WOMEN TEACHERS IN THE PRIMARY SERVICE: A STUDY OF THEIR ACCESS TO POWER AND DECISION-MAKING

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts in Education in the University of Canterbury by Beverley Yee

University of Canterbury 1985
# LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Women in factory production, 1935-1939</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Overtime hours worked by women and boys, 1942-1944</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Number of marriages from 1943-1950</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Number of births from 1946-1948</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vacancies in industry 1946-1950</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Married women in the work-force as a percentage of all married women</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Participation rate of women in the work-force, 1936-1956</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Number of teachers in Primary Schools, 1920-1939</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Number of women teachers per 100 male teachers, 1930-1939</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Number of teachers holding relieving positions, 1936-1938</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Positions held by teachers in the primary service, 1958-1962</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Women re-entering the primary service from domestic occupations, 1969-1973</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Teacher-pupil ratio, 1972-1985</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Proportion of positions held by women in the primary service, 1979</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Career moves made by primary teachers, 1979</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE

16. Number of men and women attending NZEI annual meetings, 1945-1947 ................. 107
17. Primary teaching staff (31.3.1984) .......... 130
18. Male and female attendance rates at NZEI branch meetings ......................... 133
19. Comparison of numbers attending NZEI and PPTA annual meetings for 1985 ................. 135
21. Ex-NZEI members on the Inspectorate ....... 138
22. Reasons for non-attendance at NZEI meetings .. 142

FIGURE

1. Outline of thesis in relation to the dimensions of power ......................... 41
2. Identifying the third dimension through retroductive inference .................. 42
3. The organisational structure of the NZEI ......... 102
4. Model career structure of teaching .............. 145
ABSTRACT

This study looks at the position of women teachers in the primary service within the context of their access to power and decision-making.

Use is made of socialist-feminist and labour market theories in order to develop a qualified reserve army of labour thesis which along with an analysis of the various ways in which power can be exercised, serves as a theoretical base to guide empirical research.

Empirical study using historical documents and journals to trace the implications of state policy for women within education, allows plausible explanations to be made as to why women teachers in the primary service have minimal access to power and decision-making.

It is suggested that women's access to power within the primary education system is obstructed by problems relating to personnel and structure within the school itself, the primary teachers' professional union, and at the level of the state. In order to overcome these problems, affirmative action is needed to promote the interests of women teachers. This needs to be pursued simultaneously with efforts to alter the power structure within the primary schools.

By moving towards a more democratic form of school organisation, present inequalities in the access to, and the exercise of power, can be eliminated within the primary service.

To the extent that scope is left for future research
to be done, especially within the theoretical context of power, this study should be viewed as being both explorative and suggestive in the issues that it has raised.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND AIMS OF STUDY

This study will look at the position occupied by women in the labour market, taking women teachers in the primary education system as the main focus of attention. Although women have always been represented in large numbers at the lower levels of the primary education system, such as at the level of classroom teaching, very few women have reached the more senior positions within the system.

The 'invisibility' of women in senior positions of responsibility suggests that women's experience in the labour market is a consequence of the unequal access to power and decision-making. In this thesis it will be argued that the uneven distribution of power within the primary service and the different labour market experiences which result, can only be explained through an analysis of social, economic, political and ideological factors from a socialist-feminist perspective(s).

My major concern in this introduction is to provide the theoretical tools by which women's inequality can be grasped. While recent literature has concentrated on viewing teachers as "classed actors"\(^1\) in an attempt to identify

---
\(^1\)Apple, M.W., Work, Gender and Teaching. Teachers College Record, 84: No 3, 1983. p 612.
their class position or location within capitalist society, \(^2\) few have addressed the issue of teachers being "gendered actors". \(^3\) Talk of class position rather than focusing on the constant fluctuation involved in class relations argues O'Donnell, serves to distort and reify historical processes. She writes that:

> it is nonsense to ask whether housewives belong to the working class, or to question whether teachers belong to the petit bourgeoisie. The framework which such an analysis sets up can not come to terms with the relationship and constant fluctuations between the employed and unemployed; and the relationship between different groups of workers who face the employer with differing degrees of bargaining ability. \(^4\)

In order to come to terms with why women in general, and more specifically why women teachers predominantly fluctuate between the employed and the unemployed, I will begin with an outline of labour market segmentation theory. I choose this as my starting point because it makes an attempt to explain a wide range of employment conditions which persist under advanced capitalist society, and why particular groups of people are located in particular areas of the labour market. But because this theory is largely descriptive and does not take into account the political and ideological factors which position women in specific labour market segments, a more sophisticated account of


\(^3\)Apple., op cit., p 612.

labour market segmentation theory drawing on recent socialist-feminist analysis is required.

Having formulated a more sophisticated account of labour market theory which takes into consideration social reproduction; the sexual division of labour; ideology and the role of the state, there will be some preliminary discussion on the inter-relationship between work, women and education. It will be the task of later chapters to provide some explanations as to why women teachers are used as a flexible and disposable labour force, and why they are over-represented at the level of classroom teaching, but under-represented at the level of administration, union activities, and ultimately in positions of power and decision-making.

Throughout this study repeated reference will be made to the concept of power and how it is exercised either individually or collectively. As a result, it is necessary to define clearly how the term 'power' is to be conceptualised and employed within the context of this study. Having clearly defined the concept of power and the dimensions of power within which this study will operate, the final task within this chapter will be to identify some of the limitations associated with the type of research that this study is engaged in.

2. LABOUR MARKET SEGMENTATION THEORY

Labour market segmentation theory, or dual labour market theory as it is also known grew out of studies of poverty, unemployment and the oppressive job conditions of
those workers whose employment patterns deviated from the 'normal' career of the white middle class male. The 'normal' career pattern was regarded as one where the individual (usually male) had long term stability in employment, this bringing with it promotion up the career ladder which was accompanied with an increase in income, status and power. Because the norm is defined in male terms, women's positions in the labour market are differentiated first on the basis of sex, and secondly, as discussion later will highlight, on the basis of their childrearing and domestic responsibilities. Both serve to trap women in unskilled/semi-skilled jobs which provide low levels of economic reward and little job security.

Labour market segmentation theory can be seen as an analytic construct which seeks to explain the division of workers into two different and distinct labour markets, that of primary and secondary, under capitalism. While there have been many accounts of labour market theory, the general account that I will present below draws heavily on the work of Reich, Gordon and Edwards.

The primary market according to Reich et al., requires the development of stable work habits; skills are often acquired on the job; wages are relatively high and job ladders exist. As a result of such structure, the primary market includes those workers who tend to have

---


careers, who follow a logical and vertical progression from job to job in which pay, responsibility, authority and status increase with one's length of work experience. Conversely the secondary job market does not require and often discourages stable working habits; wages are low; the turnover is high, and job ladders are virtually non-existent. Workers in the secondary sector comprise mainly women, racial minorities and youth, and their movement within this segment is horizontal, from one job to another without achieving promotion.

Within the primary sector there is further segmentation between what they call the "subordinate" and "independent" primary jobs. Subordinate jobs are routinised and encourage the personality characteristics of dependability, discipline, responsiveness to rules and authority, and the acceptance of work-prescribed goals. Office or clerical work would be located within this sector. The independent primary jobs encourage and require creative, problem-solving, self-initiating characteristics and often adhere to a professional standard of work, of which teaching would be one example.

The two markets they argue are 'differentiated by stability characteristics' and I will develop a more qualified argument later to suggest that women's structured lack of 'stability' in the labour force partly explains why they are located predominantly in the secondary sector. Meanwhile, segmentation within the labour market according to Reich et al., has allowed capitalists to 'divide and rule' over workers. However, it also needs to be added that
the labour market also provides conditions whereby there are divisions between men and women, with men in a majority of cases 'ruling' over women. To this extent, segmentation has been functional in helping to reproduce both capitalism and patriarchy by maintaining a barrier between markets so that class consciousness among workers remains difficult to develop despite the fact that workers, regardless of their sex, may be undergoing the process of proletarianisation in both labour market sectors.

With labour market theory being essentially a descriptive economic theory, it only makes implicit reference to women within the labour market. Reich et al's., theory says with respect to segmentation by sex that:

certain jobs have generally been restricted to men; others to women. Wages in the female segment are usually lower than in comparable male jobs; female jobs often require and encourage a 'serving mentality' — an orientation toward providing services to other people and particularly men. These characteristics are encouraged by family and schooling institutions.7

Such a descriptive account however, fails to consider a number of important factors which contribute to women being positioned within the secondary sector.

Some weaknesses with the model: Edwards says of the theory, that "while the dual market theory may allow us to classify market behavior, it does not necessarily explain it."8 Feminist writers have taken this criticism one step further by arguing that the treatment of labour

7Ibid. p 360.
8Edwards., op cit., p 99.
market theory with respect to women, may identify their position but provides an inadequate explanation as to why women are predominantly occupied within the secondary market.

In addition, the most common criticism that has been made about the theory is that overall the theory is ahistorical, too static and too partial. With a growing number of women in the workforce, the jobs available to women have become more varied, as a result segmentation among different groups of working women has emerged so that women are not found exclusively within the secondary market. Why this is the case has not been satisfactorily explained by the present theory.

Finally, the theory does not identify the forces which are operating not only within the labour market sphere, but also within the social and political spheres of society which serve to maintain the structured inequalities and divisions within the employment sphere. It neglects the fact that labour market forces do not exist in isolation and therefore are not neutral in the creation and maintenance of a low pay sector. In order for an adequate theory to explain the subordinate position of women in general, one needs to look at the importance of the sexual division of labour and the role of the family in structuring sexual inequality within the labour force.

**An attempt to redress weaknesses:** One such theory that attempts to redress some of these problems while remaining

---

within the framework of labour market theory has been put forward by Barron and Norris in their paper "Sexual divisions and the dual labour market." ¹⁰ Within their paper they make a greater attempt to look at the close relationship between one's sex/gender and one's position in the labour market as is evident from their introduction cited below. They write:

the emphasis in this paper is on the structure of the labour market, and the question of men's and women's place in the family - the household sexual division of labour - is relegated to the status of an explanatory factor which contributes to, but does not of itself determine the differentiation between the sexes in their work roles.¹¹

The strength of their theory is that they take into consideration factors, or what they term as 'attributes', which are external to the labour market, but which nevertheless determines to a large extent the type of relationship a worker will enter into within the labour market. The attributes which might make a particular social group a more likely source for the secondary market are:

1) Dispensability - Defined as the ease with which an employee can be removed from a redundant job, whether it be voluntarily or involuntarily.

2) Social Differences - where workers in the secondary market can be sharply differentiated from workers in the primary market by some


¹¹ Ibid. p 47.
conventional social difference. One clear and more 'useful' social difference they argue is sex. Not only are sexual differences highly visible, but because they are deep-seated divisions they do not arouse the sort of ambivalent feelings that are associated with racial or ethnic groups.

3) Training - Secondary workers have a relatively low interest in acquiring valuable training and experience with a pronounced tendency for this to occur among women.

4) Economism - They suggest that women are low on economism, that is they are less concerned with economic rewards in their work than men. And given that many women are secondary earners, they are perceived as having less need to seek monetary rewards than men.

5) Solidarism - Women workers are notably less successful than men in organising themselves industrially and their low collective strength reduces the possibility of them driving their wages and conditions up to the level of the primary sector.

It will not be my intention to go over all the attributes outlined by Barron and Norris in detail, but the first attribute of dispensability needs to be linked with earlier discussion on stability as both can be seen as mutually reinforcing concepts which operate to keep women within subordinate positions both at home and the
workplace. For if one is dispensable then clearly this will have implications for one's stability within the labour market.

Barron and Norris develop the view that there are two aspects of dispensability, voluntary and involuntary. In terms of voluntary turnover, women as a group change jobs more frequently than men due to their primary relationship to the family and domestic work. While men voluntarily change jobs, it generally does not involve a move out of the labour force, rather the change in jobs is for career orientated reasons. Also interesting to note is that each job change for men may provide greater economic rewards, but in the case of women the move is from low wages to economic dependence on the male. The significance of non-work related reasons for job changing among women they argue is that it "makes women the only numerically important group in our society who can be fairly easily used as a variable work force."\(^{12}\)

Barron and Norris argue that because of women's primary relationship to the family and domestic work, they will move out of the work force voluntarily to fulfil these obligations. This view however neglects the existence of a strong prevailing conservative ideology which despite greater participation by women in the work force, still emphasises the importance of women in the home. The emphasis on strengthening the family unit writes Deem, is a way of:

re-establishing and re-structuring social relations in a period of economic and social as well as political uncertainty. And women's position as domestic labourers andrearers of

\(^{12}\)Ibid. p 54.
children within a re-strengthened family [is] seen as of crucial importance.\textsuperscript{13}

Thus Deem argues, rather than women moving out of the work-force voluntarily to fulfil domestic responsibilities, one can expect a gradual return to an emphasis on the importance of motherhood to the economy in terms of the reproduction of a suitable labour force, as the need for women's paid work outside of the family evaporates.\textsuperscript{14}

In light of this, it is problematic to characterise women's movement out of the work-force as a voluntary one.

The second aspect of dispensability is what they term the "relative ease of involuntary separation" which is related to a number of factors. Firstly, the belief that one group has a stronger claim in times of economic crisis or depression to scarce job opportunities which result in women being considered more dispensable than men. This is reinforced by the ideology that in times of unemployment, all women (whether single or married) deprive men [sic], who as fathers or husbands are the main economic providers, of jobs. Secondly, women's 'acquiescence' to job loss is facilitated by the fact that they can be supported by male providers. Furthermore, apparent 'acquiescence' in this context may be due to the fact that women's position in the labour market does not allow them to fight strongly for their jobs and this is construed as acquiescence to job loss. Overall, these are some of the reasons they


\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p 141.
suggest which demonstrate the confinement of women to the low paid, insecure, unskilled and unrewarding jobs in the secondary labour market.

In making such claims, Barron and Norris have identified the effects of structural and ideological forces which impact on women, but in order for labour market theory to be dynamic, not only must the effects of social forces be identified but more importantly, the root causes, which are the basis for women being confined to specific positions within society, must also be identified and explored. The consideration of two further factors would enable labour market theory to both describe and explain more adequately the position of women in society.

These are firstly, social reproduction and the sexual division of labour and secondly, the ideology surrounding women's roles in society and the role the state plays in the perpetuation of the ideology. Without a wider treatment of these two factors outside of labour market theory, there is no clear theoretical base on which to build an adequate explanation of women's present position in the workplace, and more generally, their position in society.

3. TOWARDS A MORE SOPHISTICATED ACCOUNT OF LABOUR MARKET THEORY

A. Social Reproduction - The Sexual Division of Labour

Edwards writes that the "principle behaviour difference between the two types of jobs [primary and secondary] is stability."\textsuperscript{15} It allows one to accumulate length of

\textsuperscript{15} Edwards., op cit., p 99
service and as a corollary, allows one to work up the promotional ladder to positions of high pay, status, authority and power. The predominance of women in the secondary labour market can be attributed to their lack of stability, and while this has been alluded to in earlier discussion, what remains problematic is providing some explanation as to why this is the case.

An understanding of a women's position within wage labour must be explained with reference to social reproduction as one commentator writes:

segmentation in the labour market and segmentation in social reproduction are mutually reinforcing and can not be considered separately.16

To understand why both reinforce each other, one needs to have a look at women's relationship within the historical context of the development of capitalist society.

Prior to industrial capitalism, the form of family life was that of an economically independent commodity producing unit commonly characterised as the feudal patriarchal family. The unity of the feudal patriarchal household argues Eisenstein was rooted in the unity of capital and labour, where the family was an integral part of the system of production, serving as a self sufficient unit in satisfying its own needs.17 She argues that the


rise of capitalism required the destruction of both the self sufficient worker and the household unit. This displacement of the family as a self sufficient unit by the wage labour system affected different classes of families in different ways.

It is at this stage that Zaretsky's historical account, of how the family structure has changed as society has become more advanced in material production, provides many valuable insights. For the bourgeois family, according to Zaretsky, the role of the wife was that of a practical and intelligent housewife responsible for the year round planning of food provisions so that the home was as self supporting as possible.

For the labouring family however, private productive property as the economic basis of the family was eliminated with the rise of industrial capitalism and the traditional division of labour became threatened as women had to increasingly sell their wage labour to help supplement the family's income. Thus with the wage system replacing productive property as the economic basis of the family 'private property' became defined as objects of consumption such as food, clothing and domestic articles.

Zaretsky argues that prior to industrial capitalism what did exist was an "... intense division of labour within the family ... [but] there was scarcely a division between the family and the world of commodity production."

