining of data management. Examples are provided in the sections that follow.

Selection of interviewees

I made clear my own involvement in, and commitment to women's studies to all potential interviewees at each university. Without exception all expressed interest in participating and suggested the names of other

academics whom they considered might also be interested in providing information. This "snowball" effect meant that interviews were conducted with not only those who had been or were actively engaged in women's studies at each institution but also with anyone who was interested in being interviewed.

During 1990 and 1991 thirty-two women and eight men were interviewed. The women had all introduced women's studies courses in their home departments or had been involved in the development and administration of a core women's studies programme. Several had retired or had been promoted since their initial direct involvement in teaching women's studies; their status within the universities ranged from Lecturer (10), Senior Lecturer (13), Associate-Professor (5) and Professor (1). In addition, there were three women who were involved in one university's programmes associated with Continuing Education (non-credit, community based women's studies). They were included because, although they were outside mainstream degree credit women's studies, they had nevertheless made significant contributions to the development of the subject generally.

The men were all senior academics and were interviewed on the recommendation of key women interviewees. All had in some way sponsored the development of women's studies from a position of influence within the university hierarchy. The eight comprised four professors, one of whom was also Assistant Vice-Chancellor, an Associate-Professor who was also Assistant

Vice-Chancellor, a former Vice-Chancellor, a former Registrar and a current Vice-Chancellor.

As individuals agreed to be interviewed, I recalled the links between what is referred to as 'authority' and 'audience' in the literature on women's oral history. In this study, I was mindful of the fact that the audience for my research were also what Susan Geiger has referred to as "the gatekeepers of the discipline, the admired mentors/critics whose assessments determine promotion and entrance into a first-class club of scholars".²⁷

I knew that the interviewees were likely to hold a variety of views on the nature of women's studies, some of which could well differ from mine. Geiger's advice was that in order to undertake oral history within the context of a feminist methodology a researcher needs "to imagine and position as an audience for the 'results' several groups of people and perhaps several different products".²⁸ She goes on to suggest that "identifying the interviewees as part of the audience does not mean that one's interpretation must be the same as their interpretation of themselves or their lives".²⁹ What is important, however, is that a feminist methodology in oral history means that the researcher cannot alter the words of the individuals who have become the "subject matter".

The range of experience in teaching and administering women's studies represented by the group called for different approaches to the conducting

of the interviews. For all, however, the men included, I wanted to know something of their personal academic history, what influenced their thinking on the subject of women's studies, and what prompted them to introduce or support the introduction of women's studies courses.

There were specific questions for those who had introduced the first women's studies course to a department or faculty. From them, I wanted to ascertain how well they thought their courses had been received, the nature of modifications to the courses since their introduction, and their views on assessment and teaching methods. Their involvement in wider planning and development in women's studies was also discussed. After several interviews I also encouraged women to talk about the ways they mediated between the worlds of home versus work and academic versus community involvement. This topic was introduced because of the deep concern many women expressed about their health and the quality of family life as a result of the additional demands made on their time through having large numbers of students enrolled in women's studies courses.

The questions for administrators of women's studies programmes, Deans, Assistant Vice-Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors covered the following areas: who they considered responsible for launching a women's studies programme; their own particular role in this development and their current view of the status of women's studies.

Interviewing

Interviews began in March 1990. When first contacted by letter or telephone all the people I wished to interview were interested in participating, but many doubted the value of what they would have to say. It took some reassurance that their experience was important and had been regarded as such by those who had recommended them to me. I explained that I was writing about the development of women's studies within New Zealand universities between 1973 and 1990 and was interested in the changes that had occurred over that time in their own department or faculty or university and in the experiences of women academics as these related to the development of women's studies.

Because so many interviewees had expressed concern about being able to recall the kinds of information I required, a 'guide to the interview' was sent to each interviewee outlining my proposed interview questions (See Appendix A). By explaining my research project, I built up trust and understanding with the interviewees. With all interviewees, depending on how well we knew each other, I spent between ten and thirty minutes prior to the formal interview discussing topics of mutual interest and in particular their own research interests. All were active in research mainly within feminist scholarship. Many were keen to know about the process of my research; the majority had prepared for the interview by making notes and had personal files at hand. In addition, many had photocopied material for me to take away and several opened their filing cabinets and invited me to photocopy items of interest. All

commented that they had appreciated the pre-knowledge of the areas to be traversed in the interview and were particularly keen to furnish me with as much detail as possible. The post-interview period often included a cup of tea or a meal with further more personal sharings of aspects of their academic life.

I was anxious to avoid what Ann Oakley calls the 'talk and run' model of interviewing. Feminist researchers stress the importance of a 'non-hierarchical relationship' between the interviewer and the interviewee and a readiness on the part of the interviewer to invest her own identity in that relationship. This research gave me a new perspective on that relationship. Although a doctoral student may well be regarded by her/his interviewees as an 'authority' figure, in this case, not only were the interviewees predominantly feminist academics, familiar with feminist research methods, but they were in most cases, also more academically experienced and qualified than I am.

The issue of authority is important to an understanding of a feminist relationship in research; the acknowledgement of a sense of a hierarchical relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is vital. In 'What's So Feminist About Women's Oral History', Susan Geiger elaborates upon the nature of the relationship between oral historians and other researchers working on a project; her explanation of that relationship is relevant to this study. She stresses the need for:

honesty about limitation; that is, that the relationship is a particular kind of association, at least with the work being done in this context. That a different kind of relationship is built into or results from that is another issue. Doing oral history within a feminist methodological framework is about intellectual work and its process.³⁰

Elsa Barkley Brown describes the positioning of the researcher and the researched as 'pivoting the center', a process which makes it possible "to center the experience of another person without denying the validity of one's own".³¹ Several of the interviewees commented that no one had ever asked them before what they had actually been doing at university all these years and that the interviewing process had served to remind them of people and events long forgotten. It stimulated, one interviewee said, "a kind of self-evaluation". This reflection is linked to a feminist methodology which attempts to empower women through a medium in which the voices of women can be *heard*. In oral history this means that, through the process used and the relationship formed, women use their own words and terms as understood by them. Patti Lather says that as a result of this empowerment through articulation of concepts "the researched becomes as important as the researcher in formulating the problem, discussing solutions and interpreting findings".³²

Each interview was held at a location chosen by the interviewees, usually in their university offices. My approach at each institution was to interview first the person widely regarded as being the 'key informant', for example, the first teacher of a women's studies course. The questions for the remaining interviewees on that campus were then modified as detailed information was

gained or the need for other perspectives became apparent. For example, once an initial key sequence of events had been established, this was checked with other interviewees and their impressions sought. I would then feed in material from one interview to the next to get the additional comment and opinion essential in the construction of the history. Later interviews were consequently different from the early ones; there was often more discussion and I found that I became more assertive about asking for the information I needed.

The first interviews were held with immediately accessible colleagues at the University of Waikato. Themes and questions were trialled and, as the momentum gathered, the focus of questions sharpened. This approach on local territory with interviewees who were well known to me undoubtedly assisted the identification of themes and trends in the remaining interviews. The May, August and summer non-teaching weeks were set aside for interviewing.

Analysis

The analysis of interview material often began during the interview itself, when interviewees examined their own histories within the university. Sometimes during interviews, while I was trying to establish the sequence of events which led to the introduction of women's studies programmes, interviewees preferred to discuss issues rather than chronology. At other times such

discussion, often very analytical, began when the tape recorder was turned off. On one occasion, a university academic asked me to turn the tape off and elaborated on a point raised in the interview concerning another senior academic whose chances of academic promotion had, in the interviewee's opinion, been damaged by an event that took place some twenty years earlier. This information was important to the analysis but it was clear I had been told it in confidence. I do not quote or report the details of such "off the record" comments in my thesis although what was told in confidence inevitably becomes part of the analysis. This particular incident described was not an isolated one.

The collection of oral history data is time consuming and tiring. I seldom conducted more than two interviews a day. This provided preparation time ahead of each interview and allowed time for reflection after the interview. Where possible, I listened to the taped interview sometime during the same day and 'highlighted' points of special interest in the handwritten notes taken during the session. With such a large number of interviews, I found it helpful to record any special points about the interview. For example, on a couple of occasions interviews were interrupted by urgent telephone calls and the interviewees took some time to focus back on the interview process. Another factor was the time allocated for each interview. On the basis of previous interviewing experience I suggested to interviewees that 45 minutes should be sufficient time to cover the material on their guide sheets. However, on several occasions the interviews extended well beyond this tentative limit

partly because, as one interviewee commented, "it was probably the first and last chance to talk to someone about their life's work". Such experiences in the course of this study led to the development of an Interview Evaluation Sheet for students so that they might better describe the interview process.

In this particular research exercise each taped interview was transcribed into the word processor giving me a text of between 20 and 50 pages. As I checked the transcript against the tape recording, the reflection on the taped interview became part of the analysis. After each interview was transcribed, a copy of the transcript was sent to the interviewee who could then correct, add or delete information. A few insisted that there was no need for me to do this; they did not want to read the transcript. In most instances the narrative was left intact by the interviewees, the only alterations being made to their own syntax. In several cases more information was sent. Amendments to the transcript were then made and a clean copy sent to the interviewee for their personal files. The returning of what had been given is consistent with feminist research methodology but is not necessarily unique to feminist research. This 'validity check' was generally appreciated by the interviewees. Several commented that such information would be of assistance to anyone writing their biography; others that in years ahead it would provide their children with details of their academic life and their reflections on that time.

A 'contract form' signed by the interviewee and by me was included with the returned transcript. I did this because I believe an interviewee should always know why material is being recorded and what is going to happen to it. The form provided for this project was developed by the New Zealand Oral History Association of New Zealand for use by its members.³³ While the agreement takes the positive approach that the interviewee will regard the 'contract' as a "deed of gift" it does provide an opportunity for the subject to impose any restrictions on the use of the interview material (see Appendix B).

While a guarantee of confidentiality is essential, all interviewees agreed to my using the material which is in this thesis; most also agreed that where appropriate their names could be used. Restrictions were specifically requested, however, where personal comments had been made about colleagues. Many agreed to the lodging of the tapes within the University of Waikato Audio Archive. While some gave immediate access to use by bona fide researchers, "upon my retirement" was a more common request.

Once the interviews became texts I began my analysis. Different themes were colour coded and groupings of interviews were analysed for each institution and then overall. This was a technique I had found useful in the Hawke's Bay project to make better sense of the information contained within a large number of transcripts. For example, the colour yellow was used across all interviews to highlight aspects of the text concerning the types of influences on the interviewee's attitudes towards women's studies, the colour pink to

indicate opposition to the introduction of women's studies courses, the colour red to signify events which may have led to the establishment of courses and so on. Once colour coded particular themes could be quickly identified, placed under headings and photocopied to provide 'documents' with which to work.

Central to the organisation and analysis was an ordering of these 'documents' alongside the other documentary evidence collected over the period of the research. Basil Bernstein's theory of the structure of the curriculum proved an invaluable model. His major premise is that curriculum is a selection from the knowledge of the culture to which it belongs, and reflects that culture's knowledge code.³⁴ An understanding of the way this knowledge code is structured is essential to an understanding of the political nature of the curriculum.

What prompted the adoption of a male theoretical perspective within a feminist study? Sue Middleton's 1987 case-study³⁵ pointed to the advantages of using Bernstein's knowledge codes to make better sense of the structures and operations of a university. Re-reading Bernstein, I was able to make links between the research data I had collected and what he was suggesting might be happening within an educational institution at any one time. I did not adopt Bernstein uncritically, afterall his work **Class, Codes and Control**, made no reference to women. What Bernstein does however, is indicate the importance of curriculum categories and the relations between them in an

educational setting. His knowledge codes could be applied to an historical study such as this, because they helped reveal the structures operating within universities which might help or hinder developments taking place within them.

In a recent paper, Madeleine Arnot, a sociologist of education, advocates the use of Basil Bernstein's theoretical model in feminist research. It offers, she said, "a theoretical framework in which to consider the symbolic messages communicated through the formal and informal structures and interactional processes of schooling".³⁶ While critical of Sarah Delamont's use of Bernstein's codes in her 1989 study of women's education in Britain and the United States³⁷, Arnot suggests that Bernstein has much to offer historical analyses of gender relations. In this study, I needed a way of conceptualising the university as an academic institution within which the feminist academics experienced both constraints and possibilities. I found this in Bernstein's concept of 'classification' of the curriculum.

By classification, Basil Bernstein means the nature of relationships between the contents of the curriculum and between the people involved with the various 'contents'. Where classification is strong, then the various 'subjects' (or disciplines) are well insulated from each other, with clear boundaries. When classification is weak then the insulation is broken down and the boundaries are blurred. Two types of knowledge code derive from this, a 'collection code' and an 'integrated code': the former has a strong classification, the latter a weak classification. Each classification has its own

associated categories of teaching groups, pedagogy, teachers, curriculum and students. To understand those factors that shape the development of an academic discipline such as women's studies, the knowledge codes direct attention to a university's internal dynamics, the way it manages its human and material resources as well as to factors external to the university. To what extent for example, does the larger society support or constrain new developments? This analysis is crucial to any consideration of the politics of curricula as each code has quite different implications for the power and authority structure of the educational process.

By arguing that interdisciplinary women's studies programmes are representative of an integrated code and that separate departments of women's studies are representative of a collection code, I shall make a case for a model of curriculum that continues to take into account what women tell of their experiences within the university. It departs from the view that valid or high-status educational knowledge has to be kept separate from the everyday common-sense knowledge or low-status knowledge in order to gain academic credibility.

Bernstein's integrated and collection knowledge codes were used to provide a framework in which to arrange the data in the first instance. This meant a two-way division according to whether or not the university conceived of women's studies on its campus as interdisciplinary (integrated) or department-based (collection). I then further divided the data according to Bernstein's

categories of teaching groups, teachers and curriculum. The colour coding system employed made it possible to read these for each university as well as across all institutions. This enabled contrasts to be made between individuals and institutions associated with the development of women's studies in New Zealand universities.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the two major strands of fieldwork and research in this study, the documentary evidence and feminist oral history. The design and the practice of the two parts provide, I believe, the criteria for a feminist research project. The problems encountered and how they were overcome have been deliberately included; they are as much an integral part of the research as the process itself. The data obtained from the oral history interviews is interwoven through the text from Chapter Four on. Much of the documentary evidence, however, was crucial for the writing of the next chapter, an overview of women's participation in New Zealand universities.

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CHAPTER THREE

FEMINIST HISTORY OF WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES

Ann Oakley reminds feminist researchers that

a feminist perspective consists of keeping in the forefront of one's mind the lifestyles, activities and interests of more than half of humanity- women. Many different arguments or blueprints for a sexually egalitarian society can be, and have been, constructed on this basis...their common focus is on making visible the invisible; bringing women 'out from under'.¹

This was advice pertinent to this study as I believed that the climate for establishing women's studies in the 1970s was linked to the visibility of record numbers of women students and staff.

To gain an overview of women's participation in New Zealand universities I read the jubilee and centennial histories of the universities of Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago.² In all but two, women were rendered invisible; 'women' were not even listed in the index. The histories were examples of what June Purvis has described as 'mainstream' research which "operates within a male-centred paradigm where man and man's experiences are taken as the norm".³

I then turned to conventional historical accounts of the higher education of women, again written by men. These depicted a gradual opening up of educational opportunities and steady progress towards an eventual victory for 'equal opportunity'.⁴ Feminist educational historians question such triumphalist versions and instead, as Carol Dyhouse suggests,

want to know *why* in spite of one hundred years of higher education for women, in which the *rhetoric* of equality survives, women's situation remains what it is. Why are women *still* so under-represented in certain subject areas and so lacking in numbers at senior levels of university education today?⁵

These questions provide the focus for this chapter.

Initial Steps in Women's Higher Education

New forms of provision for girls' education at the secondary level developed in the second half of the nineteenth century by which time there were sections of the professional occupational groups and business community who sought a new kind of education for their daughters. Joyce Pedersen ⁶ has argued that in England men in these groups were seeking to enhance their own positions in society through aspiring to new versions of gentility. Such men perceived women's education to be important because although women were not expected to earn their own living they were expected, as dependent wives, to use their leisure time to promote social activities which would lend prestige or distinction to the family as a whole and to the husband in particular.

While this view was probably alive and well in New Zealand, a majority of colonial parents did not view secondary education as an option for their daughters. From research data collected for the Hawke's Bay educational history ⁷ I had earlier established that very few parents could afford to send their children to secondary school. School fees were beyond the means of most families; children from rural communities had the added burden of costs for travelling and lodging. Many families were dependent on family labour for survival. Added to this was the predominant Victorian work ethic, which meant that parents could not accept that able-bodied children should continue at school when they could be involved in 'real' work.

It was common for children who reached the compulsory school leaving age of thirteen years to be withdrawn from their studies and begin to contribute to the family economy. Female labour was vital to production, and girls were expected to contribute to the economy of a family as soon as they were able. Accordingly, they learned quickly that familial considerations were of greater importance than individualistic ones: the good and the well-being of the family came before the gratification of individual desires. Hence any personal ambition a girl might harbour had to be subjugated to those of her parents, and to meeting daily needs of other members of the family. In rural areas it was usual for girls to be employed without pay on the family farm. In towns, while boys had a wide choice of paid employment, it was common for girls to

help at home or work for low wages in repetitive jobs in domestic service and factories, later in offices and shops.⁸

Young women from families with limited resources who did wish to continue at school could attain further education in two ways; by gaining a pupil-teachership or winning an entry scholarship to an endowed secondary school. Under the **1877 Education Act**, primary education was made free and compulsory and former provincial schools were thrown into disarray as thousands of children flocked to the schools in their districts. These schools desperately needed teachers, and girls and boys were sought as pupil-teacher trainees. Education board inspectors oversaw recruitment. During school examination visits they would identify the more able standard five and six pupils who would then be offered contracts of up to four years duration with an initial payment of approximately twenty pounds per annum.⁹ Such a proposition was attractive to girls and parents alike; a young woman could continue her studies while training for an occupation which improved her social standing and enhanced her marriage prospects and at the same time be able to augment the family income.

An alternative recommendation by primary school inspectors might be that parents allow their daughters to seek one of the limited number of secondary school free places or scholarships available.¹⁰ Most scholarships guaranteed one or two years tuition but as Ruth Fry argues:

girls required determination and encouragement from their teachers if they were to continue their schooling. Parents, who were more likely to spend money on their sons, needed to be convinced of its value if they were to budget or make sacrifices for the education of their daughters.¹¹

Women's formal education beyond the primary level was linked to a domestic role. In secondary schools, for example, girls could study similar subjects to boys but from 1917, a pass grade in a compulsory course in Domestic Science was required of all matriculating girls.¹² From her studies on women's involvement in technical education, Barbara Day came to the conclusion that "in New Zealand, it was argued that a man well cared for by his domestically trained wife would be more content, more likely to stay with his family, more economically productive and, hence, more likely to maintain the supremacy of the English race and the British empire".¹³ Such beliefs had their origins in Social Darwinism, with its fear "of a moral degeneration of the English race" if citizens were "not properly trained" for their roles within society.¹⁴

This was one justification for the type of post-primary education a young woman might receive. Another was linked to basic tenets of liberalism. Early proponents of this view, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1792) and John Stuart Mill (1869) had emphasised women's equal rationality with men and therefore women's equal rights in all spheres of society, including property ownership, suffrage and education.¹⁵ Such ideas were also advocated by some early

New Zealand feminists. Mary Ann Muller, for example, campaigned for married women's equal access to property from as early as 1869. Using the pseudonym 'Femina', she published newsletters and pamphlets on this topic with the assistance of the editor of her local newspaper, the **Nelson Examiner**. She attracted both national and international attention to the plight of married women who lost all rights to the property they brought with them into marriage. Mary Muller, who corresponded with John Stuart Mill, was instrumental in having the **Married Women's Property Act** passed in 1870 and for its amendment in 1884.¹⁶

Like J.S. Mill, Mary Muller and other proponents of liberalism, Mary Colclough did not question the importance of women's maternal and domestic role. She did, however, question the "forcing of women into a dependent domestic role, to the exclusion of all others".¹⁷ She told those attending a public meeting in Auckland in 1871 that the key to women's earning power was education. "Women were moving into fields other than teaching...their presence in the learned professions gave a denial to the claim that in practical matters women were inferior to men".¹⁸

This rejection of the traditional role of wife and mother was not popular in colonial New Zealand. Mary Colclough was labelled "a modern female fanatic...totally destitute of those two female characteristics, docility and modesty,...those gems of the female character."¹⁹ Such comments on the nature of women's education highlighted the tensions between advocates of

liberalism and Social Darwinism. Although each accepted the need for girls secondary education and believed in the importance of women's domestic role, the liberals, spurred on by a belief in justice and fair-play, campaigned for the passing of legislation to ensure equal rights for women.

Girls' secondary schools were established from 1871 as part of the effort to impress upon young women the importance of being capable wives and mothers. However, secondary education did more than reinforce conventional ideologies about the sexual division of labour. Female education was to foster patterns of friendship, solidarity and collective identity among women as they pursued their schooling.

There were parents who believed in not only a full secondary education but in higher education for their daughters. I set out to trace the careers of the first women who attended and graduated from the University of New Zealand. From the early 1870s, women students as well as men could attend each of the four university colleges, Otago (1869), Canterbury (1873), Auckland (1883) and Victoria (1899). All were foundation constituent colleges of the federal University of New Zealand. They were responsible for teaching students but it was the University of New Zealand which granted the degrees.²⁰ In addition, until 1884, a number of secondary schools were affiliated to the University of New Zealand. Up to 1926, senior secondary school pupils could apply for Junior University Scholarships and be admitted to degree classes

taught at selected secondary schools such as Auckland Girls' Grammar and Nelson Girls' College.²¹

All students who graduated with University of New Zealand qualifications are listed in **The Alphabetical Roll of Graduates 1877-1958** with details of the secondary school and college each attended, scholarships awarded, subjects studied, degrees attained and subsequent employment. Women students are easily identified; men have first name initials only, women their first names. I began a page-by-page search recording information for each woman graduating during the nineteenth century and compiled a summary for each university college. The discovery that the University of Zealand did not differentiate students by sex in its annual reports to the Minister of Education forced me to count each female and male graduate. I did this decade by decade to determine the percentage participation rates of the women students.

Once the women graduates of the nineteenth century were identified, I checked their respective college histories for further details. James Hight's and Alice Candy's 1927 **Short History of Canterbury College** was valuable, featuring as it did many women graduates and their achievements. Alice Candy, the first woman academic historian appointed to a New Zealand university, was also one of the few women academics at Canterbury in the 1920s. The book reflects her recognition of the accomplishments of other women.

Canterbury graduates and their contemporaries from Otago were highlighted in W.Gardner's **Colonial Cap and Gown**. His study indicated that many of the women with Bachelor and Master of Arts degrees from these institutions went on to become teachers. An examination of girls' secondary schools' jubilee and centennial publications confirmed this, as well as providing detailed biographical information on those who became principals. A few of these women featured in the 1991 publication **The Book of New Zealand Women**. From this information it was possible to piece together educational biographies of the first women graduates.

The Auckland College and Grammar School, a boys' secondary school, affiliated to the University of New Zealand, was the first institution to admit a woman to a degree programme.²² It is not known whether any woman had previously applied for a place at Auckland and had been rejected. What is known is that Kate Milligan Edger, supported by her University of London graduate father, Samuel Edger, forwarded an application to the Auckland College and Grammar School in 1876 which included all relevant academic and personal details but did not specify her sex. She also sought a scholarship. It is not clear whether this ruse won the scholarship or whether her success stemmed from the fact that her father was an examiner for the College, and an unorthodox and vocal Baptist minister known to support women's rights²³ or simply because the university needed to raise its student numbers. Kate Edger followed a degree programme at the Auckland

College and Grammar School and in 1877 became the first New Zealand woman graduate.²⁴

Meanwhile, fifteen year old Helen Connon enrolled as the first matriculated woman student at Canterbury College in 1876. Her mother had negotiated directly for her admission with the newly arrived Scottish Professor, John MacMillan Brown. She and Anne Bolton were the first women to graduate from Canterbury College with Bachelor of Arts degrees in English, history and geography in 1880.²⁵ MacMillan Brown encouraged his colleagues to admit women. "I gave my ready consent as far as lectures were concerned", he later commented, "and said that I would do my best to gain the same privilege in the lecture rooms of the other professors".²⁶ His efforts paved the way for many women to attend Canterbury University College. As a result, Canterbury College awarded 85 (59 per cent) of its degrees to women during the nineteenth century, more than any other New Zealand university institution.²⁷

MacMillan Brown remained impressed with Helen Connon. When she gained a Master of Arts in 1881, the first woman to do so, he asked her to marry him. She did not agree immediately, stating that "she wished to show independently what a young woman could do in life".²⁸ She became the Principal of Christchurch Girls' High School in 1882, married MacMillan Brown in 1886 and as the mother of small children, continued teaching until 1894.²⁹

Women at the University of Otago lacked such a sponsor. Although the university authorities permitted women to attend classes in the early 1870s, they could not attain degree status. Instead, they had to be satisfied with certificates of competency in the subjects they passed.³⁰ This was viewed as discriminatory practice by many of the locals who wrote letters to newspapers and petitioned the University Council. With the affiliation of the University of Otago to the University of New Zealand in 1874, women became eligible to study for degrees.

The first University of Otago matriculated woman student did not enrol for a degree course until four years later. A major reason for this delay has been attributed to the Professor of Classics, G.S.Sale, whose intimidating teaching manner alarmed both men and women students. To women students in particular, G.S.Sale was "a veritable ogre".³¹ It took a strong and able woman to measure up to his standards. Caroline Freeman, a local headmistress and part-time student, did so. She was Otago's first woman graduate in 1885.³² Later, two other Otago women were to be the first in New Zealand to graduate in their specialist areas: Emily Siedeberg, in medicine in 1896 and Ethel Benjamin, in law in 1897.³³

Early Influences on women's university education

Particular New Zealand secondary schools played a major role in the preparation of women undergraduates. In the South Island, Otago Girls' High

School (1871), Christchurch Girls' High School (1877), Timaru Girls' High School (1880), Nelson Girls' College (1883) and Waitaki Girls' High School (1887) sent many outstanding scholars to Canterbury University College and the University of Otago.³⁴ In the North Island, Auckland Girls' High School (1876, later Auckland Girls' Grammar (1888), Wellington Girls' High School (1882), Napier Girls' High School (1884), and New Plymouth Girls' High School (1885) sent high calibre undergraduates to all the university colleges.³⁵

Christchurch Girls' High School was unique. It was founded by Canterbury University College and as such, was controlled by the same Board of Governors. Between 1880 and 1914, eighty-four, or 45 per cent, of the women graduates of Canterbury College were past-pupils of Christchurch Girls' High School.³⁶ Despite the later entry of women to degree programmes at Otago, Otago Girls' High School's achievements were just as outstanding. In the same time, it produced seventy-four or 47 per cent of the women graduates at the University of Otago.³⁷

These results, however, were often achieved at considerable personal cost. Some women had won University of New Zealand Scholarships which entitled them to forty pounds per year for three years but for most, there was no such assistance. For example, at the University of Otago between 1878 and 1911, only forty-three, or 27 per cent, of women graduates had been scholarship winners.³⁸ With examination fees of approximately eighteen pounds per

year, a scholarship woman could make ends meet if she had free board and lodging supplied by her family or friends.³⁹ Women without scholarships, particularly those from country areas, were even more dependent on the goodwill of families in an era when it was less acceptable for women to work in part-time paid employment.

Degree costs could be significantly reduced if a student attended training college, went part-time to university, and completed her degree while teaching. Nearly half of the women enrolled at the University of Otago in 1898 were in this category. The author of the women's notes in the **Otago University Review** in May of that year wrote: "The attempt to combine **university** with a **Normal School** or **pupil-teacher's** course...is simply madness".⁴⁰ Marian Hookham, the Headmistress of St Michael's Day School in Christchurch, would probably have agreed. After eleven years of combining teaching and part-time study she graduated from Canterbury University College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1894.⁴¹

The university colleges were not particularly welcoming places, either for women or for men. Lecture halls were draughty and ill-lit; convention required that women sit at the front. There was little organised social activity and the attitudes of some of the male students to their female counterparts left a lot to be desired. In later years, Janet Barr (M.A. 1903) recalled a science class at Otago. "I always tried to be in my seat before men arrived in great

numbers. This was to avoid having to walk in to the accompaniment of stamping and whistling".⁴²

Employment opportunities for women graduates, other than in the teaching profession, were limited. Gardner⁴³ estimated that all but 20 of the 159 Otago women graduates from 1885 to 1914 became teachers. Nearly 100 of them became secondary school teachers. All but 50 of the 130 Canterbury university college women graduates became teachers, the majority taking up secondary school positions.

It is likely that women graduates would have joined any new profession into which their entry was not opposed but, because the Department of Education, school inspectors and boards of governors heartily welcomed women into teaching, the eventual feminisation of the profession was assured. Feminisation refers to a process whereby the number and proportion of women in an occupation rapidly accelerate and, as a result, the job assumes low status and rewards.⁴⁴ Why did Victorian men, encourage such a vocational pursuit for women graduates? There were male members of boards of governors like Samuel Edger and John McMillan Brown who held to the principles of liberalism, advocating as it did equality of opportunity for women. There were others who were firm believers in women's general inferiority to men but who acknowledged that women excelled in the bearing and rearing of children.

It seems likely that the motivating factor was money. Women teachers cost much less than their male counterparts. The schools, supported by land endowments and community fund raising, were by necessity obliged to practise thrifty housekeeping. Boards of governors and parents expected that the major portion of the yearly income would be invested in new buildings, building maintenance and school equipment.

Because civil service regulations permitted women teachers to be paid less than men, hiring them appreciably reduced the annual cost and staffing of schools. Opportunities for educated females to enter employment were limited and, as the graduate lists suggested, larger numbers of competent women than competent men were prepared to accept low-paid teaching positions. As they did so, they were frequently reminded by politicians and clergy that their special attributes well suited them for this role. After all, they were told, the feminine mind and nature uniquely equipped them to guide young women into piety, purity and knowledge. This ideology rested comfortably with male employing authorities as it required little stretching of the popular idea regarding the female. Women, as teachers, were merely making visible their unique role as the guardians of the young. As a group they were perceived as being less concerned with selfish considerations of personal gain, personal comfort or financial reward. It was generally thought that women would be grateful to be able to perform this vital work which provided companionship and financial independence until such a time as they would marry.⁴⁵

My examination of listings of early graduates revealed that women graduates of Canterbury College predominated on the staff of both Christchurch Girls' High School and Nelson Girls' College.⁴⁶ For some years they were well-represented at Otago Girls' High School too, but by 1914 that staff was an all-Otago graduate one.⁴⁷ Canterbury graduates outnumbered others as principals of secondary schools to the turn of the century. Fourteen heads of public or private secondary girls' schools came from among early women graduates from Canterbury College.⁴⁸ Many began their teaching careers and became principals of the secondary schools they had attended as pupils.