---

19 Ibid. p 29.
However the overall tendency has been to remove production in the home to large scale corporate enterprises. With such a move Zaretsky argues that capitalism 'split' material production between its socialised forms and the private labour performed by women in the home.

Furthermore Zaretsky claims that with the rise of capitalism, different spheres of social life began to prevail. The separation of production from home into the work place was accompanied by what he sees as a second split between personal life and public life so that the family and personal life came to be seen as a separate sphere from that of the sphere of production.

He writes:

The 'split' between the socialised labour of the capitalist enterprise and the private labour of women in the home is closely related to a second 'split' between our 'personal' lives and our place within the social division of labour ... As a result 'work' and 'life' were separated; proletarianisation split off the outer world of alienated labour from an inner world of personal feeling. Just as capitalist development gave rise to the idea of the family as a separate realm from the economy, so it created a 'separate' sphere of personal life, seemingly divorced from the mode of production.\textsuperscript{20}

This split between 'personal feelings' and 'economic production' is integrated with the sexual division of labour so that women were identified with the home and subjective, emotional and personal life, whereas men were identified with economic production and wage labour in the struggle for existence.\textsuperscript{21}

With the sexual division of labour under capitalism generally dictating that men work in the sphere of pro-

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. pp 29-30.

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. p 64.
duction, and women in the privatised, non-wage labour sphere of social reproduction, women's life experiences under capitalism are markedly different from that of men's. Capital's necessity for both waged and unwaged labour means that female wage labour is not incorporated into the labour market on equal terms with men; female wage labour is always premised on women's position being defined as being economically and ideologically in the home. 22

On the other hand, the development of capitalism has also placed contradictory demands upon women via the dual roles they are expected to perform. Not only are women required to reproduce and maintain future labourers, but capitalism has also displaced many forms of domestic production, thus creating a ready source of labour which can be drawn on if the need arises. So according to the prevailing economic conditions under capitalism, the ideological definition of women's role in society will vary. During boom periods, or when there are serious manpower shortages women are encouraged to enter into the labour force, while in times of crisis, women are either substituted for men's labour in order to depress wages, or they are relegated to the reserve army of labour. But as a reserve army of labour women can be seen to constitute a reserve of a 'peculiar type', controlled not so much by the relations of capitalist production but by the

relations of reproduction in the family.\textsuperscript{23} As a result, inducements for women to work are mitigated by their primary relationship to the family,\textsuperscript{24} which generally only allows women to work before marriage and after their childrearing responsibilities are completed.

The fluid movement of women in and out of the labour force as a result of their ties to home and family leads one to presuppose a sexual division of labour, as reflected in the segmented labour markets which characterises advanced capitalism. However an analysis of social reproduction and the sexual division of labour in itself does not go far enough in explaining women's horizontal position in the secondary market, or their predominance in the reserve army of labour. One needs to consider the importance of the political and ideological factors in structuring the conditions under which women supply their labour.

B. \textbf{Ideology and the Role of the State}

With capitalism giving rise to a new family form, the state according to Eisenstein has played a major role in institutionalising patriarchy. The role of the state writes Eisenstein:

\ldots reifies the division between public and private life as one of sexual difference. The domain of the state has always signified public

\footnote{Ibid. pp 62-63.}

life, and this is distinguished in part, from the private realm, by differentiating men from women. The state's purpose is to enforce the separation of public and private life and with it the distinctness of male and female existence.\textsuperscript{25}

In one way the cult of motherhood/womanhood, which has done more to enslave women throughout history in its glorification of the family structure,\textsuperscript{26} has made the job for the state somewhat easier by confining women to a nurturing role or to narrow occupations outside of the family. The most explicit way the state contributes to the construction, regulation and maintenance of the oppression of women is through its support of the family wage.\textsuperscript{27} In this, the state is supported by male dominated trade unions, hence the need to consider the ways in which organised labour fails to represent the interests of certain sectors of its membership (mainly the female sector) by adopting policies which do not challenge capital's domination of the labour process.\textsuperscript{28}

This can be illustrated with respect to trade union demands for an adequate 'family wage'. Historically, the family wage has been identified as a wage on which a man can keep himself and his dependent wife and children at a decent standard of living. And because men bargain for, and get the family wage, the amount of bargaining power

\textsuperscript{25}Eisenstein., op cit., p 49.


\textsuperscript{28}Beechey, op cit., p 178.
that women wield within trade unions for better wages and conditions of employment is severely weakened.

For example, if it is believed that women are more dispensable than men because of the strength of family responsibilities, then different uses of consensus ideology will operate within unions.\textsuperscript{29} Where there are strong beliefs that particular groups should have work opportunities then trade union pressure in the defence of lost jobs may be considerable, but if it is believed that the loss of women's jobs can be compensated by the fact that they can be supported by their husbands, then union action can also be less likely.

As a result, the lack of power that women have in the bargaining encounter compared to men, produces markedly different work conditions and experiences as one commentator writes:

\begin{quote}
... the labour market [can be viewed] as a structure of power where buyers and sellers of labour come to agreements over the wages and conditions they will accept. The basis of the bargain struck between capital and labour is the power of groups of bargainers to successfully pursue their interests. Potential workers with little power will be unable to strike more favourable bargains and so will end up concentrated in the most unpleasant and lowest paid areas of work.\textsuperscript{30}
\end{quote}

The existence of a family wage poses a threat to the independence of women during times of economic crisis. Ideology which places women in the home means that women are not strongly attached to the work-force and thus are open to conservative forces which will attempt to push

\textsuperscript{29}Barron and Norris, op cit., p 55.

\textsuperscript{30}O'Donnell, op cit., p 6.
women back into the home can be masqueraded as progressive legislation by both trade unions and the state. One such example is protective legislation.

Protective legislation, widespread in the western world, was designed to protect women and children from the long hours and poor working conditions that came with industrialisation in the late nineteenth century. Protective legislation in New Zealand was embodied in the form of the Factories Act (1921),\(^{31}\) which provided for the protection of the health of women and children working in factories and restricted the hours they could work. While it can be conceded that such legislation did indeed make working conditions minimally safer for women, it can also be partly construed as a mechanism to protect male workers from competition.\(^{32}\) The restriction of hours made women less attractive employees in terms of the surplus value they could yield. It is also debatable as to whether such legislation can be seen as a real gain for women in terms of potential for economic independence. Conversely, it can be seen as a victory for male trade unionists at the expense of the female worker. With restrictive hours there is less likelihood of women's unskilled labour being used to undercut and deskill male workers,\(^{33}\) thus effectively fending off female labour as a major source of competition.

While women workers are pushed out of the work-force

\(^{31}\) This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 2, see p 47. Barrett cites a similar act and makes the same claims within a British context. See for example p 231.

\(^{32}\) Barrett, op cit., p 231.

\(^{33}\) Bland et al., op cit., p 49.
they are never completely destitute in that single women can apply for the unemployment benefit and married woman can be supported by their husbands. And because women's wages are ideologically defined as secondary even though it may be equally essential to the maintenance of the family unit, their unemployment is not regarded as a major social problem. When women are made redundant they can slip back into the family unnoticed and re-emerge again when they find another equally insecure job.

From the state's point of view, it is advantageous for it to maintain women's position as being primarily within the home, and secondarily in the workplace for a number of reasons. Firstly, by economically and ideologically defining women's position as being in the home, women can be increasingly drawn into wage labour as the needs of capital dictate without creating a fully proletarianised work-force because they can be supported by male wage labour.\(^{34}\) Secondly, the economy would not be able to cope with all women exercising their right to employment. Just the cost of providing the necessary childcare facilities would be unfeasible from the state's point of view as it would entail a major redistribution of resources from men to women and from rich to middle and low income earners. Even when capitalism was experiencing a boom period it was unable to provide the basic requirements of childcare which would contribute to the emancipation of women.\(^{35}\)

\(^{34}\)McIntosh., op cit., p 49.

\(^{35}\)This point will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.
While state policy may make provisions for maternity leave, the lack of childcare facilities means that women leave their jobs for longer than their maternity leave entitles them to take. Additionally, theories of maternal deprivation which serves to reinforce the view that a woman's place is in the home looking after children fits well with the needs of capital.\textsuperscript{36} And as the crisis within capital deepens, the prospects of adequate childcare provisions become more remote and the burden increases for women as they increasingly take over the care of young children and elderly as the state tries to shed some of its social welfare responsibilities during a time of crisis.

The role of the state in maintaining patriarchy within the New Zealand context reflects many of the aspects of theory outlined above. The best way in which to observe the state's role in the maintenance of patriarchy is to look at state policies, laws and institutions which help to define and maintain the family unit and the particular relationships between individuals within the unit.

The paternalistic nature of state policy within New Zealand society has done much to limit the economic independence on women. While the state is the provider of many benefits,\textsuperscript{37} the most commonly known benefits being the Family, Domestic Purposes, and Unemployment

\textsuperscript{36}See Chapter 2. p67.
Benefits, this display of benevolence by the state disguises its role in the maintenance of patriarchy. For example, the amount one receives for the Unemployment Benefit is dependent on the ability of the spouse to support their unemployed partner. Women as a result are less likely to receive the benefit because the husband's 'family wage' is deemed enough to support all members of the family. Such policy only serves to reinforce women's dependence on men.

Even if women do work assumptions are still made by the state that it is women who will do the childcare. For example, children are required by the law to be in the constant care of a responsible adult, but no state childcare facilities are provided between the hours of 3-5 p.m. where children finish school before adults finish work. The assumption that women will look after the children between these hours has the consequence of many women taking on part-time work which fits in with school hours. This in itself places women in less economically rewarding jobs, and the low income earned means continued dependence upon men.

This and many more examples can be made to illustrate the role of the state in the maintenance of patriarchy. However this brief and general comment on the role of the state in the New Zealand context will suffice for the present time as this area will be pursued in greater detail in later chapters.

---

While social reproduction and the sexual division of labour and the contributing role of ideology to the oppression of women have been discussed separately for theoretical ease, any real level of analysis would recognise the mutually reinforcing role both factors have on one another in maintaining women's subordinate position both within the home and within the labour market. 39

Given that many dual labour market accounts are inadequate when an examination is made of the areas of women's work 40 it is hoped that the consideration of the above factors have allowed for a more sophisticated theory of the labour market to be developed, thus allowing us to make some preliminary comments about the inter-relationship between work, women and education.

4. LABOUR MARKET THEORY, WOMEN, AND EDUCATION

Teaching as an occupation can be located within the primary job market. Teachers overall enjoy a relatively high income; while they must teach to a prescribed curriculum, they have considerable control over how they teach within the classroom; they are required to be creative, and to be a motivating force for students; a hierarchial system exists within teaching which allows for some career or mobility chances and thus the opportunities to attain status, authority and power.

39 The problems faced by the state in terms of managing the contradictions between women's work and domestic roles will be developed in greater detail in the next chapter.

40 O'Donnell, op cit., p 158.
The location of women teachers within the primary labour market gives rise to two different types of work experience. Firstly, women teachers will not share the same types of work experiences as their female counterparts within industry. Secondly, within teaching, women will not share the same work experiences as their male counterparts.

The presence of women in the primary labour market is inconsistent with the reserve army of labour thesis and this must be explained. Here it can be argued that differences in work experience between women in the primary and secondary sector are not as great as one might expect when underlying patriarchal assumptions are taken into consideration. When labour market theory is overlaid by patriarchy, then the experiences of women in the primary labour market, rather than being distinct from the secondary market, closely resemble the secondary market. This stems from the fact that women's employment and economic security is mediated by their primary relationship to the home and family with such responsibilities predisposing them to membership within the reserve army of labour. To develop this further, one needs to look more closely at the relationship between teaching as an occupation and the question of gender.

One of the features of labour market segmentation is that while the labour market is segmented horizontally and vertically, women are mainly distributed horizontally. They are concentrated in a small number of occupations such as teaching and nursing; in occupations associated with
the processing, preparation and serving of food; or the sewing or selling of clothes; and in the support services for administration.\textsuperscript{41} In New Zealand, for example, over 90\% of the female work-force is concentrated in the clerical, sales and lower professional fields (such as teaching and nursing), all of which entail work that is essentially of a service or supply nature.\textsuperscript{42}

With these occupations being done by women closely mirroring the tasks they perform at home, the parallel has been characterised by Hearn as 'the patriarchal feminine' where similarities can be drawn between the social-emotional domestic tasks and the semi-professional areas of specialisation.\textsuperscript{43} While the professional status of teaching has been put into question,\textsuperscript{44} Hearn's concept can be usefully applied to an analysis of women teachers.

Of teaching, one commentator writes:

\ldots in primary school teaching, the role itself is closer to the maternal than the paternal familial role: it calls upon nurturant skills, and an holistic approach towards other people that is more culturally developed among women \ldots the client of the primary school teacher is

\textsuperscript{41} Beechey, op cit., p 158.

\textsuperscript{42} For further details on New Zealand women in the labour market see Campbell, G., Women in the Workforce. \textit{Listener} 101: No. 2208, May 22, 1982. pp 20–22.


the child struggling to learn... and in all societies women are more socialised than men to give them care and guidance.45

Thus teaching, especially in the primary service is equated to a maternal, feminine, caring role and to this extent patriarchal relations are also mirrored within the teaching service whereby the jobs performed by women complement and reinforce the masculine stereotype. Given the history of low pay for women engaged in childrearing activities, whether at home or at school, this reflects how much the task is valued.46 This can be clearly illustrated by looking at the sexual division of labour in the primary schools where women are located within the classrooms, and where men are involved in administration which commands not only a higher salary, but also a great deal more status, authority and power.

The fact that there are such high numbers of women in teaching has been cited as a prime factor as to why teaching has yet to attain full professional status47 as professionalism can be seen as a patriarchal process.48 Through a historical analysis, Hearn argues that professions such as medicine and law have been dominated by men, and that this development is also intimately bound up with the social organisation and control of emotionality.

As capital advances, there is a need by the state

45 Legatt, op cit., p 164.


48 Hearn, op cit., p 188.
to gain greater control of emotionality in order to produce a more compliant work-force. By this, it is meant that as the economy moves deeper into recession, social unrest as a result of unemployment, the reduction in state services and benefits, the exclusion of the public from decision-making, and the opportunity to change the material conditions of their lives, will bring about problems of control for the state. Control can be brought by the repressive arm of the state as is evident in the rise in expenditure on the police force, or it can be accomplished by the ideological arm of the state via education. It is in the area of education that Hearn argues that the need to produce a more compliant work-force in the face of growing contradictions experienced by capitalism has resulted in the development of the semi-professions such as teaching, being subject to a patriarchal process where:

activities and experiences formerly performed privately or controlled by women became in this way brought into public control by men, and so subject to the expertise of experts. As such, the semi-professions are symptomatic of a later stage of capitalist patriarchy than that which spawned the traditional professions.

---

49 See London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group, In and Against the State (London, Pluto Press Limited, 1980) where this argument is developed in greater detail in a British context. See especially pp 126-129.


51 Hearn, op. cit., p 191.
Hearn concludes that the process of professionalisation is one of the bastions of patriarchy and that this is particularly so in the sphere of reproduction and the control of emotionality, the areas of life that present difficulties for capitalist organisation and patriarchal domination.  

With this in mind and drawing from the other strands of theory presented thus far, some preliminary discussion on the relationship between women and work with respect to education can now be entered into.

Because education is an institution within the wider realm of capitalist society, any crisis within the economic system will have a direct effect on those institutions which are maintained by the state. The effects themselves can be varied but all have important implications for women teachers.

As the contradictions within capitalism become more apparent and workers become increasingly mobilised in struggle, the state may attempt to take over more of the functions previously done within the private sphere of the home such as trying to control emotionality at an earlier age by socialising children into the prevailing ideology via education. This growing encroachment into, and the objectification of private life will mean that teaching, because it is a public sphere will become increasingly male dominated.

This I argue is made possible through a number of inter-related factors. As the economic system moves

---

\[52\] Ibid. p 197.
deeper into crisis, Apple\textsuperscript{53} argues that one can expect to see a rationalisation of the teaching process through the encroachment of technical control procedures on the curriculum in schools. Not only will this lead to a deskilling of the labour process, but I would argue with respect to women teachers, that the maternal, caring role that they now perform will be made redundant under the situation described by Apple. While loss of control through deskilling may be cited as a contributor to the proletarianisation of the teaching profession, the fact that primary teaching is a highly feminised occupation also contributes to the ease in which it can be proletarianised.

Proletarianisation of the teaching profession, which will see women teachers carry the bulk of the burden, is made easier due to two factors. Firstly, the fact that women teachers are primarily identified in relation to the home rather than work means that they can be re-absorbed back into the home until their services are in demand again.

Secondly, the high degree of feminisation within teaching does not provide sufficiently high salaries for men to maintain their families at a living standard which is associated with other professions in society, but for women whose employment is regarded as secondary, teaching is an occupation which offers attractive prestige and money.\textsuperscript{54} Such a view of social reality contributes

\textsuperscript{53} Apple, op cit., p 611.

\textsuperscript{54} Legatt, op cit., p 197; Lortie, op cit., pp 21-22.
to the lack of female participation within union activities, but the burden of household responsibilities can not be denied as another major factor in women's lack of union participation.

While Barrett and McIntosh\(^{55}\) attribute the low rate of female participation in activities to factors such as the concentration of women in low paid occupations, thus resulting in women's low expectations for improvements in pay and conditions; their primary identification with the family rather than work; and the high turnover due to insecure jobs and demands of family responsibility, not all these factors hold true for women within the primary service.

While women teachers are located predominantly within a certain sector of the school, the job itself can not be regarded as low paying or as insecure as jobs in the secondary sector, although women leaving teaching for domestic reasons may tend to imbue the occupation with the latter characteristic.

The high turnover of women in the teaching service does however have implications for the amount of power women wield within their union. Lack of participation within their union means that interests specific to women are neglected and moves to enhance the overall position of male members are made with hardly any resistance due to the lack of female participation.

As the twofold needs of rationalising the teaching process and of controlling or rationalising the emotionality of the labour force becomes greater, women teachers will be pushed back into the private sphere of the family. Not only will this result in teaching taking a major step towards full professional status, but as the state gradually takes over more of the functions once confined to the private sphere, women's roles will become more rigidly defined as unpaid domestic workers within the home. So while teaching is located within the primary labour market, this alone does not serve as a barrier to protect women teachers from serving as a reserve army of labour within the education system.

While women within the education system have been clearly identified as serving as a reserve army of labour, the reserve army thesis needs to be modified somewhat for the purposes of this study. The major assumption of labour market theory is that men and women work in different areas of the labour market, if this is the case, then it is difficult to accept the view that women can automatically be viewed as a reserve army of labour for male dominated jobs. However, primary education is an interesting case in point because while it can be located within the primary labour market, the personnel is predominantly female. So the question remains as to who women are a reserve army of labour to?

While the traditional marxian view holds that the presence of a reserve army will act as a depressant on wages and provide a source of competition for all jobs, this is not completely true of primary education. Women
teachers in the reserve army of labour, rather than providing a threat to male employment within education, serve to insulate men against unemployment in the following ways.

Firstly, the presence of women in the reserve army means that women do not compete so much with men for the top jobs within primary education as they do with other women for ordinary teaching positions. As a result, only certain sections within the primary system, namely the female dominated level of 'classroom teacher' are vulnerable to the existence of a reserve army of labour. Secondly, competition for employment amongst women at the classroom level allows men to fill senior positions of responsibility without competition from their female counterparts.

To understand why patriarchy continues to flourish within the primary education system, the use of labour market segmentation theory as it has been developed here is still not sufficient. Because patriarchy implies the use of power by men to dominate women, there is a need to understand the nature of power in its political and institutional context which has served to produce women's subordination. This means looking at how organisations formulate their policy; how they structure their agenda; and how decisions are made on issues which explicitly or implicitly serve to support and maintain patriarchy.
5. POWER AND ORGANISATIONS

Power is not an object of the sensate world. One can not reach and touch power, rather power is a hypothetical construct, though it may not be any less real for that,\textsuperscript{56} and we can observe its manifestations as it is reflected in every human relationship or social arrangement.\textsuperscript{57}

In a study of power Dahl makes the claim that we are unlikely to produce anything like a single, consistent and coherent 'Theory of Power', but are more likely to produce a variety of theories of limited scope, each of which employs some definition of power that is useful in the context of a particular piece of research.\textsuperscript{58} However, Lukes\textsuperscript{59} three dimensional theory of power does capture the significant dimensions of power relevant to this study which will be outlined below.

Lukes identifies the pluralist view of power as being the first dimension of power. As the name suggests, the pluralist view adheres to the belief that no single elite group in society has complete domination over the decision-making process, but rather the decision-making process is a diverse one, with political decisions being

\textsuperscript{56}On a realist epistemological view entities may exist and may exert a causal influence even if we cannot observe them. See Keat, R., and Urry, J., Social Theory as Science, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).


reached as a result of numerous groups exerting pressure at different levels of the system. In his critique of the 'ruling elite model' of power, Dahl writes:

... I do not see how anyone can suppose that he has established the dominance of a specific group in a community ... without basing his analysis on the careful examination of a series of concrete decisions.60

The pluralist methodology makes explicit the view that any theory or model of the power structure must make "an examination of a series of concrete cases where key decisions are made",61 if it is to be useful to a researcher. Thus in order to ascertain who wields political power, researchers need to look closely at who initiates or vetoes policies within a particular area. But because the pluralist view locates power amongst actors and looks particularly at which actors participate most often in the decision-making process, weaknesses within this view are apparent. These weaknesses according to Lukes are redressed somewhat by the second dimension of power which comprises the work of Bachrach and Baratz.

Bachrach and Baratz put forward the view that pluralists, while concentrating on identifying who takes part in the decision-making process have overlooked the equally, if not the most important area of non-decision-making which is:

the practice of limiting the scope of decision-making to 'safe' issues by manipulating the dominant community values, myths, and political institutions.62

61Ibid. p 469.
The process of non-decision-making is defined as:

... a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges... can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or, failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process.\textsuperscript{63}

Such a view implies that organisations within a complex society are not 'just there' to exist neutrally, rather the structure of organisation is "skewed, loaded and unbalanced in favour of a fraction of a minority".\textsuperscript{64} Organisations, argues Schattschneider foster a myth that they are automatically representative of all its members, but in reality because organisations are a component within a social system which is fundamentally unequal, organisations will function to channel and to discriminate amongst conflicts, with the outcomes not entirely to the benefit of all members. Thus writes Schattschneider:

all politics, all leadership and all organisation involves the management of conflict... All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others because organisation is the mobilisation of bias [where] some issues are organised into politics while some are organised out.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63}Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M.S., Power and Poverty, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1970) p 44.


\textsuperscript{65}Ibid. p 71.
While incorporating Schattschneider's concept of the mobilisation of bias within their work, Bachrach and Baratz expand on the concept somewhat. The mobilisation of bias for them is seen as:

a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures ('rules of the game') that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests. More often than not, the 'status-quo defenders' are a minority group within the population in question.66

This approach has the advantage over the pluralist view in that the mobilisation of bias provides us with an analytic framework to analyse the institutionalised aspects (ie; the arrangement of the agenda) of the structure of power.

While the two dimensional view of power put forward by Bachrach and Baratz makes a considerable advance towards revealing the less visible ways in which a pluralist system may be biased in favour of a certain group, Lukes argues that both views of power are too narrowly conceived. While the second dimension with its emphasis on non-decision-making makes a major advance on the first dimension by expanding what counts as a political issue, both dimensions of power still focus on actual observable conflict, whether it be overt or covert.

Such a view according to Lukes is inadequate because it presupposes that power is only exercised or shows up

in cases of actual conflict when this is not always the case. To adhere to either of the two views writes Lukes is to:

... ignore the crucial point that the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent... conflict from arising in the first place.67

Thus the strength and major advance Lukes' third dimension of power makes is that it focuses on the aspects of power which arise from the prior influencing, and the shaping of individual preferences and their perception of social issues. To illustrate his third dimension of power more clearly Lukes provides the following example of:

... A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants. Indeed, is it not the supreme exercise of power to get another or others to have the desires you want them to have - that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires?68

Such a view also allows for the movement away from individual decision-making and allows for the consideration of the many ways in which potential issues are kept out of politics through the operation of social forces and institutional practices. As a result, the third dimension of power allows for the mobilisation of bias within the system to be studied in greater depth. The mobilisation of bias according to Lukes' view thus can not be maintained solely by a series of individually chosen acts, rather

---

67 Lukes, op cit., p 23.

68 Ibid.
the bias of the system:

...can be mobilised, recreated and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of particular individuals' choices.⁶⁹

As a result, a deeper analysis of power within the third dimension would concern itself with, and be fully cognizant of how the sheer weight of institutions - political, economic, educational etc., impact on, and socialise, the individual into a specific perception of social reality which may have both intended and unintended consequences in the way individuals exercise power. Thus such a view of power allows one to examine more closely the values and biases which operate within the system.

To take a brief example in the context of this study, the prevailing ideology which maintains patriarchy as a social force within society promotes a selective perception of women in society and this colours the social issues or conflicts that may emerge within any given organisation.

While individuals may be unconscious of the fact that patriarchy may influence, shape and determine the mobilisation of bias in the system, the background assumptions that people hold about women may unconsciously influence them in their conscious decision-making, thus their decision also unintentionally reinforces the bias within the system. Conversely, women who are affected by the biases within the system may not realise that this is in fact the case and their inactivity may also allow political issues to be kept out of politics or to allow

⁶⁹Ibid p 21.
decisions to be made which maintain the bias without any attempt to challenge the issues. Thus one needs to identify or specify the means or mechanisms by which individuals or groups of individuals prevent or allow others to act in certain ways as opposed to other ways.

6. POWER AND THE EMPIRICAL LIMITS OF THIS STUDY

Within the context of the three dimensions of power outlined, if one looks at Figure 1., it shows that the present research operates largely within the first and third dimensions of power. The nature of the first dimension with its emphasis on observable conflict and overt public decision-making makes it very amenable to research. One can observe this dimension through empirical observation or through the reconstruction of events via the existence of documents detailing the events. Thus for example, concrete decision-making can be observed and reflected in how particular issues within the NZEI were voted upon.

Operation within the third dimension is closely linked to the first dimension, for the underlying assumptions that individuals hold influence the decisions they will make when they vote on issues. However, because the third dimension looks at power which is exercised in largely unobservable and subtle ways, the study of this dimension is only made possible through the existence of theory.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POWER</th>
<th>CHAPTER 1</th>
<th>CHAPTER 2</th>
<th>CHAPTER 3</th>
<th>CHAPTER 4</th>
<th>CHAPTER 5</th>
<th>CHAPTER 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Dimension</td>
<td></td>
<td>Overt decision-making observed and an analysis of implemented state policy. Suggestions of interchange between first and third dimensions.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reconstruction of NZEI decision-making. Decisions reflect the</td>
<td>Uneven distribution of women and men engaged in decision-making at all levels. Results in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on . observable conflict . overt public decisions . power exercised by individuals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Dimension</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inferences made about non-decision-making</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on . non-decision-making . the mobilisation of bias</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Dimension</td>
<td>Theoretical discussion outlining underlying assumptions which maintain patriarchy and capitalism.</td>
<td>Presentation of evidence that reflects the underlying assumptions of patriarchy and capitalism.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patriarchal assumptions reinforced by political agenda adopted by NZEI</td>
<td>Underlying assumptions maintained. Change through equality in the exercise of power ie., a participatory democracy.</td>
<td>Commitment to long term change needed to alter the present power structure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on . the insidious ways in which power can be used to shape wants and needs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 1: OUTLINE OF THESIS IN RELATION TO THE DIMENSIONS OF POWER
In this study, theory is generated by making retroductive inferences from data to the underlying assumptions which have generated the events. This can be illustrated more clearly with the help of Figure 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POWER</th>
<th>First Dimension</th>
<th>Second Dimension</th>
<th>Third Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observable events</td>
<td>Mechanisms/ mobilisation</td>
<td>Underlying bias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of assumptions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 2: IDENTIFYING THE THIRD DIMENSION THROUGH RETRODUCTIVE INFERENCE**

The existence of data and the documentation of events allows us to make retroductive inferences from data to theory which enables the third dimension of power to be made explicit. However, there are serious difficulties in gaining insights into the second dimension of power - the mechanisms by which underlying assumptions can be translated into the first dimension of observable events. The difficulties involved here centre on gaining access to mainly confidential processes by which decision and non-decision-making occurs.

This remains the case because within any form of organisation, and decision-making whether it be overt or covert, entails "literally hundreds of meetings ... involving many people."\(^{70}\) The reliance on the minutes of the meeting, if in fact they are taken for all meetings,  

\(^{70}\)Ms. H. Anderson. National Secretary of the NZEI. Quoted from correspondence.
can not capture all the events and telling procedures and strategies employed by individuals who may seek to engage in both the decision and non-decision-making processes. While the use of minutes and reports from meetings remains useful in observing overt decision-making, they at best, only allow one to make inferences about how the second dimension of power operates. For this reason insight into the second dimension is severely restricted in this study.

While in one case (see Chapter 4), a plausible reconstruction of the mechanisms of the second dimension is made, what is required for a fuller exploration of the second dimension of power is the use of one or more observers at, for example, NZEI meetings and negotiations. Qualitative analysis of how and which issues are placed on the agenda, how much time is devoted to the discussion of particular issues, and how decisions are made on particular issues and not others would allow for the second dimension to be illustrated more clearly.

Thus, what the present research does do is to present a case for further work to be done, which can overcome the problems of gaining access to information raised here, so that evidence can be provided which clearly illustrates the second dimension of power.
CHAPTER 2

WOMEN AND STATE POLICY IN NEW ZEALAND

If one is to understand why women teachers occupy mainly subordinate positions within the primary education system, it is necessary to look first at the position of women in society in general since the practices and attitudes affecting women in primary schools is specifically influenced by patriarchal society and its influence on state policy.

In this chapter I will be concerned with the reserve army thesis raised in the previous chapter. In particular, I will discuss the view that both the positions occupied, and the roles played by women in society are closely linked to and defined by the needs of the economy. As a result, contradictory demands are placed upon women, especially under advanced capitalism, whereby capitalism requires women to serve as a cheap source of labour within the sphere of production, while patriarchy requires women to perform unwaged domestic labour in the home which serves to reinforce their dependence on men, and men's dominance over women.

The contradictory demands which patriarchy and capitalism place upon women have been expressed previously by Engels who wrote:

... with the patriarchal family ... the wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production. Only modern
large-scale industry again threw open to her ... that avenue of production; but in such a way that when she fulfils her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and cannot earn anything; and when she wishes to take part in public industry and earn her living independently, she is in no position to fulfil her family duties. What applies to the woman in the factory applies to her in all professions, right up to the medicine and law. 71

I will develop and extend Engels' views by clearly illustrating that the contradictory demands of capitalism and patriarchy are effectively managed by the state through its implementation of state policy which helps to maintain a reserve army of labour comprised mainly of women.

I begin my outline of state policy from the 1920s when the cult of motherhood and domesticity located women firmly in the home. This will serve as a base line on which to illustrate firstly, the state's manipulation of women in and out of the work force and secondly, the background assumptions that were held about the place of women in society as state policy is traced through to the present.

'A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME' - 1920-1938

In 1921, 20% of all women were engaged in the work force, and of these women, 55% were under 30 years of age and 53% were single. 72 Thus for most women, work served to fill the gap between school and marriage. Once married,


women were predominantly confined to the home and child-rearing tasks, and this was due no doubt to the emphasis on motherhood and home management fostered by the establishment of the Plunket Society in 1907.

The Plunket Society and its founder Truby King played a decisive role in defining the duties and obligations of motherhood by building upon patriarchal myths, and by capitalising upon the faith of natural science which existed at the time to define motherhood as a vocation in which women had to be trained for the specialised tasks they were to perform. This is reflected in one of the Society's aims which was to:

> inculcate a lofty view of the responsibilities of maternity and the duty of every mother to fit herself for the perfect fulfilment of the natural calls of motherhood.

This in itself has inbuilt contradictions for if the calls of motherhood were deemed natural, then there should be no need of proper training. On the other hand, if training was necessary then there should be no reasons as to why men shouldn't also be taught the skills necessary for childrearing!

While the prevailing ideology located women in the home, some women still endured harsh working conditions both within the factory and within the home. For example, one MP cited the case of a woman outworker who:

> after doing all her housework, including a day's washing, worked forty-eight hours a week, which necessitated some work at night and also Saturday afternoon.