Another trend I identified through school jubilee and centennial publications was the relative youth of the women first selected to head the colony's secondary schools. Although the youth of the early principals was not often commented upon by authors of school histories, the biographical information about them often included dates of birth. For example, Helen Connon M.A.(Hons), was twenty-two years of age when she returned to Christchurch Girls' High School as Principal in 1883. Her successor, Mary Gibson M.A.(Hons), had been a former pupil as well as a staff member. Mary's seven sisters had also attended the school and all graduated from Canterbury College before joining the teaching profession. Beatrice and Helen Gibson taught for some time at Christchurch Girls' High School. Helen went on to become the Principal of Rangi Ruru Girls' School where her sisters Ethel, Ruth, Winifred and Lucy were staff members. Beatrice M.A.(Hons), became

the second Principal of Nelson Girls' College at the age of twenty-four years.⁴⁹

Two colleagues of Helen Connon and Mary Gibson at Christchurch Girls' High School were both appointed principals in 1883. Kate Edger M.A.(Hons), became Lady Principal of Nelson Girl's College at the age of twenty-five and Martha Hamilton became Headmistress of Wellington Girls' College.⁵⁰ At Nelson, Kate was joined by her sister, Lilian Edger M.A.(Hons). Lilian came to Nelson from the Christchurch Girls' High School staff where she had also been a former pupil.⁵¹

When Martha Hamilton resigned her Wellington Girls' High School post in 1900, she was succeeded by another graduate of Canterbury University College, Mary McLean M.A., who had been appointed the first Principal of Timaru Girls' High School at the age of thirty-one (1898-1900).⁵² In the same year, Beatrice Gibson retired as Principal of Nelson Girls' College. Her successors, Alethea Tendall M.A.(1900-1906) and Margaret Lorimer M.A.(1906-1926) had both been taught by Kate Edger as pupils at Christchurch Girls' High School and were graduates of Canterbury College.⁵³

The first woman principal of Otago Girls' High School was Maria Marchant M.A. a former dux of, and later teacher at Wellington Girls' High School. She was twenty-six years old when appointed in 1896. Her successors, both University of Otago graduates, were Flora Allan M.A., who had been a dux of

Otago Girls' High School and Mary King M.A. who had attended Waitaki Girls' High School and had topped the overall New Zealand Junior University Scholarship results in 1898.⁵⁴

Otago Girls' High School and the University of Otago provided many more early secondary school principals. Mary Hewitt, the first Principal of Napier Girls' High School was twenty-six years of age when appointed in 1884⁵⁵; Mary Montgomery B.A, Principal of New Plymouth Girls' High School (1887-1896); Catherine Ferguson M.A. who went to head Waitaki Girls' High School in 1893 aged 25 years and her successor Jessie Banks M.A. in 1900⁵⁶; Violet Greig M.A., B.Sc. who was Principal at Napier Girls' High School (1910-1926) and then at Wellington Girl's High School (1926-1938)⁵⁷ and Janet Barr M.A. who was principal of a number of schools: New Plymouth Girls' High School (1916-1921); Iona Girls' College (1921-1924) and Timaru Girls' High School (1924-1938)⁵⁸.

Women principals such as these were generally chosen for their personal attributes as well as for their scholarship. They were respectable, church-going women exemplifying in their own lives virtues of selflessness and service. However, they differed from many other women their age by being almost always unmarried. Full-time salaried employment was generally considered unacceptable for middle-class women after marriage. They also differed from most other women in that they were public figures of some importance in their own right in their local communities, enjoying the security of good salaries and

relative freedom from family demands. As such they conducted their lives ever aware that their behaviour and that of their women staff was always open to public scrutiny and comment.

The authors of girls' school jubilee and centennial publications and those writing for **The Book of New Zealand Women** and **Dictionary of New Zealand Biography** pointed out that many women secondary teachers were members of local church congregations and through this association were attracted to join the Women's Christian Temperance Union. (W.C.T.U.). This organisation was established in New Zealand in 1885 and attracted women with a "strong moral sense". Rosemary Park suggests that "Victorians believed a gift of this sort was particularly strong in women" ⁵⁹ and that WCTU activities were ones in which it was appropriate for good God-fearing women to be engaged.

The WCTU had traditionally attracted women concerned about the effects of liquor on the general population: the plight of deserted wives and children; those who through financial circumstance, were forced into prostitution; the double standard in testing prostitutes for contagious diseases and not their male clients, and the lack of women police and prison officers. For many members of the WCTU, eligibility to vote in the general elections only became an issue in the late 1880s when they experienced at first-hand the indifference of Members of Parliament to their temperance aligned concerns.⁶⁰ Kate Sheppard was one of these. She joined the Christchurch branch of the

WCTU in 1885 becoming the national Franchise Superintendent shortly afterwards. She was to convince the membership that women's concerns about liquor abuse would not be taken seriously unless women could directly influence politicians through the power of their vote; the enfranchisement of women was her goal.⁶¹

Those associated with the WCTU, its public meetings, pamphlet production, letter writing and petition campaigns argued that through their moral influence, the New Zealand family flourished and that enfranchisement for women could only have a positive influence on the political system. Indeed, they agreed that their domestic roles as wives and mothers were so important to the colony's well-being that women must be enfranchised. These arguments were effective in gaining popular acceptance; suffragists were seen as non-threatening.

University educated women were among those who met regularly under the WCTU banner. While gaining the vote for women became a major focus from the late 1880s until it was won in 1893, other battles were also waged for women. Christina Henderson, for example, a Canterbury graduate, teacher at Christchurch Girls' High School and active Presbyterian, was the President of the Christchurch branch of the WCTU. She fought for equal pay for women over many years saying that "it is quite true, that a woman manages to live on less than a man because her wants are fewer, but it is equally true, that her wants are fewer because her earnings are less".⁶² She later founded the Canterbury Women Teachers' Association .

Mary McLean, a colleague of Christina Henderson's at Christchurch Girls' High School at that time, used her WCTU connections to network with other women teachers throughout the country. For many years she lobbied for equality within the secondary school curriculum, particularly for full mathematics and science subjects.⁶³ Meanwhile, Kate Edger, Principal of Nelson Girls' College and lay preacher in the Congregational Church, played a leading role in the activities of the Nelson WCTU suffrage campaign.⁶⁴ Through their contacts with the WCTU, therefore, early women graduates such as these came to be influenced by feminism.

Both movements, education and suffrage, were harassed by pseudo-scientific predictions of failure and doom. Margaret Tennant and Judith Devaliant⁶⁵ for example, cite instances where access to higher education and the giving of the vote to women were resisted as being destructive of the good woman whose moral sensitivities could only be weakened by forcing knowledge and public activity upon her. Despite these dire prophecies women continued to attend in increasing numbers. They proved they could leave home, attend universities and go on to earn a livelihood without suffering physical, mental or moral collapse.

Fields of Study

My surveys of the numbers of graduates from 1877 to 1958, not surprisingly showed steadily increasing numbers of women graduating. However, there was little change in their fields of study. To 1958, when the University of New Zealand listing of graduates ceased, there were still few women with degrees other than those in the arts, few with higher degrees and correspondingly, few women academics.

All New Zealand's first 143 women graduates between 1880 and 1900 graduated in Arts except two in science and one each in medicine and law.⁶⁶ Between 1900 and 1914 most women students continued to be arts students although a small number were in science, medicine and law.

Nearly all the women graduates appointed to staffing positions between 1880 and 1900 were arts graduates, many with qualifications in languages. The fact that there were few women science graduates was used by male opponents of women's higher education, such as some male academics and politicians, to question women's ability to cope with the pressures of mathematics and scientific studies.⁶⁷ They believed that women's duty was to bear and rear children; any education they received should be to this end.

The view that women were lacking in scientific aptitude and that the secondary school curriculum should prepare them for home duties was reinforced in the

early 1900s. The arguments for promoting a type of secondary education which would better equip women for their future roles as wives and mothers was not unique to New Zealand. It was linked to an international eugenicist movement which stressed the importance of racial fitness and purity. This would be assured if women, particularly middle-class women "best fitted to produce off-spring of requisite racial standard"⁶⁸ took seriously their role as 'race-producers and race-developers'.

Influenced by such ideas, Dr Truby King, Dr F. Batchelor and Dr Lindo Ferguson, part-time lecturers at the University of Otago medical school, presented learned papers and spoke at public meetings against allowing young women to indulge in higher academic study. Eric Olssen, Margaret Tennant and Ruth Fry ⁶⁹ have each outlined the arguments advanced by King and others. The stress placed upon girls by the secondary school system was regarded by Truby King as interfering with their physical development, producing young women likely to shirk their maternal duties. In 1906, King published **The Evils of Cram**, a book in which he presented a series of isolated mental case histories of young women. These examples, according to King, demonstrated that mental illness was commonly caused by excessive academic work. King, the founder of the New Zealand Plunket Society, an organisation established in 1907 to promote mother and infant welfare, was a man with a growing reputation in this field.

By 1909, King and Batchelor were addressing meetings of the Plunket Society on the subject of 'The effect of advanced education of women on the vitality of the race'. They called on the state to recognise the need to offer young women and young men quite different forms of education. Domestic management, physiology and hygiene, King and Bachelor argued, should take preference over French, algebra, Euclid and Latin.⁷⁰ In New Zealand, they were not alone in their belief that young women should be primarily educated for domestic duties and motherhood. Newspaper editors, senior male academics, politicians and clergy all endorsed these views.⁷¹

It was not coincidental that the promotion of the ideology of domesticity and education for domestic duties and motherhood came at a time when women were entering higher education and the paid workforce in larger numbers than ever before and were competing with men for jobs.⁷² There was another factor. Those who promoted the acquisition of domestic skills were predominantly from the middle-classes, people who were beginning to find it difficult to attract women to work as domestic servants. Their efforts to keep women in domestic roles were frustrated by the outbreak of World War I which forced the government to ask women to move into paid jobs vacated by men who had joined the armed forces. It is not clear which the eugenicists considered the greater evil.

Educating young women for their 'natural role', however, was seen as the answer to many of society's problems. While these attitudes did not go

unchallenged by women doctors and school principals who queried a specially defined education in a supposedly 'instinctual' subject,⁷³ it is clear that the campaign to educate women for the domestic sphere was reasonably successful. In 1911, the School of Home Science was opened at the University of Otago;⁷⁴ in 1917 a certificate in Domestic Science was expected of all matriculating girls and from 1919, girls taking home science for matriculation could present arithmetic instead of full mathematics.⁷⁵ These curriculum concessions were at the expense of pure mathematics and science. They contributed to the growth of the attitude that girls were intellectually less able than boys and, in any case would have less use for such subjects.

A vicious circle was established. Because women graduates, the teachers and role models of the next generation, taught mainly arts and languages their pupils followed quite naturally in their footsteps. In 1923, of all women students in New Zealand universities 532 or 67 per cent were taking arts and languages courses compared with 599 or 53 per cent of men; 57 or seven per cent were in medicine compared with 93 per cent of men; five per cent were in science compared with 206 or 95 per cent of men and 12 or two per cent were in commerce compared with 541 or 98 per cent of men. In that year, there was only one woman out of 28 science graduates, three women out of 19 medical graduates and no women graduates at all in law, dentistry and agriculture.⁷⁶

By 1950, although women student numbers were 103 per cent higher than they had been in 1939,⁷⁷ little had changed in terms of the subjects they were studying. Ten and then twenty years later, the situation was much the same except that by 1960, the proportion of women studying medicine had fallen to less than two per cent. There were now 12 per cent in science faculties but not necessarily studying the 'hard' sciences.⁷⁸

A Victoria University study in 1975 confirmed the continuing trends: "Women graduates in New Zealand tend to complete degrees in teaching subjects such as English, education, history, zoology and modern languages, or in social sciences or home science, or in biological science".⁷⁹ The long term effect of this pattern has been to deny a whole range of career opportunities to women and restrict them largely to the teaching and caring professions.

Before 1970, only ten to fifteen percent of medical entrants at the University of Otago were women. By 1977, however, 38 per cent of medical entrants at the University of Otago were women, 46 per cent at the University of Auckland.⁸⁰ In 1990, in both medical schools the percentage was 41 per cent.⁸¹

A comparison of other degrees awarded to women in 1977 and 1987 show similar patterns. Twice the number of women graduated with degrees in commerce (15 per cent to 33 per cent); law (22 per cent to 45 per cent) and

engineering (3 per cent to 7 per cent). Other degree types, however, varied little over time: Arts (53 per cent to 67 per cent); science (31 per cent to 37 per cent) and social science (60 per cent to 65 per cent).⁸²

The participation rates of women in New Zealand universities, therefore, indicates that progress is being made within all fields of study in terms of numbers and range of subjects studied at the undergraduate level. However, given the substantial increase in the overall number of women students, the statistics showing the numbers of women undertaking graduate and post-graduate study are not so promising. In 1967, women attained 24 per cent of the masters degrees and 16.4 per cent of the doctorates. Twenty years later, this figure had increased to 37.7 per cent and 23.2 per cent respectively.⁸³

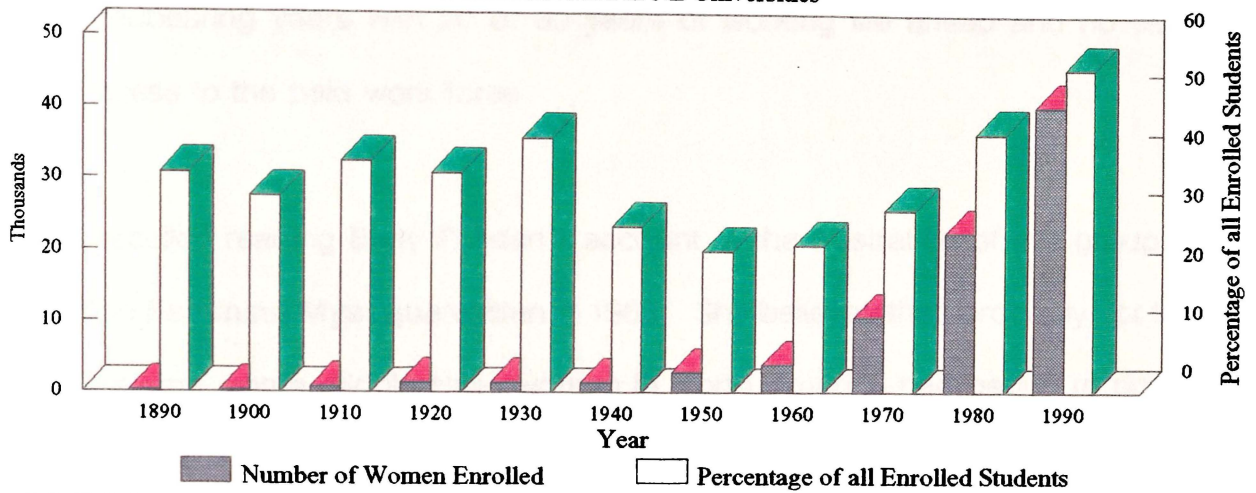
These statistics offered few clues to the origins of women's studies. There may have been more women students in the early 1970s but I needed to know what influenced their thinking to such an extent that they began to question the nature of what they were being taught at university.

Doctoral studies by Sue Middleton and Helen May offered insight into the attitudes and education of post-war women as did Christine Dann's book **Up From Under** on women's liberation in New Zealand from 1970 to 1985.⁸⁴ They pointed out that by 1970, both the average age of women at first marriage and family size had decreased and these women emerged from their

Figure 1

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Women Enrolled in NZ Universities



Refer Table 1

TABLE 1

Women Enrolled in New Zealand Universities 1890-1990

Year	Number of Women enrolled	Percentage of all Students enrolled
1890	211	37
1900	294	33
1910	714	39
1920	1,345	37
1930	1,284	43
1940	1,357	28
1950	2,783	24
1960	3,877	25
1970	10,664	31
1980	22,653	44
1990	40,513	55

Sources: New Zealand Year Book 1891; 1901; 1911; 1923; 1932; 1942; 1951/2; 1962; 1977; 1982; 1991.

childbearing years with 20 or 30 years of working life ahead and no easy access to the paid work force.

I recalled reading Betty Friedan's account of the frustration of this group in **The Feminine Mystique** written in 1963. She believed that, probably, for the first time, some middle class women in North America had begun to doubt whether life in the home was as fulfilling in the modern age as they had believed and whether their influence for good was as real and effective as society and tradition suggested.⁸⁵ This was also true for New Zealand. Research by Middleton, May and Dann indicated that from this same middle class came the majority of part-time, external and mature students and many of their daughters who became involved in the anti-Vietnam war movement and then the organised demand for women's liberation. I was reminded of my own student days in Christchurch in the late 1960s when tertiary students were particularly open to imported ideas from North America. This was the 'Age of Aquarius', 'Flower Power' and hippy culture; young women, as well as young men, openly adopted new codes of social behaviour. Dissatisfaction with the traditional and the conservative began to grow and to manifest itself in different ways. These included following New Zealand's own home-grown gurus, Tim Shadbolt and James K. Baxter and their philosophies; they encompassed pot-smoking, street protest, communal living, the new psychedelic age in music and associated fashion trends.

These challenges to the status quo were followed by protests of a more public kind. For example, those associated with the 'No Maoris- No Tour' in 1970 when the New Zealand Rugby Football Union planned an All Black tour of South Africa; the activities of Nga Tamatoa, a group of young Maori leaders seeking their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi and the large anti-Vietnam War marches.⁸⁶

On a smaller scale, the newly formed women's liberation groups stormed public bars from which women had been banned, picketed beauty pageants and in 1972, the same year in which the feminist magazine **Broadsheet** was first published, planned for the visit of Germaine Greer. The author of **The Female Eunuch** attracted thousands of women to a public meeting and sold more than eight thousand copies of her book in six weeks. She was also arrested for using the word 'bullshit' in a public place. Upon her release, she immediately declared conservative New Zealand law "an ass" on national television.⁸⁷

Such disrespectful attitudes and behaviour were disturbing to many New Zealanders. Helen May writes that women's magazines of the time suggested that both Maori and Pakeha women at the forefront of these public challenges were university students or graduates, articulate and independent. The tactics they used to gain media attention, such as the storming of public bars, gave readers the impression that those associated with the women's movement were tough and uncompromising.⁸⁸

While there were certainly feminist activists who fitted this description there were many others who issued milder challenges through their writing and public speeches. "Women's liberationist are not anti-motherhood, anti-children or anti-men the whole basis of the feminist movement is that we care about women. All we want is a chance for all of us to make a choice so that real change can be made." ⁸⁹ The key theme was a demand for the removal of discriminatory legislation, such as in employment on the basis of sex, and a call for equality in both the public and private worlds of women's lives.

Women university students and academics played important roles in the feminist movement, learning organisational and political skills through their activist associations. Both feminist staff and students raised such questions as 'where is the women's experience?', 'what about women's writing and research?', and finally, 'why are there so few women on the academic staff?' Decrying the relevance of what they were taught and demanding participation in university decision-making, students and staff began to challenge the emphasis on male academic scholarship.

These challenges were generally not taken seriously by male academics. Whereas nineteenth century feminists had been content to gain access to a university education, their twentieth century counterparts were wanting to radically change the nature of that education. The solution was in their hands. By introducing courses to the university which addressed women's concerns they planned to demonstrate the demand for women's studies. This was not

an easy task as the few academic women appointed at that time were often isolated from one another. Many departments did not have any women staff at all. I went looking for them among the lists of graduates, university histories, annual reports and New Zealand Year Books.

Women as Academics

From the beginning, it was evident that the women in the nineteenth century who had potential for university employment, that is, masters degrees with first class honours, became principals of girls' secondary schools. Several of their male contemporaries with seemingly identical qualifications went on to join the academic staff of university institutions both in New Zealand and overseas.⁹⁰

It took 36 years for the first women to be appointed to the staff of a New Zealand university and even then it is likely that their appointments occurred because of the particular nature of their university subject. The women concerned, Helen Rawson and Winifred Boys-Smith were the foundation members of staff at the School of Home Science at the University of Otago.⁹¹

The first women academic staff at both Auckland and Canterbury universities were not appointed for forty-three years after the establishment of these institutions. At Auckland, D. Miller was appointed Assistant Lecturer in French in 1926⁹² and during the First World War, Elizabeth Herriot was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Biology at Canterbury. After serving twelve years in this

position she was eventually promoted to Lecturer in 1928. In 1921, she was joined by Alice Candy who was to lecture in the History department for the next twenty-seven years.⁹³

Apart from the School of Home Science, where women attained senior positions from the beginning, most appointments have been within the Arts, Languages and Social Sciences and almost invariably in lower status positions. In 1975, International Women's Year, of 363 Professors, only seven or 1.8 per cent were women; of 1322 Associate-Professors, Readers and Senior Lecturers, 90 or 6.8 per cent were women; of 803 Lecturers, 87 or 10.8 per cent were women and of 220 Junior or Assistant Lecturers, 63 or 28.6 per cent were women.⁹⁴ In 1990, of 359 Professors, 17 or 4.7 per cent were women; of 427 Associate Professors (this figure also included Senior Lecturers), 29 or 6.7 per cent were women; of 9156 Lecturers, 326 or 3.5 per cent were women and of 148 Assistant-Lecturers 72 or 48.6 per cent were women⁹⁵ (see Figure 2). 1990 statistics indicated that women comprised a mere 19.1 per cent of the total academic staffing in New Zealand universities and that only 332 or 53.2 percent had permanent tenured positions compared with 1909 men.⁹⁶

As an academic woman, I am aware that a woman who takes on a university career has deliberately and consciously to move into a world designed by men for men. She may feel herself one of a small and beleaguered campus

minority. She may not be comfortable in the informal, predominantly male groupings which are important sources of ideas and contacts.

The very structure of an academic career path plays a crucial role in blocking the advancement of many women in the universities. It is a structure which rests on the assumption that academics will not take time-out for childbearing and childrearing. For example, it is only in the last twenty years that full day care on campus has become increasingly available for women staff and more recently, that parental leave provisions have been introduced. In addition, university administrators take little heed of the fact that many women with young children, or women who combine childrearing with post-graduate study, do not become full-time academics until they are in their late thirties or early forties. Yet promotions committees tend to treat these women as if they had begun their teaching careers in their twenties.

Women who do succeed against all the odds in obtaining positions in a university do so on rather different terms from men. A 1975 New Zealand study by D.Lodge showed that women won first appointments at an older age. Only seven per cent of all male academics received their first appointment after the age of thirty-four; 28 per cent of the women did. Indeed 19 per cent of all women academics surveyed were first appointed over the age of forty.⁹⁷ Clearly the age of appointment has implications for the level of seniority which can be achieved in the university. Those who start young have a better chance of attaining more senior positions than those who begin at a more advanced age.

Figure 2

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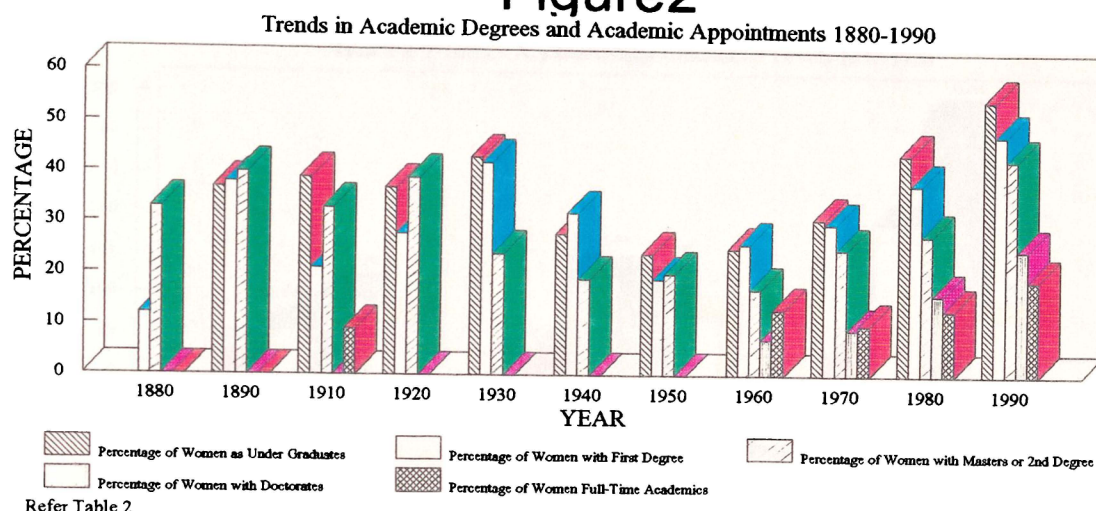


Table 2

Trends in Academic Degrees and Academic Appointments 1880-1990

Year	Percentage of Women as Under-Graduates	Percentage of Women with Bachelors or First Professional Degree	Percentage of Women with Masters or Second Professional Degree	Percentage of Women with Doctorates	Percentage of Women as Full-Time Academics
1880		12	33	0	0
1890	37	38	40	0	0
1910	39	21	33	0	9
1920	37	28	39	0	()
1930	43	42	24	0	()
1940	28	32	19	0	()
1950	24	19	20	0	()
1960	25	26	17	7	13
1970	31	30	25	9	10
1980	44	38	28	16	13
1990	55	48	43	25	19

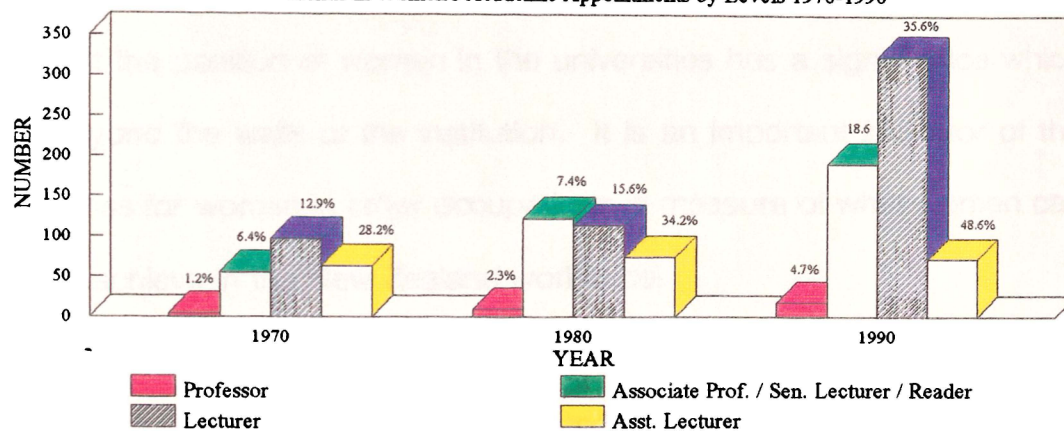
Sources: New Zealand Year Book 1960; 1981; 1991

- Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives E-Report - 1881; 1891; 1911; 1931; 1941; 1951.
- Hight, James & Camdy, Alice (1927) A Short History of the Canterbury College
- University of New Zealand (1958) Alphabetical Roll of Graduates 1877-1958
- Education Statistics of New Zealand (1971); (1981); 1990;

N.B. () 1920-1950 Statistics for University Staff not differentiated by sex.

Figure 3

Trends in Women's Academic Appointments by Levels 1970-1990



Refer Table 3

Table 3

Trends in Women's Academic Appointments by Levels 1970-1990

Year	Professor	Associate Professor/ Senior Lecturer Reader	Lecturer	Assistant Lecturer
1970	4 (1.2%)	55 (6.4%)	97 (12.9%)	63 (28.2%)
1980	9 (2.3%)	123 (7.4%)	114 (15.6%)	75 (34.2%)
1990	17 (4.7%)	Sen. Lecturer, Associate Prof. 29 (6.7%) 162 (11.9%)	326 (35.6%)	72 (48.6%)

Sources:

New Zealand Year Book 1976; 1991

Research and Statistics Division, Ministry of Education (1990) University Summary Statistics

Education Statistics of New Zealand 1971; 1981.

The status of academic women within their institutions is clearly a depressed one. Yet the position of women in the universities has a significance which goes beyond the walls of the institution. It is an important indicator of the possibilities for women in other occupations, a measure of what women can hope to achieve in the New Zealand workforce.

As women academics have been employed in increasing numbers in recent years, the presence of those with a feminist philosophy has brought about changes within the university. One of the most dramatic has been associated with curriculum change, the incorporation of a feminist perspective within traditional fields of study as well as the development of women's studies as a new academic discipline.

Conclusion

Women's involvement in higher education in New Zealand has been linked to societal views about the role of women. Both the nineteenth and twentieth century women's movements challenged traditional views which relegated women to home-based domestic work or to lowly paid jobs on the periphery of the paid work force. All the while, the numbers of women university students gradually increased and their entry into the professions served as role models for other women. In 1992 women students constitute just over 50 per cent of the total university student population. Although the statistics for women academics are not as healthy, greater numbers than ever before

teach in a range of university subjects across all New Zealand campuses. Many of these women have become involved in the teaching of women's studies. Its establishment is the focus of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER FOUR

FIRST STEPS IN INSTITUTIONALISING WOMEN'S STUDIES - A CASE STUDY

The collection of the documentary and oral data for this study occurred over a two year period, undertaken during non-teaching weeks. That it was compressed into short but disparate time periods made the writing process a more difficult task. Material had to be read over again and again to re-gather the focus on each campus and over all the institutions. By using Gerda Lerner's concept of phase theory, a means of tracing development of growth patterns over time, I was better able to gain an overview of women's studies in New Zealand universities. Phase theory made it possible to trace the structural development of women's studies over the first seventeen years of its existence and to distinguish a chronological succession of common patterns. Three phases were identified; 1973-1979, when women's studies courses were first introduced; 1980-1985, a period of minimal growth, and 1986-1990, a time of rapid expansion.

Introduction

I compared these three phases with the four phases of development identified in Renate Klein's University of London 1986 doctoral study which canvassed ideas and practices in women's studies programmes across the United States, Canada, Britain, Europe and Australia.¹ According to Klein, the first phase of development (1960-1972) was associated with the establishment of courses within university departments and staff maintained strong links to the women's movement. Klein's second phase, from 1972 to 1977, was characterised by a burgeoning literature, internal tensions around issues of tenured staffing and an emerging critique by black, lesbian, Jewish and working class women of white, heterosexual, middle-class focused women's studies programmes. This was followed by a third phase from 1977 to the mid-1980s with right-wing attempts to purge women's studies programmes; the vulnerability of programmes as education funding cuts took effect; ever-increasing student numbers; a call for global feminism and the advocacy of mainstreaming women's studies into the academic disciplines. As part of the fourth phase from the mid-1980s Klein (writing in 1986) predicted

an increasing division into established and acknowledged academic programmes for the 'study of women', with fewer and fewer places in existence where the idea power of women's studies, as rooted in the women's liberation movement, continues to flourish and enhance students' and teachers' lives.²

Klein went on to emphasise that the 'idea power' of women's studies as "based on the conviction that women in universities need to create a special place where androcentricity is no longer the norm"³ could be increasingly

difficult to sustain. She believed that at a time of reduced government funding to universities, particularly during a period of conservative administration, women's studies was more likely to survive within a range of discipline-based academic departments.

By comparison, the data from this New Zealand study appeared to mirror the first three phases but each occurred in a later time frame. Since 1990, Klein's concerns for the future of women's studies have begun to be visible in New Zealand. This is at a time when student fees have been raised so dramatically that it may prove difficult to retain student numbers and women, especially adult students, may be disproportionately affected. In addition, there is evidence of an ever increasing emphasis on poststructuralism in feminist theory and with it a looking towards the humanities and social theory and a questioning of the relevance of links to a variety of women's groups outside of the university. These are matters of current debate in women's studies.

The three phases provided distinct sections into which the research data could be divided. From there, I thought, the key themes for each phase could be more easily identified. I trialled this approach by constructing a case-study on one university to present as a conference paper in December 1990. The interviewing continued as the case study took shape. One informed the other; the interview questions became more specific as patterns and trends emerged in the case study. This dealing with a smaller section of the research data was manageable. It also helped that the smaller study

highlighted my own home-based institution; I was starting with the familiar and the known.

I repeated the process with the other universities, drafting rough case-studies for each. An overall reading indicated, however, that I had not been able to reproduce the same degree of depth in the construction of these historical narratives. The detailed case-study on the development of women's studies at the University of Waikato reflected my knowledgeable insider status; it was not possible to achieve the same result with the other case-studies.

The University of Waikato case-study stood alone and provided a useful point of reference for the other campus developments. By placing the remaining case-studies in a wider context, that is within an analysis of universities as social institutions which produce and reproduce particular categorisations and hierarchies of educational knowledge, I was able to develop a cross-comparative analysis across universities. This chapter centres on the development of women's studies at the University of Waikato. The other case studies will be discussed in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

The University of Waikato

Of the eight women academics to introduce women's studies to New Zealand universities, seven were alive and able to trace the origins of their feminist philosophy and the events leading to the establishment of these early courses.

From correspondence and information supplied by her colleagues it was possible to suggest a few key factors leading to the late Rosemary Seymour's involvement in women's studies.

Phase One

As the Waikato case-study took shape, I compared the characteristics of Renate Klein's phases of development with the findings generated by my research data. In her study of women's studies programmes in a number of countries, Renate Klein characterised the first phase of development as being a time when feminist academics, with strong links to the women's movement, introduced a range of women's studies courses within their academic discipline.

Rosemary Seymour completed a Masters of Arts degree in English Literature from the University of Auckland in 1949. As soon as her final graduate examinations were over, she eloped with (and later married) her English Professor, Dr Arthur Sewell. They lived in Greece and the Middle East for twenty years before arriving in Hamilton where Arthur Sewell had been appointed Foundation Professor of English at the University of Waikato.⁴

According to Professor David Bettison of the Sociology Department at Waikato, Rosemary Seymour contacted him shortly after her arrival: "She was immensely interested in becoming a sociologist and from talking to her it was

clear that she was already well read in this area".⁵ In 1973, she embarked on a doctoral thesis which explored women's roles in a variety of world religions. Her study was begun at a time when student numbers rose rapidly and temporary staff appointments needed to be made. As Professor Bettison explained it, "there was genuine interest in Rosemary's work, in forging ahead with new ideas...women's studies offered something different. She was already a mature person capable of doing extensive work, registering for a Ph.D".⁶ It was from this base that Rosemary Seymour gained a part-time junior lectureship in the Sociology Department and having trialled a course 'The Sociology of Women' as a Continuing Education course in 1973, introduced it as a level three sociology course the following year.

Rosemary Seymour's library suggests that she was an avid reader of the feminist literature which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Her writing indicates that she was a supporter of women's liberation and considered herself a feminist. That she experienced difficulty in relating to 'grass-roots' feminism is clear. Some colleagues reported in interviews her distaste for collective decision making and described her overall approach as dogmatic and directive.⁷ However, some were quick to acknowledge Rosemary's support for new women members of the larger academic community and any feminist teaching or research endeavours.⁸

At the University of Waikato, there were two groups of people and ideas responsible for the emergence of women's studies courses. The first courses

were not planned for or co-ordinated in any systematic way despite the fact that both the Sociology and Psychology departments were grouped administratively within the School of Social Science. (A 'school' at the University of Waikato is known as a 'faculty' at other universities.)

As the only academic woman in New Zealand about to embark on teaching women's studies and the only woman in her department, it is not surprising that Rosemary Seymour wrote in January, 1974, "I am desperately overburdened with commitments and feeling very much on the fringe-but very anxious to know what the whole picture is, and to keep up with as many as possible".⁹ By the end of the year, she believed that her temporary status for the following year equated to being "sneaked in, as it were, for that single course and I am in a weak position".¹⁰ Rosemary's comments reflected her feelings of vulnerability, both for herself as an aspiring academic and for women's studies. She was dependent on the sponsorship and goodwill of her departmental head. Professor Bettison's agenda was clear. He required graduates and graduate work of high calibre to promote the status of sociology and his leadership within the university community.

Academic rivalry between the Sociology and the Psychology departments stimulated the latter during 1973 to develop its own level three version of a women's studies course, entitled 'Psychology of Women'. James Ritchie, the Professor of Psychology at that time recalls that

the university was still not very receptive. You still had to put up with the faintest smirks around the corners of the mouth when you mentioned the matter. But the University had lost its capacity at that point to oppose any development that anybody pushed very strongly and so we didn't really have a great deal of difficulty getting course recognition.¹¹

As Dean of Social Science, James Ritchie was in an influential position to create staff positions not only within his own department but in the school as a whole. He was "certainly sympathetic" to the idea of women's studies as part of a new and exciting development within the school, which would give social science at the University of Waikato a distinctive character.

Meantime for Rosemary Seymour, now a tenured staff member within the Department of Sociology, women's studies was an all consuming passion. Concerned at the lack of New Zealand research on women she founded the New Zealand Women's Studies Association in 1978, and organised its first conference in that year, produced a Women's Studies Bibliography (1979), and added to her Women's Studies Resource Collection. In addition, she had a vision for women's studies at the University of Waikato. She wanted to develop a core programme such as she had seen in overseas universities.¹²

Both Rosemary Seymour and James Ritchie were working in tandem, 'keeping things together' within subjects and within one school. They wanted to take the disciplines in which they were trained and to develop courses within them which would highlight the contribution of women. Those in authority higher up in the university system viewed these developments with suspicion. This

attitude was not unusual. Basil Bernstein describes it as "the possibility of continuous surveillance in which case there is no privacy".¹³

A Women's Studies Advisory Committee was established as an ad hoc committee of the Academic Board in 1978. It became a Standing Committee in 1980.¹⁴ From the outset, its status was questioned by deans of schools outside social science. Norman Kingsbury, the university Registrar at that time, offered the following explanation:

A lot of academic people have a very clear view about what their subject is, what they have defined it to be. The idea that somehow there was going to be an entirely new perspective is actually very threatening....There was also a bit of disgust with the social sciences generally...that this was another trendy thing social science people were doing.¹⁵

The School of Social Science was taking the lead in other directions. Ever aware of the predominance of women students in the social sciences, the Dean wanted to have more academic women appointed to his staff. Rosemary Seymour no doubt looked on with interest when the first woman was appointed to the Department of Psychology. Jane Ritchie's appointment in 1976 was controversial. Her husband was the Head of the Psychology Department and many members of the University Council were opposed to the appointment of spouses within the institution, let alone to the same department. Professor James Ritchie was a member of the University Council. Not surprisingly, he did not share this view. He told me that

her appointment, which would normally have gone through just an appointments committee and then been approved by the vice-chancellor actually went to Council....I finally had to say very seriously and very angrily that if the problem of appointing Dr Ritchie depends on our marriage, we will get unmarried and it won't bother us a bit, but you'll look pretty darn silly! And I walked out.¹⁶

In the end, the matter was decided by a casting vote. The background to this decision was described by the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr Don Llewellyn, who had previously worked with a married couple within in his own Department of Chemistry at the University of Auckland. As head of that department he thought it a most satisfactory arrangement and his casting vote approved Jane Ritchie's appointment.¹⁷

Jane Ritchie's credentials for the job were not in question. As Jane Beaglehole, she had gained a Ph.D. in Psychology from Victoria University of Wellington in 1963. In an interview she described how she had spent nearly fourteen years, starting in 1959, raising five children and being involved in a myriad of community based activities including the founding of the Waikato branch of the La Leche league, an organisation promoting breast feeding of infants. In Hawaii in 1972, she became aware of the women's studies courses being taught at the University of Hawaii and bought the books recommended for the courses. Jane and James Ritchie discussed the possibility of introducing similar courses at Waikato. On her return to New Zealand, she was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship in the Centre for Maori Studies and Research to conduct research into Maori pre-school education. It was from this position that she applied for the lectureship in psychology and in 1976,

the first year of her appointment , took over the level three course entitled 'Psychology of Women'. This course had been taught by male members of staff in 1974, and co-ordinated by Sarah Calvert, a graduate student, in 1975. It was not thought unusual to have a women-focused course taught by men at that time given that a department might not have any women staff at all. What was important was that such a course be offered, especially at third year level. David Bettison admitted to an ulterior motive: "We were doing it to try and retain numbers".¹⁸

Robyn Rowland, appointed to the Psychology Department in 1978, had first-hand experience of the popularity of women's studies courses in Britain, the United States and Australia. In her early twenties, she had come to the University of Waikato from the University of Wollongong where she had introduced a masters course entitled 'Psychology of Sex Roles' and an undergraduate interdisciplinary women's studies course. Professor James Ritchie, in his dual role as departmental head and Dean of Social Science, was keen to develop an interdisciplinary women's studies programme within the school and required more feminist academics to make it possible.

During 1979, Robyn Rowland attended the Women's Studies Advisory Committee meetings chaired by Rosemary Seymour. They did not get on well. Robyn Rowland told me that Rosemary Seymour was reluctant to pass over her second level interdisciplinary course, '21.201 Women's Studies: An Introduction', to a youthful newcomer. However, Rosemary Seymour's

impending study leave precluded the possibility of her co-ordinating the level two course. The solution was found by James Ritchie. As Dean, and Head of the Psychology Department he arranged to have Robyn Rowland released from some of her teaching in social psychology to further develop and co-ordinate the course in 1980.

Robyn recalled that she based the interdisciplinary course on the University of Wollongong model. The course was planned and taught "as a collective enterprise"; the academics, both women and men, who contributed to the programme met regularly to discuss progress, planning and assessment.¹⁹

While this group of academics got on with the task to ensure the smooth running of the interdisciplinary course, the ultimate responsibility for it rested with the Women's Studies Advisory Committee.

As the interdisciplinary course took shape, the Academic Board took care to ensure close scrutiny of developments by appointing all advisory committee members. In addition to Rosemary Seymour and Jane Ritchie, each school of the university was now to be represented as well as the Library and the Centre for Continuing Education.²⁰ A student representative was added later. Representation of community women was not considered acceptable by the academic board, although "it was agreed that the committee might consult with such people as it thought desirable".²¹

This was clearly an attempt by the Academic Board to rule by regulation; an interdisciplinary and inter-departmental feminist based course was outside the mainstream. For the purposes of this study, an interdisciplinary course is an example of what Bernstein termed an integrated knowledge code, (see Chapter Two, p. 54).²² At the University of Waikato, the establishment of the interdisciplinary course, although permitted in the university's constitution, challenged the basic power relations of the university. In Basil Bernstein's terminology, academic board members, uneasy about what was happening were vaguely aware that the new developments were "an attempt to declassify and so alter power structures and principles of control".²³ The result, they believed, would be "to unfreeze the structuring of knowledge and to change the boundaries of consciousness".²⁴

It seems the unorthodox nature of the proposed women's studies course was made possible by the increasing numbers of women appointed to the university. Not surprisingly, they met and discussed matters of common concern; few had other women colleagues in their departments. Many were attracted to the idea of teaching with other women or contributing lectures to an interdisciplinary course. This grouping, characteristic of an integrated knowledge code made it possible for "teachers of different subjects to enter into social relationships with each other"²⁵ and work co-operatively around a shared task.

Rosemary Seymour, Jane Ritchie and Robyn Rowland, the first teachers of women's studies courses at Waikato, were later joined by others who offered courses from within their departments. These courses were often in addition to a full-teaching load. If male academics opposed these developments they seemingly kept it to themselves, perhaps out of a fear of being perceived as sexist by liberal male colleagues. Norman Kingsbury believed "[it would have been] a very brave man indeed who openly opposed a departmental development" in women's studies.²⁶ After all, such courses were known to attract student numbers, a valuable commodity at a time when the University of Waikato was struggling to increase its enrolments.

While feminist academics at the University of Waikato were pleased to see women's studies courses contributing to a boost in student numbers, this was not the motivating factor behind their introduction. Rather, like their overseas counterparts in Renate Klein's study, feminist academics shared a commitment to the 'idea power' of women's studies; a subject which would create a context in which androcentricity in teaching and research was no longer the norm. However, there were differences between the first phase of development as outlined by Klein and that at the University of Waikato. It was not so much the strength of their respective links to the women's movement which characterised their involvement in women's studies but that each had observed or taught women's studies in overseas universities before or during this phase. The knowledge that women's studies courses could run

successfully in universities encouraged them to introduce courses in their own departments and work together to establish an interdisciplinary programme.

Phase Two

According to Renate Klein, the second phase of development in women's studies was characterised by an increase in feminist literature, internal tensions around the creation of permanent staffing positions and an emerging critique by black, lesbian, Jewish and working class women of white, heterosexual, middle-class focused women's studies programmes.

By 1982 there were five courses offered within existing departments: 'Women and Work', in sociology, taught by Rosemary Seymour; 'Women and Psychology' and 'Psychology of Sex Roles' in psychology, taught by Jane Ritchie; 'Women and Education' in education, taught by Sue Middleton and 'Women and Politics', in politics, taught by Lynne Gifford. In addition, two undergraduate interdisciplinary courses were offered: the introductory second-year course, as mentioned earlier, and an advanced course at third-year level. From 1981 the second year interdisciplinary course was convened by Jane Ritchie and the third year course by Rosemary Seymour.²⁷

The pursuit of academic status by an emerging subject may lead to a conflict of interest between its staff and those in other subjects. As far as course content was concerned, as long as the first two interdisciplinary women's

studies courses remained interdisciplinary, there was little about which colleagues could complain. But as soon as an integrated package of core courses was mooted, the integrity, status and enrolments of other subjects seemed threatened. As the then Dean of Social Science has commented, the solution lay with "trying to put a fence around it with interdisciplinary numbering so that it would not threaten the efforts of other departments".²⁸

The interdisciplinary emphasis at the University of Waikato was part of the original charter when the university was founded in 1965. Although it was forced to abandon this and other innovative practices when other universities would not cross-credit Waikato courses to their specialist degrees, the 'spirit' of interdisciplinary study lived on within the different schools of the university. The School of Social Science had carried on an interdisciplinary focus, and as well, had appointed numbers of women academics to teach on its programme. An interdisciplinary women's studies programme, therefore, was consistent with the academic philosophy of the school. While the women academics in the School of Social Science were known to one another, they had little opportunity to meet with colleagues from other schools. This was one of the reasons why the Advisory Committee performed such an important function. Women from throughout the university networked and then lobbied their departmental heads and deans. The Advisory Committee also organised an academic seminar series for a number of years which stimulated the interest of staff and students alike. In the words of Sue Middleton, "these

activities fostered cross-disciplinary, and co-operative, work relations between feminist academics and students".²⁹

The activities of committee members led to women's studies becoming a 'first supporting subject' for the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Social Science degrees. Students could take any four of the women's studies courses offered to meet this requirement. All courses in the programme were given a women's studies number; women-related courses taught within departments were also assigned a departmental number.

Beneath the united front of the advisory group striving to win academic recognition there were rumblings of discontent. Some staff and students began to recognise that women's studies at Waikato centred on the needs and interests of Pakeha, middle-class and heterosexual women, and challenged course teachers to make more visible the experiences and writing of Maori, lesbian and working class women. Although course outlines indicate that most lecturers attempted to address these issues in some way, it was a time, as one lecturer put it, of being "under attack from all quarters...it is a very political subject and one that really stirs people up right to the depth of their identity".³⁰

The demand for inclusion of a range of women's perspectives in women's studies occurred at a time when New Zealand articles and books on women's issues began to appear in increasing numbers. Publications such as Donna

Awatere's **Maori Sovereignty** (1984); **Women in New Zealand Society** (1980), a collection of essays edited by Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes; Christine Dann's **Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand 1970-1985** (1985) and the **New Zealand Women's Studies Journal** (1985) meant that for the first time, course teachers were no longer dependent on overseas literature.

By 1985, further women academics had been appointed and were keen to contribute courses to the programme, all with a distinctive feminist perspective. The English Department offered two level three courses, 'Women, Writing and Reality' taught by Dr Alexandra Barratt and 'Women's Fiction' taught by Dr Alexandra Barratt and Jan Pilditch. Geography pioneered a level two course, 'Women in Australasia' taught by Ann Magee and Shaista Shameem, Rosemary Seymour's successor, continued with course offerings from sociology.³¹

Although by the end of 1985 there were eight feminist academics teaching women's studies courses only four had permanent tenure. "This was a time", Jane Ritchie said, "when the progress could well have floundered....It was part of the whole problem of the position of women in the university, women being posted at Junior Lecturer or on limited term appointments".³² Therefore, while the total number of courses appeared to indicate positive growth, the reality was that in terms of staffing the future of women's studies at Waikato remained unclear.

Rosemary Seymour, sadly, did not live to witness what was becoming the most comprehensive women's studies programme in New Zealand. Her ongoing battle with cancer meant that she had to take sick leave to undergo surgery in mid-1981. She was back at work eight weeks later wanting to complete her doctorate. By 1982 she had done so and in July of that year, applied for and attained promotion to Senior Lecturer.³³ By mid-July it was discovered that she had cancer of the trachea. She wrote to friends, "This is incurable but can be checked by cobalt therapy. I am to have a three week course".³⁴ Despite ongoing medication, Rosemary continued teaching four papers, prepared and presented two research papers on the effects of technology on women's work and collated the rapidly-growing collection of material in the women's resource room.

She decided to travel during the six months sabbatical leave to which she was entitled in July 1983. Her leave report indicates that she presented lectures and seminars and attended conferences in Canada, the United States, and Kuala Lumpur.³⁵ By this time she was very ill but continued with her academic duties until early 1984. The news of her death came as the Women's Studies Association Conference gathered in Blenheim in August. It was from here that the Rosemary Seymour Award for Research in Women's Studies was instigated. Another memorial to her pioneering work, the Rosemary Seymour Collection, is housed in the University of Waikato library.³⁶

The characteristics of the second phase of development in women's studies at the University of Waikato mirrored those in Renate Klein's study. While the concerns of black (Maori), lesbian and working class women had begun to be addressed and feminist literature burgeoned, the future of women's studies was in doubt given that few of the academic women teaching women's studies held tenured positions.

Phase Three

In the third phase of development, which Renate Klein described as a time when funding cuts impacted on women's studies and in a right-wing political climate, women's studies programmes became more vulnerable than ever. At the same time, student numbers continued to increase, and there was a call for global feminism to be included in the curriculum and the mainstreaming of women's studies into other academic disciplines.

The Centre for Women's Studies was established in 1986 in recognition of the large number of women's studies courses offered at the University of Waikato. As a 'Centre' it could independently develop a series of core courses in women's studies and prove, by attracting sufficient students, that it could survive within the system. (A Centre is different from a Department. It usually has no more than three or four academic staff members and its administrative head, commonly a Senior Lecturer or Associate Professor, is known as a

Director. A Centre has less administrative autonomy than a department, the Director being more directly accountable to the Dean.)

At the opening of the Centre for Women's Studies at the University of Waikato, the recently appointed Vice-Chancellor, Professor Wilf Malcolm, spoke of the emergent nature of the discipline and of the university's commitment to support scholarship and research in women's studies. He noted that new ideas often come from people on the margins who because of this positioning are more open to new values, to changes and possibilities. "Values were important" in the life of the university", he said, and "need to be affirmed and contested". By creating the Centre for Women's Studies the university was giving the space for this to happen and "the university as a whole would be enriched." This was probably the first time such a view had been aired publicly by a New Zealand Vice-Chancellor.³⁷

In an interview Wilf Malcolm told me that his thinking on women's studies was influenced in part, by his strict Exclusive Brethren upbringing. Not being allowed to attend dances or the movies, for example, made him aware that his childhood was outside the normal and the orthodox. Although no longer a member of this sect, "he retained a degree of sympathy for people and groups of people not part of the mainstream."³⁸ This extended to his female colleagues, when as a mathematics professor he watched them fight battles on a daily basis, and to his sister, the late Margaret Malcolm, former Principal

of the Wellington Teachers College, who as a woman of ability had "to do twice as well to get half the recognition".³⁹

Associate Professor Dr Jane Ritchie, was appointed Director of the Centre for Women's Studies. With nearly thirty years research experience and nearly ten years teaching in women's studies she was one of few women on the Waikato campus who had the credentials for the position. The directorship was not to be a full-time position. Instead, Jane was to divide her time equally between the Centre for Women's Studies and her home Department of Psychology. Her only assistance within the centre was provided by me, a half-time Junior Lecturer. My half-position was part of a new position within the School of Social Science shared with the Psychology Department and was, therefore, created out of the goodwill of the School of Social Science rather than by deliberate resourcing through the university structure. In addition, the Psychology Department provided sessional assistance, office space and secretarial support.

This sponsorship by the Department of Psychology had implications for the future status of women's studies. While it enabled and facilitated the growth of a new discipline, women's studies was viewed as something of an appendage, to be subsumed and supported at the whim of those in charge of resources who happened to be sympathetic to its development. It is significant that the new director of the Centre for Women's Studies, Jane Ritchie, had strong alliances with both the professors of the Psychology

Department. One was her husband, the other a good friend. Not only were both supportive of the concept of women's studies and the associated kudos it gave their department but, in addition, both were no doubt motivated by their respective interests in Jane Ritchie's future academic career.

There was also goodwill towards women's studies elsewhere in the School of Social Science. Departments offering women's studies courses outside the centre, agreed, in writing, to an ongoing commitment to these courses. If existing departmental staff resigned or retired they would be replaced appropriately. In 1987, the university could boast a Centre for Women's Studies, a couple of part-time teaching staff, women's studies courses taught from departments and by this time, a half-time secretary and a corridor to call its own.

Both Sue Middleton⁴⁰ and Jane Ritchie⁴¹ have stressed the marginality and vulnerability of the programme up to 1986. It was marginal because it did not have its own staffing allocation and running grant associated with being a subject in its own right; it was vulnerable, because "it was doubtful from year to year, whether we would have sufficient tenured women staff remaining on campus to be able to continue to offer our programme of courses".⁴² Jane Ritchie criticised the university for not providing adequate funding. Women's studies was

supposed to draw on the funding of existing programmes. This worked well when the existing departments had sufficient wealth over and above their existing funding to be able to afford some deflection of resources to special programmes. Thus programmes became a way in which the big teaching departments could become bigger, but were a luxury that small departments could not afford to participate in.⁴³

When the Centre was established as a unit in its own right, it had only its interdisciplinary EFTS (Equivalent Full-time Students) from which to derive income. Department based women's studies courses were funded by departments and any income generated by women's studies courses went into departmental funds. For the Centre, therefore, covering basic running costs was a struggle and sessional assistance had to be kept to a minimum. What was happening at Waikato in this third phase of development had occurred at an earlier stage in overseas women's studies programmes. It had been in the second phase of development that Renate Klein noted that money was not "invested in securing and stabilising autonomous women's studies programmes and departments" and "the struggle for survival had become harder".⁴⁴

Even in 1989 the Centre's budget remained meagre. It had a running grant of \$3,570 with \$4,500 allocated for sessional assistance.⁴⁵ When Director Jane Ritchie apparently overspent the 1988 budget and was admonished by the Dean, Professor Bing, it was, she said, because he had failed to take into account the costs for establishing a new secretarial office in the Centre.⁴⁶

The solution at that time, for the two half-time staff, was to do most of the tutoring themselves and to build up the core offerings of the programme. In 1987, I took the level one course off-campus for the first time as part of the university's distance education programme. In that year, my position was upgraded to a full-time junior lectureship. Meanwhile Jane Ritchie, having piloted a new second level paper in 1985, was rewarded with unprecedented numbers the following year.

The addition of a first level paper in feminist theory and another core second level paper led, in 1988, to women's studies becoming a major for the degree of Bachelor of Social Sciences. It had been hoped to fill a lectureship at this time but there had been difficulties; the first preferred candidate turned down the position and others who were short listed did not have post-graduate qualifications. The new major was made possible through yet another temporary junior lectureship appointment filled for the 1988 academic year by Nicola Armstrong, a sociology graduate from the University of Canterbury.

In 1989, Dr Hilary Lapsley, formerly Haines, became the first tenured appointment in the Centre for Women's Studies. Hilary Lapsley had been a Junior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the University of Auckland before taking up the position of Assistant Director at the New Zealand Mental Health Foundation. Her links to women's studies were numerous, both at the academic and community level. She had edited the Women's Studies Association conference papers for several years and had been an active

member of the Auckland branch and national executive; she had presented lectures for the Workers' Educational Association's women's studies courses; she had published widely in the area of women's mental health and lesbian issues and had been a member of the Royal Commission into Pornography.

In 1989, the distance education programme was extended to include both Tauranga and Rotorua and with the assistance of a social equity grant, Yvonne Raureti-Carson was appointed to teach two Maori women's studies papers off-campus. The Centre staff were rewarded with high enrolments in the off-campus courses, which led to increased funding. These were used to boost the inadequate running grant. It is not clear whether this was a deliberate ploy on the part of the Dean of Social Science. It is likely, however, that Professor Bing had done his homework.⁴⁷ If an already overburdened staff could be persuaded to take on distance education in the name of equity and access and create funds at the same time, then fewer dollars would have to be allocated to the Centre from the social science budget. Although the distance education programme in women's studies flourished and has consistently attracted the largest number of students enrolled in the distance programme, the funding the Centre received was poor compensation for proper resourcing of an emerging subject.

In 1989 there were new course developments. Ruth Busch introduced a new undergraduate course entitled 'Women and the Law' and a number of graduate courses were initiated. The intention was to offer a Masters degree

in Women's Studies as soon as possible. Hilary Lapsley from the Centre offered 'Women's Health: Policy and Practice'; Ann Sullivan and Marilyn Waring co-taught 'Women and Politics' and I introduced 'Feminist History'. There were five other courses already available to masters students. In 1980, Robyn Rowland had established 'Psychology of Sex Roles' (now taught by Jane Ritchie); in 1984, Sue Middleton began 'The Sociology of Women's Education'; in 1987, Sue Middleton and Ann Magee introduced 'Feminist Theory and Research' a paper taken over by Louise Johnson from geography in 1989; Shaista Shameem offered 'Women and Work in New Zealand' and in 1988 Margaret Avery, from the Department of History had introduced 'British Women in the Second World War'.

The stresses and strains on the staff of the Centre for Women's Studies in terms of heavy teaching loads and administrative commitments took its toll. Jane Ritchie observed that the Centre had been unable to conduct major research other than that carried out by its staff as individuals:

This research is often directed towards higher degrees, the attainment of which is accomplished with great difficulty since women academics are often burdened with heavy teaching loads and respond very conscientiously to the needs of their students. This is often to the detriment of their own publication output which is an important consideration for promotion. ⁴⁸

In its bid for greater resources and hence greater recognition, the women's studies programme at the University of Waikato has relied on the lobbying strength of individuals and groups of staff members.

In 1989, despite the proliferation of women's studies courses taught in other departments, there remained only one permanent member of staff, one contract Lecturer and a half-time Director. The Vice-Chancellor's announcement of a Chair in Women's Studies, therefore, met with mixed reactions. For those staff in the Centre suffering from overload, additional staff at lecturer level had more appeal. A Maori women's studies staffing position was also considered to have high priority. But in the university's twenty-fifth year, without a woman Professor, the Vice-Chancellor was not to be deterred. He decided that the establishment of a Chair in Women's Studies "was a natural move. It was recognition that the programme had achieved intellectual and academic maturity...the university recognising women's studies as a discipline in its own right".⁴⁹

In 1990, the women's studies programme at Waikato offered fourteen undergraduate papers, eleven graduate papers, a post-graduate diploma, offered from 1986, and a graduate programme. Its distance education programme now encompassed Northland as well as the Bay of Plenty. Plans were being finalised to teach a Unitech Certificate in Women's Studies, in conjunction with five polytechnics in the region.

In 1990, Dr Anna Yeatman from Flinders University, South Australia, was appointed foundation professor. She planned to take up her appointment in 1991. I began interviewing for this study shortly after these decisions were announced and because the appointment to the Chair in Women's Studies

was controversial (see Chapter Nine) most interviewees, both on and off the Waikato campus wanted to comment. Jane Ritchie was an exception. She and I both knew how hard we had worked together to establish the women's studies programme at Waikato and I appreciated her day-by-day total commitment to its success. As a member of the Centre staff I had appeared before the selection panel to support Jane Ritchie's bid for the chair. These events were still fresh in our minds and made the interview for this study a most difficult task. Her impending study leave meant that our direct professional association was about to end. However, as she packed up her office, she gave me all past women's studies administrative files, knowing as she did, their potential use for this study.