73 Olssen, op cit., pp 175-178.
In an effort to eliminate such conditions the 1921 Factories Act made provisions which defined any factory as a building, place or office where two or more persons were employed directly or indirectly in preparing or manufacturing goods for trade or sale. It stipulated that the factories must be clean, not overcrowded and well ventilated so that impurities from production would not be injurious to health. To guard against sweated conditions, the Act made provisions for the employer to keep a record of "the quantity and description of the work done ... and the nature and amount of remuneration paid to him [sic] therefor" for the work done outside of a factory. Concern that many women were working too longer hours resulted in an overtime clause, which prohibited women from working between the hours of 6 p.m. and 8 a.m., and from working in excess of 120 hours of overtime a year. While it can be conceded that such legislation did in fact make the working conditions for women better and safer, such legislation nevertheless restricted women's employment earnings, and reinforced their economic dependence on men.

The restriction on women's employment earnings became more rigidly defined with the advent of the Great Depression in 1928. Prevailing social attitudes during the depression were against married women working when they could be supported by working husbands. It was believed that married women who worked deprived single women of employment, and in turn all working women deprived men of employment. The entrenched view that men were to

---

76 New Zealand Statutes 1920-1921/No 42.
be the economic providers no doubt had an important influence in the shaping of the Unemployment Act in 1930. Under the Act, only men were eligible for the unemployment benefit despite the fact that it was financed by a tax levied on all earnings regardless of whether they were male or female.

Concern at this time centred around male employment, with the "preservation of personal incentive and of the individual's sense of responsibility for the care of himself and his family" being seen as essential. In order for men to be eligible for the unemployment benefit they were placed in work out in the countryside away from their families. To complaints that this was causing hardships upon families, the acting Employment Minister at the time replied that he saw "no particular hardship in it as a rule" thus totally neglecting the fact that with the income earned by men being uncertain during the depression, and women being ineligible under the Act for any benefits, many women were managing on their own without any assistance from their menfolk or the state.

As the country emerged from the depression after 1935, the aim of the Labour government outlined in the Budget speech of 1936 was to:

... organise an internal economy that will distribute the production and services of the Dominion in a way that will guarantee every person able and willing to work an income sufficient to provide him and his dependents with everything necessary to make a "home" and "home life" in the best sense of the meaning of these terms.

---

77 New Zealand Statutes 1930/No 10.
80 Appendices to the Journals, Financial Statement (B-6) 1936. p 1.
The underlying assumption based on tradition which recognised men as the economic providers was given statutory recognition through the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Bill in 1936.\textsuperscript{81} The Bill stipulated that the basic wage for an adult male worker should "be sufficient to enable a man in receipt thereof to maintain a wife and three children in a fair and reasonable standard of comfort." The importance of this precedence was to emerge in the post war era which will be discussed later.

Despite traditional assumptions about a woman's place being in the home and wage rates reflecting this assumption, the period between 1935-1939 saw a marked increase of employment opportunities for women as the economy moved out of recession. Statistics on factory production in 1935-1936 show a recovery from the depression period and figures up to 1938 show record highs in factory production.\textsuperscript{82} Such rapid development in factory production saw more women move in to manufacturing, but their appearance was concentrated largely in the manufacturing of clothing as the table following illustrates.

With women becoming increasingly visible within the work force, this reality became increasingly difficult to reconcile with traditional assumptions about women's place being in the home. One attempt to do so was embodied in the 1936 Factories Act.\textsuperscript{83} Stricter controls were

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{81} New Zealand Statutes 1936/No 6.
\item\textsuperscript{82} See the New Zealand Official Year Book - Factory Production for the given years.
\item\textsuperscript{83} New Zealand Statutes 1936/No 7. This Act amended the principle Factories Act of 1921.
\end{itemize}
TABLE 1: WOMEN IN FACTORY PRODUCTION 1935-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TEXTILE FABRICS</th>
<th>APPAREL</th>
<th>FIBROUS MATERIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>7,661</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1,446</td>
<td>7,994</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>1,493</td>
<td>9,371</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>10,453</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1,741</td>
<td>12,182</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: New Zealand Official Year Book. See section on Factory Production – Establishments and Employees for given years).

Made on overtime with women being prohibited from working on any Sunday, holiday or half day in addition to the restricted hours laid down in the 1921 Act. Overtime it was argued was:

one of the factors that had contributed materially to the intensification of the depression amongst the working people. If we could go further than this Bill, and get down to some degree of rationalisation of industry, we should have an effective method of absorbing more people who are unemployed.\(^\text{84}\)

Although not made explicit, one can assume on the basis of previous discussion that the 'unemployed' is referring to men in particular, thus it can be construed that a ban on women's overtime was an attempt to provide men with greater employment opportunities.

In addition to the overtime clause, the 1936 Act was still concerned with the poor work and pay conditions of women working for manufacturers in the home. While the state wanted greater protection for women working in the home, there was also concern over the regulations being

\(^{84}\text{NZPD Vol. 245, May 7 – June 11, 1936. p 140.}\)
too rigid in its protection of women. One MP on the subject
said:

it has been suggested that we should abolish
this class of work (sweated labour) altogether,
but we do not want to go as far as that if
we can control it, because there are people
who can do work of this description but are
unable to go into a factory. I know there
are women who ... can not go away all day
and work in factories, but they can do a considerable
amount of work in their homes, which will
help provide for the family needs. If we
abolish the practice altogether, we would
take away the means of livelihood of many people
and place them in very difficult circumstances. 85

Such assumptions illustrate firstly that the construction
of ideology which defines men as the breadwinners is in
fact a misrepresentation of reality. Secondly, the confine-
ment of women outworkers to their homes results in their
increased economic exploitation because of the low wages
they receive which enables the capitalist system to be
maintained. Both factors contribute to the oppression
of women both within the home and the workplace.

In an effort to combat the 'sweated conditions'
which existed in the home, the Factories Act required
those working within the home to have a licence to do so,
and in addition to this, the rate of renumeration to
be paid for work done at home had to be "substantially
equivalent to, or higher than the rate that would be
payable if [the] work were done in the factory." While
sweating can rightly be regarded as an 'evil', such legis-
lation served only to displace such conditions from the
home into the factory. Manufacturers would abandon the
use of workers in the home in favour of an intensification

85Ibid. p 96.
of the work process within the factory so that profits could be maintained.

Overall, while the two Factories Acts can be seen as protective in nature, their effect was to restrict women's employment and earnings. This not only provided more work opportunities for men, but because restricted earnings by women fostered dependence on men, patriarchal authority during this period was reinforced. The advent of World War II was to bring about many changes.

WORLD WAR TWO - 1939-1945

During the period of the war, 40% of New Zealand's men aged between 20-45 were engaged in the war overseas. As a result, the home economy was faced with a serious labour shortage ameliorated only by the mobilisation of women into the work force. Whereas women prior to the war were encouraged to remain in the home, appeals such as the following for women to join the work force were common:

... we in New Zealand have a duty to carry on essential production in an economic way... I should like to make an appeal today to the young ladies... One cannot doubt their patriotism for one moment [but] I would ask them whether, in view of the fact that we are facing a crisis and our manufacturing industries are short of workers, they will consider coming along and assisting. They will find the work congenial; they will find good companionship in their workmates.86

However, the passing of the Emergency Regulations Amendment Act (1940)87 meant that women could no longer

87 New Zealand Statutes 1940/No 1. Amended PrincipAl Act 1939/No 8.
just 'come along and assist' because the Act gave the government power to control the labour force whereby everyone was subject to military and civilian service. An "all in" effort was required which meant:

... all our resources, all the man-power and woman-power of this country... are to be at the disposal of the Government for one purpose only, namely the successful prosecution of the war.88

Man-power committees were set up under the Emergency Act and they were given the right to direct all men 18-59 years and women 18-40 years (who had no dependent children) to areas of industry which had a labour shortage. While there were assurances that the work for women would be 'congenial', personal accounts given by Ebbett89 suggests the opposite:

for many women, the prospects of being summoned and directed to work under the Man-power Committees represented one of the most tiresome aspects of life during the war ... while there was an air of patriotism which tempted women not to complain given the prospects men in the force had to face, women could not disguise their displeasure at being forced into factories and uncongenial occupations against their will.90

The man-power regulations were an important factor in bringing women into the work-force. An analysis of the occupation held by women at the time of registration showed that over 64% of women stated their occupation

88NZPD Vol. 257, May 30 - Aug. 30, 1940. p 44.

89Ebbett, E., When the Boys Were Away (New Zealand, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1984) See especially Chapter 5, pp 47-55 which looks at women's lives under the Manpower Regulations.

90Ibid. p 47.
as 'living at home - not otherwise employed'.\textsuperscript{91} So by registering all civilian labour and by supervising the flow of female labour into declared essential industries, man-power committees could "ensure that man-power [sic] resources were not being squandered on unimportant work"\textsuperscript{92} such as housekeeping.

Between September 1939 and December 1943, the total number of women 'gainfully employed' rose from 180,000 to 228,000, a gain of 48,000.\textsuperscript{93} While women became increasingly employed in the same occupations as men, only lip-service was paid to the question of equal pay. For example, it was suggested in Parliament that:

> any woman who is capable of doing a man's work should get a man's pay. Equal work, equal pay ... if women can do the work, give them the pay.\textsuperscript{94}

However, women employed in biscuit manufacturing; the clothing trade; the woollen mills; glove, laundry, rubber and shop workers were all subject to low wages even though they worked the same 40 hour week as men.\textsuperscript{95} In defence of such anomalies the Industrial Emergency Council argued that it fell not upon legislation to ensure equal pay, but upon the 'patriotic duty' [sic] of management to implement equal pay for women.

\textsuperscript{91}Figure derived from The Report of Industrial Manpower (H-11a) 1945 Table 7. p 55.

\textsuperscript{92}Report of the National Service Department (H-11a) 1945. p 31.

\textsuperscript{93}Ibid. p 37.

\textsuperscript{94}NZPD Vol. 261, Dec. 11 1941 - Dec. 4 1942. p 397.

\textsuperscript{95}For the precise differences see the Report of the Department of Labour (H-11) 1940 - 1945, where the minimum wage rates by awards and agreements are tabled.
The wave of patriotism\textsuperscript{96} can be seen as a convenient ideology to bring women into the work force, and aided and abetted by the passing of legislation, allowed the exploitation of women to be legitimised. This can be best illustrated by reference to the Factories Act (1936) mentioned earlier.

Table 2 below refers to the overtime hours worked by women and boys between 1942-1944.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Overtime Hours</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>1,549,635</td>
<td>3,902</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1,776,462</td>
<td>4,983</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>1,786,359</td>
<td>4,228</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Report of the Department of Labour (H-11) for the years given.

The average number of hours worked by both women and boys during this period was 387 hours which exceeded the 120 hour legal maximum three times over. In order not to contravene the Factories Act, legislation in the form of Suspension and Modification Orders were used to sweep aside overtime regulations during the war so that women could do shift work in fruit and vegetable canning factories, work night shifts for winding springs for sten guns, work longer hours in the manufacturing of electrical

\textsuperscript{96}It is interesting to note that 'patriotism' as a form of male constructed ideology derives its meaning from the word element - patri - meaning, father. The point of male constructed language and its implications for women is raised further in Chapter 5.
lamps and so on.  

It is during the war period that the use of women as a auxiliary labour force is highlighted. State policy coupled with the wave of patriotism served to mask the exploitation of women, but while they were being economically exploited they were also being 'liberated' to an extent as one commentator writes:

they became more recognised as people who could and should contribute to economic life. Hitherto, because of tradition, prejudice and women's lack of social equality in the community, they had been prevented from doing so.

While women had become more visible in the work force as a result of the war, ideology about the role of women was still slow to change. With a successful end to the war from New Zealand's point of view on May 8 1945, women were able to think about what the future would hold for them after the war. One woman writes:

women have stood by the side of men and worked hard over the war period. Many have sacrificed their health and many more have the knowledge that the happiness of a normal life will not be their's again... There is compensation for all this within their reach - and that is equality in the economic and political world - not merely of pay, but equality of service, equality of opportunity, equality of speech at the council tables... What we want after the war is a little fierce feminist action.

---


98 Sutch, W.B., Poverty and Progress in New Zealand (New Zealand, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1969) p 252.

However such views were not met with enthusiasm. One columnist (sex unknown) wrote in reply:

experience shows that women are not particularly gifted for leadership in public and community affairs. For several decades past the women of New Zealand have had equal opportunity with men to reach the top... no particular influences are at work to keep them down... it appears that women simply do not possess 'what it takes'... 100

The following discussion will contest the claim that there were 'no particular influences keeping women down'. This can be done by looking at what happened to women after the war period.

POST WAR TRENDS - 1945-1959

The post war period was marked by many trends, all of which were to have implications for how the role of women in New Zealand society was to be defined. Overall it was a period of trying to accommodate the needs of a society to reproduce itself, and the economy's need for more labour power as a result of post war reconstruction and expansion. In an attempt to accommodate such needs, ideology concerning the role of women, while still grounded on traditional assumptions, showed a slightly greater recognition and acceptance of women in the work force.

With the return of servicemen from the war, the number of marriages increased dramatically as Table 3 illustrates.

TABLE 3: NUMBER OF MARRIAGES FROM 1943-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>12,021</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>19,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>13,646</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>17,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>16,693</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>17,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>21,096</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>17,099</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: N.Z. Official Year-Book)

Corresponding to this was the record number of births from 1946-1948 as Table 4 illustrates.

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF BIRTHS FROM 1946-1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Births</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>41,871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>44,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>44,193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: N.Z. Official Year-Book)

As a result of these post-war trends rather than a 'little fierce feminist action' taking place amongst women's groups, Herd writes that:

... with very few exceptions, women's organisations in the 1950s and early 1960s were predominantly concerned with matters affecting the family and household.\(^{101}\)

While in the United States women had Dr. Spock and "Baby and Childcare"\(^{102}\) to help them, New Zealand women


\(^{102}\text{Spock, Dr. B., Baby and Childcare (New York Pocket Books Inc. 1961).}\)
still had the Plunket Society and "Modern Mothercraft". Explicit in the Plunket Society's organisational beliefs was the view that "while the role of wife and mother was not the only role [it] remained important." While it was acknowledged that the role of women in the community was changing, the belief entrenched within the organisation that a woman's place was in the home continued to be propagated as the following illustrates:

far the most important feature of a home is the mother... unless there is a clear need to earn money when the family is young... the mother is better in her home. It is an empty place without her.

During 1945-1948, 40,000 copies of "Modern Mothercraft" had been circulated in New Zealand and overseas, and no doubt New Zealand was also subject to the influences of Dr. Spock. With the high birth rates and the wide dissemination of ideology which stressed the importance of motherhood, large numbers of women were kept out of the work force when the economy was experiencing its greatest demand for labour.

It was during the post-war period that the contradictory demands of patriarchy and capitalism became manifest. At a time of economic expansion marked by full employment, the supply of labour was unable to meet the demand as the vacancies in industry illustrate below.

---


TABLE 5: VACANCIES IN INDUSTRIES FROM 1946-1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Monthly Average for Calendar Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>19,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>24,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>23,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>20,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>22,445</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


At the same time if we look at the participation of married women in the work force, we can identify the source of the contradiction between capitalism and patriarchy, and also its possible resolution. To observe the immediate post war trends we can look at the census years 1936, 1945 and 1951. Table 6 looks at married women in the labour force as a percentage of all married women.

TABLE 6: MARRIED WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL MARRIED WOMEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Prior to the war the participation of married women in the work force was low for all groups. Their numbers increased as a direct result of the war and their increased
presence in the work force was to remain for all age groups in 1945. For all three census year the participation of married women declined in the 25-34 age group, this being the child-bearing age group generally speaking. For this age group the decline is more dramatic for 1945 and 1951 because of the higher percentage of married women in the work force compared to 1936. Their low representation can be explained with reference to the post war 'baby boom' and the influence of the 'ideology of motherhood'. This illustrates the tensions between the competing demands of patriarchy which requires women to assume the responsibility of childcare, and capitalism which requires a readily available source of labour. This contradiction was resolved somewhat by the return of married women within the 34+ age group who had completed the childcare responsibilities, to the work force.

Their return was made possible by two factors. The first of full employment mentioned earlier, meant that conditions were favourable to the acceptance of women as employees. Secondly, technology was making its presence felt in the home and in industry.

The mechanisation of household tasks through the introduction of electrical appliances freed women from domestic duties to a greater degree. Mechanisation of the manufacturing process meant that the women could compete for jobs which were previously denied to them on 'physical' grounds. To this extent mechanisation helped
to reconcile the demands of the economy with the demands of domestic responsibilities.