Reflecting on her four year term as Director of the Centre for Women's Studies, Jane Ritchie considered the creation of the Centre as the highlight of that time. At its opening, women from throughout New Zealand had joined Waikato women in celebrating a triumph for academic women's studies. The 1986 celebrations included the awarding of Honorary Doctorates to two women; Phyllis Guthardt, Moderator of the Methodist Church and Dorothy Stafford, Chairperson of the Vocational Training Council. Both had been nominated by members of the Women's Studies Advisory Committee as local feminists who had achieved national recognition in their respective fields.

By achieving major degree and graduate status during Jane Ritchie's stewardship the women's studies programme shook off its marginal status.

However, the outgoing Director ranked the everyday occurrences just as highly as the political gains:

Just seeing all those students about, coming and talking and saying "well, I never really thought about that before". We really are contributing to the education of these young women. It gives me great pride. I am really thrilled with the students.⁵⁰

In order to have a subject successfully promoted as a 'proper academic discipline', a great deal of influence is exerted by the judgement and practices of those who are specialist scholars in the area. This was linked to Jane Ritchie's belief that only when women's studies became an entity in its own right would academic acceptance of the discipline follow.⁵¹ She had laid the foundations for academic specialists in the women's studies centre to teach the core curricula while their colleagues taught women-related courses from their own departments.

The fact that women's studies was attracting many feminist scholars to the University of Waikato, a phenomenon which was the subject of an article in **North and South** magazine in July 1990. The journalist sought to answer the question " why were there **so** many feminists on the University of Waikato campus?" Under the title 'Waikato Wimmin-Capturing the Campus', the writer attacked feminist academics and women's studies in particular. Those singled out for special attention included the former National Party Member of Parliament Marilyn Waring; Charmaine Pountney, Dean of Education; Wendy Lerner, who was teaching feminist geography; Hilary Lapsley and myself. The journalist, in tune with the then North American 'post-feminist' stance, proposed that feminists and their causes had served their usefulness and

should now be phased-out; public monies should not be spent on selfish and self-serving feminist educational pursuits. Such views had also been expressed about some of the women's studies programmes included in Renate Klein's study, during the same phase of development. This was a time, she said, when the new-right "launched severe attacks against women's studies programmes in an attempt to purge American society form the 'evils' of feminism". Women's studies was accused of "lacking traditional American values" and as "being a training ground for lesbians".⁵²

In their respective books **Women of the New Right** and **Backlash**, feminist authors Rebecca Klatch and Susan Faludi explain that intelligent women, who are high achievers in their fields of paid employment are regarded as 'narcissists' by anti-feminists. Feminist academics, therefore, were to be condemned for pursuing their *own* individual interests above all else:

Feminism is a threat, then, because, when women pursue self-interest, not only is the family neglected but also ultimately women become like men. Hence, "macho feminism" is destructive because if *everyone* pursues their own interest, no one is left to look out for the larger good, that is, to be altruistic, to be nurturer, the caretaker, the mother. In short, the underlying fear expressed in this critique of Feminism is the fear of total masculinization of the world.⁵³

Such attacks on women's studies on political or moral grounds from outside the university highlighted the 'vulnerability' and 'marginality' of the Waikato women's studies programme. With few tenured staff, women's studies was in a similar position to that experienced by North American programmes. In its third phase of development, women's studies was, as Renate Klein described it, operating within a climate of "educational cuts and changing

public opinion". Accordingly, it could be "considered as a valid or 'dangerous' educational enterprise".⁵⁴

The defence of feminist academics and their work must be viewed as part of the wider rubric of academic freedom. That it has already occurred is evident in this statement to **North and South** magazine by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Waikato:

Right from the beginning Women's Studies has taken seriously the consequences of being part of the wider university life and academic life and culture. It has become increasingly responsive to the values of commitment and detachment, of rationality and objectivity, of challenge and counter-challenge, of research and enquiry that characterise the academic life of a university at its best.⁵⁵

The findings of this study indicate that the University of Waikato shared some of the characteristics of development evident in Renate Klein's work; the 'backlash' phenomenon, problems of funding and increased student numbers. However, issues associated with global feminism and mainstreaming were not evident at this time.

Conclusion

The University of Waikato case-study trialled theories which might assist in making better sense of the research data. Gerda Lerner's concept of phase theory made it possible to trace the structural development of women's studies and distinguish a chronological succession of common patterns.

Renate Klein's phases of development explored ideas and practices in women's studies programmes across a number of countries and served as a framework against which comparisons could be made.

The case-study highlighted the usefulness of all models. Lerner's framework was invaluable in guiding the arrangement of the research data: phases in the development of women's studies were able to be identified and the research data ordered according to chronology and themes. Klein's framework was also helpful, particularly in assisting with the identification of characteristics present at each stage of development. Although women's studies began at Waikato nearly ten years later than in North America, Britain and Europe, the first two phases shared many characteristics. However, by the third phase in women's studies at Waikato, differences had begun to emerge. In part, this was due to the time-difference; Waikato would, for example, come to address global feminism in the early 1990s. (see Chapter Nine) As I completed the case-study, however, I thought that in New Zealand, the development of women's studies may have been shaped by characteristics associated with its size; the small number of academics; the strength of feminist academic networks across universities and the increasing competition among universities for students.

In the case-study, I made only tentative use of Bernstein's framework, but in doing so became aware of how I might be able to apply his ideas to my own when I explored what was happening in the other New Zealand universities.

By actually working with the material I had collected and with Bernstein's theory in mind, I was alerted to a range of possibilities which might explain some of the developments in women's studies within the other universities. These are themes which are developed in the chapters to follow.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PHASE ONE: FIRST STEPS

The period 1973 to 1979 marked the first phase of development in women's studies in New Zealand. In phase theory as described by Gerda Lerner, the initial period of development is characterised as a time when feminist students and staff, having noted the absence of women, begin to demand their inclusion within the university curriculum. Initially, some academics respond by including reference to women in the traditional content of existing courses. The traditional content structure and methodology of disciplines, however, was not challenged until the appointment of increasing numbers of feminist academics brought about the introduction of women's studies courses.

Several New Zealand universities established their first women's studies courses in the late 1970s but unlike the University of Waikato introduced few additional courses until the mid-1980s. The differences in developmental patterns suggest that characteristics of power, material interest and demand for and readiness to accept innovation by groups of academics within institutions are associated with earlier or later development. Because the growth of women's studies is to be traced across the seven New Zealand universities this chapter begins with an overview of the New Zealand university

system. This will be followed by a discussion of the introduction of women's studies courses.

The Universities of New Zealand

New Zealand's seven universities are located in or near major population centres. In the North Island, the largest and most northerly is the University of Auckland, followed successively further south by the University of Waikato at Hamilton, Massey University at Palmerston North and Victoria University at Wellington. The South Island universities are the University of Canterbury at Christchurch, Lincoln University near Christchurch and the University of Otago at Dunedin.

With the passing of **The New Zealand Universities Act, 1961**, the former university colleges of the federal University of New Zealand (Auckland, Victoria, Canterbury and Otago) became autonomous universities.¹ The other three universities have been established since that time: Massey University (1964) incorporating a former agricultural college and Palmerston North University College; the University of Waikato (1965), and Lincoln University (1990), a former agricultural college.

All New Zealand universities have a similar two-tiered system of governance. Each university has its own Council, the chair of which and a majority of

whose members are lay people. Each Council is charged with managing the institution in accordance with its objectives and with ensuring that public monies are used in a fair and responsible way.² Government funding of universities is by way of a general grant determined annually by an equivalent full-time students (E.F.T.S.) formula.

Since 1989 and the Hawke Report on Post Compulsory Education and Training, universities are encouraged to seek non-government funding. Institutions are encouraged to sell their services (through contract research), secure contributions from external sources (through sponsored buildings and staffing positions) and charge students an increased percentage of their course costs. These moves are in line with a market driven economy, a feature of both the last Labour (1984 -1990) and the present National (1990 to present) governments. Emphasis under the current user-pays regime is placed on individuals paying towards the cost of their own higher education in order to acquire the skills necessary for the market place.³

Following the British model, the Chief Executive Officer of each university, (responsible to the Council for the efficient administration and academic running of the institution) is the Vice-Chancellor. As an ex-officio member of Council, of all university committees, of Council and the Academic Board the Vice-Chancellor is uniquely placed to influence and shape policy and ensure its implementation. A Vice-Chancellor may be assisted by two or three assistant or pro-vice-chancellors each with a specific portfolio. The head of

the university's administrative services is the Registrar who in turn has a number of assistant registrars with special responsibilities for students, finance, personnel and buildings services.

Numerous advisory boards and committees oversee and report on the multifarious activities on campus. The academic development of the university is the responsibility of an Academic Board on which heads of departments and deans usually predominate. An Academic Board's advice to its Council on academic matters is normally accepted. Subordinate to the academic boards are the Faculties or Schools whose Boards of Studies have oversight of their particular degrees. The basic structural units in New Zealand universities are the discipline Departments. Until recently a professor was usually the permanent head of a department but now departmental leadership is more commonly vested in an elected chairperson. Emerging fields of study often develop as Centres linked to a number of departments through their contributing teachers. These Centres may later become full Departments.

University hierarchies such as these exist under what Basil Bernstein describes as closed categories, consistent with a collection knowledge code.

Here the ideological basis "is a condensed symbolic system communicated through its explicit boundary maintaining features..."⁴ This means that specific identities are clearly associated with each level and position.

A typical New Zealand bachelors degree requires the equivalent of three years full-time study to achieve a pass level. The structural components of degrees consist of units (Otago), points (Canterbury), credits (Victoria) courses (Waikato) or papers (Auckland and Massey). For the purpose of this study these components will be referred to as courses. In order to qualify for a bachelors degree a student must pass an approved combination of subjects at levels (stages/parts) one, two and three. Each bachelor's degree consists of a specified number of courses taken in one subject over three years (known as a major) and in another over a minimum of two years (supporting major). Other courses at specified levels are needed to complete the degree.

According to Bernstein, degree structures under a collection code involve a hierarchical organisation of knowledge so that "the ultimate mystery of the subject" is revealed very late in the educational process.⁵ Those who major in a particular subject, therefore, are regarded as "a select few who have shown the signs of successful socialization" into the existing order of the subject.⁶

First Steps

Introducing a new subject into a New Zealand university curriculum is not easy. The elaborate committee system, both local and national, characteristic of universities, sometimes seems designed to frustrate innovation. Women's studies pioneers, such as Rosemary Seymour at Waikato, Phillida Bunkle at

Victoria, Rosemary Novitz at Canterbury and Raewyn Dalziel at Auckland did not find it a straight forward exercise. The research data collected for this study indicated that the introduction of women's studies courses to New Zealand universities was, in each case, dependent on the enthusiasm and initiative of one particular feminist academic. They in turn, encouraged others to work with them or to develop other women's studies courses. Once a course had been approved at faculty level, deans seemed to have met with minimal opposition from their professorial board colleagues.

This is consistent with the findings of curriculum histories in other subjects at different levels. Ivor Goodson, the author of **The Making of the Curriculum**, for example, says that 'invention' is the first of "a number of stages in pursuit of academic establishment" and comes about "from the activities or ideas of educators; sometimes as a response to 'climates of opinion' or pupil demands."⁷ Goodson comments on a 1966 study of the evolution of psychology as an academic subject. This, he says, made it clear that "the ideas necessary for creation...are usually available over a relatively prolonged period of time in several places."⁸

At the University of Waikato it was Rosemary Seymour who in 1973 planned and taught a women's studies course as part of the non-credit programme for the Centre for Continuing Education. That year she proposed to introduce for 1974, a similar course at level three within the Sociology Department. Feminist academics in other universities took note. Both Phillida Bunkle from

Victoria University and Rosemary Novitz from Canterbury University wrote congratulating their Waikato colleague and asking for information⁹; Raewyn Dalziel invited Rosemary Seymour to come and speak about women's studies at the University of Auckland.¹⁰

The Victoria University of Wellington

Of the interested academic women in the other universities, only Phillida Bunkle had prior teaching experience in women's studies. When she joined the staff at Victoria University in 1973, however, the introduction of women's studies courses was just one of her concerns. She found no forum at Victoria, for example, where women academics might meet and discuss issues of mutual interest, something she had been used to in North American universities. But when she placed a series of pamphlets on women in academia in the university library and circulated a paper by Martina Horner to women staff, sufficient numbers were interested to form an association of academic women (A.W.A) on campus.

Foundation members of this committee recalled that although they wanted to see women's studies introduced to their campus they were just as anxious about provision of childcare on campus, the small numbers of academic women in the university, their lack of representation on appointment committees and the need for an administrative voice for women.¹¹ All credited Phillida Bunkle with motivating them to meet and work as a group.

When Phillida Bunkle joined the staff of the History Department at Victoria University as a half-time lecturer in 1973, a position she shared with her husband Jock Phillips, the media singled her out for special attention. Although husband and wife appointments were rare in the university world at this time, the sharing of a position in the same department did not cause as much comment as the fact that Phillida Bunkle had retained her own family name. Men in the university, she told a **Thursday** magazine reporter, accused her "of extreme Women's Lib and flagrant independence".¹²

Phillida Bunkle, born and raised in England, became aware of the emerging women's movement while studying history in both Britain and the United States during the mid-1960s. She was particularly impressed with a speech by Betty Friedan and began to write women's history which focused on suffrage and anti-suffrage campaigns. Reflecting on these years, Phillida Bunkle recalled the "tension-laden" feminist meetings she had attended on both sides of the Atlantic at this time. In Britain, the issues were class-ridden and she was accused of "complaining about women's rights while being a privileged bourgeois wife". In the United States she was attacked for holding this privileged position by the feminist historian Carol Smith-Rosenberg: "The atmosphere was really competitive, vicious stuff".¹³

In Britain, when she was a student at Oxford University, she attended the first Women's Convention. In the United States she had been a student in the first women's studies course at Harvard University and in 1971 taught the first

women's studies courses at the University of Massachusetts.¹⁴ The transition to the Victoria University of Wellington the following year was not an easy one: "I didn't fit at all easily into this society. There was nobody with remotely comparable experience who had any idea really what you were talking about. And I was simply too aggressive and up front. Nobody was interested." ¹⁵

Phillida Bunkle had corresponded with Rosemary Seymour over the introduction of a women's studies course at the University of Waikato because she represented a kindred spirit, someone with whom to share ideas. From the detailed letters she received from Waikato, Phillida Bunkle came to appreciate that establishing a single course on one's own within an academic department in New Zealand required considerable strength of character, particularly in an institution with few women academics. Besides, she preferred the model with which she had become familiar in the United States; interdisciplinary courses, team taught by feminist academics.¹⁶

Fortunately, Victoria University did have a number of academic women interested in pursuing interdisciplinary women's studies. Dr Ngaire Adcock was one of these. She had been a controversial appointment to the Psychology Department staff in 1964, having originally entered the university as a mature student from the Trade Union movement. She completed a doctorate just prior to her appointment. It was not Ngaire Adcock's qualifications that were contentious within the Psychology Department.

Rather, like Jane Ritchie at the University of Waikato, Ngaire Adcock happened to be married to a senior member of the same department. She told me that at a personal level she felt very isolated as an older woman academic. Her lot was not made any easier by the irritating behaviour of colleagues who for a number of years insisted upon calling her "Mrs Adcock". She welcomed the chance to work alongside other women academics and to communicate with them through the AWA.

During overseas study leave, Ngaire Adcock had been heartened by initiatives such as the creation of positions for dean of women and courses on the psychology of women. In 1973, when her own psychology students raised the matter of a specialist course, she said she "was so interested in what they were saying and so concerned about their feelings that I promised that I would do my best to see that such a thing was introduced".¹⁷ In March 1974, she proposed three motions at a Joint Faculty meeting of Arts and Languages and Literature: the appointment of a dean of women, the inclusion of a woman on every appointments committee and the introduction of courses in women's studies. After heated debate, these were put aside on procedural grounds with the recommendation that they be brought back to the next meeting.¹⁸

The April meeting was recalled with great relish by many interviewees. Former senior academic, Beryl Hughes, described it as "the liveliest, most openly controversial faculty meeting I've been at. The men were simply

incredulous but their incredulousness didn't actually prevent the fact that there was a majority".¹⁹ For the supporters, "the naked anger and hostility and prejudice that emerged was shattering".²⁰ The major supporters included Ngaire Adcock, Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes from History, Jacqui Matthews, Janet Holmes, Irene Zohrab, Marian Piper, Christine Mortallier from Languages, and Thora Blyth from Mathematics. Among the male supporters were Jock Phillips, who at one stage was on the receiving end of shouting and fist waving from an outraged male Professor.²¹ Others were Jack Shallcrass, James Irving and John Nicholl from Education, Reg Tye from English, Chris Wainwright from Politics and the then Dean and Faculty Chairman, Tim Beaglehole from History.²²

Two of the three motions were thrown out. The notion of a dean of women was not seen as appropriate for the particular faculty divisions of the Victoria administrative structure.²³ It could have been rejected, of course, because of the seniority a deanship would have conferred on a woman. The second proposal, that all appointments committees include a woman was also rejected by the faculty but was taken up in the following year in the 'Campbell Report'. This report, commissioned by the Professorial Board, documented the inferior position of women academics at Victoria and reviewed appointment procedures. Dr Janet Holmes, the only woman on the review committee, remembered the meetings being "terrible" where she felt she had "got nowhere in terms of progress towards the notion that there should be a woman on every appointments committee" because of the scepticism of her

male colleagues.²⁴ However, one outcome of the Campbell Report was the establishment of a standing committee for appointments to Chairs and the rule that one or two members from the standing committee would be used on each chair appointment to give continuity. One of those on the standing committee was Margaret Clarke. For Janet Holmes "this was a way of trying to meet the recommendation without going so far as saying that there must be a woman on every appointments committee".²⁵ At the time, this represented a radical change in university procedure not only at Victoria University but throughout New Zealand. The other universities followed suit later.

The success of the third motion (that women's studies courses be introduced) led to the establishment of a sub-committee to investigate the possibility of organising an interdisciplinary women's studies course for the 1975 academic year. Phillida Bunkle, Janet Holmes and Ngaire Adcock circulated a draft outline and called a meeting of all interested in participating in the teaching of such a course.²⁶

In May, a formal resolution was brought back to the Joint Faculty meeting. It outlined a proposal for an interdisciplinary level two course to be team-taught by ten women and seven men. Course co-ordination was to be the responsibility of Phillida Bunkle. At this time she was pregnant and, to enable her to develop the women's studies course, her husband, Jock Phillips, took over the teaching of all her history courses.²⁷ This unusual development

was in turn, supported by their departmental colleague and dean, Tim Beaglehole. He was impressed by the enthusiasm of those involved and was determined to use his influence to enable things to happen.²⁸ Dean Beaglehole was aware of developments in women's history in overseas universities and, in addition, was briefed by his cousin at the University of Waikato, Dr Jane Ritchie.²⁹ (Such family relationships are common in New Zealand given its population of 3.4 million, the relatively small size of the seven universities and correspondingly, the few academics employed in each department).

Those teaching the first interdisciplinary women's studies course in a New Zealand university at Victoria did so in addition to their departmental workloads in 1975. Because the second level course 'Women in Society' was inundated with students in those early years, tutorial staff also gave of their time freely. For the first three years Jacqui Matthews from the French Department assisted with tutorials and Beverly Morris from the Centre for Continuing Education helped out from time to time.³⁰

The women who offered lectures in this first programme received a mixed reaction from their departmental colleagues. Ngaire Adcock reported that with the exception of her husband, "there was no support...they were just very sarcastic" with one male colleague accusing her of "suffering from penis envy".³¹

For Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes in the History Department, there was no such overt opposition but Phillida Bunkle's perception was that others thought she spent too much time on women's issues and was neglecting her duties in the History Department.³² Jacqui Matthews was later to reflect that her departmental colleagues gave her the impression that they thought she had "these bees in her bonnet" but "if she wanted to do all that extra work" then it was over to her.³³

In the first three years "the basic running around and organising" was done by Phillida Bunkle who "used to spend hours negotiating with people about what they could do...trying to elicit from them what they were capable of".³⁴ Although time consuming, this work assisted many women who felt very lonely within their own departments. In many ways, these discussions with Phillida Bunkle and the others on the teaching team resulted in firm friendships and the support necessary to introduce women-focused courses within their own disciplines.³⁵

In 1978, Phillida Bunkle's half-time position was transferred to women's studies. There was no identifiable place from which to operate and for a number of years women's studies was run from one office. In that year, Jacqui Matthews, who was already carrying a full load in Romance Languages, offered to co-ordinate a second level women's studies course entitled 'Images of Women in Literature and Art'. The first course proposal presented by Jacqui Matthews was rejected by both the Arts Faculty and the

Language and Literature Faculty. The second bid drawn up by a sub-committee was successful but not without a fight. Several members of the English faculty opposed the development. They believed that literature "was going to be appropriated and sociologically mined for feminist ideas and would not be treated in a proper critical way".³⁶ But the course was approved, and was such an immediate success that Jacqui Matthews had another four to five tutorials to add to her teaching week.³⁷ The Victoria situation was not unique. Most courses introduced at this time in other universities had to demonstrate that significant numbers of students were interested and had actually completed the first year before proper resourcing would be provided.

By the end of 1978, a Board of Studies was established by the faculties of Arts and Languages and Literature to oversee developments in women's studies. Beryl Hughes was the inaugural convenor. She told me that

We had all sorts of administrative work put on us which would have gone to a head of department in the normal state of affairs. It was quite tricky though because we were not a department. We didn't have the clout of a department...It took a long time to get the Professorial Board and the administration and faculties to remember to send us things.³⁸

In effect, with one half-time lecturer and voluntary assistance with teaching and administration from colleagues, the university was having nearly three hundred students taught for very little cost. Beryl Hughes recalled that "it used to infuriate us to see other departments getting better treatment and

getting less scrutiny, but everything we did was put under a microscope and we had to satisfy faculties in a way that ordinary departments did not." ³⁹

This was similar to the experience of the women's studies committee at the University of Waikato. Operating on the margins of acceptability, the women responsible for the running of interdisciplinary women's studies were held to special account; they were asked to justify and explain the smallest of details. ⁴⁰ According to Basil Bernstein obsession with accountability is not an unusual occurrence when groups within an institution move from a collection code (within departments) to an integrated code (interdisciplinary): "Any attempt to weaken or *change* classification strength" he says, may be "felt as a threat to one's identity and may be experienced as a pollution endangering the sacred". ⁴¹

The University of Canterbury

No one apparently felt threatened by the introduction of women's studies at the University of Canterbury. In 1975, Rosemary Novitz accepted a three year contract as an Assistant-Lecturer (Junior Lecturer) within the Sociology Department. Like Rosemary Seymour and Phillida Bunkle she had previously taught on a part-time basis within the department beginning in 1973. Rosemary Novitz had a Bachelors and Honours degree in Social Anthropology from Rhodes University in South Africa, the country of her birth,

and was completing a Masters degree in Sociology at the time of her appointment.⁴²

She told me that it had been while she was in Britain between 1969 and 1971 that she became aware of the emerging feminist movement. Her husband was a graduate student at Oxford University and as they were combining study with parenting, Rosemary Novitz became involved in a pre-school collective. While she was experiencing at first-hand the dilemma of balancing study and motherhood she read Shulamith Firestone's **The Dialectic of Sex** and Germaine Greer's **The Female Eunuch**. She was later to combine her academic and personal interests within a thesis topic which examined the conflicting roles of women as mothers and as members of the paid workforce.

In 1975, Jane Cronach, an American who was a reader in the Sociology Department, introduced a level two course entitled 'Women and Society'. When Jane Chronach left at mid-year, Rosemary Novitz continued the course on her own. She corresponded with Rosemary Seymour at the University of Waikato and from discussions and exchange of course outlines felt affirmed in the work she was doing.⁴³ The following year, she worked with departmental colleague, Charles Sedgwick, to introduce a modified level two course entitled 'The Sociology of Sex Roles'. Departmental colleagues viewed this an important development and there was no overt opposition. By 1976, her contributions to the level one course in general sociology exposed the students to feminist thinking.

Rosemary Novitz remained involved in both these departmental developments up until the time she went to Britain on study leave in 1978. There she was inspired by the interdisciplinary women's studies programmes she observed and on her return in 1979 was keen to introduce similar courses at the University of Canterbury. However, at that time "it seemed like there was not enough of us without another staff member to mount an interdisciplinary programme. And so it sort of faded." ⁴⁴

Rosemary was also expecting her second child and admits to having little energy to take on additional work at this time.

The University of Canterbury lacked the characteristics of Klein's first phase of development in women's studies; it did not have a number of feminist academics with a commitment to the 'idea power' of women's studies as at Waikato and Victoria universities. Working alone, Rosemary Novitz could do little more than establish a women's studies presence in her own department. It was to be another nine years before a third women's studies course was introduced at the University of Canterbury.

Massey University

Meanwhile at Massey University, another Sociology Department was providing a home for women's studies. In 1977, Ephra Garrett, a lecturer, proposed a level two paper entitled 'Women in Society' hosted by the Social Work unit of

the Department of Sociology. The majority of Ephra Garrett's students within the four year Social Work degree were women. She told me that "one of the purposes of this paper was to educate students about the position of women in society in the hope that this knowledge would lift their sights to becoming planners and policy makers and not just social work handmaidens to male administrators." ⁴⁵

Of the latter, Ephra had first-hand knowledge. She had experienced the system as both a Maori and a woman. Having gained her Teaching Certificate in the late 1940s, she combined teaching and part-time study towards a Bachelors degree and Diploma in Social Science at Victoria University College. Work as a Maori Welfare Officer followed. In the early 1960s, with two young children, she completed her undergraduate degree and then embarked on a Masters degree in Educational Psychology at Massey University.

Time as a sessional assistant and tutor followed, prior to her appointment as part-time Junior-Lecturer within the Massey Education Department in 1968. Having served on a number of university committees, including being staff representative on the professorial board, she was aware of the steps that had to be followed when introducing a new course. In addition, "I was 53 years old, and not easily put in my place." It was, she believed, "a case of who you know and being accepted as a colleague."⁴⁶ The United Women's Conventions⁴⁷, Simone de Beauvoir's **The Second Sex** and Betty Friedan's

The Feminine Mystique, experience in Parents Centre and Play Centre as the mother of young children and responsibility for running extension courses for women throughout the university region contributed to Ephra Garrett's belief in women's studies.

Her departmental head, Professor Graeme Fraser as well as her former departmental head, Professor Hill from Education, supported her bid for the introduction of the course. In choosing her sponsors, Ephra ensured that "the paper would go through [the approval process] without any fuss".⁴⁸ In an interview, Professor Fraser admitted to also "being badgered" about the merits of women's studies by Rosemary Seymour at Sociology conferences around this time. He needed little convincing. Graeme Fraser had taught in universities in the United States in the 1960s and while at the University of Michigan had been keenly aware of the debates on women's and Black issues.

The establishment of the Social Work degree at Massey under his stewardship in the 1970s "made me think about, consciously, matters of equity, matters of fairness, the plight of less powerful people...women's issues were in fact addressed, whatever my female colleagues subsequently think".⁴⁹ Fraser was also a member of many national research bodies at this time:

They provided another context in which you were compelled to confront matters relating to women. Not that you necessarily understood them as a woman might understand them...but on the other hand, it certainly 'conscientised' me...made me more aware of some of the things going on.⁵⁰

As at the University of Canterbury, the Sociology Department at Massey University remained the sole provider of a women's studies course on that campus for a long time. It was to take another seven years before a second course was offered.

The University of Auckland

Although the University of Auckland was much larger than any of the other universities it had few women academics in the 1970s and initially, women's studies courses were generated at the community level. As early as 1972 the Auckland branch of the Worker's Educational Association (WEA) sponsored a seminar for women organised by Toni Church. When more than 240 women arrived, Toni and other women from the WEA were inspired to organise the first United Women's Convention which took place the following year. In 1974, the WEA introduced the first women's studies course. The tutors were Margot Roth and Kaye Green.⁵¹ Margot Roth had returned to the University of Auckland in her forties to complete a Masters degree in Sociology and was a tutor in that department. One of her students in that first WEA class was Claire-Louise McCurdy who went to tutor in the next WEA women's studies classes. Claire-Louise McCurdy, a young woman in her mid-twenties, had attained a Masters degree in History at Massey University and had joined the History Department as a Junior Lecturer. In Auckland, she continued to be employed by Massey University as a tutor on their extra-mural programme. She told me that

The involvement of the WEA in sponsoring women's studies classes has been basic to the way that women's studies has developed in Auckland. The WEA's own principles and priorities- its concern for civil liberties and for the oppressed, its commitment to democratic procedures, in its structure and organisation - made it a very supportive base for the growth of women's studies. Courses could change and develop as students identified their particular needs and interests.⁵²

By the mid-1970s, students at the University of Auckland were discussing with women staff the possibility of women's studies courses. One who sympathised with student requests for a more woman-inclusive curriculum was Dr Raewyn Dalziel, a young academic who had joined the History Department some two years earlier. She had a Ph.D in New Zealand history from Victoria University. As a student and lecturer she was conscious of the lack of women's history taught at university level. She told me that in Britain in early 1974, she had met expatriate and feminist historian, Anna Davin, in the British Museum. "Almost before she said anything else, she said, 'what are you doing in women's history in New Zealand?' and that made me very aware".⁵³

In September 1974, Raewyn Dalziel called a meeting to discuss women's studies. Minutes indicate that 25 attended, five of them men. Rosemary Seymour from the University of Waikato addressed the meeting and spoke of her plans for developing women's studies on that campus. Margot Roth and Kaye Greene from WEA spoke of the success of their courses to date and supported the idea of an interdisciplinary programme as well as papers from departments. A staff/student committee was established at this meeting to

"canvas their individual departments to gauge interest and possible involvement in an interdepartmental course".⁵⁴

When the committee met again one month later, the attendance was half that of the previous meeting and all those attending were women. By this time, it had been decided that the topic 'women' was to form the focus of the 1975 Winter Lecture Series. This was International Women's Year and the stimulation from these lectures and other nationwide activities it was hoped would lead many to consider the possibility of introducing courses within their own departments. A working party was set-up to work out course outlines for consideration by the Arts Faculty.⁵⁵

In early 1975 Raewyn Dalziel called another meeting of interested staff members. This time, the numbers had dwindled to eight. "It was clear from the start that there was no staff member who was able or willing to do the work necessary to start a wide ranging interdisciplinary course in 1976 although I think most of us felt that this was a desirable sort of course."⁵⁶ Instead, Raewyn Dalziel, Liz Rowley and Roger Horrocks hoped to mount an interdisciplinary course from the departments of English, History and Politics but this idea was abandoned in favour of introducing courses within departments. Indeed, it took another two years before the first department-based course was offered and when it was, it was not from the Faculty of Arts.