While women had increased their participation in the labour force and cries for equal pay were to be heard once again, the 1936 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Bill still remained the guiding principle in the determination of the 1945 Minimum Wage Act\textsuperscript{106} which set the minimum weekly wage for men at £3 5s. Debate in Parliament on the Act clearly illustrates that the wage differential between the sexes was intended to reinforce the traditional spheres of male and female work, with one MP going so far as to say:

\begin{quotation}
we have women on our trams and on our railways doing splendid work, but we want to be sure that our bread-winners are given full employment and that our women workers will be encouraged to enter into married life and raise families instead of being discouraged by greater inducements to go into factory employment.\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quotation}

However, the setting of a lower female wage to encourage women back into the home also had the consequence of encouraging employers to exploit women as a cheaper source of labour. Fears were expressed that the wage differential between men and women would have a detrimental effect on both male employment and the sphere of family life. It was suggested that:

\begin{quotation}
if they [employers] can obtain female labour at £3 5s. instead of male labour at £5 5s ... employers will employ female labour in preference to male labour ... the effect will be to create a shortage of female labour in spheres where it is usually utilised. For instance it will have
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{106} New Zealand Statutes 1945/No 44.

\textsuperscript{107} NZPD Vol. 272, Nov. 22 - Dec. 7 1945. p 464.
a serious effect on the employment of women in the home.108

This illustrates once again the difficulty the state experiences in trying to accommodate the competing demands of capitalism and patriarchy within society.

LIBERAL REFORM - 1960-1970

While lip-service was paid to the question of equal pay during the war and relegated to discussion at a "future date" during the post war period with the government of the day claiming that:

the whole question requires very careful study ...
... we have to see where it will lead the whole economic life of the country [as it] would involve a complete alteration in the wage system.109

the implementation of equal pay did not become a reality for some women until 1960.

The participation rate of women aged between 15-64 years had been increasing steadily prior to 1960 as the table below illustrates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Participation Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>29.0 (war influence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: N.Z. Official Year-Book 1974. p 892)

108 Ibid.
With the growing visibility of women in the work force doing the same kinds of work, the difference in wages could no longer be ignored. While the Public Services Association had long advocated equal pay, the issue was pushed into the political background by other preoccupations held by the state to be of more importance during post war reconstruction and expansion.

The most important factor which contributed to the implementation of the Government Services Equal Pay Act in 1960\textsuperscript{110} was the favourable economic climate which existed at the time, with New Zealand recording a balance of payments surplus of £36m in the same year.\textsuperscript{111}

The above Act made provisions for the elimination (in 3 annual stages) of the differentiation in salaries or wages on the basis of sex whereby 'women should receive the same pay as men where they do equal work under equal conditions.' While this was a step forward, it only applied to women in the government services. Women in the private sector were not as yet subject to such benevolent legislation.

With the growing number of women participating in the work force (35.4% in 1966), the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women was established in 1967. The Council was to advise the Minister of Labour on matters connected with women's employment, training, retraining, and the diversification of work opportunities. But despite

\textsuperscript{110} New Zealand Statutes 1960/No 117.

\textsuperscript{111} New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1961. p 249.
all this, the Council's stated aim of:

... the creation of the conditions for women to make their full contribution to the economy consistent with their individual freedom and their responsibilities as wives and mothers, still showed signs of a conflict of the dual roles assigned to women.

While the Government Services Equal Pay Act was fully implemented in 1963, the private sector had not been forthcoming in advocating similar moves, and as a result a Commission of Inquiry into Equal Pay was held in 1971. The Report concluded that:

... many of the difficulties in implementing equal pay are associated with the problems of changing attitudes, habits, and procedures... we are convinced that equal pay is but one of many changes which will need to be made in conditions affecting the status of women in our society and it is for this reason that we have chosen to take a gradualist approach to the problem.

While a 'gradualist approach' was advocated for social reasons, I will argue that the main reason for such an approach was for economic reasons. Conditions for the implementation of equal pay in the early 1970s were not as economically favourable as they were a decade earlier. With a balance of payments deficit of of $203m recorded for the year 1970-1971, the emphasis on the inquiry was to focus on the economic cost of implementing equal pay.

---

112 Cited in Herd, op cit., p 249.
114 Ibid. p 17.
It was suggested that equal pay would have major effects on industry and the economy. Equal pay would impose a substantial increase in the direct wage costs of those industries which were female intensive. The cost would have to be absorbed by industries, and price increases would be inevitable. Without passing on the cost to the consumer the 'economic viability' of some industries would be severely tested. So it was concluded by the Commission that the direct cost of equal pay, estimated at around $55-85m would increase price levels by 1-1\frac{1}{2}\% and that:

an increase of this order is quite significant and is further substantial justification for us to recommend that the implementation of equal pay be spread in 5 steps over 4 years so that the impact on costs and prices is cushioned as much as reasonably possible.\footnote{Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Equal Pay. (1971) pp 63, 58.}

It was with these recommendations in mind that the Equal Pay Act (1972)\footnote{New Zealand Statutes 1972/No 118.} made provisions 'for the removal and prevention of discrimination on sex of employees in the rate of renumeration of males and females in paid employment.' The Act was to be phased in on an incremental basis from April 1973 to April 1977 at a time when the country was entering a time of economic recession.

The social costs of equal pay did not escape comment during this period either. One of the implications listed by the Social Development Council was that,

equal pay in so far as it will lead to increased participation of mothers in the work force must mean less time available with their children to develop sensitive and affectionate relationships
... the implementation of equal pay may well apply further pressure in the direct breakdown of the nuclear family as the basic childrearing unit.\textsuperscript{118}

The ideology implicit in the above statement, coupled with the work of Bowlby\textsuperscript{119} which enjoyed popularity during this period, with the Plunket Society reiterating to parents (but mainly mothers) that, the prime requirement of the young human being is for love \ldots Dr John Bowlby has shown that a child who is deprived of motherlove may not develop as quickly as he [sic] should \ldots 'Love', he says, 'is as important as vitamins',\textsuperscript{120} served to bolster the belief that a mother's sole responsibility was to provide constant care for her children at home. This ideology is convenient for the state to hold and to disseminate, especially during times of recession where it can be used as a weapon in an attempt to push women back into the homes, thus allowing the state to regulate the conflicting demands of patriarchy and capitalism.

THE POLITICS OF CHILDCARE

The availability of childcare facilities in New Zealand have been described by one researcher as an 'area of crying need',\textsuperscript{121} where the demand for child care facilities far outweigh the supply.

\textsuperscript{120} Begg, N., op cit., p 24b.
\textsuperscript{121} Julian, R., Brought to Mind, (Wellington, 1981.) p26
In terms of state policy, the most progressive recommendations with regard to childcare were made in 1947 by the Consultative Committee on Preschool Educational Services. With emphasis on building a strong and healthy nation after the war, the Committee recognised that if this aim was to be met, then childcare must increasingly be a community responsibility as well as a parental one. Thus it recommended the establishment and maintenance of a national preschool system which would be made "available to every child whose parents wish to use them and that the expanded service be provided through the state."\textsuperscript{122} While there is no evidence to suggest that these recommendations were made with the labour shortage\textsuperscript{123} in mind during the post-war period, the argument can not be totally discounted. But as worthy as the recommendations were, they were not implemented by the government.

Nearly two and a half decades later, the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Preschool Education was released in 1971. The Report stated that New Zealand was in "the forefront of preschool provisions"\textsuperscript{124} and rejected the recommendations put forward in 1947, arguing that voluntary bodies were now well established and that they had demonstrated a growing competence in carrying out their roles in preschool education.

The fact that childcare provisions had become well established was due in no way to state policy. Rather, 


\textsuperscript{123} Refer back to Table 5.

because women had demonstrated that they had managed in the past to survive without full government support, this only served to justify the argument put forward by the Committee that "now the need is not for direct state control but for increased state assistance."

Concurring with such a view, the Select Committee on Women's Rights suggested that greater government involvement in providing childcare facilities would produce economic benefits for society through women augmenting the potential labour force and through allowing women to contribute their time and talent to community work. While the S.C.O.W.R. recognise that women can not pursue any opportunities fully unless adequate childcare provisions are made, it fails to realise that during times of economic recession it is convenient for the state to stall provisions and to pursue childcare policy along the lines of:

... no measures should be adopted that might undermine normal family life ... the aim [is] to ensure that as far as possible the family remains the primary source of childcare.

Not only does such conservative policy confine women to the home, but it also conveniently allows the state to escape the full responsibility of providing adequate childcare for those who need it, and this has important implications for the shaping of women's destinies within

---

125 Ibid. p 73.
127 Ibid. p 91.
society. The lack of childcare facilities cancels out any real gains that equal pay legislation may have provided women because it denies women a chance to establish the length of service which is closely linked to promotion and higher pay. As a result, women are more likely to experience horizontal rather than vertical movement within the labour market and it also ensures that there will be a reserve army of labour comprised of women who are willing to return to part-time and low paying jobs after their children have reached school age.

The lack of childcare facilities and its detrimental effects on women's employment opportunities has been recently acknowledged by the state in its announcement of childcare facilities for public servants. Such a move said the Prime Minister was "the most significant step forwards towards the achievement of full equal employment opportunities since the passage of the equal pay legislation in 1960". But while the provision of these facilities will be met by the government, with the users meeting the operating costs, such policy statements have been greeted again by conservative attitudes. The opposition spokesman on family affairs gives testimony to the conservative strength of maternal deprivation as a prevailing ideology by asking:

what will be the effect on families, parents and children of substantial numbers of mothers having to be prepared to commit children during the critical first years of life to full time State care ... is it helping the family to stay together?

---


While the government's initiative in this area is commendable, ulterior motives for such progressive policy can not be discounted. For example, the state has had many opportunities to implement such policies, especially when the economic climate has been more favourable. The cost of implementing such facilities can possibly be seen as an attempt by the state to make the public service more attractive to state employees in order to stem the flow of state personnel moving into the private sector. In other words it may yet again be a policy of getting women on the cheap.

SUMMARY

By selectively tracing state policy within New Zealand, I have been concerned with the contradictory demands that patriarchy and capitalism make upon women in society, and how the state attempts to manage the conflict through the implementation of state policy.

The implementation of state policy in an attempt to reconcile the competing demands of both patriarchy and capitalism results in the position of women being fluidly defined ideologically according to which of the demands are dominant at the time. For example, when the economy experiences a labour shortage, the ideological definition of women's work is extended beyond the domestic sphere and state policy with respect to women is more benevolent. Overall the result is that women serve as a reserve army of labour in society, and to this extent their economic position within society is very insecure.
The reserve army thesis will be subject to closer analysis in my next chapter which will look specifically at how the state, through the implementation of educational policy can manipulate women teachers in and out of the primary education system.
CHAPTER III

WOMEN TEACHERS IN THE PRIMARY SERVICE

In the previous chapter I advanced the view that a close connection exists between the economic conditions prevalent in society and the nature of social policy that is implemented with respect to women, and that this has implications for women's roles both socially and economically.

In this chapter I propose to develop this view more closely with respect to women in one specific area, that of the primary education system. Tracing the involvement of women teachers in primary education from 1920 through to the present, I will show that women have traditionally been used as a reserve army of labour to meet the needs of both patriarchy and capitalism. This can be directly attributed to the effects of educational policy, which as a component of state policy, is influenced and governed by the economic conditions prevalent at the time.

Teaching throughout the 1920s was regarded as the

---

130 This chapter presents mainly a descriptive account of women's movement in and out of the primary service. Refer to Appendix, Tables 1 and 2 for a graphical presentation of the described trends from the period 1920-1983.
"Cinderella of the services",\textsuperscript{131} as it was assumed that no one would become a teacher if they had the opportunity of entering another service which was more economically rewarding. If a woman did contemplate a career, two options were open to her, that of nursing or teaching. Given that women had narrow career options, and that men chose jobs with greater economic returns, women dominated the teaching service for the most part of the 1920's. By 1928 however, New Zealand was experiencing the onset of an economic depression.

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND SEXUAL DISCRIMINATION: 1928-1938

While teaching was regarded as a traditional female preserve, during the depression, the combination of social attitudes formalised in legislation, served to increasingly redefine the job of teaching as a male one. This can be illustrated by looking at the changing composition of teachers in the primary schools from 1920-1940.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>3500</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>3623</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>66.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3873</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2105</td>
<td>4078</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2243</td>
<td>4098</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2318</td>
<td>4115</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>3936</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>2516</td>
<td>3926</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>2416</td>
<td>3701</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>2367</td>
<td>3377</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2404</td>
<td>3297</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: N.Z. Official Year-Book, Dept. of Education - Annual Report for the given years.)

* Includes Head Teachers, Sole Teachers, Assistant Teachers but excludes Pupil-Teachers.

What can be seen from the table is that during the period 1920-1927, women made up 65% of the primary teaching force, but as the depression wore on the composition of the teaching service became increasingly male, to the extent that males comprised over 40% of the primary teaching force. The explanation for this trend can be found by looking at the educational policy that was implemented during this period.

The seeds of discrimination against women teachers appear first in a report made by the Auckland Education Board in 1930. The Board petitioned the Government to grant all Education Boards 'discretionary power' in the matter of the employment of married women teachers because
"the Board considers that the employment of married teachers should not be unconditional"\textsuperscript{132} in view of the present economic conditions.

The Boards were granted this power through two pieces of legislation. Firstly, in 1931 the Finance Act made provisions which allowed all Boards:

\ldots on the giving of three months notice of its intentions... may terminate the engagement of any married woman employed as a teacher in the service of the Board.\textsuperscript{133}

While married women had the right of appeal, an appeal was only granted on the basis that her termination would cause undue hardship, as it was the view of all Boards that married women, whose husbands were in a position to support them, should be refused employment, especially when there was so much unemployment in the teaching profession.\textsuperscript{134}

This discrimination against married women teachers was expressed more clearly in a second piece of legislation, The Education Amendment Act 1932-1933 which stated that:

except in the case of a married female teacher who has completed her course of training... but has not completed the term of service required by regulations, the Board may refuse to appoint any female married teacher.\textsuperscript{135}

The existence of such legislation meant that from 1928-1940, the number of women teachers declined by 7\%, this figure is due in no small part to the discriminatory

\textsuperscript{132} Department of Education - Annual Report 1930 (E-2) p 27.

\textsuperscript{133} New Zealand Statutes, 1931/No.4, No.44.

\textsuperscript{134} Department of Education - Annual Report 1932-1933 (E-2) p 3.

\textsuperscript{135} New Zealand Statutes, 1932-1933/No.49.
action described above which served to push women back into the home. However, the Minister of Education at this time seemed oblivious to any discrimination enforced through legislation. Table 9 shows the ratio of women to men teachers from 1930-1939, which reflects the steady decline in the ratio of women teachers, especially for the period 1931-1935.

**TABLE 9: NUMBER OF WOMEN TEACHERS PER 100 MALE TEACHERS, 1930-1939**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Department of Education - Annual Report (E-1) for given years.)

While these figures reflect Education Board and state discrimination against women, the Minister at that time chose to gloss these figures differently, arguing that they were due to the primary branch of the teaching service providing "positions of a sufficiently attractive nature to draw an increasing number of men", neglecting that these positions were made available to men at the expense of women.

While married teachers were forced back into the home during the early years of the 1930s, this was not to

136 Mr Harry Atmore, Minister of Education. Cited from Department of Education - Annual Report 1931 (E-1) p 18.
remain the case for long. As part of the economic measures adopted by the Education Department during the depression, children under the age of six were excluded from the public schools. As the economy slowly emerged from the economic depression, they were allowed back into the schools in 1936. This move resulted in 17,400 children entering the primary system and a shortage of teachers in the system.137 The influx of these children not only taxed the accommodation of the schools, but also presented staffing difficulties as expressed by the Auckland Education Board.

Their report stated that:

owing to shortages of teachers, the Board experienced difficulty in the staffing of country schools. Several advertised vacancies for Grade 1 female assistants attracted no applicants. During the December term, 140 married women teachers were employed as relieving teachers.138

This was typical of all the reports by other Education Boards at the time.

The distinct pattern to emerge during this decade was that women teachers, especially married women, served as an auxiliary labour force within the education system. Their position was greatly influenced by the economy as can be illustrated by the two different views adopted by the Auckland Education Board. The important point to note is that the services of women teachers were temporary, this being reflected in the increased numbers of women

---

137 Department of Education - Annual Report 1938 (E-1) p 2.
assuming relieving positions as shown in the table below. Such a trend only serves to demonstrate the ease with which they could be moved in and out of the work-force.

**TABLE 10: NUMBER OF WOMEN TEACHERS HOLDING RELIEVING POSITIONS, 1936-1938**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Department of Education - Annual Report (E-2) for given years. Derived from the table entitled Number of Teachers in Public Primary Schools, classified according to salary on the basic scale.)

To illustrate more succinctly the way in which women teachers were treated as a reserve army of labour one can look at the corresponding educational policy at the time. The Education Amendment Act of 1938 repealed both sections of The Finance Act (1931) and The Education Amendment Act (1932-33), stating that:

no Education Board shall refuse to appoint a married woman as a teacher in any school on the ground only that she is a married woman, and no married women shall be dismissed from a position as a teacher in any school on the ground that she is a married woman.\(^{139}\)

The repeal said Mr Fraser (Minister of Education) "is particularly desirable owing to the scarcity of teachers."\(^{140}\)

---

\(^{139}\) New Zealand Statutes, 1938/No. 14.

While schools were drawing on married women ex-teachers it was still not possible to meet the demand. This scarcity of teachers was to be further exacerbated by the advent of World War Two.

WORLD WAR TWO: 1939-1945

During the war, 70% of male primary teachers had entered the Armed Forces resulting in few male recruits into the training colleges. Consequently, this period was marked by a continued shortage of teachers and women were called upon to fill the gap.

While women were to play a pivotal role in maintaining the country's education system during the war, their efforts were only fleetingly acknowledged behind the attention focused on their male counterparts. For example, the annual report to Parliament in 1940 stated that the loss of 70% of male teachers within the primary service had placed the schools under great strain. While married women had re-entered the profession and had taken up their new responsibilities with efficiency, "any further loss of men must have a serious effect on the work of schools." 142

During the war and under the introduction of the Temporary War Appointments Scheme, many married women returned to the service and many young women took up positions in the country areas which were normally held by

141 See for example, Department of Education - Annual Report 1937 (E-2) p 31; 1938 (E-2) p 31; 1939 (E-2) p 28.

142 Department of Education - Annual Report 1943 (E-1) p 2.
men. But even though women assumed positions of responsibility in the place of their male counterparts, the overwhelming message that they were to receive was that these jobs were temporary, as expressed in the many regulations which existed to safeguard the jobs of servicemen overseas. While a 'serviceman' meant "any male or female [sic] teacher who has been a member of the armed forces", with 70% of the primary service who were in the Armed Forces being men, regulations clearly benefited men more than women, and the policy statements reflected this.

Policy during this time was:

laid down ... with respect to safeguarding the interests of soldier teachers ... the guiding principle has been to place the teacher as closely as possible at the stage in his professional career that he would have reached if military service had not intervened.  

For women teachers in a 'care-taking role', the return of servicemen who received priority appointments meant job displacement as one woman's experience illustrates:

I thought I would not lose the appointment at one time because the man who had held the position permanently was reported missing presumed killed. I told the Education Board I wanted to apply for the position ... but the Board wouldn't appoint me. They appointed another chap overseas, so he could come back to it and I had to stay on. When ... the war was over I didn't waste any time. I put in an application and went straight into a job up north.  

---

144 Department of Education - Annual Report 1945 (E-2) p 1.
If state regulation and policy reflected male bias, then so did the concerns of the primary teachers' professional union, the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI). While married female teachers were being displaced by servicemen returning home, the NZEI's attention and concern was with the plight of married male teachers. The NZEI argued that the position of married male teachers was 'distressing and that their's was a hardship case with imperative claims to priority.' The situation resulted from wages remaining static, coupled with the lack of promotion chances which meant that families found it difficult to make ends meet. The NZEI argued that married men had been "compelled to seek holiday and overtime employment in order to balance their household budgets", and urged that immediate relief be given in the form of an addition to the married salary of £50.146

The consequences of male bias in state policy for women teachers during the war were twofold. Under the temporary war appointments scheme, women were relieving teachers which meant that their position was insecure when the war came to an end. Secondly, the emphasis on the salaries of married male teachers reinforced the concept of the family wage, thus implying that the woman's place was still in the home and that work for women was secondary.

---

THE POST-WAR PERIOD: 1946-1959

The overriding concern of the education system during the post-war period was that of maintaining a continued supply of teachers. As a result women teachers were once again used to bridge the gap between supply and demand.

In 1946 concessions were made in the academic qualifications that were required for admission into teacher training to give returned servicemen the opportunity to take up a teaching career. Coupled with this, a liberal staffing policy was introduced which provided for 450 new male positions, with nearly 200 of these positions being above the status of that of an ordinary teacher.147

This liberal staffing policy enabled a reduction in the size of classes, but with servicemen entering re-training, women teachers resigning, and the school leaving age increasing from 14 to 15 years, staffing was a problem.

From 1946 through to 1950 the annual reports to Parliament high-lighted the shortage of teaching staff. The following extract from the 1949 report is typical of the reports during this period.

During the war years the proportion of women to men students was 3-1 ... For various reasons the number of women teachers who leave the service after only a few years is relatively high ... the very year in which increasing rolls created a demand for additional staff saw a considerable loss from this source. To meet the existing shortage of teachers, an appeal was made to married women with training as teachers to resume ... teaching in relieving positions.148


148 Department of Education - Annual Report 1949 (E-1) p 2; (E-2) p 5.
While the shortage of teachers was in part due to the educational policy implemented at the time, the shortage was also due to the fact that women teachers were expected to perform a domestic role as well. Many teachers resigned from the service to marry and to raise families, so to a large extent the supply of teachers depended on the marriage rate. With the marriage of women teachers being "extraordinary high and quite unpredictable", the demand for teachers far outweighed supply. Only the return of women teachers to relieving positions, as reflected in the above statement, enabled the gap between supply and demand to be closed somewhat. The presence of women in relieving positions once again reflects the auxiliary nature of their position within the labour market.

The shortage of teachers was to continue throughout the 1950s and the 1960s and once again, "the root cause of the trouble is that the shortage of teachers is essentially a shortage of women teachers." What can be noted is that while there was a shortage of teachers, the relieving positions occupied by married women suggest that the shortage applied only to the low paying jobs, with Ebbett suggesting that there was not enough well paying senior positions open to women able to fill them. An extract from the 1959 annual report stated that,

positions of responsibility were very difficult to fill everywhere, particularly outside the main centres. The general shortage of women

---

teachers is part of the explanation, but so too is the reluctance of many women to accept increased professional responsibilities.\textsuperscript{152}

However, to suggest that positions of responsibility did exist for women is highly questionable in light of the policy that protected servicemen's jobs and allowed them to gain promotion within the teaching service on the strength of their military service record. Consequently, returned servicemen took over the positions of responsibility that had been filled by women.

Secondly to suggest further that women were not up to the job is to downgrade the role played by women teachers. Surely one would have to argue that the role played by women during the war, when conditions were acknowledged as being difficult and an extra burden on staff, is evidence that women are capable of assuming positions of responsibility. Furthermore, the lack of women in higher positions, especially in the rural areas can be closely connected to the prevailing ideology which placed women primarily in the home. In a majority of cases, married women left the teaching service for this homemaker/childcarer role, and the resulting break in service disadvantaged them as appointments to positions of responsibility are largely contingent on length of service. Moreover, the emphasis on men being the main economic provider for the family and the unequal pay reflecting this, added another barrier which prevented women from accepting positions in rural areas.

\textsuperscript{152}Department of Education - Annual Report 1959 (E-1). p 25.
While positions were available in country areas it was not always economically viable for women to relocate their family unit to the country in order to accept a position. For the government to claim that positions of responsibility were available if only women were prepared to go after them neglects to take into account the many social barriers which prevent women from climbing the promotional ladder.

REFORMS AND EMERGENCY PACKAGES: 1960-1969

While the overriding concern continued to be on the supply of teachers, the beginning of the 1960s was marked with the implementation of The Government Services Equal Pay Act. This piece of legislation provided for equal pay within the education system and served to eliminate the 10% pay differential which existed between men and women in the primary service. While such a move provided for equal pay, this in itself did not mean that women had an equal chance to earn higher rates of pay.

In a system where a person's salary reflects the position she holds within the teaching hierarchy, women, whose numbers are disproportionately over-represented in the lower teaching positions, do not have the same opportunity to gain higher rates of pay. To take a case in point to illustrate, Table 11 shows the number of full time teachers according to positions of responsibility.

The table following illustrates that females holding positions of responsibility have dropped by 42.8% from 1958 to 1962, and that the higher positions have been occupied by men. But while females have experienced a
TABLE 11: POSITIONS HELD BY TEACHERS IN THE PRIMARY SERVICE, 1958-1962

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Principal, Head or Sole Teacher</th>
<th>Assistant Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+102)</td>
<td>(-30)</td>
<td>(+89)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Dept. of Education - Annual Report for given years)

decrease in higher positions they increasingly filled the lower position of assistant teacher, with their numbers up in that position by 17.6%. While these figures show this trend up to and only two years after the implementation of equal pay, the trend has not altered dramatically to the present day (see Table 14).

It is apparent from Table 11 that the primary teaching service is male dominated at the top. Rather than looking at ways in which to redress the problem, policy pursued by the NZEI served to actively maintain the status quo. During their annual meeting in 1961, two remits were put forward which are of particular interest because of their implications for women teachers. The two remits were:

Remit 77: That the Institute investigate the possibilities of increasing the number of senior positions open to men teachers, and
Remit 110: That a system be devised whereby women of a maturer age (not necessarily ex-teachers) receive teacher training.153

Remit 77 was adopted by the NZEI and incorporated into policy that was to be actively pursued while Remit 110 was dropped from discussion. The fate of these remits reflected on women's status in teaching. To investigate further possibilities of increasing the number of men in higher positions served only to exacerbate the disadvantages that women were already experiencing: while the dropping of the second remit removed the possibility of genuine opportunity for older women to develop a career.

However, while the NZEI was unsympathetic towards promoting opportunities for women, the state was aware that emergency measures needed to be taken in an attempt to ameliorate the teacher shortage. Amongst the measures introduced, three applied directly to women teachers. Firstly, Education Boards were requested to use their authority to retain in service suitable women teachers over the retiring age of fifty-five. Secondly, exemptions were granted to all women over the age of 30 from the requirement of country service. This measure as the report states "was aimed primarily at attracting married women back into teaching".154 Thirdly, the measure which was to have the most effect was the introduction of the Motherhood Increment.

The Motherhood Increment provided for "the recognition in salary of years bringing up a family; one increment was approved for each year of motherhood, up to a maximum of four increments."\textsuperscript{155} The result of such a measure was very successful from the government's point of view, as 276 married women returned to classroom work, and of those women who returned 151 had had breaks of five years or longer. The improvement of teacher supply through the 1960s was to a large extent contingent on married women teachers encouraged back via the implementation of the motherhood increment.

In 1962 the bonding of teachers was introduced. Under the bonding system, as a condition of entry, all trainees would have to contract to teach for the same number of years as their training had taken or face paying a monetary penalty. As a result of the introduction of bonding, a new placement scheme was established for bonded teachers. Young teachers who failed to win a permanent position were placed in existing vacancies or in positions which were specially created for them. The implications for married women teachers was that relieving positions were slowly being eliminated with new positions being taken by, and being created for the bonded teachers.

Announcements were made in 1965 that a new training scheme was to be implemented which would lengthen the training course from two to three years. It was planned to have the three year course fully implemented by 1968,

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid. p 12.
but in the meantime the introduction of such a scheme would result in greater retention within the teaching training colleges. As a result of such a move, it was stated that it would:

... be necessary to make plans to increase, if possible, the number of women with lessened family responsibilities who re-enter teaching.\(^{156}\)

In order to attract married women back into teaching to minimise the reduced training college output, two concessions were made to women re-entering the service. Retraining was brief so as to allow women to take up their positions quickly, and where women were unable to work full time, a paired part-time scheme was implemented where women worked part-time with a particular class, 'so as to allow women teachers to still carry out their family responsibilities during the morning or the afternoon.'\(^{157}\)

The success of the recruitment of married women back into the primary service can be illustrated below.

**TABLE 12: WOMEN RE-ENTERING THE PRIMARY SCHOOL SERVICE FROM DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONS 1969-1973**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>-25</th>
<th>25-29</th>
<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-44</th>
<th>45-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL* (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>1047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>949</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total number of those re-entering, both men and women.

(Source: Education Statistics for given years.)


Of those re-entering the service, the major source of re-entry was from a domestic occupation, with no men re-entering from this source. While the marital status of women re-entering the service is not given, evidence strongly suggests that these were married women who were returning after childrearing duties, if one notes the high numbers returning in the 25-39 age group which is consistent with the two career pattern (one before marriage and one after childrearing) of women. The large number of women recruited back, especially during 1971-1972 where married women comprised 58% of those re-entering, illustrates that they are indispensable in times of shortage. However the period of demand for the services of married women was shortlived after this period.


As a result of all the measures previously implemented and a declining birth rate which contributed to a reduction in school rolls, the forecast was for a "buoyant supply of teachers"\textsuperscript{158} in the future. This buoyant supply has enabled primary staffing levels to be reviewed with the result being an improvement in the teacher-pupil ratio, as shown in the table following.

TABLE 13: TEACHER-PUPIL RATIO, 1972-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1:25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1:20**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Only applies to rural schools
**Just starting to be implemented

(Source: Department of Education, Annual Reports for the given years.)

The reduction in the teacher-pupil ratio can be seen as an attempt to alleviate the threatened oversupply of teachers which was becoming apparent by 1976. During this time there was a debate within the NZEI calling for a more even representation of male and female teachers. While this debate will be discussed in the next chapter, it is pertinent to state that such a move, given the conditions which existed at the time, could only have been detrimental for women teachers. Given that there was already a 'buoyant supply' any attempt to recruit more men must be seen as an attempt to redefine the status of primary teaching. When supply outweighs demand, then the counter-balance must be less female recruits. This illustrates the point raised earlier,\(^{159}\) as to how the presence of a reserve army of labour comprised mainly of women serves to insulate men from joining the ranks of the unemployed.

\(^{159}\)Refer back to Chapter 1, p 33
In 1978, the married salary received by married male teachers, and the motherhood increment received by married women teachers were abolished as part of anti-discrimination measures introduced. On the surface the abolition of both forms of salaries seem to be fair enough, but the abolition of the married salary was replaced by the Dependent's Allowance which can be seen as the married salary in another guise. Although this allowance was payable to all teachers who had dependent children (up to 18 years and still at school), and provided that their spouse did not earn more than $500 a year, the ultimate outcome is that men are still likely to be the major benefactors of this policy in the following way.

Male teachers are more likely to be eligible for the Dependent's Allowance because their wives, most likely to be caring for the children will be prevented from working, or be trapped in low paying jobs. Conversely, because woman's work is considered as a secondary source of income, then it is more than likely that the spouse of the female teacher who is regarded as the main economic provider, will earn in excess of $500, thus making women ineligible for the allowance.

The abolition of the motherhood increment can be viewed as convenient for two reasons. With the declining school rolls, a measure which previously encouraged women back into the system was no longer needed when an oversupply was becoming apparent. Secondly, in a period of economic recession, it becomes more difficult to sustain economic

incentives which were introduced during a period of economic prosperity. This serves to highlight the economic vulnerability married women experience as being part of the reserve army of labour within the education system.

In 1979, Broadbanding was introduced in response to the declining school rolls. Schools which were previously graded according to the number of pupils were assigned grades according to staffing levels and as a result the seven grades which existed were reduced to three. The changes in grading resulted in changes in pay for those in positions of responsibility and one anomaly in the translation was the salaries received by Deputy Principals (DPS) and Senior Teachers of Junior Classes (STJCs). While both were equal in terms of responsibility, the position of DP received a salary above that of a STJC.

With Table 14 showing the proportion of all women teachers in positions above that of an ordinary teacher, what is apparent is their over representation (85.4%) in the STJC position rather than the DP position.

**TABLE 14: PROPORTION OF POSITIONS HELD BY WOMEN IN THE PRIMARY SERVICE, 1979**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>(4.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>(12.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STJC</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>(85.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Teacher</td>
<td>1105</td>
<td>(53.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Teacher Career and Promotion Study (Teacaps) 1980, Table 1, p 8.)

Thus the improved DP salaries which were drawn largely by men were at the expense of the STJC position which was
held mainly by women.

While broadbanding and a reduction in the teacher-pupil ratio were both measures introduced to alleviate the problem of oversupply, teacher unemployment has become an increasing problem over the last few years. In 1982, 860 teachers with broken service who were limited to teaching in the locality in which they lived (commonly known as immobile teachers) were seeking full time or relieving positions but could not find any positions.161

While the sex composition of the group of unemployed is not mentioned, evidence would suggest that it is women teachers rather than men who are more likely to be unemployed. As women are more likely to have a career marked by broken service, and because of domestic commitments they are more likely to be immobile. For example Table 15 below outlines the most common career moves of women and men in the primary service.