Women law students, keen to see women made visible in their studies had discussed this matter with newly appointed law lecturer, Margaret Wilson in 1972. She had graduated from the same faculty three years earlier, become a prominent member of the New Zealand Labour Party and was well-known for her work on the equal pay debate at this time and her awareness of issues within industrial law. No stranger to feminist issues, she maintained strong links with women's community groups, a characteristic, according to Renate Klein, associated with early development of women's studies. Her ability to provide a socialist feminist analysis of legal issues meant that she was often called upon as resource person and guest speaker.⁵⁷

In an interview, Margaret Wilson recalled her experiences, first as a student and then as a younger woman academic - of the "terrible attitudes" of male lecturers towards women students and the absence of women in the law curriculum at the University of Auckland. Although keen to offer a course for women students, it was not until she went on study leave in 1975 that she could give this matter some undivided attention. While overseas, she monitored a 'Women and the Law' course at the University of Toronto, Canada, and on her return to New Zealand presented to her faculty a proposal for the introduction of a level three 'Women and the Law' course in 1976.⁵⁸ She told me that the proposal met with little opposition but it was made clear that "if you want it, you can have it- but as long as you attract the students".⁵⁹ Some colleagues, however, found it difficult to accept the validity of such a course within a law degree. Students were told that they

would not get a job if they included this course within their degree and both Margaret Wilson and Pauline Tapp, who co-taught the course in its first year, were subjected to "a year of sustained harassment".⁶⁰ Both women were constantly asked by colleagues to justify their teaching, methods of assessment, resource materials and research. Margaret Wilson believes that this occurred because the critical mass of women students who attended her classes had begun to question the androcentric nature of readings and lecture material in other classes. For this she was held personally responsible.⁶¹

The planning for the next two courses at Auckland took place in 1978. While on leave, Raewyn Dalziel planned for a level three course in women's history and in the Department of English, Aorewa McLeod responded to student demand for the inclusion of women authors in English literature courses. The student reaction was "so overwhelmingly positive" that she promoted the introduction of a stage three course in women's literature for the following year.⁶² By 1979, the University of Auckland was able to offer its students three women's studies courses from three different subject areas.

The first phase of development in women's studies at the University of Auckland was characterised by the influence of overseas courses as observed by feminist academics. Although Auckland was the largest of New Zealand's universities there were few women on the academic staff and fewer feminist

women than at Waikato and Victoria to support the introduction of women's studies courses at this time.

The University of Otago

This was also the year in which the first course in women's studies was established at the University of Otago. Dr Elizabeth Dukes in the Department of Classics told me that she had completed a degree in Classics at the University of Oxford in 1962 but because her husband had found it easier than she did to secure an academic appointment in his field, she taught English and General Studies in polytechnics. By 1971 she had two children, had completed her Doctorate and had done some part-time university teaching in Classics at the University of Lancaster.⁶³ Immediately prior to her appointment at Otago she had held a temporary position at the University of Exeter and a two-year research fellowship at the University of Leicester. She arrived in New Zealand in 1976 to take up her lectureship at the age of thirty-six.

After three years in the department she "began to feel annoyed" at the invisibility of women in scholarship about the Greek and Roman ancient world, except as interesting characters in literature. Although she had always considered herself a feminist she was not involved in women's groups until later years. Her bid for increased recognition of women within her subject coincided with an expansion in the classical studies programme, in which the

material was taught in translation. "Thus I had ideal conditions for introducing a broad-ranging course ('Women in the Greek and Roman World') whose subject matter, for which the sources are in two languages and various forms, would not fit easily into the language and literature based courses in Greek and Latin."⁶⁴ What Elizabeth Dukes did not realise at this time was that the study of women in the ancient world was a developing and fashionable field, particularly in the United States. The introduction of women's studies at Otago, therefore, had more to do with including women in the curriculum than with a commitment to the 'idea power' of women's studies.

Lincoln University

While the oldest university in New Zealand (the University of Otago) took longer to introduce a women's studies course, the most recently established university did not. In its first year, 1990, the newly constituted Lincoln University offered a level three course, 'Women in Recreation and Sport', from its Department of Tourism, Recreation and Sport. A former agricultural college, this predominantly male institution was only just beginning to attract significant numbers of women students to its campus. Women academics, however, remained few in number. Clare Simpson, who taught the level three course explained the background to its introduction.

A graduate from the University of Canterbury, Clare Simpson had a Masters degree in Sociology in which she had completed a history of women

associated with the local YWCA. Because her doctoral work was extending her knowledge of New Zealand women's participation in sport, she had originally been asked to contribute two lectures on this topic to the large level one class. She remembered vividly her first class teaching in 1988:

I was heckled from the floor. Things like "but why not study men in sport and such like". It really upset me and I went away and calmed down overnight before the next lecture. I recalled all the heckles, wrote them all down and then thought of logical replies...I went back to the class and told them "I am going to go through each of them and answer them for you..and this took twenty minutes.... I did not have any problems after that."⁶⁵

But the incident, the interest of the women students, her active involvement in the Women's Studies Association and her own feminist research prompted her to consider offering a course. She was supported by her head of department and the course proposal passed through the Board of Studies. There was no opposition to it; she had "the utmost co-operation" from her colleagues.⁶⁶

The course, with an enrolment of 27, was an immediate success. Clare Simpson believes there were two reasons. "Many students recognise that there is a lot of employment around the whole women and recreation area...and it is also partly a reflection of how little women are promoted in the degree course generally".⁶⁷ Encouraged by the response, she has plans to incorporate consideration of women's issues into core degree papers in the future.

Conclusion

These first teachers of women's studies courses had much in common. They were new appointees; they had recently completed qualifications which contained women-focused research; most considered themselves to be part of the women's movement; all had been employed at or had recently visited overseas universities and, in the main, were the sole woman in their departments.

There were other links. Over half the women were married to male academics, many of whom held very senior positions in the university. These men were often present on the boards which approved course proposals and were therefore in a position to influence others behind the scenes as well as to vote in favour of these developments.

Senior male academics who publicly identified themselves with the promotion of women's studies also had much in common. They attributed the establishment of women's studies in their respective institutions to a number of factors: the effectiveness of the lobbying campaign mounted by women colleagues; an awareness of a growing feminist literature within their own discipline; an appreciation of the types of women's studies programmes in overseas universities; the influence of feminists within their own families; the degree of control each exercised over faculty resources and the sense that "the time was right".

The number of these men who were social scientists is also significant. In the 1970s, social science subjects were themselves establishing a presence and seeking higher status in New Zealand universities. Ivor Goodson suggests that in such cases

persons become interested in the new idea, not only as intellectual content but also as a means of establishing a new intellectual identity and particularly a new occupational role. Hence, subjects with low status, poor career patterns and even with actual survival problems may readily embrace and promote new inventions.... Conversely, high-status subjects may ignore quite major opportunities as they are already satisfactorily resourced and provide existing desirable careers.⁶⁸

The early alliances of other subjects to women's studies were to prove crucial in its development.

By the end of the first phase of development in 1979, there was a women's studies presence on all New Zealand campuses. Not all shared Renate Klein's characteristic of this phase, namely, strong links to the 'idea power' of the women's movement. Even when this factor was present, there were few universities with more than one woman in a department to support the introduction of a women's studies course. It is more likely that women's studies in New Zealand universities emerged as a new subject because individual academics wanted to be seen to 'keep up' with the earlier development at Waikato and Victoria and as a bid to increase student numbers. At the beginning of 1990, therefore, the stage was set for advance.

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CHAPTER SIX

PHASE TWO: RESTRAINTS

According to Renate Klein's study of international women's studies programmes, the second phase of development in women's studies was characterised by a burgeoning feminist literature, the inclusion of the concerns of black, lesbian and working class women and as a time when more academic women, many of them untenured, became involved in women's studies.¹ The first two characteristics relating to curriculum were featured in the Waikato case-study in Chapter Four but applied to all the New Zealand universities. An upsurge in locally produced feminist literature meant that those responsible for women's studies courses could now include a distinctly New Zealand perspective on student reading lists. At the same time, a survey of publications by a number of feminist academics across the universities confirmed an awareness that a feminist curriculum should address issues relating to race, sexual preference and class.² Although worthy of research in its own right, an in-depth investigation of the New Zealand women's studies curriculum is beyond the parameters of this study . This chapter, therefore, focuses on issues associated with the numbers of women involved in women's studies and the funding available to maintain or expand women's studies offerings.

The introduction of twelve women's studies courses in New Zealand universities between 1974 and 1979 was achieved with relative ease. In the second phase between 1980 and 1985, although a total of fifteen new courses were added, nine of these were established at the University of Waikato.³ At Auckland, Elizabeth Eastmond from the Department of Art History introduced a level three course 'Women in Art' in 1982; three years later a graduate course titled 'Feminist Social Theory' taught by two sociologists (Dr Maureen Malloy and Dr Catherine West-Newman) was added.⁴ At the University of Otago, in 1980, a special topic in German was first taught at honours level by Alyth Grant, followed in 1985 by a level two English course and an honours level course in women's history.⁵ This was also the year in which a level two business studies course, 'Career Development of Women at Work' was introduced at Massey University.⁶ There were no further courses offered at Victoria or Canterbury universities between 1980 and 1985.

This period of slow growth was not unique to women's studies. It was a time when an economic recession coincided with the introduction of right-wing conservative education policies. John Codd explained this phenomenon as being a result of the economic downturn. "As the period of youth unemployment worsened, as race and gender inequalities become more politicised, and as crime and other signs of social unrest increased, the education system was subjected to more and more public criticism".⁷ When the fourth Labour government came to power in 1984, its educational

goals included meeting the specific needs of Maori and women. However, New Zealand was also undergoing "a severe crisis of legitimation brought about by the total failure of interventionist policies to produce any signs of economic growth".⁸ As the right-wing monetarist policies of the Labour Government emerged, the concept of egalitarianism in education (and other sectors) was increasingly contested.

In a recent study about gender equity in polytechnics, Rosanne Matheson suggests that the early 1980s

was a time of steady growth of progressive movements such as feminist groups, Maori radicals, gay liberation, peace and environment groups. These groups challenged the consensus that New Zealand society was a just one by pointing out the widespread nature of gender, class, sexual preference and racial inequalities.⁹

Initially, the new Labour government endorsed initiatives which met the specific needs of women, such as funding mature students to attend polytechnics or universities. However, conservatives both inside and outside government, observed the implementation of equity policies in education with alarm. They were, Gerald Grace argues, "threatened by the effectiveness of the new social movements".¹⁰ In such an environment, some university administrators keen to maintain government funding levels, may well have wanted to avoid any curriculum developments which were remotely contentious.

I did not appreciate how little development had occurred in women's studies during the second phase until I compiled a listing of women's studies

courses for each university from past university calendars, course outlines and information provided by heads of departments. This became more evident when both the documentary and oral material were read side by side. The transcripts offered an explanation; the proportion of women academics in the universities generally remained the same and funding for women's studies was consistently inadequate.

This lack of funding for teaching positions and departmental resources is related to the way universities are organised, the hierarchical control mechanisms, and the attitudes of senior personnel to the role of women in the university. The significance of these factors is explained by Basil Bernstein who points to the ways in which "the distribution of power and the principles of control [are] transformed, at the level of the subject into different, invidiously related, organizing principles". It is done, he says, in order "to position subjects" and to preclude "the possibility of change in such positioning".¹¹

Numbers of Women Academics

As argued in the previous chapter, most women's studies courses were established by newer appointees who held relatively junior positions in their universities. By 1980 there were 114 academic women at lecturer level, or 15.6% of the total number designated as lecturers. This was only seventeen more than had been employed a decade before. There were significantly

higher numbers of women at senior lecturer and associate-professor level, 123 in 1980, compared to 55 ten years earlier. However, proportionally little had changed because of university expansion. Women at this staffing level were 7.4% of the total; they were very much a minority grouping.¹² (see figure 3, Chapter Three)

The Victoria University of Wellington

Compared with other universities, Victoria University had comparatively large numbers of women staff and a better than average number holding senior positions from 1970 onwards. That this number did not increase significantly over twenty years is also significant. In 1960, the percentage of academic women staff at Victoria was 16%, in 1970, 17% and in 1990 21%.¹³

When women's studies courses were first mooted in the early 1970s there had been a number of women (and some men) who were prepared to assist with lobbying and teaching to have the original two courses established. For many years this nucleus of interest stimulated the interdisciplinary courses and students responded by attending in large numbers. However, this approach, although similar to that at Waikato, was one of the main reasons why women's studies failed to grow during the 1980s. Lectures were contributed from academics in a range of departments and the History Department sponsored Phillida Bunkle to co-

ordinate the interdisciplinary course. Women's studies was visible on the campus, attracting students, but apart from a salary contribution towards a half-time lectureship in 1978, was costing the university very little.

This period of slow growth can be explained by drawing attention to the characteristics of Bernstein's integrated knowledge code, of which interdisciplinary women's studies is an example. At Waikato and Victoria universities, feminist academics established interdisciplinary women's studies courses outside the boundaries of their home departments. In terms of classification, women's studies as an integrated code had a weaker classification than the subject of their home department which represented a collection code. Within a home department, patterns of curriculum and administration were clear-cut; subject boundaries were sharp and duties were assigned. Under an integrated code, women's studies operated in a totally different manner; subject boundaries were blurred and tasks shared in a spirit of co-operation.

To their colleagues, lecturers' involvement in women's studies appeared to jeopardise loyalties to their original department; it suggested that in identifying with women's studies they were moving away to a new field of specialisation. As Bernstein explains it, "specialization very soon reveals difference from rather than communality with. It creates relatively quickly an educational identity which is clear-cut and bounded." ¹⁴

For the subject establishing an educational identity, this specialisation is essential. The process of creating a new identity means that one subject has to be weakened before another can emerge. This involves taking on a "new educational identity through a process of re-socialisation into a new subject loyalty".¹⁵ For those left behind, there is often scepticism about the new identity and its place in the institution. For those who adopt the new identity there is a period of transition and a coming to terms not only with this new state of being but with the responsibilities and duties that go with it.

This is illustrated by the events which took place at Victoria University in the early 1980s. As the half-time lecturer in women's studies, Phillida Bunkle was not only engaged in teaching and research across two departments but was also the mother of two small children. She was absorbed in all these activities; there was little energy to devote to the lobbying necessary to obtain further staffing or resources. Further, she did not relish the political role. She told me that "I'm not an administrative wheeler-dealer type at all and I don't like it and I don't like having to spend time there".¹⁶

She was grateful for the assistance from the board of women's studies established in 1978 which did its best to assist with the administration of the two courses. Looking back, Phillida Bunkle recalled that Beryl Hughes, the first convenor of the board was supportive of her and her work and was "really committed" to women's studies.

Women academics like Beryl Hughes, who assisted with a lecture or two in the large interdisciplinary course, believed that 'they were doing their bit' for women's studies on top of their normal workload within home departments. Although many became actively engaged in feminist research and incorporated gender awareness into their departmental teaching, not one introduced a women's studies course from a department in the 1970s. The reasons they gave were heavy teaching loads and research projects and a genuine belief that it was only a matter of time before women's studies would emerge as a discipline in its own right and no longer require their input. Others interviewed believed that, for some women, promotion prospects may have been harmed if courses were proposed from male-dominated disciplines.

A general feeling about the presence of women's studies on the Victoria campus at the turn of the decade was illustrated by Ngaire Adcock, one of the original interdisciplinary course lecturers. She believed that women's studies did not gain momentum at this time because of what she perceived as the conservative climate within the university. A feeling that "one should be grateful that it [has] got as far as it has" was abroad.¹⁷ It was clear that the underlying message communicated to women academics by their senior male colleagues was one of reluctant acceptance of women's studies.

One gets the sense that at Victoria everyone was waiting for someone to do something about women's studies, but for years no one took up the challenge in the way they had at Waikato. Neither was the Board of Women's Studies particularly active. Ngaire Adcock believes that "there's no doubt if one had wanted to develop it further there would have to be much more political play. There wasn't on the whole. We were not particularly interested and many of us were not good at it".¹⁸ Her colleague, Dr Janet Holmes agreed:

It is only in retrospect that you can see so clearly that if a particular person at the level of the Deans' Committee had decided at a much earlier stage that we should be developing women's studies, then things could have gone a lot faster.¹⁹

This was the key difference between the development of women's studies programmes at Victoria University and the University of Waikato. At Victoria, within the traditional faculty structure of an older, more established institution, potential sponsors were simply not motivated to take the lead required. This phenomenon is explained by Bernstein:

The institutional expression of strong classification and framing [that is as a collection code] creates predictability in time and space. Because of strong classification, collection does allow a range of variations between subjects in the organisation, transmission and evaluation of knowledge. Because of strong classification, this code does permit in *principle* staff to hold (within limits) a range of ideologies because conflicts can be contained *within* its various insulated hierarchies.²⁰

For example, as head of the History Department, Tim Beaglehole had earlier facilitated the launching of the interdisciplinary programme by a series of departmental 'in-house' arrangements. Once the courses were up and running independently however, they lacked senior sponsors equivalent to

Professors Bettison and Ritchie at the University of Waikato who, as deans of social science, realised that the students attracted to women's studies would benefit the school as a whole. Deans at Victoria were more concerned about the 'mainstream' within the faculties of arts and languages and literature.

It was for this reason that Phillida Bunkle supported a male academic, as convenor of the board of women's studies when Beryl Hughes retired in 1981. "He seemed interested and sympathetic. He was a difficult man to read, a sort of stickler for the dotted line and seemed [willing] to do that paper pushing that I'm not good at".²¹ Phillida Bunkle's belief "that it was strategically advantageous to have a man...to do all those things" ²² was ill-founded. She was later to interpret the four years of his stewardship as a time when the convenor of the board of studies " saw us as a competitor...he never really represented our interests".²³ Jacqui Matthews agreed. She had never been sure that this particular colleague was the right person for the convenorship and had thought many initiatives for women's studies development were thwarted by him during a time when women's studies had the highest staff to student ratio in the faculty. These four years represented a period of zero-growth for women's studies at Victoria and illustrates the importance of effective alliances with those controlling the resources.

The University of Auckland

A very different situation existed at the University of Auckland. As early as 1981, WEA tutor, Claire-Louise McCurdy wrote of the difficulties of establishing a women's studies course in an environment where the majority of the few women academics there were seemed to feel threatened by moves to introduce women's studies as a subject in its own right to the university:

Some women feel their own positions threatened if other women start to identify as a group and make demands for recognition. Others, having succeeded, do not wish to be associated with a group they too perceive as unimportant and inferior.²⁴

By 1990, when interviews were conducted at the University of Auckland, many feminist academics teaching women's studies from home departments, thought they were doing all they could for women's studies on their campus. They were teaching women-focused courses in addition to their normal teaching load and having to tolerate a certain lack of sympathy from their departmental colleagues. They were just too busy and overloaded attempting to teach, research and publish within their discipline. If the WEA was providing community-based women's studies because the university would not offer a core women's studies programme, then this, some considered was a valuable contribution.

The majority of those interviewed, however, emphasised the differences in academic standards between the university and community based courses;

between what Basil Bernstein has described as "ways of knowing" and "attaining states of knowledge".²⁵ Academics, he says, tend to perceive the receipt of knowledge as not so much a right but something to be won or earned. At Auckland, the stronger classification of women's studies in "hierarchical ritualized" departments contrasted with the weaker classification of women's studies taught by community-based groups. It also reflected the differences between the "uncommonsense" of the credit courses and the "commonsense" everyday knowledge of the non-credit courses.²⁶

These distinct educational 'groupings' highlight the differences in strengths of classification. Bernstein explains that such divisions originate from the way individuals are socialised "into knowledge frames which discourage connections with everyday realities, or a highly selective screening of the connection." He points out that students quickly learn "what of the outside may be brought into the pedagogical frame. Such framing also makes of educational knowledge something not ordinary or mundane, but something esoteric, which gives a special significance to those who possess it."²⁷

Students enrolled in women's studies at the university clearly thought of themselves as a special group. For example, a 1983 graduate research paper entitled 'Women's Studies at Auckland University' reported on the value of small group teaching, commenting on the opportunity to relate personal experiences to the material taught. The students in this study were enthusiastic about their lecturers:

This is totally different from anything I've ever done in that there is no pressure on students"; "much more informal, it's much more enjoyable and everyone participates far more"; "it's not so much we're acquiring a body of knowledge, it's that she's hoping we'll get stimulation from the others and start developing ideas of our own"; "I feel more responsible to have something to say, to do the reading and be able to discuss it with the others".²⁸

In summary, the writer of the paper, Maggie McBride, identified the courses as "working within a framework of women's studies" although she stressed that there were quite significant differences between them. Overall, however, she said she had been inspired by what she heard. "If it [women's studies] is as good as you all say, the sooner it is extended throughout the university the better."²⁹

Although this kind of student response to women's studies courses was the same in all universities, lecturers were only human; key players like Phillida Bunkle and Rosemary Novitz, for example, were coping with new babies as well as their normal teaching loads. Others, like Dr Jocelyn Harris, at the University of Otago felt overwhelmed by embarking on a such a task within a conservative university environment: "I was feeling stretched and didn't have the energy to put into that kind of battle, especially when I felt that it might be unsuccessful". Instead, she concentrated on introducing women into core literature courses which she described as more of a "seeding" exercise.³⁰

At Auckland, some women felt that although they had student support, they lacked opportunities to talk with feminist colleagues across the university

about women's studies. Auckland women academics had no organisation comparable to the Waikato's Women's Studies Advisory Committee or Victoria's Association of Academic Women. The few University of Auckland women academics felt very isolated from one another.

There were other reasons also for the loss of momentum. Interviewees everywhere spoke of the scepticism about women's studies in the early 1980s; in the older, more traditional universities such as Otago and Auckland, this seemed particularly true. As Jocelyn Harris put it "just because everybody else was doing it, didn't mean we had to".³¹ The anxiety that women's studies was too radical an undertaking by a university had ramifications for feminist academics at a more personal level. Several with marginal status in their departments told me that being involved in women's studies "was a risky business". Although none admitted to direct warnings, they generally gained an impression from senior colleagues that any alliance with a women's studies course was considered foolhardy. Several told me that because they believed their later bids for promotion had been adversely affected by their involvement in women's studies they had "paid a high price" for pioneering work.

Funding

Funding of women's studies courses was directly affected by the conservative attitudes of some senior male academics. Until 1985, all but

four of the twelve women's studies courses were taught within the home department of the lecturer responsible for the course. In the main, most departmental colleagues were supportive as long as the course attracted sufficient student numbers and was cost efficient.

While this was also true for the faculties hosting the interdisciplinary courses at Waikato and Victoria, the large numbers of students attracted to these courses had now become a matter of concern. Initially at both universities, members of the course teaching team offered tutorials but as students flocked to enrol year after year it became evident that this could not continue indefinitely. By the early 1980s, feminist academics were lobbying for money for tutorial assistance and administration.

The academic community was clearly taken by surprise. Members had not expected interdisciplinary women's studies to prove so popular; a senior male academic told me that several of his colleagues had said to him "that in their ideal world, women's studies as an entity would actually disappear". Another said, "I didn't think I had much time for women's studies when it was first mooted and the reason for that is that I have been associated with women who did extraordinarily well and I didn't see any reason why they should be treated any differently from men".³²

Such statements reflected the views of those who had achieved high levels of success within their respective subjects, the subjects associated with a

collection knowledge code. At the senior levels of the university, such academics were generally men who "within the framework of oligarchic control" enjoyed "strong horizontal relationships" with their peers.³³ Accordingly, it was often difficult for them to understand why women academics would group together outside their home departments to lobby for a separate pro-women development. It was outside their experience.

Women did group around interdisciplinary women's studies. They created a new type of organisational system, which in turn, fostered an air of intrigue within the university. That numbers of women academics would meet and teach around a common course generated what Bernstein has described as "a conspiracy theory of the workings of the organisation, for both the administration and the acts of teaching are invisible to the majority of staff."³⁴ This was very much a common factor across institutions; interviewees commented that in the years associated with early development of women's studies, meetings attended by women only were nearly always the butt of snide comment. Even very senior members of the institution were worried. For example, James Ritchie recalls the concern registered by male colleagues at the appearance of thousands of women on the Waikato campus at the time of the 1979 United Women's Convention. He also had to reassure the vice-chancellor from time to time. "He would ask me "what's going on in women's studies?" as though it were some part of the world he did not understand, some secret society or tribe whose rituals and nature would always be mysterious to him".³⁵

Some key senior male academics had reservations about making funds available to women's studies in its own right. Among other things, this attitude could be seen as stemming from the perception of the natural scientists who, Norman Kingsbury suggested, regarded developments such as women's studies as "some new trendy thing".³⁶ This attitude seemed to be most common in universities with medical and engineering faculties. A member of another professorial board observed: "there was great suspicion that this might be seen as being 'soft', it might be seen as being a home for people who were refugees from everything else...very few people actually grappled with the idea of what women's studies might be".³⁷

The solution generally in the early 1980s therefore, was that requests for special funding were usually referred to the deans to deal with as best they could. Deans who were also heads of departments, such as Professors Ritchie and Bettison at Waikato, had considerable latitude. By making available secretarial and tutorial support, for example, large interdisciplinary courses could be sustained.

However, credit for the continuation of the few women's studies courses in the 1980s must go to the feminist academics themselves. At the chalk face they worked hard to administer and to teach the courses and to cope with the special demands from women students. To many, they were the only women academics to teach them at university and their guidance was

sought over a wide range of personal, as well as academic, problems. Behind the scenes, they were also involved in educating their colleagues. Senior male academics were quick to acknowledge individuals and groups of women who had altered their thinking on women's studies. The foundation Vice-Chancellor at the University of Waikato, for example, told me that Jane Ritchie had "played a big part" in convincing him that women's studies was worthy of support:

Jane used to say, it's okay to say that the Maori or women have got every opportunity for going to the doctor like everybody else, but she said that's all very well but if you live out in the country and you don't have a car, how do you get to the doctor? That sort of argument had an effect on me...I was converted...quite enthusiastic.³⁸

This occurred in the final stages of the Vice-Chancellor's stewardship. The scene was set therefore, for the new Vice-Chancellor to follow up with money rather than just good intentions.

A change in academic leadership, the appointment of Dr Janet Holmes to the deanship of languages and literature, had a direct impact on the women's studies programme at Victoria in 1985. She also took on the convenorship of the women's studies board until she could persuade Pru Hyman, from the Department of Economics, to relieve her of the job. The dean was keen to secure the services of someone to advise on the resourcing of women's studies and, as Pru Hyman had recently completed a term as chairperson of her department, she seemed an ideal choice. Together, these two politically experienced women brought about changes to women's studies which included additional staffing, increased resource

allocation, and the approval of women's studies as a major subject for the Bachelor of Arts and new accommodation.

Janet Holmes believes that she was the first Dean of Languages and Literature to regard women's studies as the dean's responsibility. When appointed, she discovered "that women's studies was regarded a bit like a hot-potato and there was a bit of shuffling with it, so it was now my responsibility rather than the dean of arts".³⁹ It seemed that in past years women's studies "had fallen between the cracks" of the two faculties. Now that a woman was dean of one, it was appropriate that she take the responsibility for it:

I don't think there was necessarily any deliberate opposition that prevented women's studies growing, I think there was just neglect and a lack of anybody who felt it was a good thing to be doing, to be supporting women's studies and making things happen for women's studies.⁴⁰

The problems associated with development of women's studies at Victoria were quickly identified by Janet Holmes. The few staff had offered two courses which were so popular with students that demands on photocopying and administration were the same as in any small department. The university, however, had not recognised women's studies as such and, because the subject always under-resourced, had fallen into debt. This situation was remedied by the dean, who, having administered a growing department of linguistics, understood the difficulties. She "immediately increased the level of those grants and got them into line with the need of the area."⁴¹ This done, she and Pru Hyman were then able to concentrate

on future planning and the proposals necessary to achieve their goals. Janet Holmes, now in a position of power as dean, took her past experience as a member of an under-resourced subject and used this understanding to bring about change.

Conclusion

In terms of course development, the period 1980 to 1985 was one of little growth. This was a time when right wing monetarist policies were introduced in New Zealand and in a bid to retain government funding, many university administrators were keen to avoid any curriculum development which, because of its political or social contexts, could jeopardise institutional budgets. However, during that time the momentum for women's studies was sustained by a handful of committed women operating out of departments and/or as part of interdisciplinary women's studies. Their actions and words demonstrated alternative ways for working within an established hierarchy.

Overall, there were similarities and differences in the New Zealand second phase of development when compared with its overseas counterparts as outlined by Renate Klein. As was suggested in Chapter Four, there was, between 1980 and 1985, a growing feminist literature and an acknowledgement that a range of perspectives should be added into the women's studies curriculum. However, because of university wide funding

cut-backs, there were few women academics appointed at this time and subsequently, minimal course development. The next challenge was to gather these courses from across several faculties into an academic programme and gain permanent status for women's studies.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

PHASE THREE : THE PEOPLE AND THE PROCESS

The third phase of development in women's studies, was characterised by Renate Klein as a time when there was a call for global feminism; the advocacy of mainstreaming women's studies into academic disciplines; the vulnerability of programmes as education funding cuts took effect; right-wing attempts to purge women's studies and ever increasing student numbers. The findings of the Waikato case-study, as outlined in Chapter Four, indicated that right-wing attacks on the Waikato women's studies programme and increasing student numbers were the only features shared with the overseas universities surveyed by Klein.

When the listings of women's studies courses for the other New Zealand universities were laid side by side with documentary and oral material, it was clear that the third phase between 1986 and 1990, mirrored the rapid expansion that had taken place at the University of Waikato. This unprecedented growth could not have occurred without funding and institutional support. There appeared to be quite different circumstances surrounding women's studies in New Zealand during this phase of development.

At first glance, the period 1986 to 1990 appeared to represent considerable gains for women in New Zealand universities. Women students numbered 40,513 or 55% of all students enrolled; for the first time women outnumbered men.¹ This was not true for women academics. While their numbers had doubled between 1980 and 1990, they still remained only 19.7% of the total number of academics.² The most significant increases had occurred at lecturer level where 326 women represented one third of the staff holding such positions. Women of this rank had previously had much to do with the establishment of women's studies courses.

Because of the rapidity of growth in women's studies between 1986 and 1990, much of the research data collected related to this phase of development. Although I divided the material into themes, it was not until I had constructed a narrative that I realised the extent of the information gathered. Only then, did I see the need for a further division into distinct topics. Therefore, the appointment of women academics and the women's studies courses they introduced between 1986 and 1990, are examined in turn in this chapter and the one that follows.

Not all women appointed to academic positions in the mid-1980s were feminist, but those who were often found teaching opportunities in their departments to address concepts of gender inequalities. The positive response of first year women students in social science and education were frequently cited in interviews as motivating staff to consider the introduction

of women's studies courses. For their part, students, having had their appetites whetted, sought out level two and three women's studies courses.

From the outset, however, feminist academics experienced the conflict between changes in the coding of educational knowledge, between Bernstein's two social structures, the first predicated on the rule 'things must be kept together' and the second on 'things must be kept apart'.³ In departments where feminist input was restricted to minor contributions to one or two first year level courses 'things were kept apart'. Feminist knowledge was added in what Gerda Lerner would describe as a 'contributory' fashion; it was not regarded as integral to the course as a whole. Operating under a collection code with its strong classification, subjects such as history or English, were "hierarchical and the criteria explicit and highly specific".⁴ Strong classification, therefore, reduced the power of the feminist academic over what was taught in the course to which she contributed to prevent her from overstepping the boundary between contents.

Through the academic women's groups and advisory committees on campus, feminist academics shared ideas about existing and future courses in women's studies, encouraged by student response in their own departments. New academics were particularly enthusiastic; they welcomed a chance to plan and develop courses from a feminist perspective. From within a department, representative of a collection code, feminist academics

could see that they could create spaces within the department, take control over what was taught and, as the local specialist, make their own decisions about the boundaries of the contents. Individually or in partnership, feminist academics across the universities did take control; by 1990 they were teaching 70 women's studies courses within their respective home departments.

Recent appointments and appointment procedures were still fresh in the minds of many women I interviewed. In a number of cases the appointments had been controversial. At the annual general meetings of the Women's Studies Association (WSA) in 1989 and 1990, misgivings were expressed about the choices made. Membership of the WSA has traditionally been broad-based; including academics, teachers, nurses, public servants and those involved in feminist community groups such as Rape Crisis and Women's Refuge workers. Those who spoke at the meetings were particularly critical of the universities' apparent preference for overseas candidates with doctorates and long publication lists in overseas journals. (Such criteria were not unusual. Senior academics, responsible for the wording of advertisements were treating women's studies like any other subject).

Although not all speakers at the meetings were employed as academics there was general agreement that universities should place more value on the New Zealand feminist experience. In particular, that applicants for

women's studies positions should have an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi ⁵ and the educational needs of Maori students. In 1990, such knowledge was particularly relevant. New Zealand was celebrating its sesqui-centennial and it was a time when a plethora of publications appeared on the Treaty of Waitangi and 'New Zealand identity'. These included writings by Maori and some Pakeha (non-Maori) feminist academics on indigenous theorising. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explained:

The challenge for Maori women in the 1990s is to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences....This does not mean rejecting all feminist theories. Rather, it means that we, as Maori women, should begin with an understanding of our own condition and apply analyses which can give added insight into the complexities of our world.⁶

In terms of women's studies, many Pakeha women (and some Maori women) wanted to introduce bi-cultural women's studies programmes while many Maori women preferred a pure Maori women's studies option. However, Maori women appointees were required for both and in 1992 there were only five Maori women with doctorates: Dorothy Ulrich Cloher (Geography, Monash, 1976) Ngapare Hopa (Anthropology, Oxford, 1977); Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (Maori, Waikato, 1982); Kathy Garden (Engineering, Canterbury, 1984) and Margaret Mutu-Griggs (Maori, Auckland, 1990).⁷ These women were already employed in other departments in New Zealand universities. There were, however, Maori women graduates with teaching experience whom conference participants believed were very well qualified for appointments to women's studies positions.

Given the unhappiness shown by the 1990 WSA conference participants I agreed to convene a working party to investigate concerns about appointments in women's studies, particularly the doctoral requirement, and to report back to the WSA. When I began the interviews for this thesis, the WSA brief was not in the forefront in my mind; it was certainly not a matter I intended to pursue because I did not consider the two to be connected. Months further on in this study, I heard, quite by chance, that in some quarters my general questions related to appointments had been construed as "snooping around" for the WSA. This episode taught me two things: first, the New Zealand feminist academic community is very small; second, it confirmed for me that researchers should go out of their way to avoid any possible conflicts of interest or, if that is not possible, then to acknowledge awareness of such conflicts.

By 1990, department-based women's studies courses were attracting growing numbers of women students. The feminist academics who taught these courses became aware that students wanted to be able to take women's studies as a main subject in a first degree. Many feminist academics also wanted to develop masters programmes. To achieve this, they had to provide enough courses, including a number of compulsory core courses in women's studies, to win main subject recognition.

For those teaching in departments (associated with a collection code) there was a dilemma, similar to that experienced by their male counterparts in the 1970s. To support interdisciplinary women's studies, these women now had to accept the 'putting together of things' in a department other than their own. Further, they did this knowing that students attracted to interdisciplinary women's studies might then not enrol in their department-based courses. There were other concerns: would their institutions fund such ventures and who in New Zealand could they find to teach the courses?

From the start, the appointment of staff in interdisciplinary or core women's studies was contentious. There were numbers of women in each institution who for over a decade had invested time and energy in women's studies; they wanted direct input into appointment decisions. So too did the numbers of women more recently associated with teaching women's studies courses from their departments; they had high expectations for the teachers of courses allied to their own. As members of women's studies boards and advisory committees they knew exactly what was at stake; the future of women's studies and job creation for women.

The University of Waikato

The first appointments in interdisciplinary women's studies were at Waikato (as outlined in Chapter Five) and Victoria universities. In 1986, the newly

constituted Centre for Women's Studies at Waikato had two half-time appointments. Associate Professor Jane Ritchie, who was Director, also continued her teaching in the Psychology Department. My own appointment as half-time Junior Lecturer was the first new appointment in interdisciplinary women's studies. Its very designation however, meant that few applicants outside Hamilton would have considered it a financially viable proposition. By 1988, staffing levels had improved. Although Jane Ritchie remained half-time Director, she had been joined by Hilary Haines (now Lapsley) and myself as full-time lecturers.

The Victoria University of Wellington

At Victoria, Phillida Bunkle had been seconded from the History Department in 1978 to teach, on a half-time basis, the large level two course 'Women in Society'. She was joined by Jacqui Matthews from the French Department in 1982 as a half-time Senior Lecturer. The reason for this move had little to do with the merits of women's studies. It was because the French Department was overstaffed. "Their student/staff ratio which was looking a bit thin, would be improved" if Jacqui Matthews, already co-ordinator of the other level two course, spent more time in women's studies.⁸ By the end of 1988, Jacqui Matthews was the only full-time member of staff in women's studies. Phillida Bunkle, now a Senior Lecturer, continued to share her time between women's studies and history.

During interviews both recalled that while Janet Holmes, as the new Dean, had secured resources for the departmental budget she had not managed to persuade the university to provide additional permanent staff. Instead, during 1988, the Dean had been forced to apply for equity funding from the University Grants Committee to pay for a three year senior lectureship.⁹

Like her colleagues at Waikato, Janet Holmes had trouble convincing the Professorial Board at Victoria that women's studies was a serious contender for ongoing resources. The high student numbers were just not accepted as evidence that this subject would be a permanent addition to the university curriculum. As far as the professorial board was concerned, it should remain academically marginal and its resourcing should reflect that status.

The University Grants Committee however, could see merit in funding a senior position in women's studies and made money available for a senior appointment for 1989 to 1991. The teachers of the women's studies programme in 1988 lobbied the Dean and the Board of Women's Studies to split the appointment in two. Their fear was, that a single senior appointment advertised internationally would effectively veto a Maori appointment, there being so few Maori women with higher degrees. Like their contemporaries at Waikato, the Victoria women agreed that women's studies programmes should reflect New Zealand's bi-cultural heritage. This was only possible if there were equal numbers of Maori and Pakeha academics.

Not all were agreed that this was the time to pursue such a goal. Those interviewed for this study said that because consensus was impossible the appointment was delayed by one year. In the interim, those involved in women's studies at Victoria watched with interest the appointment of a Professor of Women's Studies at the University of Waikato. Phillida Bunkle, external university representative on the appointments panel, witnessed first-hand the preferences expressed by panel members for an overseas candidate. Academic experience in women's studies outside of New Zealand was regarded as important; it would help make an emerging field of study 'more academically respectable'. According to Alison Laurie, a temporary staff member in women's studies at Victoria at the time, the Waikato experience directly affected what happened at Victoria; the senior lectureship was divided in two "to prevent the appointment of an overseas applicant".¹⁰ It was thought unlikely that a half position would appeal to an overseas candidate. As a result of the division Roma Potiki was appointed to teach Maori women's studies, (later to be continued by Alison Green) and Alison Laurie herself was employed to assist Phillida Bunkle with the large level two course.¹¹

The University of Canterbury

Meantime, appointments were being planned and in some cases actioned at other universities. At the University of Canterbury, two interdisciplinary courses had been introduced in 1987 but their immediate popularity took its

toll on teaching staff, particularly those who acted as the course co-ordinators. In 1987, Dell Small took on this role with Prue Densem and in the following year shared it with Maureen Montgomery. In mid-1988, Dell Small took early retirement. At the Women's Studies Association conference in August of that year she told me that she was 'burnt out' largely as a result of her efforts to establish feminist studies at Canterbury.

Resources at Canterbury were allocated on the basis of the number of lectures that the interdisciplinary course co-ordinators provided. Other contributors earned money for their home departments. While this kept the home departments content, it left the co-ordinators of the women's studies courses with insufficient money to employ additional tutors and to pay for administrative assistance. Although the women's studies collective shared as many tasks as possible, it was the co-ordinators who administered the funding, served on committees, prepared planning documents, taught and liaised with students and staff.

According to Dr Kon Kuiper, the then Dean of the Arts Faculty, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Brownlie, was aware of the unreasonable burden placed on the co-ordinators and in order to get the women's studies major off to a better start was "prepared to basically say that we will take resources from other people and give them to feminist studies".¹² In 1988, it was agreed Dr Livia Zulauf-Wittmann, a Reader (Associate-Professor) in the German Department should be transferred to a full-time

position in feminist studies from the beginning of 1989. This arrangement was similar to the one at Victoria University when a French lecturer had moved across into women's studies. The result was the same. Feminist studies were boosted by the addition of a staff member from a department with a very favourable staff-student ratio, all at no extra expense.

The transfer to feminist studies suited Livia Zulauf-Wittmann very well. She told me that for some time she had sensed growing hostility from colleagues in the German department towards her research in feminist issues. In addition, student numbers were dropping and it was likely that the department would lose a staffing position when next a member resigned or retired. Livia Zulauf-Wittmann, who had been a member of the staff since 1971, had gained her doctorate from the University of Budapest and had two years teaching experience at Monash University, Melbourne. She had attended the Christchurch United Women's Convention in 1977 and had then become a member of a local women's 'discussion group'. Beyond that, her involvement in feminist issues was entirely academic.¹³

A second lectureship was approved in 1989 although the staff-student ratio was far less than in other departments requiring staff. Kon Kuiper said the second appointment was made on the Vice-Chancellor's initiative. The Vice-Chancellor believed a programme was only viable if there was one staff member to continue the courses when another was on study leave. The successful applicant for the second position was Dr Nabila Jaber, a

Lebanese postdoctoral fellow at the University of Canterbury whose recent research had focused on pay equity. With Livia Zulauf-Wittmann she introduced the interdisciplinary programme in feminist studies.

Massey University

In 1988, the co-ordinator of the women's studies advisory group at Massey University, Dr Cheleen Mahar, made a case to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Waters, for a lectureship in women's studies. Citing the high student enrolment she reminded him that students could not currently complete the Diploma in Women's Studies because the two core courses in theory and research could not be offered. "All the staff are engaged in *full-time teaching and research commitments in their own departments*, and it is impossible for these core courses to be taught without a lecturer in charge".¹⁴ She suggested that a Convenor of Women's Studies be appointed to begin the 1989 academic year and that the lectureship be attached to one of the participating social sciences departments, such as the Department of Sociology. Cheleen Mahar sent the Professor of Sociology, Graeme Fraser, a copy of her memorandum because of his known interest and sympathy.¹⁵ He had facilitated the introduction of the women's studies paper within his own department eleven years earlier.

In mid-1988, Fraser's department had advertised for two lecturers in sociology to replace two staff who had been appointed to positions in

Wellington. Interviews were to take place in December. Fraser had also kept up to date with developments in other New Zealand universities, especially at the University of Waikato. Colleague Bev James still had regular contact with Waikato through her D.Phil supervisor, Professor David Bettison.

When Professor Graeme Fraser received the memorandum from Cheleen Mahar he recalled the high calibre of applicants for the sociology positions. Nicola Armstrong who had been employed as a temporary junior lecturer within the Centre for Women's Studies at the University of Waikato was one. Because he was particularly impressed by "three great applicants" for the two sociology lectureships he took the initiative to make three appointments: Allanah Ryan and Victoria Grace to sociology and Nicola Armstrong to women's studies but housed in sociology.¹⁶ According to Fraser, getting an appointment in an emergent subject, "was a matter of timing... you've really got to have someone who comes in and plays sponsor".¹⁷

Fraser was that sponsor. He had helped introduce the Social Work degree in a similar manner some thirteen years earlier. In 1988 he was also Assistant Vice-Chancellor as well as academic head of the Department of Sociology. "It was possible to make use of funds that were available for the department as a consequence of my other duties that could then be applied to this".¹⁸ Pulling together these funds and adding some departmental

salary savings could, Fraser decided, fund an academic staffing position in women's studies provided he used "a bit of push and shove".

Nicola Armstrong's appointment was not universally popular. There were a number of highly qualified women academics in New Zealand at this time, including at Massey, many of whom were in temporary junior positions across a number of academic disciplines. A full-time permanent position in women's studies, therefore, was an attractive prospect. There was a feeling abroad in the academic feminist community that this appointment was made "through the back door" and that it should have been advertised as a lectureship in women's studies, thus opening it up for a range of applicants, not just sociologists. "It was", as a former staff member told me, "the very shoulder-tapping approach that feminists fight against".¹⁹ When Nicola Armstrong joined the staff at Massey in early 1989, she was not made particularly welcome. "It was a lonely time", she said.²⁰ Senior colleagues such as Cheleen Mahar from social anthropology and Murna Thomson from business studies were concerned. They both thought Nicola Armstrong to be "excellent", "just what we needed" to get the programme operational.²¹ Graeme Fraser decided to intervene by addressing the Women's Studies Committee. His message was "that he'd seen the need, he'd understood the need and so he'd taken the bull by the horns and sort of gone in and got it".²² No stranger to criticism, Fraser later admitted that "he got a fair bit of flak from people about the appointment of Nicola Armstrong". He was open to a "frank and free discussion" with the Women's Studies Committee

but remained adamant that "without that appointment and without the skill and ability and energy that Nicola brings to it, there wouldn't have been any diploma, there wouldn't have been any masterate".²³

I had some prior knowledge of the appointment controversy. Nicola Armstrong and I had worked together in 1988 and she had told me of the hostility she had experienced. She had suggested the names of potential interviewees at Massey University, all of whom told me about how badly they thought Nicola Armstrong had been treated when she took up her appointment. Material from these interviews influenced my writing of a journal article in early 1992, an overview on the development of women's studies in New Zealand, including that at Massey University.²⁴ This particular article was read by feminist academics formerly employed at Massey University who judged my comments on the Massey women's studies programme to be only partially correct; some wanted to put their side of the story. This episode highlights the horizontal collegial aspects of feminist scholarship and its special New Zealand character; we could all acknowledge and accept our respective knowledgeable insider status.

What the former Massey academics wanted was a recognition of the efforts of other academic women at Massey, outside Sociology, in the establishment of women's studies. They believed that this was information critical to an understanding of the reasons for the opposition to the women's studies appointment process. For example, eleven women had

been involved in the Education Department's women's studies group from 1985. They had met as a feminist collective once a week over five years, planning and developing the level three 'Women and Education' course. To them, a feminist process encompassing consensus decision-making and free and open discussion was paramount. Of these women, six held untenured or part-time positions. Just being part of this group had created difficulties; they had been subjected to anti-feminist graffiti and generally had been given "a rugged time".²⁵

In their meetings they had brainstormed every aspect of teaching a women's studies course, conducted a regular reading session to update their knowledge and contributed to the Women's Studies Advisory Group meetings. As a feminist collective of academic women the education group was, as one member put it, "the most important group I ever belonged to".²⁶ The result was that the education based feminists had created a strong educational identity; their course was popular both on and off campus and they were each publicly identified with it. Their version of women's studies was the one they thought would be an appropriate model for the campus more generally. Having "worked so hard, against all odds" as marginal workers in the academy, they were upset by the unilateral appointment decision by the Dean of Social Science. There had been no opportunity for input into a job description, no discussion of the possible pre-requisites for such a job and no chance to apply for the women's studies position, a job for which some considered they were well qualified. A decision had been

made 'from the top', in what they saw as a 'closed' and hierarchical fashion; it was antithetical to the feminist process. Only three of the original collective remain at Massey; the others have since secured tenured positions in a range of other educational institutions.²⁷

The University of Otago

The first University of Otago lectureship in women's studies was specifically funded. In 1988, deans and head of departments were advised by the Registrar that submissions could be made for three 'new blood' lectureships created by the Academic Staffing Committee. A memorandum from the Registrar on 20 June 1988 explained the reasons for them:

- (i) Slow or non-existent growth in University Faculties (ii) very limited mobility of academic staff, and as a consequence (iii) increasing ages of the academic staff, and (iv) an inability to recruit staff trained in newly developed areas of scholarship, or in areas now seen to be important to the University.²⁸

These latter two points caught the attention of Associate Professor Jocelyn Harris of the English Department and some of the women staff and graduate students in the Department of Psychology. A 'new blood' lectureship, they realised, could provide an opening for an appointment in women's studies. They met to discuss the possibility and to ascertain the level of support within the university for such a position.

A letter was sent to all heads of department and deans "asking if they would support such a proposal and also inquiring what, and to what extent there

was feminist or women-related research going on in their department already." ²⁹ Copies of the replies indicate that most were overwhelmingly supportive of such an appointment. Several respondents added reasons for their support. Dr Anne Smith from education wrote, "I believe that this university is falling behind others because it does not have Women's Studies. The students obviously feel disadvantaged that they do not have access to such courses".³⁰ Professor Jim Mann from Nutrition agreed. "We believe that this is a long overdue area of scholarship that is lacking at Otago".³¹ Greatly encouraged by the staff response, the graduate students from psychology organised a student petition to check the level of support. In two days they gathered about five hundred and sixty signatures.³²

As a result, Jocelyn Harris and others decided to make a bid for a 'new blood' lectureship in women's studies. They sent a carefully worded submission to the Academic Staffing Committee with appendices containing over 30 letters of support from heads of departments and a bibliographical listing of literature currently used within the university. They knew the competition was tough with submissions having also been made from Maori Studies, psychology, music, art history, chemistry and medicine.³³

Later in the year, both Associate Professor Jocelyn Harris and Senior Lecturer Dorothy (Dot) Page were invited to present an oral submission to the Vice Chancellor and the Academic Staffing Committee. Dot Page's

memory of this event was that it resembled an interview. She sensed "considerable hostility to the proposal...we had to justify it fairly fully... I found it quite stressful." ³⁴

Although the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Associate-Professor David McKenzie, was not a member of the staffing committee, he was aware of the opposition. Having supported the idea and thought it "a good thing" he had lobbied committee members and was receiving feedback from them.

Later, he recalled that "it was a real battle".³⁵ In the end, however, women's studies won; the other positions went to Maori Studies and psychology. In hindsight, Jocelyn Harris concluded that "it all happened I suppose, because the opportunity came up and we just grabbed it and pushed it through as hard as we could".³⁶

A three-year fixed term lectureship in women's studies was advertised in 1989 to which Anna Smith, a Canterbury English graduate, was appointed. She told me that she had returned to graduate study in her early thirties following marriage, the birth of three children and nine years living in the suburbs. Through literary theory she had developed a feminist critique; her doctorate, well under way, was based on the literary works of Julia Kristeva.³⁷

Although Otago, unlike Massey, had followed normal appointment procedures, Anna Smith's appointment was also the subject of debate at

the 1989 Women's Studies Association conference. There was concern expressed that a generally unknown New Zealand candidate had been appointed, despite the fact that equally qualified and more experienced teachers in women's studies had also applied. It is not clear whether the opposition was of a personal or an ideological nature. As a conference participant I interpreted it as a direct attack on Anna Smith, who apparently was not a member of the association at that time or associated with the feminist studies programme at Canterbury University. The protagonists were clearly friends of unsuccessful candidates. Their arguments lacked academic objectivity.

The fallout from both the Massey and Otago appointments illustrates that by this time, interdisciplinary women's studies was developing a strong educational identity and acquiring characteristics associated with its transition from an integrated to a collection code. These included a new subject loyalty consistent with Bernstein's notion of "strong boundary maintenance creating control from within through the formation of specific identities".³⁸ By insisting that appointees in women's studies be members of the WSA, for example, critics of the Otago University and Victoria University appointments were advocating compulsory membership of an 'insider group'. An increasingly specialised interdisciplinary women's studies was emerging where those who considered themselves specialists tended "to abhor mixed categories and blurred identities" within its midst.³⁹ The controversy over the Massey and Otago appointments

differed from that at Waikato and Victoria. The latter, focused on the ability of women's studies programmes to reflect New Zealand's bi-cultural heritage and whether or not an overseas candidate could do this. The Massey and Otago appointments, on the other hand, were more of a 'kneejerk reaction' to outsiders of another kind; those who were not well known New Zealand feminists or members of the national Women's Studies Association.

The University of Auckland

In 1989, neither Waikato nor Auckland universities could have imagined that they too would have to deal with difficulties over appointments. (see Chapter Nine) Meanwhile, at the University of Auckland, although the institution's 1989 Corporate Plan recommended support for developments in women's studies, it was clear that this depended on the availability of resources. Associate Professor Raewyn Dalziel, realised "that we had to go out and get resources".⁴⁰ Any extra university resources were likely to be won by departments with better and more long-standing claims for special funding than women's studies had. Aware that the Auckland Savings Bank (A.S.B.) had funded academic developments at the Auckland Institute of Technology, Raewyn Dalziel and Lane West Newman asked the Vice-Chancellor's permission to seek Bank sponsorship of a Chair in Women's Studies. With his support, a letter was sent. Other departments, however, sought bank funding. In the end, the Vice-Chancellor and the Chairperson

of the Academic Committee put all cases to the Auckland Savings Trust Board.

It is not known what was said at this meeting but it is likely that the Chairperson of the A.S.B., Judith Bassett, had some prior knowledge of the women's studies proposal. An experienced local body politician she was also an academic colleague of Raewyn Dalziel's within the History Department at the University of Auckland. Raewyn Dalziel was quite open; "I spoke to her to be perfectly frank, but I don't think anybody else got to her."⁴¹ The background political machinations bore fruit, and, the women's studies case was successful. On December 3 1990, the University of Auckland advertised a Chair in Women's Studies. The position required the appointee to take responsibility for establishing a teaching and research department, for designing core courses and for co-ordinating existing courses so as to create a major in women's studies in the bachelor of arts degree.⁴² The outcome was not straight forward as is outlined in Chapter Nine.

Conclusion

At all universities, positions in the subject women's studies had been long worked for by feminist academics, each with her own views on the nature of women's studies and the type of person most suitable to teach it. The debates of this period have continued into the 1990s and are not the result

of particular attitudes held by individuals alone. Bernstein offers an explanation. Under a collection code, he says, staff are "bound to subject hierarchies...their identities and their future is shaped by the department".⁴³

At senior levels of the department, "strong horizontal relationships" exist between the decision-makers (that is, with their peers in other subject hierarchies) "and strong vertical relationships within their own department.

However, junior staff are likely to have only vertical (within the subject hierarchy) allegiances and work relationships".⁴⁴ This means that they are often excluded from the senior academic networks and insulated from one another within departments.⁴⁵ The concept of interdisciplinary women's studies as an integrated code provided a very different work environment. Conditions existed for strong horizontal relationships and allegiances based upon a common work task.

The third phase of development in women's studies in New Zealand, from 1986 to 1990, differed significantly from its overseas counterparts. While the findings of this study support Klein's characteristic of ever-increasing student numbers during this period, there was little else in common. The budget-cuts that impacted on women's studies programmes in North America, for example, did not occur at this time. Rather, as was outlined in Chapter Six, the development of women's studies was thwarted for lack of funds during its second phase, between 1980 and 1985. Indeed, from 1986 more students than ever before were attracted to women's studies courses and as universities recognised this phenomenon, additional funds were gradually

made available to support degree majors and staffing positions. The events surrounding appointments did create internal tensions at many universities but apart from the public attacks on the Waikato programme and one Canterbury course, there was no evidence to suggest that right-wing groups attempted to purge women's studies at other universities. The issues relating to mainstreaming and global feminism were not present at this time. However, it was clear that women's studies in New Zealand had entered a new phase. The questions raised over appointments within the university structure, for example, were mirroring what was being taught in the classroom; that a redefinition of categories within women's studies and an acknowledgment of differences between women was now paramount.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

PHASE THREE: RAPID EXPANSION

The conceptual framework provided by phase theory allows developments in women's studies to be placed within a chronological time-frame. Up until 1986, women's studies in New Zealand shared many of the same characteristics of development with its overseas counterparts. However, as was indicated in Chapter Seven, by the third phase of development, between 1986 and 1990, there was little in common between the characteristics of overseas universities' programmes, as outlined by Renate Klein, and the findings of this study. By the third phase, women's studies in the different New Zealand universities, had taken on unique characteristics of their own. During this period, 87 courses were established and by the end of 1990, 105 courses in women's studies were being taught over the seven universities. This development provides the focus of this chapter.

The determining of the number and names of courses and lecturers, was undertaken in the early stages of the study and required annual updating. It was not a straight forward exercise. By 1990, several courses had changed significantly as feminist academics retired, were promoted, offered

additional courses, withdrew courses or left their university. In addition, course titles changed, the levels at which the courses were offered fluctuated and even the names by which lecturers wished to be known were altered. I clarified the status of each as I visited each campus. This check revealed that some courses were not new at all but had been re-constituted at either a different level or with another title.

The period between 1986 and 1990 represented such rapid introduction of women's studies courses that I decided against listing each within this chapter. Instead, attention is drawn to steps taken towards the gaining of degree major status in women's studies. (All courses are listed in Appendix C with their year of introduction, their title and names of lecturer/s associated with each course). A listing of courses for each university made it possible to compare developments on each campus.

For a time, I became side-tracked by the course outlines I collected. As a designer of new curriculum in women's studies I was fascinated by the differences in content, pedagogy and assessment practice, the latter a subject worthy of analysis in its own right. However, I restricted my attention to the historical development of these courses and to the experiences of the women involved.

Although other universities offered their first courses in women's studies in the 1970s, they could not match the speed of growth at the University of

Waikato or the inaugural interdisciplinary approach of The Victoria University of Wellington. This, along with other characteristic patterns of development, became apparent as the research data accumulated.

The Victoria University of Wellington

Between 1986 and 1989, seven women's studies courses were introduced at Victoria; one each from religious studies, education, English and history and three from women's studies.¹ The latter were first offered in 1988 when Jacqui Matthews, as Senior Lecturer, became full-time in women's studies. The addition of these courses was critical; women's studies required a core sequence of papers to be recognised as a major subject.

Approval as a major subject for the Bachelor of Arts occurred in 1989 and with two contract lecturers, women's studies was able to add two further courses to their programme. A level two course was introduced by Alison Laurie as a special topic called 'Lesbian Studies' as she had observed overseas. Although lesbian critiques of the content of women's studies courses had been evident in the early 1980s, the Victoria course represented the first university course which had as its focus sexual preference as a specific category of study. As such, this development was consistent with Lerner's fourth phase of feminist scholarship but according to Klein, had occurred much earlier, in the second phase, in overseas universities. At level three, Phillida Bunkle offered 'Feminist Analyses of

Science, Technology and Medicine' ² which reflected the special research interests of the lecturer. In 1988, Phillida Bunkle, and Auckland journalist Sandra Coney, had exposed the experimental procedures conducted on women with cervical cancer at Auckland's National Women's Hospital. Women patients had unknowingly been used as research subjects but the findings of the research had not been made known to them. Bunkle and Coney discovered women patients had subsequently died of cervical cancer and that others had remained untreated. Their research resulted in an inquiry into the treatment of cervical cancer at National Women's Hospital and the subsequent findings that some male medical specialists had breached ethical standards. The introduction of a national cervical screening programme, some years later, was an outcome of the Inquiry. Because the research and Inquiry became a matter of public concern, Phillida Bunkle, as Senior Lecturer in Women's Studies, received considerable media attention. Her articulate presentation of research findings did much to enhance the public perception of women's studies and the value of feminist research.

In 1990, women's studies at Victoria consisted of the equivalent of one and two-thirds full-time senior lecturers, two temporary part-time junior lecturers and a part-time contract lecturer. All told, they taught seven courses; their departmental budget was just under \$3,000. By comparison, the same number of courses were being taught at the University of Waikato. The

difference was that by 1990, Waikato was far better resourced and able to employ tutors to assist with large classes.

When Phillida Bunkle was away on a twelve month Hodge Fellowship³, Jacqui Matthews convened the Board of Studies and as the only full-time member of staff, administered the rest of the department. No stranger to heavy work-loads, she also took on the Board of Studies role because it was a critical time in the development of women's studies. She took on the extra work because experience had shown that "a convenor from outside the department was not fully aware of what was going on inside women's studies" and was therefore unable "to represent it in a convincing way".⁴ As a result, Jacqui Matthews believed that women's studies required its own advocate to bid for increased funding.