**TABLE 15: CAREER MOVES MADE BY PRIMARY TEACHERS 1979**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Move</th>
<th>Proportion of all Moves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional move to another school</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move out to do country service</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional move to another district</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move out for partner's work or study</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move out for childrearing</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move back in after childrearing</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1158)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Teacaps 1982, p 30).

What is shown from the table is that the three most common moves made by women in order of frequency were: a move to another district because of partner's work or study; a move out for childrearing; and a move back in after childrearing. For men the three most common moves were all related to the field of education and to promotion. These moves in order of frequency were: promotional moves to another school; moves related to country service; and promotional moves to another district.

This suggests strongly that it will be women who make up a majority of those with broken service, and the fact that only .5% of men moved because of their partner's work or study suggests that it will be women who make up the bulk of immobile teachers.

In 1984, 1600 teachers were unplaced at the beginning of the school year, and of this group 94% were immobile. For 1985, the forecast of teacher supply and demand indicates that because of falling rolls and a high retention rate "the demand for teachers over the years ahead will continue to decrease."\(^{162}\) From the evidence presented, women teachers will undoubtedly comprise a bulk of those who are surplus to the needs of primary education.

**SUMMARY**

In this chapter I have demonstrated that within the primary education system, the role played by women

\(^{162}\) Department of Education - Annual Report 1985 (E-1) p 33.
teachers is essentially one of 'bridging the gap' when there is a mismatch between supply and demand. Their movement between the service and out into the reserve army of labour can be directly attributed to educational policy which is implemented at any given time which serves to keep women teachers in a vulnerable position.

In the following chapter I will develop the argument that the reason why women teachers will continue to move in and out of the reserve army of labour is that they lack the power to determine the policy which has a direct impact on them. And that those who are in a position to determine such policy, exercise their power to the disadvantage of women teachers.
CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ZEALAND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE:
THE MOBILISATION OF BIAS AGAINST WOMEN FROM WITHIN

In this chapter I shall substantiate the claim that the NZEI has on various occasions worked actively against the interests of a majority of its members, namely women.

In order to lay the basis for discussion, the organisational structure of the NZEI is outlined. This is followed by an historical documentation of the remits and reports that have been put forward to the NZEI's annual meetings with close attention being paid to two areas of Institute concern, that of salaries and staffing.

Reference will be made to the concept of power raised in the first chapter and I shall suggest that the NZEI as an organisation, operates with a mobilisation of bias and that those in positions of power may have been engaged or unwittingly engaged in policy initiatives and decisions which have been detrimental to the interests of its women members.

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NZEI

One of the main objectives of the NZEI is to:

163 Most of this discussion derives from the NZEI Constitution unless otherwise stated.
... advance the cause of education generally while upholding and maintaining the just claims of its members individually and collectively.

The longstanding existence of the NZEI has allowed it to establish a 'firm and friendly' relationship with the Department of Education (and the various Ministers of Education). Thus a tradition of amicable consultation between the Institute and the government has allowed the Institute to fulfil the above objectives with somewhat greater ease and success in comparison with other educational organisations. The structure of the NZEI is as follows:

**Annual Meeting** - This meeting is regarded as "the cornerstone of Institute activities" where representatives are able to meet together to debate and determine issues "which are central to the ongoing effectiveness of the organisation." Those present at the meeting are the National Executive and representatives from local branches.

**The National Executive** - This is made up of the President, the Immediate Past President, Vice President and sixteen other executive members who are elected annually by the representatives attending the meeting.

The Executive screens all the remits which are sent in from the branches, and those that merely affirm Institute policy, and upon which action has already been taken, are excluded from the remits which are sent out to all branches to be voted upon. Only those remits which result in an indecisive vote at the branch level are discussed at the Annual Meeting along with the reports

---


prepared by the Executive on particular areas of concern. Those remits which are passed by the local branches are incorporated into NZEI policy.

While the annual meeting is not in progress, the Executive acts on behalf of its members in the area of negotiating with the Department of Education so that affirmed NZEI policy can be implemented.

Local Branches - Branch organisations are based upon a group of schools within a specific geographical location, with attendance at meetings being entirely voluntary. Any member of the Institute may raise an issue at branch level which may require a change to policy. The branch can debate the issue and if approved, the remit, accompanied with a supporting argument is sent to the national office. As mentioned earlier, those remits that are accepted by the Executive are sent out to the branches to be voted on, partly to save time at Annual Meeting, but also to involve membership in bringing about a more democratic decision.166

For every complete 75 members, a branch is entitled to send one representative to the annual meeting. Where a branch has less than 75 members, they are still entitled to send a representative. While each representative is free to vote any way they deem fit on policy matters raised at the annual meeting, most vote according to the view that prevails among the branch members they represent. When meetings are not in progress, a Committee

166 A more 'democratic decision' is somewhat illusionary considering who actually takes part in NZEI meetings. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.
of Management is responsible for the day to day activities of the branch.

Committee of Branches - There are 10 Committee of Branches, each serving an Education Board District. The Committee of Branches is made up of representatives from the local branches and the issues discussed are limited to regional concerns. Its main function is to consider issues which have been brought up at the local branch level with respect to the interests of teachers and to make representations on such matters to the Education Board of its district.

The organisational structure of the NZEI is represented schematically in Figure 3 following.

While the NZEI prides itself on achieving benefits for all its members on the basis of a participatory democracy, with a Committee Report stating that the Institute "is and should remain a participatory democracy", 167 I shall suggest, in the discussion below, that policy negotiated between the NZEI and the government has not been to the benefit of all its members. The claim that the NZEI is a participatory democracy will receive closer attention in my next chapter.

FIGURE 3: THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NZEI

A. Salaries and the Case of Equal Pay: More rhetoric than action.

Equal pay for equal work under equal conditions in the teaching profession is a worthy objective which the Institute argued for many years and achieved before most other occupations.168

This editorial statement was made by the Institute in 1977. I begin with this statement because in the discussion below I will examine the issue of equal pay in retrospect and argue that the Institute did not pursue the issue of equal pay with any vigour, and that the claim that equal pay was achieved in the primary service before most other occupations is a very contentious one.

As early as 1926, the NZEI annual meeting recorded the remit:

that the Institute believes that on a purely sex grounds alone, differentiation in salaries is not justified.169

However, while this provides some evidence of forward thinking by some members within the Institute, no positive action was taken to adopt the remit which would transform the rhetoric into reality. Indeed, no substantial discussion on the question of equal pay was to emerge until 1945.

In 1945 the issue of equal pay was not specifically discussed, but couched in general terms within the context of post-war reconstruction policy initiatives. With the return of servicemen from the war, foremost in the Institute's mind was the need to attract more male recruits back into teaching. This was based firstly on the fact that male staff members had been depleted as a result of the war and secondly on the fact that men were needed to provide the necessary prestige to the teaching

169Cited from Simmonds, E.J., NZEI 100 Years (Wellington, NZEI, 1983.) p 117.
services.\textsuperscript{170} The Institute's 'Report on Post-war Education in New Zealand',\textsuperscript{171} stated that:

if the teaching profession is to attract the best entrants, it must offer a salary scale with sufficient inducement to enable the teaching profession to compete for its entrants on a basis of equality with professions and occupations at present offering much more attractive emolumentary inducements.\textsuperscript{172}

As a result of this report, the 1945 annual meeting was to focus heavily on teachers' salaries. Proposals for the new salary scale was based on efficiency, experience, and qualifications of the teacher, with emphasis on the principle of paying the teacher and not the position. Built into the general principles of the salary scale was the amendment on a non-differentiated salary scale which read:

that the scale be non-differentiated as between men and women teachers except that an actuarial deduction be made from women's salaries because of their shorter period of service and that adequate married dependent's allowances be included.\textsuperscript{173}

When this was presented at the annual meeting for discussion, the argument put forward by the Institute appointed Salaries

\textsuperscript{170} It can be argued that feminisation of a profession tends to hold down its status and financial reward, hence the need for more male recruits within teaching. This also holds true for other professions such as medicine for example. In the western world, medicine is a male dominated, economically rewarding and highly prestigious profession. However, in the Soviet Union where doctors are predominantly female, an inverse relationship exists with regards to income and status. As a result attempts have been made to masculinise the medical profession by increasing the male intake of students so that the claims for higher salaries can be made. Such a strategy has similarities to those employed by the NZEI. For further discussion on the above example, see Heitlinger, A., Women and State Socialism, (London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979.) See especially pp 97-107.


\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., p 67.

\textsuperscript{173} National Education, Vol. 27: No. 290, June 1. 1945. p 117.
Committee was that "differentiation was the only solution" because there was little possibility of the NZEI securing an increase in the amount of married salary (paid to male teachers with dependants) or of securing an adequate allowance for dependants. Thus the need for the amendment to be incorporated into the new salary scale proposals. When put to the vote, the amendment was carried by 57 votes to 45.

In light of the new salary proposals being adopted by the annual meeting, Remit 203 which in part stated:

... that no advance is possible unless a radical upgrading of teachers' salaries takes place in order to attract the right type of entrant ... therefore ... the Executive [should] proceed with all its energy in a campaign to improve teachers' salaries now.174

was unanimously adopted by the annual meeting. As a result of this, two remits dealing with the issue of equal pay were made redundant. These were:

Remit 206: That the Executive be urged to formulate a salary scheme embodying a) equal pay for equal work, b) equal opportunities for men and women, c) adequate allowances for dependants, and,

Remit 217: That it be the policy of the NZEI to secure at the earliest possible moment the elimination of differentiation in the salary scale on the account of sex, ie; equal pay for similar conditions.175

Such events provide some insight as to how the second dimension of power may operate. Remits 206 and 217 were not introduced into the public arena because they were seen as reaffirming issues already raised in Remit 203. As a result, any conflict or change in the status quo did not arise. If on the other hand, the remits had been adopted,

174Ibid., p 139.
175Ibid., p 141.
then not only would the Institute be committed to the principle of equal pay as expressed by Remit 206, but the Institute would also have been committed to implementing equal pay at the earliest possible time as reflected in Remit 217.

An attempt to repeal the amendment passed in 1945 with respect to the salary scales was made at the 1946 annual meeting. This attempt came in the form of: Remit 67: That the amendment\textsuperscript{176} passed at the 1945 Annual be rescinded, and the principle of equal pay for equal work be affirmed.

The woman who moved the remit gave as her supporting argument, that during the war years, women had shown that they could do equal work with men and that if teaching was to be regarded as a profession, then it was wrong to pay lower salaries to women on the basis that equal pay had yet to be established in any other profession. 'The question that had to be decided on' said another female member was 'were women ten percent inferior as teachers to men?'

On the other side of the argument one male member said he was opposed to equality in one section of the community only. Before he could agree to the remit, 'there would need to be universal equality for men and women throughout the community and that the Institute should direct its energies towards securing adequate pay for women and adequate pay for men.'\textsuperscript{177} When put to the vote, the remit was lost by 39 votes to 30.

\textsuperscript{176} Refer back to p 104.

\textsuperscript{177} National Education, Vol. 28. No. 302., July 1. 1946. p 212.
If we analyse the political strategies which were involved over the last two annual meetings it will become more apparent as to how the mobilisation of bias serves to preserve the status quo at the expense of the female members within the NZEI.

Table 16 below shows the number of representatives according to sex who were present at the annual meetings from 1945-1947. If we look at the sex composition of those who attended the annual meetings where the issues were discussed and where the decisions were made, the attendance by men greatly out-numbered women, with the average ratio over three years being 4 men to 1 woman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: National Education for given years. See 'Diary of the Week's Work', June and July Issues.

Clearly, if the remits that had been put forward had been adopted as NZEI policy and translated from policy through to action, women would have been the prime benefactors of such a move. However, with the greater representation of men over women, thus placing men in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests.\textsuperscript{178}

men as the main economic providers should get a higher rate of pay) a set of predominant values were upheld.

While voting can be cited as one indicator that a mobilisation of bias operates against female members within the NZEI, other political strategies also serve as valuable indicators. The priority remit system which operates within the NZEI allows for the management of potential conflicts. As was shown in 1945, priority given to the salary scale proposals and to Remit 203 resulted in latter remits being excluded from discussion and debate. Thus by displacing the remits altogether, a potential conflict was effectively managed (albeit temporarily) and an example of non-decision-making had taken place.

Even when remits are accepted for discussion, the claims embodied within the remit can be denied legitimacy, as can be illustrated by the discussion surrounding Remit 67 in 1946. One of the arguments against the implementation of equal pay was that 'universal equality' has to be achieved first, the implication being that to give women in the teaching service equal pay would not be equitable in relation to other sectors of the community. However no mention was made to the fact that the present status quo was itself inequitable. By waiting for other sectors to make the first move on such matters of equal pay, action is delayed indefinitely to the detriment of women teachers.

Equal pay was raised again in 1947 via Remit 57: That the NZEI upholds the principle of equal
pay and status for men and women teachers.

This was amended to:

"That the NZEI upholds a) the principle of equal pay and status for men and women teachers, b) the provision of adequate allowance for family responsibility."\(^{179}\)

When put to the vote, the remit in its amended form was carried unanimously. While men still out-numbered women at the annual meeting, their voting should not be taken as a sudden change in attitudes with respect to equal pay. With family responsibility, in terms of economic provisions, being regarded as the male domain, the provision of an adequate allowance for family responsibility is primarily for the benefit of men. It can be strongly suggested that the second provision in the amended remit was largely responsible for the voting observed, and this is also supported by the fact that the 10% salary differential still remained.

 Equal pay was not raised again until 1950 in the form of Remit 103: That the Dominion Executive attempt to carry out more effectively the Institute policy of equal pay for equal work, with a liberal allowance where there are dependants.\(^{180}\)

However, this remit did not pass the screening process and was not among the final remits put forward for discussion at the 1950 annual meeting.

What was discussed at length during the meeting was Remit 42:

that in view of the fact that women teachers' salaries now compare very favourably with those of women in other occupations of similar respons-


ibility but that the salaries of men teachers are lagging far behind those of men in other trades or professions, the Institute recognise the necessity of a far greater difference between men's and women's salaries.

The supporting argument did not claim that women did less work than men, but that the remit was in fact 'to benefit women - the wives of the men teachers.'\(^{181}\) It was argued that with the increases in the cost of living, male teachers were facing an economic struggle. While married women teachers had the support of their husband's wage, and single women did not have the burden of supporting a family, male teachers, especially if they were the sole economic provider, faced financial hardship. Additionally it was argued that there was a large body of women who received no monetary reward - the teachers' wives - and that the passing of this remit 'seemed one way of giving them something'. In relation to this it was stated that the remit should not be seen as an attack on women teachers, but rather as an acknowledgement of the good work done by the wives of the male teachers. When put to the vote the remit was lost.

The 1950 annual meeting demonstrates neatly the process of non-decision-making, whereby demands for real change (as embodied in Remit 103) in the allocation of benefits are "killed before they gain access to the relevant decision making arena,"\(^{182}\) thus allowing potential conflicts to be effectively managed. By eliminating Remit 103


\(^{182}\) Bachrach and Baratz., (1970) op cit., p 44.
in the screening process, discussion on the issue of equal pay was denied. If it had been considered for discussion, then questions would have been raised as to what effective steps the NZEI had taken since 1947 to achieve their stated policy. What could have been a potential 'key' issue which seriously called into question the status quo and genuinely challenged those in power, instead remained a potential, rather than an actual conflict as a result of the political strategies employed by the NZEI.

On the other hand Remit 42 deflected attention away from the 'key issue' of equal pay. The remit itself was lost, but in terms of political strategy it gave the appearance that the Institute was doing something for its women members in that it was not allowing the 10% salary differential between men and women teachers to get any bigger. This in fact skirted around the key issue of - why did the differential continue to exist, and why did the NZEI not seek to eliminate the differential?

The answer lies in part in Remit 42 and its supporting arguments. Implicit within this is the belief that men are the primary or only wage earners and that as a result male wage earnings need to be greater in order for them to support their wives and any other dependants. Women on the other hand, while working, are also supported by their husbands or if they are single, do not have the same economic responsibilities as men, therefore their wage can be justifiably lower than that of men.

When a new salary claim was lodged in 1952, the Institute announced that the lodged claim had been based on
principles 'which in one form or another had already been approved by the Institute.' One of the latter principles stated was that "... there should be no differentiation on the basis of sex."\textsuperscript{183}

When the new salary scales were introduced on April 1, 1952, the editorial stated that:

... there was genuine conciliation, with concessions from both sides. It was an example of sweet reasonableness in attaining limited ends and ... was an illustration of the goodwill that smooths the path of the Institute in its relationship with the Department and the Minister.\textsuperscript{184}

It is difficult to ascertain what 'concessions' were actually made by the NZEI because of the lack of empirical evidence concerning the actual process of decision-making which took place between the Institute and the Minister of Education. However, it is possible to suggest one way in which negotiations may have proceeded.