Lack of money was always "the key problem and one we've never addressed successfully," Phillida Bunkle admitted.⁵ All Victoria University teachers of women's studies agreed that lecturers in women's studies at Victoria were "exploited shamelessly".⁶ From the beginning, staff to student ratios were among the highest in the faculty, reaching 1:30 prior to the granting of the temporary lectureship in 1989. Even so, the ratio in 1990 was 1:19. Phillida Bunkle believes that the "university was prepared to tolerate it [women's studies] so long as we did it for free and didn't compete with the 'real stuff'".⁷ Not surprisingly women like Phillida Bunkle and Jacqui Matthews, who have been associated with women's studies

since 1975, became increasingly intolerant of the long-held view of many of their colleagues that "we were just a passing fad".⁸

In 1990, women's studies at Victoria continued to be under resourced at \$3,370 and was again in debt. As a stop-gap measure, one of three departmental personal computers was sold to enable the department to continue functioning. For Jacqui Matthews, the dilemmas were never-ending. "Should she go", she wondered,

to every Head of Department and Professorial Board meeting, which are about three a week, feeling I should be in there finding out every detail of what's happening in the administration, where the power lies to confront this? Or should I be doing my teaching and marking and being available to students?⁹

As the women's studies staff at Victoria struggled to make ends meet, Jacqui Matthews admitted "to a slight feeling of envy and regret" at what was happening at Waikato and Canterbury. "I mean we've always been fobbed off, that Victoria's the poor relation, and yes, I think you feel slightly cheated as it's been a hard slog and we haven't had much help".¹⁰

During the third phase of its development, women's studies at Victoria University was characterised, as Klein had suggested, by a rapid growth in student numbers. Staff were generally overloaded and struggled to meet both their teaching and research commitments. In addition, the women's studies staff tried to remain accountable to its wider women's community but as Phillida Bunkle concluded, if the resources women's studies received were any indicator, the university "clearly did not value that either".¹¹

Whereas in the first phase of development, between 1973 and 1979, many feminist academics actively taught and participated in interdisciplinary women's studies, by 1990, this was not the case. Although feminist academics from other departments might contribute an occasional lecture to the interdisciplinary programme, in the main, it was the few women's studies staff who took major responsibility for the total teaching programme. There was now little evidence of the teaching and lobbying support, particularly from senior feminist academics, which had been so effective in establishing women's studies at Victoria. In 1990, it had become easier for university authorities to ignore the constant claim for funds.

The University of Canterbury

The University of Canterbury was more fortunate. Between 1987 and 1990, twenty courses were established, as were a feminist studies major for a bachelor of arts degree, two permanent staffing positions, secretarial support and funding allocation.¹² This period of sudden rapid growth sprang from the energies and initiative of both staff and students and from the goodwill and understanding of senior administrators. It had begun in 1985 when the Canterbury Students' Association undertook a survey to determine whether students would enrol in a course which focused on feminist issues. The initiator of the survey was student Fenn Gordon, who having reviewed her undergraduate degree in English and History realised that she had "found only two women- one poet, Sylvia Plath, who was 'mad'

and Queen Elizabeth I who was a 'man in a woman's body'".¹³ Student support for women's studies was overwhelmingly positive. Women staff were cautious. They were sympathetic and wanted to help but all stressed their inability to do so because of their individual work over-loads. Discouraged, Fenn Gordon left for overseas in 1986.¹⁴

Her initiative was not without reward. Newly appointed women staff responded by pointing out to longer-time members that the burden of establishing women's studies courses would not rest on their shoulders alone. There were now many more who were willing to collaborate. Eleven staff and four students undertook to develop both a level one and a level two course during 1986 for introduction in 1987.¹⁵

Rosemary Novitz, who had been promoted to a Senior Lectureship, was keen to support interdisciplinary women's studies courses but as she was to go on study leave in 1986 it fell to the lot of a new staff member, Dr Maureen Montgomery to turn the idea into reality. Maureen Montgomery had been appointed a Lecturer in the American Studies Department earlier that year, having previously taught in London. Her doctorate was in women's history but she told me that she had no experience of a women's studies programme, either as a student or academic in Britain.¹⁶ Maureen Montgomery's willingness to invest time and energy in the launching of interdisciplinary courses and then later in designing a programme of study was crucial, her colleagues later said, to its rapidity and success. She was

helped by Del Small from the Politics Department and Prue Densem from education.

The two courses began as interdepartmental courses (INCO). INCO 101 was titled 'Feminist Perspectives: The Re-representation of Women' and INCO 201 'Cultural Silences: Women Writers in European Languages at the Turn of the Twentieth Century'. Enrolments were 155 and 40 respectively and on the strength of student numbers a case was made in May 1988 for the establishment of a Feminist Studies programme.¹⁷

The University of Canterbury proposal to the University Grants Committee in May 1987, outlined long term plans for feminist studies:

To facilitate the development of a long-term plan of providing a sequence of papers at 100,200 and 300 levels of an integrated programme, to be in place by 1989. Such a development is not feasible under the INCO programme which was never intended for such purposes. The current proposal involves the re-coding for 1988 of INCO101 and INCO211 as FMST101 and FMST 201 as a first step in facilitating these long-term plans.¹⁸

The Canterbury proposal was well researched. Both Jane Ritchie and Phillida Bunkle had been consulted and had "influenced their thinking".¹⁹ In particular, Jane Ritchie and Phillida Bunkle drew particular attention to the need for adequate resourcing of such a development. Jane Ritchie sent copies of key proposals made for recognition of supporting major and major status for women's studies at Waikato. The Canterbury proposal was

comprehensive; the University Grants Committee approved the development.

The collective of women who assisted with the planning and teaching of the interdepartmental courses in 1987 decided that the programme was to be called 'feminist studies', rather than 'women's studies'. The rationale was that it made clear to students that "courses would not just be about women, but would be based in feminist philosophy and methodology".²⁰ The 'feminist' title met with little argument within the arts faculty although Dr Adrienne Alton-Lee's graduate course 'Feminist Issues in Education' did not have such an easy time. Within the Education Department there was much debate about the inclusion of the word 'feminist' in the course title and whether or not such a course was valid in a university context.²¹ Although undergraduate courses covering a range of feminist issues in education had been taught for several years at Waikato and Massey universities, they did not include the word 'feminist' in the title. A visible display of feminist scholarship at the graduate level, in the university calendar, for example, led some academics to fear for the academic standing of the masters programme.

Adrienne Alton-Lee's graduate course received nation-wide media attention in 1988 when it was 'leaked' that all members of the class had been awarded 'A' grades. Accusations relating to the maintenance of academic standards and the relevance of such a course abounded. In response,

Adrienne Alton-Lee and her Head of Department Professor Graham Nuthall defended the grades, stating that the students had all produced outstanding work and were worthy of top marks.²²

This incident highlighted the fact that academic feminism was an easy target for anti-feminists and those who believed that the recent proliferation in women's studies had little place in the academy. It drew attention to the increased discretion of feminist academics as authority figures within the university; women with the power to control educational knowledge. This was an example of the kinds of questioning that Bernstein had observed which challenged the legitimacy of a new form of knowledge. "At what point it belongs, when, where and by whom the form should be taught" he says, means that "such new forms or weakened classifications can be regarded as attempts to break or weaken existing monopolies".²³ Both Maureen Montgomery and Rosemary Du Plessis (formerly Novitz) have commented that this episode effectively deflected attention from the major developments occurring in feminist studies more widely.

The controversy over the education course may well have contributed to the relatively sympathetic reception of the core feminist studies courses when the Dean of Arts, Dr Kon Kuiper took them personally to the Professorial Board. Kuiper supported their introduction. He told me that his liberal Dutch upbringing and the fact that his wife, Alison, taught polytechnic-based women's studies courses influenced his support for the feminist studies

initiatives.²⁴ However, Canterbury deans of faculty, such as Kon Kuiper, had no executive power. Their job was academic administration. Departmental proposals for new courses went to a standing committee of the faculty and then to the faculty as a whole. Once approved by the faculty, proposals went to the Professorial Board where the appropriate dean had the opportunity to try to convince the board of their merits.

Feminist studies proposals were different, however, because they came from a collective of staff from a number of departments. Kon Kuiper believed that the best way would be to present the courses as interdepartmental; precedents already existed for such courses although never before had a level one course been proposed. Interestingly, it was not the level of the course but rather the title which proved most contentious:

One misgiving that people expressed was that there would be a high level of ideological commitment to the way the course was taught....Jim Thornton's reservation [was] that we are not here to promulgate particular doctrines without looking at them critically and if we call it feminist studies aren't we saying that we are going to take a feminist line on everything. We have Religious Studies but we don't have Christian Studies in the sense that everything is looked through various ideologically committed glasses.²⁵

At the Professorial Board, there was no overt opposition to the feminist studies proposal although the dean believed that some of the engineers and scientists thought that the arts faculty "was doing one of its perennial rather peculiar things but if that's what they want to do, so be it".²⁶

While Maureen Montgomery was pleased to have the active cooperation of a number of academic women on the interdepartmental courses she was also keen for them to introduce courses within their own departments so that a fully-fledged, degree major could develop. By double-coding courses, such had been done at Waikato and Victoria, feminist studies courses could be taught within departments, feminist studies options were increased and more departmental staff were encouraged to become involved.

Having successfully planned and implemented this stage, members of the collective thought through the next steps. They decided to introduce more undergraduate courses in 1988 and, during 1989, to devise a graduate programme which would be taught in 1990.²⁷ The composition of the collective, which included academic staff, tutors and students at all levels, caused difficulties, despite its members' enthusiasm. Rosemary Du Plessis (formerly Novitz) later reflected that

sometimes we were fooling ourselves about how egalitarian that collective was...for those of us who had been doing administrative work for a long time within the university it felt good to have absolutely everything open...but for students it was experienced as alienating.²⁸

Apparently, students found the everyday business of running the programme and the time involved in preparing course proposals rather tedious. This led to some soul-searching about the meaning of the term 'collective'; many students believed it was not operating as a standard feminist collective within the university context. The current co-ordinator of the collective, Livia Zulauf-Wittmann, judged the collective to have worked

well until 1989 when, as staff became over-loaded they had less tolerance for student out-bursts. As fewer staff attended, those who were left took on more administration and with it more direct student criticism of the collective having to spend much time satisfying university regulations. The solution was to maintain the larger collective and to meet once a term whilst having student representatives on committees to deal with administrative and course matters.²⁹

In 1988, another five courses were added to the programme. Two of these were core papers for the major. Livia Zulauf-Wittmann from feminist studies offered a level two paper, 'History of Feminist Thought' and a level three paper, co-taught with Rosemary du Plessis, 'Feminist Research'.³⁰ Such was the popularity of these courses that in May 1989, the University of Canterbury presented a proposal to the University Grants Committee that it proceed with the development of the feminist studies programme through to B.A.(Hons) and masters levels. The university representatives reminded the committee that in 1989, the first year of the major in feminist studies, there were 243 students in FMST 101, 76 in FMST201 and 27 in the stage three course.³¹ Further, students who first enrolled in feminist studies papers in 1987 had by the end of 1989 accumulated sufficient credits to major. Because numbers of students were wanting to enrol in graduate courses, the Honours and Masters proposals were now of some urgency. The proposal to the University Grants Committee outlined a co-ordinated programme of study with four papers taught by members of staff in feminist

studies and one paper each in sociology and history. The Committee gave its approval and the six graduate papers were introduced in 1990.³²

At the University of Canterbury, the growth in women's studies in the third phase was unprecedented. As at Victoria, it shared the characteristic of increased student numbers. What made Canterbury different, however, was the degree of energy that feminist academics, across a range of subjects, suddenly invested in women's studies. The number involved and the variety of perspectives they brought, enhanced their bid for funding and degree major status.

Massey University

Like Canterbury, Massey had got off to a slow start with only a single course offering in women's studies until 1985. In that year, a level two business studies course was introduced followed in 1986, by a nursing studies level two course, 'Women and Health'.³³

A meeting of women staff was held in 1986 to discuss the possibility of further women's studies courses. There was a sense that women's studies at Massey University was falling behind the other universities, especially Waikato, with its new Centre for Women's Studies. Cheleen Mahar of the Department of Social Anthropology and Maori Studies recalls that several meetings were held but because no-one had the time or energy to invest,

nothing further happened in that year. However, one of the reasons for this could well have been that the group had decided to focus on introducing women's studies courses in their respective departments. They believed that it would be easier to introduce the idea of a major in women's studies once a solid a base of departmental offerings was established .

Reflecting on this time, Cheleen Mahar was later to write that:

While this decision prolonged the eventual start of the Women's Studies programme we felt it was important for three reasons: one, we would have time to consider the programme and listen to each other's ideas; women from the entire Massey Campus were invited to contribute' two, we needed to secure the necessary teaching and administrative facilities from our department; three, Massey staff have special teaching duties with regard to extramural courses and most of us needed extra time to write and implement our Women's Studies courses. ³⁴

As more women joined the academic staff in 1987, three further level two courses were introduced from education, religious studies and history. When Cheleen Mahar returned from study leave in 1987 she decided to initiate another series of meetings. Her organisation, combined with the interest from new staff, resulted in fifteen women attending the first gathering. By August, a nucleus of 14 women staff had become members of the Women's Studies Committee. ³⁵

This renewed interest in fostering women's studies may have been stimulated by the fact that earlier in the year many of these women had attended meetings of the Interfaculty Women's Group where one of the major items of discussion was the Report on the Status of Academic

Women in New Zealand written by Margaret Wilson for the Association of University Teachers.³⁶ This report confirmed what many already suspected: that at Massey University, as elsewhere in the New Zealand university system, women academics were under-represented in all departments and particularly at the senior levels of decision making.

In a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, the Interfaculty Women's Group proposed the establishment of a Status of Women Committee "which would review the position of academic women...recommend recruitment, appointment, promotions and tenure procedures to further the aims of more equal representation of women in the affairs of the university".³⁷ This committee, they suggested, should be a Standing Committee of Council, the status accorded similar committees elsewhere in New Zealand universities. The proposal was accepted and this success, enhanced by an increased feeling of camaraderie amongst the women, paved the way for planning to begin on a women's studies development. Meeting weekly, the Women's Studies Committee drafted a proposal for a postgraduate Diploma of Social Sciences in Women's Studies based on the six courses already taught and the knowledge that three further courses would be offered in 1988. The administrative arm of the committee comprised Doreen de Cruz, Judith Loveridge, Marianne Tremaine and Cheleen Mahar.

Students with a bachelors degree would be required to complete six papers. They could take no more than three level two papers from those currently

offered; at least two further papers at level three or level six and an appropriate papers at level three, four or six. The new papers for 1988 included: a level two and three English course and a level six paper which was to be a Research Project in women's studies.³⁸

In the latter part of 1987, the Women's Studies Committee concentrated on devising a format for teaching two additional cross-disciplinary courses, 'Theoretical Perspectives in Women's Studies' and 'Research Methods in Women's Studies'. The administrative group planned the general outline for both courses and once this had been discussed within the larger committee, the administrative group wrote the proposals and submitted them back to the committee.³⁹ The intention of the committee had been to share the teaching of these courses between committee members but they soon realised the enormity of the task.

In August 1987, Cheleen Mahar, the co-ordinator of the committee, advised the Vice-Chancellor that it would need the assistance of the university to supply funding for a new staff position and administrative costs.⁴⁰ He was not convinced. By November 1988, the situation had become urgent. There were 29 students enrolled for the Diploma, the third highest enrolment for a diploma course in the university and students had been turned away because of overcrowding.⁴¹

Nicola Armstrong's appointment in 1989 proved to be pivotal to the development of the Diploma in Women's Studies. In that year she co-taught both the level two 'Women in Society' paper, a level three paper entitled 'Women in New Zealand: Social Structure and Ideology' and the level six feminist theory paper. In addition, she gathered together the papers offered under the rubric of the Diploma in Women's Studies, collated a student questionnaire about women's studies and co-ordinated meetings to plan for its future.⁴²

Part of this plan included the establishment of a Board of Studies for the Diploma in Women's Studies to give the subject formal representation on decision making bodies within the university and to encourage the independent growth of women's studies.⁴³ In 1990, women's studies courses were assigned their own course numbers and Diploma courses were offered for the first time.⁴⁴

In three years, the number of women's studies courses at Massey University had grown from three to thirteen and graduate students were able to undertake a six paper Diploma in Women's Studies. In 1990, the Board of Studies were considering an undergraduate major and the possibility of establishing a research centre in women's studies. The dramatic increase in courses at Massey, was due to the concerted efforts of a group of feminist academics who introduced courses within their own departments. This development mirrored that of earlier development at the University of

Waikato. At Massey, feminist academics believed that a number of courses introduced from their home-disciplines would enhance the case for a core women's studies programme. They did not have the confidence of their colleagues at the University of Canterbury, that a women's studies programme would be accepted from the outset. As courses were introduced, staff were rewarded with large numbers, a characteristic of the third phase of development.

The University of Auckland

At the University of Auckland, five courses were offered up to 1986. Between 1987 and 1990, however, another fifteen courses were added. While women's studies offerings were common across universities in departments of sociology, education, English and history, six new areas of study featured for the first time at Auckland during this period. Courses through level one to six were offered in Italian, Architecture, Philosophy, Planning, Spanish and Art History.⁴⁵

The wide range of courses offered through various departments was listed for the first time in 1989. The Academic Women's Group on campus explained that "although the University of Auckland does not yet offer any degree in women's studies as such" the listing drew student attention "to those courses in the Arts Faculty which are largely or wholly focused on women".⁴⁶ Women's studies courses at the University of Auckland

expanded at such a rate that even those teaching courses were often unaware of other courses on the same campus. The Academic Women's Group offered collegial support but in the main served as a clearing house for women's issues on campus rather than as a co-ordinating body for women's studies courses.

Meantime, the Centre for Continuing Education introduced women's studies as a series of annual seminars from 1986 and a Certificate in Women's Studies in 1989. The planning for this Certificate programme began with a meeting of academic and community-based feminists. However, as the Director of the Centre for Continuing Education, Dr Noeline Alcorn recalled, a small group of mostly community-based women continued on their own until the plans for the Certificate were clarified: "We probably made a mistake...at that point we called a meeting of academic women and said 'this is what we are thinking of doing' and I think that they quite rightly thought they hadn't been consulted".⁴⁷

It seems that this meeting was crucial for the future of women's studies at the University of Auckland. It exacerbated the feeling between the two groups of women involved in teaching women's studies in the city. Noeline Alcorn believed that the Certificate in Women's Studies as taught by the Centre for Continuing Education was viewed "by some of them [the academic women] as peripheral" while those involved in the Certificate programme "thought it crucially important".⁴⁸

How important it was to its teachers and students had possibly been underestimated by members of the academic staff. This was illustrated by their reaction when the Centre for Continuing Education proposed that students might gain unspecified level one and two credits for the core papers of the Certificate in Women's Studies. Noeline Alcorn's view was that "most of our academic women thought that would not be appropriate and it was because they see women's studies as marginal and the Certificate as more marginal".⁴⁹ Without the support of the academic women the proposal was doomed and was withdrawn. The Certificate course continues and currently has waiting lists.

Bernstein's explanation of the strength of classification of knowledge codes is relevant to what occurred at Auckland. The Certificate course represented a weaker classification than the women's studies courses offered for degree credit. The academic women who taught these courses viewed their version of women's studies as having a stronger classification; they regarded themselves as the academic specialists in women's studies. The specialisation "determined what contents (subjects) may be put together. There is very strong insulation between the 'pure' and the 'applied' knowledge. Curricula are graded for particular ability groups."⁵⁰

At Auckland, if weaker versions of women's studies were recognised as valid for degree credit, then the academics feared that their courses would be adversely affected.

Another reason for their opposition related to the boundary relationship between what may or may not be taught within women's studies. The university department women stressed keeping the course content 'academic'. This emphasis marked the difference in the educational codes of the two groups; one stressed 'educational knowledge', the other 'everyday commonsense knowledge'.⁵¹ If the latter was validated by the university then women's studies as taught in departments might be discouraged. It could be seen by university administrators as a subject allied to continuing education. Academic women feared that resources could be withdrawn and established women's studies courses could be disposed of.

Shortly after the bid for degree credit for the Certificate in Women's Studies by the Centre for Continuing Education, a recommendation went to the Faculty of Arts urging the University to seek funding in the next quinquennial grant for the establishment of a women's studies department. Two senior members of staff, Raewyn Dalziel and Maureen Malloy, prepared the proposal. This was at a time when there was fierce competition for funds among the large number of professional courses of study at Auckland University. This competition intensified when news came that university funding as a whole had been cut back.

Simultaneously, discussions were also taking place over the content of the University of Auckland's Corporate Plan, required for the first time by the

Ministry of Education.⁵² The university now had stated objectives in terms of Equal Employment Opportunity and the prevention of sexual harassment on campus. Raewyn Dalziel believes that it was because of the climate created by Equal Employment Opportunity policies that the proposal for the establishment of women's studies received unanimous backing. She recalls that "a number of men spoke up absolutely strongly in support of it. A number of men who had come to the university recently said they were amazed when they got to Auckland University and discovered that we didn't have a Women's Studies Department".⁵³ At this level, however, all could afford to be liberal. After all, inclusion in the Charter was a statement of intent rather than final commitment. Funding was the key to success.

Feminist academics at Auckland realised that five other universities in the country now had academic women's studies programmes in place. In addition, Waikato was soon to get a Chair and this was viewed as further validation of the subject. As Noeline Alcorn observed, the fact that Auckland "was late in the field was now seen to be respectable, the time had come...but that suits our conservative image reasonably well".⁵⁴ By promoting the 'academic' focus of women's studies and de-emphasising 'community links', feminist academics at the University of Auckland were better able to secure support for a variety of initiatives in women's studies. It was the only campus on which these divisions were so clearly defined.

The University of Otago

New courses were added cautiously at the University of Otago. Between 1985 and 1988, four humanities papers were introduced but in 1988 two new courses were added. For the first time in New Zealand trainee doctors were offered a level three course 'Women's Health' and the School of Physical Education offered its students a fourth year elective, 'Women, Leisure and Sport'.⁵⁵ A year later, when the University of Otago had a full-time lecturer in women's studies there was a total of 10 courses.⁵⁶ By 1990, a level two interdisciplinary women's studies paper, taught by Anna Smith in women's studies⁵⁷ was joined by three further papers from the departments of Maori, education and religious studies.

The introduction of the religious studies course at Otago was not unusual; similar women's studies courses already existed at Victoria and Massey universities. What was different about the Otago course was that its lecturers were men. The presence of men teaching women's studies was common in the first two interdisciplinary courses at Victoria in 1975 and Waikato in 1979 but when newly-appointed women became part of the women's studies lecturing team from the early 1980s, men teaching in women's studies was rare. In 1991, feminist academics at Otago told me that the level two course 'Women and Religion' was a welcome addition to their fledgling women's studies programme. Men taught the course because there were no women academics in the small Department of

Phenomenology of Religion. In the more established women's studies programmes, at Waikato and Victoria for example, the prospect of men teaching women's studies would have been challenged on the grounds that men's knowledge about women was no longer acceptable. In her book, **Men's Studies Modified**, Dale Spender explains why women's knowledge about women in women's studies is required.

...it has been primarily men [within academic disciplines] who have determined the parameters, who have decided what would be problematic, significant, logical and reasonable. Not only have women been excluded from the process *but the process itself* can reinforce the 'authority' of men and the 'deficiency' of women.⁵⁸

The importance of process is also taken up by Basil Bernstein who points to the 'image' of the subject. Knowledge, he says, "reflects both the distribution of power and principles of social control".⁵⁹ In women's studies, women academics are needed to plan and teach courses for women and about women but as Gerda Lerner predicted in the 1970s, "functioning in that male-defined world, *on their own terms*"⁶⁰ challenges a foundation power-base in the universities. At the University of Otago, women academics were clearly not going to enter into this debate. It had taken long enough to establish a women's studies programme; all who offered courses were welcome.

The later entry of women's studies at Otago however, meant that staff could engage in careful planning of its programme. This time allowed for a range of public relations activities both within and outside the university; that consultation with colleagues was not rushed and that a Women's Studies

Advisory Committee had the luxury of 'thinking time' to plan the future of the discipline within their institution.

Future directions for women's studies at Otago were under consideration in 1990 and provided a particular dilemma for the planners. They had to choose between a graduate research programme and an extended undergraduate programme. The latter would require a second appointment in women's studies, an option supported by the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Humanities Division, Associate-Professor David McKenzie. He warned, however, that if this additional lectureship were created it would probably be the last position available for women's studies for the foreseeable future.⁶¹

The debate as to whether Otago should establish a Research Centre or a Department in Women's Studies was well aired in the submissions to the Advisory Committee and Working Party on Women's Studies. Janet Soler and Anna Marsich asked the question long overdue in New Zealand universities. "What are we aiming for when planning Women's Studies papers?" They clearly favoured being able to "offer a progression of papers to the student rather than a sporadic choice from a scattering of departments".⁶²

They drew the attention of the committee to the likely scenario if a department with its own staff and funding was not established:

1. Without having primary responsibility to a Women's Studies department, there can be no guarantee that staff can offer a planned and well coordinated set of papers in this area on a regular basis. Women's Studies then becomes the victim of "stop/start course offerings".
2. Staffing in times of departmental need will be withdrawn from Women's Studies papers to cover core papers within the established department.
3. Staff teaching the papers must have loyalty to the department to which they belong. Unless there is a specific staff and permanent Head of Department, no one can be ultimately committed to advancing the subject.
4. Unless the Head of Department had permanent status, adequate time for administration and representation on appropriate committees in the university then the area will remain invisible in the university.⁶³

Academic colleagues in women's studies at Waikato, Victoria and Canterbury would probably have agreed with their summation. Auckland and Massey colleagues have yet to work through that choice.

Conclusion

New Zealand shared with overseas universities, the characteristic of increasing student numbers during the third phase of development. However, there the similarities between the findings of Renate Klein's study and this study ended. Between 1986 and 1990, New Zealand universities established comprehensive women's studies programmes each with its own unique developmental features.

The development of women's studies courses in discipline-based departments took place, in the main, in those departments which had recently appointed feminist academics. In departments with two or three feminist academics, a common pattern emerged; the introduction of a level three course in one year, followed by a masters level course in the following year. Once the group of feminist staff had planned, presented and taught the initial course to substantial numbers of students, it was easier to make a case for women's studies to be included in the graduate programme.

By 1990, graduate and undergraduate women's studies courses predominated in the social sciences and humanities, areas of study to which increasing numbers of feminist academics had been appointed. Although the subject of sociology continued to host many women's studies courses, it was to be the subjects of English, education and history which had the highest numbers of courses. Feminist academics appointed to women's studies positions also came from the social sciences and humanities. A background in sociology, English and psychology was the most common.

There were similarities in the types of core women's studies courses offered by each university. Victoria and Canterbury adopted the Waikato model of an interdisciplinary level one course encompassing a range of feminist issues paired with an introductory course in feminist theory. Courses at higher levels reflected the teaching and research interests of feminist academics. The Waikato graduate programme also served as a model for

those that followed at Canterbury and Massey universities.

All those interviewed as part of this study nominated a number of factors which they thought contributed to the rapid growth of women's studies after 1986. These included the unprecedented numbers of women students; the lobbying from women students of feminist staff for women-focused courses within departments; the appointment of numbers of younger feminist academics; the academic freedom that these women enjoyed which enabled courses to be devised around issues of relevance to university disciplines; the overwhelmingly positive student response to these courses at a time when university funding was dependent on student numbers; the gradual acceptance of women's studies as an academic discipline by university administrators and rivalry between universities to attract students to an extremely popular subject.

Overall, development during this third phase was dependent on the appointment of significant numbers of feminist academics who were then prepared to introduce women's studies courses. Renate Klein's concerns for the vulnerability of women's studies because of funding cuts were not evident in New Zealand at this time. Indeed, just the opposite occurred. Between 1986 and 1990, there was a burgeoning of women's studies; the subject and its teachers were now well established within the universities.

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CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Women's studies has touched the lives of many students and academics in New Zealand universities over the past twenty years. The proliferation of courses across nearly all faculties and the creation of undergraduate and graduate degrees in women's studies have provided new educational and vocational opportunities for students and academics alike. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first reviews the key themes developed in this study; the second provides an up-dating of developments since 1990 and looks to the future.

Overview

This study, written from the perspective of a feminist historian of women, has focused on the construction of a feminist educational history. The aim has been to combine a discussion of the research methodology employed with a history documenting the work of feminist academics involved in the establishment and teaching of women's studies.

A participatory research model has enabled me to make use of my 'insider' status in women's studies and to acknowledge particular biases in respect to this study. The ability to reflect freely on problems as they arose in the research process and the opportunity I had to describe the solutions I found to them, were key elements in explaining the kinds of issues confronting a researcher in feminist educational history. I used both traditional literary history techniques and feminist oral history techniques in collecting my data; I regarded both as equally authoritative sources of historical information.

The climate for establishing women's studies in the 1970s was linked to the presence of record numbers of women students and staff. Women's involvement in higher education has been linked to societal views about the role of women. Both the nineteenth and twentieth century women's movements challenged traditional views which relegated women to the private sphere of the home or to poorly paid positions in the workforce. As increasing numbers of women graduates gained entry into a range of professions, they served as role models for other women. The numbers who became academics remained low until the early 1970s when many became involved in establishing women's studies.

Three theoretical models were used to arrange and analyse the research data. The phase theory Gerda Lerner developed in 1975 to document phases of development in feminist history, from that time towards the future,

was useful in identifying parallel phases of development in women's studies in New Zealand. Originally, the topic 'women' was merely added into the traditional curriculum of a few academic subjects, consistent with Lerner's 'contributory' phase. As women's studies courses were established within discipline-departments and as interdisciplinary courses evolved in their own right in the 1970s, knowledge was reconceptualised. This led not only to the inclusion of women as a group but to the pursuit of new questions leading to new categories of knowledge through women's consideration of women's past and present experience. In the mid-1980s, women's studies moved into another phase; one that called for an acknowledgement of diversity between women. As will be discussed later in this chapter, by 1992, women's studies courses had moved into what Lerner described as a multi-focal phase, a gender-balanced perspective which offers a comparison of women's and men's experiences.

Phase theory was also used by Renate Klein in her 1986 study of women's studies programmes in North America, Britain, Europe and Australia, although each phase occurred within a later time frame in New Zealand. During the first two phases, New Zealand shared characteristics of development with those reported in Klein's study but by the third phase, New Zealand women's studies had its own unique characteristics. These were closely tied to the small size of New Zealand universities; the strong lobbying power of groups of feminist academics and the competition for students between the universities. Klein's prediction for overseas women's

studies programmes from the mid-1980s is becoming evident in New Zealand in the early 1990s.

Both Lerner's and Klein's models were useful in this study because they drew attention to quite different developmental features. Gerda Lerner's phases suggested patterns stages of development through feminist scholarship would move over time. Renate Klein's phases documented characteristics of women's studies development over specific time periods, making possible a comparison between her findings and my own.

The second analytical tool used in this study arose out of a need to be able to conceptualise the university as an academic institution within which feminist academics taught and administered women's studies. Basil Bernstein's concept of curriculum 'classification' provided a useful model for analysing the structuring of women's studies within universities as organisations. Interdisciplinary women's studies programmes as examples of an integrated knowledge code, became associated with a weak classification and blurred boundaries. Separate discipline-based departments, as examples of a collection code, became associated with a strong classification and boundaries that were clear-cut. Bernstein's collection and integrated codes made sense of the variety of university structures with which I was working. By applying his concept of knowledge codes, I was better able to identify and analyse many of the issues surrounding the development of women's studies.

The findings of this study indicate that the beginnings of women's studies in New Zealand in the 1970s were characterised by the introduction of courses by a few feminist academics in six universities. These women shared similar backgrounds: most had recently completed post-graduate research on topics relating to women; they had visited overseas universities where women's studies was taught; most held temporary or junior positions in arts or social science faculties. Because of good personal relationships between many of these women and their senior male academics who held the purse-strings in a number of the universities, funds were provided to launch women's studies courses. The alliances between feminist academic women and senior male colleagues and between feminist academic women across departments and across universities were critical to the development of women's studies. The New Zealand feminist academic community is relatively small. It became common for strategies, ideas and course outlines to be shared at conferences. These discussions often prompted women to take up their colleagues' ideas about women's studies and to implement them in their own departments.

The second phase, 1980 to 1985, when government funding to universities was reduced, was one of little growth, a phenomenon shared with other subjects in the university. This was a time when women's studies courses could well have disappeared, had it not been for the energies of particular individuals and collectives of feminist academics. From the mid-1980s, however, increasing numbers of women academics were appointed in many

disciplines and the numbers of women students enrolled grew to nearly fifty per cent of the total student population. Courses proliferated in home-discipline departments as lecturers responded to student demand for women-focused courses. At some universities, interdisciplinary women's studies courses grew alongside those offered from departments.

Interdisciplinary courses, as an example of Bernstein's integrated code, consisted of 'mixed' categories of topics and subjects compared with women's studies in home-discipline departments with 'pure' categories. Until the mid-1980s, interdisciplinary courses tended not to be taken very seriously by many senior university personnel. But groups of feminist academics continued to invest time and energy in the development of these courses, because they realised that these were the courses that had the greatest appeal to women students generally. Individual feminist academics could offer courses within departments, but students wanted more than a one-off course in their final year of study; they wanted to be able to combine women's studies courses into a coherent degree major. University academics, unaccustomed to collective forms of teaching and decision-making, often found it difficult to come to terms with the fact that women worked together outside their home-discipline departments. This was particularly true in cases where women lobbied to establish a would-be competitor to their own disciplines, a major in women's studies, or a women's studies department. A feature of earlier development of women's studies programmes was the strength of feminist academic networks and

their ability to persuade senior academics to allocate funding to an emergent, non-traditional area of study.

High student enrolments in a wide range of women's studies courses at all levels, as well as a call for undergraduate and graduate majors in women's studies convinced even the most sceptical of male administrators that women's studies had come to stay. Degree major status brought recognition in the form of better staffing and administrative resourcing.

Feminist scholarship is about putting women first, "to analyse what we know, how we know it and whether we should know very different things".¹ This study, as the first doctoral dissertation in New Zealand feminist educational history, was written with a dual purpose. I set out to document academic women's experiences in the establishment of women's studies in New Zealand universities from a feminist perspective and, as I did so, to analyse the research process itself. I concluded that documentary and oral history material should be used side by side and regarded as equally important sources of historical information. (see pp. 29-36 and pp. 41-44) and that it is possible to use more than one theoretical framework to better order research data and establish patterns over time. (see p. 51). As a 'knowledgeable insider', myself a feminist academic in women's studies, I made known how I knew what I knew as I began the study. This involved providing a personal prologue within the Preface and a review of feminist history and feminist educational history in Chapter One. As the research

process unfolded, I documented how and where I found the research data and analysed any problems in research as they arose. At the same time, I unfolded the historical narrative so that the two themes became interwoven.

This study is written at a time when feminist educational history is increasingly being recognised by educational historians as an integral part of New Zealand's educational history. My intention is that this study will serve as an historical account of the pioneering work done by feminist academics in this country and alert future feminist educational historians to the joys and demands of researching and writing in this area of scholarship. Perhaps some of them will take up topics raised within this study and subject them to deeper investigation and analysis. A history of women's studies curricula and biographies of feminist educators would, for example, add to our knowledge about the history of women in higher education in New Zealand.

Future Development

My field work for this study concluded in 1990. In the years 1990 to 1992, women's studies entered a fourth phase when, as had been the case overseas, women's studies evolved as a subject in its own right. Similarly, this period of consolidation has brought difficulties as women's studies acquired its own educational identity. The nature of this identity in New

Zealand has been very much influenced by the academics administering or planning existing and future programmes of study, stamping each with their ideas about the nature of academic women's studies.

Many of the feminist academics interviewed for this study, decided in the early-1990s that in order to acquire realistic funding, women's studies must attain departmental status. However, such security came at a price. Becoming a department meant that certain unique and important characteristics of interdisciplinary women's studies, such as its horizontal patterns of decision making and its links to community groups were often disregarded. As Renate Klein predicted in 1986, in a fourth phase of development, women's studies, to be a real competitor for university funding, had to become more like traditional disciplines.²

Any specialised collection code has to establish its membership categories early in its educational life. It has, as Bernstein puts it, to make "an early choice between the pure and the applied...between having or not having a specific educational identity".³ The status this identity acquires is connected to a type of 'streaming', a way of communicating that a graduate in this subject is a special category of scholar. Part of this identity formation is that everyone involved in the subject "must know the social significance of where one is and, in part, *who* one is".⁴ This means that loyalty to a subject is "systematically developed" in students and then in turn by them as tutors and lecturers. In this way the system becomes, Bernstein

suggests "self-perpetuating" and its members "increasingly *different* from others".⁵ Because women's studies was later to develop in New Zealand than in Britain or North America it could not socialise its students *in* women's studies until it established its own degree majors and graduate degrees. This has only occurred in the past year as its first students have graduated.

Senior academics treated women's studies just like any other subject when making appointments to the new specialised women's studies' staffing positions. The criteria were clear; candidates ideally would be post-graduates who had taught and published in the subject overseas. They would be, in the words of one feminist academic, "really good scholars...I think that a credible and tenable women's studies programme has to be based on impeccable and exciting scholarship...someone who has impressive credentials and an exciting personal research history and agenda".⁶ Meanwhile, for feminist academics socialised in interdisciplinary women's studies, the boundaries remained blurred. They continued to view as important a combination of academic and community-based experience, placing particular value on experience gained in New Zealand. Many non-academic feminists agreed.

These potentially conflicting points of view were manifest in the arguments which surfaced when appointments to chairs in women's studies at both Waikato and Auckland universities were under consideration. At Waikato,

five women were shortlisted in March 1990. They were Dr Judith Allen, Senior Lecturer in Women's Studies from Griffith University in Queensland; Dr Jane Ritchie, Associate Professor in Psychology and Women's Studies from the University of Waikato; Dr Sue Middleton, Senior Lecturer in Education from the University of Waikato; Dr Helen Ware, the Australian High Commissioner in Zambia; and Dr Anna Yeatman, Senior Lecturer in Sociology from Flinders University in South Australia.⁷

When the Vice-Chancellor announced that the two New Zealand applicants had not been successful, a group of Maori women from the Hamilton area communicated with both the two short-listed Australian academics urging them not to accept the job. As tangata whenua (people of the land) they said they doubted the ability of overseas candidates to promote the biculturalism called for in the advertisement for the Chair in Women's Studies. They believed that such an appointment would be "culturally insensitive and a direct denial of the bicultural aspirations of tangata whenua" adding that no one was "better qualified to work towards that than people who live in this country".⁸ This view was consistent with what Sue Middleton has described as an indigenous theory of women's studies; that New Zealand women have a body of theory which is unique.⁹ It is also consistent with Gerda Lerner's 'pluralistic' phase of development; one which acknowledges diversity and calls for new categories of knowledge. What was being questioned was the assumption that overseas norms represent a benchmark of progress for New Zealand women.

These views were released to newspapers throughout New Zealand in April 1990. Dr Judith Allen, from Griffith University, who was first offered the position, eventually turned it down and shortly thereafter secured a Chair in Women's Studies at her own university. Dr Anna Yeatman, accepted the position but on certain conditions. These included the creation of a Lectureship in Maori Women's Studies (which, by the end of 1992 had not eventuated) and a visiting lecturer programme worth \$25,000 per year over three years. Together these commitments represented the largest ever injection of funds into women's studies in New Zealand.

Feminist academics at the University of Auckland where I was conducting interviews at this particular time watched these developments closely. There, I was told, they hoped "to avoid the kind of turmoil that there has been at Waikato which obviously generates a lot of bad feeling and suspicion".¹⁰ It was not to be. Even before interviews were held for the Chair in Women's Studies at Auckland, the editor of the feminist magazine **Broadsheet**, published an article in support of a short-listed New Zealand applicant.¹¹ Many of the reasons for supporting local candidate Dr Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Lecturer in Art History at the University of Auckland, mirrored those advanced by the Maori women during the Waikato episode: "Presumably all short-listed applicants have the professional and administrative qualifications and experience required", Pat Rosier wrote, "therefore this is an opportunity for the university to take the obvious step in 1991 and appoint a Maori woman."¹²

Seminars and sessions to meet-the-candidates were held in October 1991. Those to be interviewed besides Dr Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, included two Australians and one Canadian academic.¹³ By January, when no appointment had been announced, it was clear that something was amiss.

When finally the Vice-Chancellor announced that an appointment would be deferred for two years, there was general disbelief given the high calibre of the candidates. The editor of **Broadsheet** published an unofficial account of events. The intention of the university, she said, had been to offer the chair to the most outstanding candidate, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, but "that recommendation got stuck in the gullet (or bowels?) of the university appointments procedure".¹⁴ The university, (including some feminist academics who took their concern to the Vice-Chancellor), apparently had difficulty coming to terms with Dr Te Awekotuku's academic status as Lecturer. The Vice-Chancellor decided that it was not possible to be promoted from this position to a chair, a compromise was reached. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku was raised to the position of senior lecturer within the Department of Maori and no doubt will be encouraged to re-apply when the position is advertised in 1994.

There is a further dimension to both episodes which highlights some differences which have emerged among those currently working in women's studies. Since 1990, there has been a distinguishable trend within the subject, that of competing definitions of knowledge. A new era in feminist

theorising has appeared which encompasses many disciplines. Post-structuralism has been embraced by many who theorise that there are multiple bases of oppression - such as class, gender, ethnicity, race and sexuality - and that no one can be viewed as the paramount form of oppression. As in feminist history, two distinct groupings have emerged; the post-structuralists and those who hold other theoretical viewpoints.

What seems to be happening here is linked to what each group perceives as appropriate knowledge in women's studies; it is the difference between what Bernstein has termed the 'sacred' and the 'profane'. Twenty years earlier, it had been women's studies courses which were regarded as marginal, as likely to weaken the status of the academic curriculum. Now, theoretical divisions were occurring within the subject itself or as Bernstein puts it "knowledge under collection code is private property with its own power structure and market situation".¹⁵ Such divisions were not predicted by Gerda Lerner in 1975, when she formed her phase theory. However, her fifth and final phase with its gender-balanced perspective and holistic view of human experience has much in common with some of the most recent post-structuralist developments in women's studies in New Zealand.

This was illustrated in the inaugural lecture and in the writing of the new Professor of Women's Studies at the University of Waikato. Post-structuralist theory, she said in her lecture, "is contributing to a very

significant new wave of theorising in the humanities and social sciences, a wave just as significant as the revolution which psychoanalysis, sociology and anthropology brought about at the turn of the nineteenth century".¹⁶

She went on to argue why this perspective was now more appropriate in women's studies:

It is both supremely sceptical and democratic in relation to the values which are always embedded in knowledge. It refuses to authorise any knowledge claim that makes that claim appear as though it is grounded in the nature of things, as though it is a mirror image of something out there that is simply true.¹⁷

In 1992 feminist academics work within a variety of theoretical frameworks and most would 'agree to differ' over what counts as women's studies. These differences are strongly linked to being at the cutting edge of a redefinition of feminist knowledge and the place of the feminist academic within this process. Of course, such debates about theoretical positions are not limited to women's studies and are characteristic of academic disciplines more generally.

In women's studies, as in feminist history, an outcome of these debates has been the emergence of an academic pecking order with two distinct divisions: women's studies as "pure" theoretical knowledge and women's studies as "applied" knowledge. As Berenice Fisher wrote in 1982:

The disdain of practical work within the university simply mirrors the disdain of practical work outside it, and helps perpetuate the notion that knowledge arising out of practice is of little worth, and, therefore, the many practical things that women have learned about the world cannot contribute to the forward march of knowledge".¹⁸

Such intellectual division reflects divisions of other kinds. As women's studies programmes have expanded and become departments in their own right, feminist academics teaching elective subjects from their own disciplinary perspective have tended to retreat from involvement in core women's studies. Interview material indicated that some believed that having helped win this status, they would now leave women's studies staff to carry on as in any other department. Others sensed that a fencing of the subject's boundaries was taking place and felt that their input, particularly into curriculum, was not quite as welcome as it once had been.

With more women in the university, feminist academics from different disciplines have begun to compete with one another for the limited resources to maintain courses and whatever economic and status rewards the university has to offer. Competition between disciplines and between feminist academics only serves to strengthen the levels of scepticism within the feminist movement outside universities. The responses of Maori women and the Women's Studies Association to recent appointments illustrates these tensions. Their concerns stem from the fact that the women's movement began outside the universities; that the feminist academics and students who were responsible for introducing women's studies to universities did not bring about radical change within these institutions and that the academic women now involved in women's studies within their institutions constantly run the risk of diluting the feminist component of that work and severing their ties from the feminist movement altogether.¹⁹

At the time of writing (January, 1993), there are more feminist academics employed than ever before in the history of New Zealand universities and in spite of outside criticism it is these women who are pushing out the frontiers of knowledge in terms of feminist criticism, theory and research. Women's studies appears to be undergoing constant change as feminist academics are replaced or new positions created. When Jacqui Matthews retired from Victoria University, for example, the first tenured position in women's studies in that university was advertised and won by a local candidate, Alison Laurie. The University of Otago advertised their second tenured lectureship, in mid-1992; an appointment is pending. When the Centre for Women's Studies at the University of Waikato moves to departmental status in 1993 there will be an almost complete change of staff. Professor Anna Yeatman returns to Australia to take up a Chair in Sociology at Macquarie University and Dr Hilary Lapsley, now senior lecturer and the only New Zealander in the department, will act as head of department until the next professor takes up her duties. Two new lecturers from the United States, Dr Catherine Pellisier and Dr Radhika Mohanaram have been appointed. These appointments were made after I had decided to move from a position in women's studies to a lectureship in educational history at the University of Auckland.

As I leave, I take with me the belief that those who teach women's studies within universities should take care not to overestimate the power of ideas to effect social change. It is the practical outcomes of these ideas which

are critical. The only way we can tell whether or not our research and teaching is of practical significance is by observing the responses of our students and by subjecting it to the criticism of feminists outside the universities.

In 1992, nearly all universities have senior feminist academics employed in women's studies. Part of their job is to lobby for funding allocations for their subject. It is likely, given the market economy emphasis now rampant in New Zealand tertiary education, that they will be pushed to create more of their own incomes through contract research and to seek sponsored staffing positions. If student interest and enrolments continue to rise in women's studies then programmes will have a better chance of winning greater support from the administrators. If not, women's studies in New Zealand universities will remain a vulnerable entity within a male dominated hierarchy forever dependent on the goodwill of a few liberal administrators.

Curriculum development and adequate funding will be critical to the future of women's studies in New Zealand universities. The politics of the curriculum mean that, in the process of becoming an academic subject, women's studies may be forced to renounce its broad-based links to community feminist groups. A paradox now exists; women's studies grew out of everyday concerns about the place of women in the wider society but in order to survive in the current university environment it must have 'vocational' relevance. The rich choice of graduate courses available makes

it easy for women's studies to meet this requirement. Students will, as in any collection code, have revealed to them late in their educational careers "the ultimate mystery of the subject" and "a select few will have shown the signs of successful socialization".²⁰ To reach this level, however, women's studies as an academic subject must continue to appeal to students. The pursuit of academic status may give opportunities for career success for the lecturers concerned, but, at the same time, too few curriculum connections to the students' real lived world may signal the prelude to student disenchantment with the subject. For, as Renate Klein has argued:

We need to think and act with truly radical politics- with women's needs and interests squarely at the centre of our work- and believe passionately in the necessity and the importance of what feminists globally work for: a strong 'centred' women's studies movement which will contribute to *real* change for the better in the lives of *real* live women, which is, afterall, what women's studies set out to do.²¹

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Appendix A

Sample Interview Guideline

Interview with Rosemary Novitz, Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury.

RE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINIST STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

1. Can you tell me about the events which led to your appointment within the Department of Sociology at the University of Canterbury?
 - What had influenced your own thinking on the subject of Women's Studies?.
 - What can you tell me about your introduction of a feminist perspective to your teaching within Sociology?.
 - How much opposition was there to the teaching of a gender-based course within your department?.
2. In a Broadsheet article (December, 1988) Naomi O'Connor indicates that there were attempts made to launch Feminist Studies at the University of Canterbury prior to 1985. In 1986, planning took place for the introduction of two courses -INCO101 'Feminist Perspectives' & INCO211' 'Cultural Silences: Women Writers in European Languages at the turn of the Twentieth Century'.
 - What can you tell me about events over time, which led to the introduction of these courses?.
 - (Personalities, ideas, course numbering, administration, staffing, resources, course changes etc)
 - Do you believe that plans for a Feminist Studies programme were influenced by developments at other New Zealand universities?.
3. One of the features of the Feminist Studies programme at the University of Canterbury is the collective of women who contribute to it.
 - Do you believe that the collective has been effective as a clearing house for administration and issues?.

4. One of the recurring themes in the development of Women's Studies programmes is the lack of resources.

-What comments can you make about the resources made available to introduce and develop the teaching and administration of a Feminist Studies programme on this campus?.

5. What reflections do you have on the three years of the Feminist Studies programme?.

-What ideas or hopes do you have for its future development?.
(courses, staffing, administration etc)

Is there anything else you would like to add?.

Thank you Rosemary

Interviewee's Consent Form

We ask that you sign this form. It will protect your privacy and interests.

Name of Person Recorded: _____

Address: _____

Name of Interviewer: _____

Date & Place of Interview: _____

Name of Commissioning Body: _____

1. PLACEMENT

I agree that the recording(s) of my interview and accompanying material which have been prepared for archive purposes will be held at the: _____.

2. ACCESS

I understand that recording/s of my interview and accompanying material may be available to, and/or copies supplied, to bona fide researchers, with the exception of this recording/s and accompanying material listed in paragraph 3 below.

3. RESTRICTED TAPES AND MATERIAL

I require that there will be no access WITHOUT MY PRIOR WRITTEN PERMISSION to the following numbered tapes and accompanying material before the release date indicated.

TAPE No.

RELEASE DATE:

I understand that after the release date, access, provision of copies and use of the above recording/s and accompanying material will be at the discretion of _____.

4. PUBLIC USE

I understand that the recording/s of my interview and accompanying material may be quoted in published work in full or in part, subject to any restrictions specified in Paragraph 3 above.

5. COMMENTS

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Interviewee	Date
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Interviewer	Date

NOTES

- a) This Agreement may be revised or amended by mutual consent of the person recorded and the Commissioning Body.
- b) Copyright in tape recordings and accompanying material generated by this project is held by _____.

APPENDIX C

WOMEN'S STUDIES COURSES IN NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITIES 1973-1990**I) UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO****-Undergraduate courses**

Year Est.	Course Level	Course Name	Lecturer/s Associated with course
1974	3	Sociology of Women (Sociology)	-Rosemary Seymour
1975	3	Psychology of Women (Psychology)	-Staff Collective -Sarah Calvert -Jane Ritchie
1979	2	Women's Studies: An Introduction (Women's Studies)	-Rosemary Seymour -Robyn Rowland -Jane Ritchie -Kay Morris Matthews
1979	3	Women and Work (Sociology)	-Rosemary Seymour -Shaista Shameem
1980	3	Women and Politics (Politics)	-Lynne Gifford -Shaista Shameem -Marilyn Waring -Ann Sullivan
1980	3	Women's Studies Advanced (Women's Studies)	-Rosemary Seymour -Sue Middleton -Teresa Baer-Doyle
1981	3	Sociology of Women's Education (Education)	Sue Middleton
1983	3	Women in New Zealand: Occupations & Opportunities (Sociology)	Rosemary Seymour
1985	2	Women's Bodies (Women's Studies)	Jane Ritchie
1985	3	Women, Writing and Reality (English)	Alexandra Barratt

1985	3	Women's Fiction (English)	Jan Pilditch
1985	2	Women in Australasia (Geography)	-Ann Magee -Louise Johnson -Wendy Larner
1986	1	Women in Society (Women's Studies) (Campus)	Kay Morris Matthews
1987	1	Women in Society (Distance education-Tauranga)	-Sue Henderson -Caroline Steemson
1988	1	Women in Society (Distance education-Rotorua)	Jill Chrisp
1988	1	Women of Ideas (Women's Studies)	-Nicola Armstrong -Hilary Lapsley
1988	2	Women and Social Change (Women's Studies)	-Nicola Armstrong -Hilary Lapsley
1988	3	Feminist Geography (Geography)	-Louise Johnson -Wendy Larner
1989	3	Women and the Law (Law)	Ruth Busch
1989	3	Women and Social Policy (Women's Studies)	Kay Morris Matthews
1989	1	Women in Society (Distance education-Whangarei)	-Toni Horrell, Pat Gray, Liz Campbell
1990	2	Ideals and Realities: Women in 19th Century Britain and America (History)	Anna Green
1990	1	Women in History (History)	Margaret Avery

-UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO**-Graduate courses**

1980	5	Women and Psychology (Psychology)	Robyn Rowland Jane Ritchie
1984	5	The Sociology of Women's Education (Education)	Sue Middleton
1987	5	Women and Work in New Zealand (Sociology)	Shaista Shameem
1987	5	Feminist Theory and Research (Women's Studies)	-Ann Magee & Sue Middleton -Louise Johnson -Hilary Lapsley & Kay Morris Matthews & Jane Ritchie -Hilary Lapsley
1988	5	Women and the Second World War (History)	Margaret Avery

1989	5	Feminist History (Women's Studies)	Kay Morris Matthews
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1989	5	Women's Health: Policy and Practices (Women's Studies)	Hilary Lapsley
1990	5	Directed Study	
1990	5	Special Topic	
1990	5	Women's Studies Thesis	

II)

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON**-Undergraduate courses**

1975	2	Women in Society (Women's Studies)	-Phillida Bunkle -Alison Laurie (Co-ordinators)
1978	2	Images of Women (Women's Studies)	Jacqui Matthews (Co-ordinator)
1987	3	Women and Religion (Religious Studies)	Elizabeth Isichei
1988	3	Feminism and Social Theory (Women's Studies)	Jacqui Matthews
1988	3	Feminist Writing (Women's Studies)	Jacqui Matthews
1988	3	Special Topic: Women and Biography (Women's Studies)	Jacqui Matthews & Alison Laurie
1989	3	Gender and Education (Education)	Kathie Irwin & Lisa Bird
1989	3	Reading Women Writers (English)	Linda Hardy and Judith Dale

1989	3	Gender and History (History)	Charlotte Macdonald
1990	2	Special Topic: Lesbian Studies (Women's Studies)	Alison Laurie
1990	3	Sex Roles and the Economy (Women's Studies)	Prue Hyman
1990	3	Feminist Analyses of Science, Technology and Medicine (Women's Studies)	Phillida Bunkle

III University of Canterbury

-Undergraduate courses

Year Est.	Course level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with the course
1975	2	Women in Society (Sociology)	Jane Chronach Rosemary Novitz
1987	1	Feminist Perspectives: The Representation of Women (Feminist Studies)	-Dell Small -Prue Densem -Livia Zulauf-Wittmann (co-ordinators)
1987	2	Cultural Silences: Women Writers in European Languages at the Turn of the Twentieth Century (Feminist Studies)	-Dell Small -Prue Densem -Maureen Montgomery -Livia Zulauf-Wittmann (co-ordinators)
1988	2	History of Feminist Thought (Feminist Studies)	Livia Zulauf-Wittmann
1988	2	Women and Change (Sociology)	Rosemary Du Plessis
1988	2	Women in American Society: From the Colonial Era to the Present Day (Feminist Studies)	Maureen Montgomery
1988	3	Feminist Research (Feminist Studies)	-Rosemary Du Plessis -Livia Zulauf-Wittmann
1988	3	Politics of Development: Women and Development (Feminist Studies)	-Nabila Jaber
1989	3	Afro-American Writers (Feminist Studies)	Maureen Montgomery

University of Canterbury

-Graduate Courses

1987	4 6	Feminist Issues in Education (Education)	Adrienne Alton-Lee
1987	6	Women Writers (English)	Helen Debenham
1988	4	Modern Artists and Modernism (Fine Arts)	Pamela Gerrish Nunn
1990	4	Advanced Feminist Research (Feminist Studies)	Nabila Jaber
1990	4	Sociology of Gender (Sociology)	Rosemary Du Plessis
1990	4	Women in American History and Fiction (American Studies)	Maureen Montgomery

1990	4	Special Topic	
1990	4	Special Topic	
1990	4	Supervised Research	
1990	4	Feminist Studies M.A. Thesis	

IV University of Auckland

-Undergraduate courses

Year Est.	Course Level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with course
1977	2	Women and the Law (Law)	-Margaret Wilson -Jane Kelsey
1979	1	Women in New Societies (History)	Raewyn Dalziel
1979	3	Women Writers of the Twentieth Century (English)	Aorewa McLeod
1982	3	Women in Art (Art History)	Elizabeth Eastmond
1987	3	Contemporary Feminist Perspectives in Education (Education)	Alison Jones and Karen Newton
1987	2	Sociology of the Family (Sociology)	Maureen Malloy
1988	2	Art Practice By Women (Fine Arts)	-Christine Hellyar -Megan Jenkinson -Carole Shephard
1989	1	Images of Women in Twentieth Century Italian Literature (Italian)	-Susan Jacobs -Pauline Dagnino -Mike Hanne
1989	2	Anthropological Perspectives on Gender (Anthropology)	Judith Huntsman
1989	2	Philosophical Issues in Feminism (Philosophy)	Jan Crosthwaite
1989	3	Research Topic: Gender Issues (Psychology)	Jan Pryor
1989	2	Women and Architecture (Architecture)	Sarah Treadwell
1990	3	Women in Organisations (Management Studies)	Gill Ellis

University of Auckland

-Graduate courses

Year Est.	Course Level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with course
1985	4	Feminist Social Theory (Sociology)	Catherine West-Newman Maureen Malloy
1987	4	Women In Art (Advanced) (Fine Arts)	Elizabeth Eastmond
1987	4	Spanish Women Writers (Spanish)	Christine Arkinstall Fiona Taler
1988	4	Nineteenth Century Women Novelists (English)	Aorewa McLeod Joanne Wilks
1989	4	Women in Planning (Planning)	Patricia Austin
1989	4	Feminist Issues in Education (Education)	Alison Jones Karen Newton
1990	4	Gender Issues in Human Development (Psychology)	Jan Pryor

V Massey University

-Undergraduate courses

Year Est.	Course Level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with course
1978	2	Women in Society (Sociology)	-Ephra Garrett -Shelagh Cox -Kate Saville-Smith & Bev James -Allanah Ryan & Nicola Armstrong
1985	2	Career Development of Women at Work (Business Studies)	-Judith Cartwright -Ann Hines -Murna Thompson
1986	2	Women and Health (Nursing Studies)	Judith Perry
1987	2	Women and Religion (Religious Studies)	Bronwyn Ellsmore
1987	2	Women and Education (Education)	-Kathie Irwin -Wanda Korndorffer -Anne -Marie O'Neill -Liz Gordon -Judith Loveridge
1988	2 3	The Literature of Women (English)	Dorreen D'Cruz
1988	2	Women in History: Australia and New Zealand (History)	Margaret Tennant
1988	3	The Cultural Construction of Gender Roles (Social Anthropology)	Cheleen Mahar
1989	3	Women in New Zealand: Social Structure and Ideology (Sociology)	Nicola Armstrong Allanah Ryan
1990	3	Equal Employment Opportunities: Policy and Procedures (Business Studies)	Janet Sayers Marianne Tremaine

Massey University**-Graduate courses**

1989	6	Theoretical Perspectives of Women's Studies (Women's Studies)	Nicola Armstrong
1990	6	Research methods in Women's Studies (Women's Studies)	Nicola Armstrong
1990	6	Research Project (Women's Studies)	Nicola Armstrong
1990	6	Special Topic (Women's Studies)	Nicola Armstrong
1990	4	Feminist Literature and Criticism (English)	Doreen D'Cruz

VI University of Otago

-Undergraduate courses

Year Est.	Course Level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with course
1979	3	Women in the Greek and Roman World (Classical Studies)	Elizabeth Dukes
1980	3	Special Topic: Women Under the Weimar Republic and National Socialism Works of Christe Wolf (German)	Alyth Grant
1985	2	Women's Writing (English)	Jocelyn Harris
1988	3	Women, Leisure and Sport (Physical Education)	Shona Thompson
1988	3	Women's Health (Medicine)	Charlotte Paul Jennifer Hand
1989	3	Gender Issues in Education (Education)	Anne Smith Anne Marsich
1989	2	Women and Religion: Religion and Change Theology (Religious Studies)	Albert Moore Doug Campbell
1990	2	Aspects of Feminist Theory (Women's Studies)	Anna Smith
1990	3	Te Mana Wahine (Maori)	Toroa Pohatu

University of Otago

-Graduate courses

1985	4	Aspects of Women's History (History)	Dot Page Barbara Brookes
1989	4	Women and the Supernatural (Classics)	Elizabeth Dukes
1990	7	Gender Issues in Education (Education)	Anne Smith

VII Lincoln University

-Undergraduate courses

Year Est.	Course level	Course Name	Lecturer/s associated with course
1990	3	Women and Recreation (Parks, Recreation and Tourism)	Clare Simpson

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