If we turn our attention to the remits put forward to the annual meeting in 1952, Remit 89 is of particular interest. It stated:

that while affirming the principle of equal pay for equal work, the Institute when negotiating for salary increases should regard as a more important principle, a general salary increase for the whole profession... and that if any choice has to be made the principle of equal pay should be sacrificed.\textsuperscript{185}

While this remit was not one of the final remits to emerge for discussion at the annual meeting, the fact that this


kind of belief existed amongst some of the NZEI membership may suggest that this is exactly the strategy that the NZEI adopted when it entered into negotiations with the Department of Education.

It is plausible to assume that one of the 'concessions' made by the NZEI in this case may have been the sacrifice of the principle of equal pay in order to maintain some influence or bargaining power in the situation. Evidence for this assumption lies in the fact that the new salary scales increased all grades by a considerable amount. From the government's point of view, when over 50% of the primary staff during that time were women, to provide for both an increase in salaries and the removal of the 10% differential would have been economically unviable. On the other hand, lower salary increases to compensate for the cost of equal pay would have been unacceptable to the NZEI, thus in terms of priority, a large salary increase was obtained at the expense of equal pay. Thus the statement that "... not all teachers have come out of it equally well"186 is particularly true in light of the unfulfilled principle of equal pay.

It was not until 1957 that equal pay was to again receive more attention. Early in 1957, the Institute was to acknowledge that the "demand for equal pay from outside the Institute had become much sharper and more concentrated", however, within the Institute "opinion is by no means clear-cut [as] too many issues are involved for a simple affirmation or rejection of the principle."187

---

But one can make the argument that it was not a question of affirmation or rejection of the principle of equal pay that should have been held in question. The principle of equal pay itself was affirmed at the 1947 annual meeting, the question that should have been addressed was why in 1957 was the NZEI no closer to achieving equal pay than it was ten years before?

Rather than address this question however, the Executive sent out a questionnaire to all branches in order to reassess Institute policy on equal pay. Two questions and the responses to them are of particular interest and are given below.

**Questions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Do you think that the present policy of the Institute as laid in 1947 is satisfactory and should be reaffirmed?</td>
<td>3272</td>
<td>1056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Would you accept equal pay without the provision of adequate family allowances (i.e.; married salary)?</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>3886</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the breakdown of responses were not given according to sex, the questionnaire did show that members in general were in favour of equal pay provided that the salaries received by male teachers were not lowered in order to compensate for the cost of equal pay.

The negative responses to the second question provides a clear example of the third dimension of power operating, namely the shaping of wants. The negative responses

---

indicate the strength of the prevailing ideology of men being the primary breadwinners and thus attitudes are shaped in favour of members wanting the retention of the married salary even if equal pay was to be implemented. The net result being that wages would still remain differentiated on the basis of sex.

From these proceedings, a number of points can be made. Firstly, the overall effect of the questionnaire was a reaffirmation of the equal pay policy adopted in 1947. Reaffirmation of existing policy demonstrates the second dimension of power whereby the mobilisation of bias has been exercised via the form of non-decision-making so that the status quo with respect to equal pay was successfully defended once again.

Secondly, a point can be made in retrospect with regard to the 1952 salary scales. Question two explicitly illustrates the view that men's salaries should not be lowered in order to compensate for higher female salaries, and this reinforces my earlier claim that the Institute had already adopted this view by sacrificing equal pay so that greater salary increases (especially for male teachers) would not be jeopardized. As a result, the mobilisation of bias which operated in 1952 only becomes somewhat less opaque in 1957.

Equal pay finally arrived in the teaching service, not because of initiatives by the NZEI, but through the implementation of the Government Services Equal Pay Act in 1960. Equal pay slipped into the primary teaching service with hardly a mention in the pages of the Insti-
stitute's "National Education" journal. The only mention of equal pay concerned the view that 'equal pay for equal work under equal conditions is not as administratively as it is professionally desirable and that in implementing the policy in the first year would cost £350,000 alone.'

So if we reflect back on the Institute's claim that it was in the forefront of securing equal pay for its members, one can only conclude that this is a highly contentious claim. One is left to wonder that if it had not been for the implementation of the Government Services Equal Pay Act, whether or not any changes in the status quo with respect to equal pay would have been made at all.

In the next section I develop a further case study to show that such political strategies have not been isolated events and as a result, have far reaching effects for women engaged in primary teaching.

B. Staffing: The Attempt to Create a Male Stronghold

Primary teaching has always been an area which has been dominated by women, but only at the level of classroom teaching, and not at high administrative levels such as Principal or Deputy Principal, with the exception of those positions which are gender specific, such as the Infant Mistress and to a qualified extent, the STJC position.

Many reasons can be attributed to why women teachers do not achieve higher positions of responsibility, with family responsibilities coupled with broken career service.

being the major prohibiting factors. But the argument can also be made that a mobilisation of bias exists within the NZEI which provides greater opportunities for men to gain entry into primary teaching, and quicker progression to the top of the job hierarchy. Conversely, barriers (although not explicit in all cases) have been erected by Institute policy which do not completely exclude women from higher positions but helps to make their path to the top a slow and difficult one.

In 1952, two remits reflected this above position. Firstly, Remit 124 (in part stated): That strong representation be made to the Department to make a more equitable portion of positions available to male teachers. Secondly, Remit 125 stated:

That the present staffing schedules be reviewed in the light of the greatly increased proportion of men in the service ... with the view of providing more positions and avenues of promotion for junior men.190

The supporting arguments behind the remits were concern over the lack of promotional opportunities for male teachers just entering the service. While it can be suggested that the bottle-neck in promotional opportunities was a result of the large recruitment of men after the war who returned to higher positions of responsibility than they had held previous to the war, the NZEI argued differently.

They pointed to the fact that while available positions for women were repeatedly advertised because of the lack of women applicants to fill them, young male

teachers were unable to gain permanent positions\textsuperscript{191} and thus promotional opportunities, and the situation needed to be rectified quickly.

These two remits were combined at the annual meeting and sent to the Minister of Education for reply. His reply was interesting in that he said that men were already being substituted for women in some classes and that where jobs were advertised and no women applied for them, these jobs were then given to men. These were just some of the steps he said that were being taken "towards [a] creation of more positions for men.\textsuperscript{192}

What the above illustrates is a successful attempt to increase the opportunities of male teachers within the system. While men benefited from such policy initiatives the same can not be said of women as a remit prior to 1952 illustrates.

In 1950, Remit 104 which called for 'greater avenues of promotion for women assistants to be made available,\textsuperscript{193} was put forward. This remit was generally consistent with the demands made in the 1952 remits, namely that greater opportunities for promotion and advancement are needed, but here the demands are made with respect to women teachers. However, the treatment of Remit 104 was markedly different, since it did not pass the screening process and consequently did not receive any discussion at the annual meeting. If we look closely at Departmental

\textsuperscript{191}\textit{National Education}, Vol. 34. No. 367., June 3. 1952. p 179.
\textsuperscript{192}\textit{National Education}, Vol. 34. No. 372., Nov. 3. 1952. p 372.
policy laid down in 1948, this may provide us with a possible explanation as to why Remit 104 was rejected at the screening level. With respect to senior assistants both male and female, the Department of Education recommended the following:

head teachers in the larger schools [are] urged to delegate to their senior men and women assistants, wider responsibilities and a greater share in the organisation and management of the school. Senior men assistants are looked on as potential headmasters and should be given opportunities of gaining the experience that should fit them for future responsibility. It is hoped, too, that a wider acceptance of this practice will free head teachers for more constructive work with the younger and less experienced staff...194

Such existing policy recommended by the Department was in direct contradiction to the demands embodied in Remit 104. The possibility exists that the NZEI, in order to avoid any conflict with the Department and the risk of damaging the 'friendly relations', employed the non-decision-making strategy of exclusion to prevent the remit from being debated.

The underlying assumption implied in the above statement is that only men should go on to assume greater positions of responsibility, and to a great extent this assumption is also shared by the NZEI which can be illustrated by debate at the 1954 annual meeting relating again to questions of promotion and positions of responsibility for women.

Debate at the meeting centred around Remit 79:

that the Department be asked to define policy with regard to the employment of senior women in senior classes.\textsuperscript{195}

However, discussion of whether or not senior women teachers should teach in the senior sections of the schools became centred around the question of power, with the view emerging 'that the head teacher must have the freedom to dispose his [sic] staff according to the needs of his school.'\textsuperscript{196}

Supporting arguments for the remit said that complaints had been made by women teachers claiming that they were being denied the opportunity of teaching in the senior school level. Such a denial proved to be a barrier for women because they lacked the experience that was needed should they wish to take over schools of their own later on. Furthermore, many women teachers felt that so long as they were not given the opportunities to show that they could handle the responsibilities, this would prove to be a barrier to their claims for equal pay. While this reflected the real problems for women as a result of earlier policy, such claims however, were dismissed by one male member who stated that 'he was sure 99 head teachers out of 100 would give responsibility to the women who asked for it.' This however, goes against the face of earlier policy which clearly favoured giving more responsibility to men rather than women.

\textsuperscript{195}Senior classes are from Standard 1 upwards, but can vary amongst schools due to size. Senior teachers and assistants refer to the same position.

\textsuperscript{196}National Education, Vol. 34. No. 389., June 1. 1954. p 173.
The debate suggests that positions of responsibility were in fact not open to women unless they asked for them and educational policy reinforced this situation. The effect of such sexist attitudes prevalent within the system, where men rather than women were encouraged to seek experience in senior levels, enabled men to have the advantage when applying for such positions as head teacher.

More importantly, the defeat of the remit meant that head teachers (of whom most are male) retained complete autonomy and power within the school to dispose of staff as they wished. And it will be shown in the next chapter that complete autonomy by the principal over staff which is predominantly female, seriously curtails women's involvement in the organisation and management of the school: an involvement seen as a necessary prerequisite for promotion.

No significant moves were made until 1963 to ensure that both men and women had equal opportunity within the education system. This came in the form of Remit 97:

that the Institute take strong action to see that all teachers, male and female, have equal opportunity of advancement and promotion in all branches of education.\textsuperscript{197}

This was adopted by the NZEI and affirmed as policy. But having adopted Remit 97 as policy, a policy statement in 1967 called for "further upgrading of positions of responsibility and the creation of more positions of responsibility,

especially for men."\(^{198}\) Having agreed to take 'strong action' in the pursuit of equal opportunity in 1963, why is it then that the Institute saw fit to adopt policy which actively favoured men?

The answer lies in the fact that there was a high retirement rate of women due to domestic reasons and that if the situation continued to decline at its present rate, it was believed that a serious shortage of "career teachers"\(^ {199}\) would be the ultimate result. In addition to this, the annual intake, of which 20% were men, showed that the primary service was failing to attract a sufficient share of high quality male school leavers, thus the necessity of offering greater incentives to attract more young men into the service.

The use of the term 'career teachers' is interesting in itself in that it implies that only men pursue careers and not women, with the obvious reason being that women retiring from the service for domestic reasons are unable to maintain an adequate length of unbroken service which would provide them with access to higher positions. Thus the statement by one educationalist, that "a teaching career [is] for men; a teaching job - which one could combine with family responsibilities - is for women"\(^{200}\) is particularly appropriate here.

The anomalies in Institute policy with respect to


providing equal opportunities continued in 1975. In 1975 concern was growing over the increasing numbers of children from broken homes. It was claimed that most of these children were living with their mothers with little or no contact with the father, and that there were little or no male role models in the classrooms. These were some of the reasons behind Remit 95 which was put forward at the 1975 annual meeting. The remit stated:

that the Institute mount a positive no-holds-barred campaign to attract more males into the profession to provide a balance in the ratio of men and women teachers.

This was incorporated into Institute policy in the form of:

believing in the principle of a balance of the sexes in the profession, the Institute stresses the importance of increasing the number of men in teaching.\textsuperscript{201}

However, contradictions in the argument are apparent and serves to reflect the conservative nature of the Institute as it tries to defend and justify the need for men in the service under the guise 'that a more appropriate blend of people are needed to give a family ideal to the school climate.'\textsuperscript{202}

Firstly, if there are so many children from solo parent families, then the concept of the family ideal no longer applies. Rather than conserve the traditional image of the family, the well-being of children from

\textsuperscript{201}\textit{NZEI Policy Document 1984. Part 2/2.2. p 13.}

solo parent families could have been better ensured if the Institute had followed more closely one of the recommendation put forward by the Social Development Council. It recommended that there should "be encouragement of the view that there is a diversity of families in society and that there is no one 'right' sort of family."^203 The promotion of such a view in schools would thus ensure that children were not adversely subject to negative attitudes about solo parent families.

Secondly, it can be claimed that the Institute was working on an a priori assumption that children from solo parent families will be disadvantaged in their overall social development, hence the need to compensate with male role models. This assumption is flawed in two respects. First of all, there is a definite lack of research comparing solo and dual parent families and the effect each family type has upon a child's life experience. Given the diversity of solo parent families which may result from divorce, separation or death of a parent, the experiences of the child will vary according to the circumstances involved,^204 and not all situations in a single parent family will necessarily be detrimental to the child. Secondly, research which coincided with this debate presents evidence which strongly suggests that the differences in children reared by solo mothers compared to the dual parent family are negligible. Ritchie argues that children growing


^204^Ibid., p 6.
up in dual parent families are in most cases reared by one parent only, and that is the mother. Thus, she concludes in her study of solo mothers that "all in all ... solo mothers are simply New Zealand mothers bringing up their children in the New Zealand way." 205

In terms of present day policy with respect to women and staffing, NZEI policy concerning 'Education for Equality' asks members to:

ensure that as far as possible all children are taught as often by men as by women, including their very early years; [and to] ensure that leadership models are available for women and girls within the education system. 206

While the first recommendation mutually reinforces recruitment claims for more males, particularly at the classroom level where women have traditionally dominated, thus allowing men to gain a foothold into the system, no active steps have been taken to encourage more women to seek the positions of DP or principal in order to provide adequate role models for girls. This demonstrates the extent of the bias within the NZEI with respect to policy implementation. Clearly women have not received priority attention despite claims of equality of opportunity in promotion and advancement already existing within the primary system.

---


Another matter raised briefly in Chapter 3 which also concerns staffing is the DP:STJC debate. Institute policy after the adoption of a 1971 remit states "that the Deputy Principal in any school [is] to be paid the highest level of salary after the Principal."\textsuperscript{207} Given that women are least likely to assume either of the above positions (See Table 14, previous chapter) the implication is that men will be the major benefactors of the above policy.

In its defence the Institute argued that 'existing policy is important in terms of all other positions if the concept of Broadbanding is to be accepted" and that through the present plan, the Institute is working to get STJC\textsc{es} and DPs on the same salary.\textsuperscript{208} In 1980 the DP:STJC report was presented to the annual meeting which suggested that a new term be used, that of DP:AP (Assistant Principal). This position would not be seen as subject to the DP but rather that there is a part-principal function in each position, thus establishing a policy making trio in the hierarchy of the school.\textsuperscript{209}

The above recommendations were referred to the Central Advisory Committee to examine the possibilities of drafting regulations which could implement the scheme. While negotiations were completed in 1982-1983 it has not been processed through the legislative changes that

would be necessary to bring about the above change. In response to the delays, the Institute's stock answer has been 'naturally, the Institute's representatives on the Committee are taking every opportunity to ensure that this long delayed item of policy is implemented as quickly as possible.' To date, no legislative changes have been forthcoming.

With the demands for parity between the two positions with respect to title, salary, and conditions of service being denied legitimacy through delays within the political system, any concrete decision remains suspended. Once again the implication is that the status quo continues to operate at the expense of women teachers.

In 1975 the Director-General of Education expressed his views on women and education. In part he held the view that:

if we are concerned with women's rights the present rules of the game must be changed so that women can have greater opportunities to take up positions in the profession that carry status, prestige and power.

In this chapter I have demonstrated that 'the rules of the game' are heavily biased against women teachers. In my next chapter I will develop a claim that it is not as easy to change the rules of the game as the Director-General would suggest, especially when large numbers of women are not even playing the 'game' of power and decision-making within the NZEI.

---

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS A PROGRAMME FOR CHANGE

In this chapter I will be concerned with making some recommendations for a programme of change based upon a clear need for more affirmative action and support for women teachers in the primary service. Without such action the 'invisibility' of women in positions of status, prestige and power within the education system will continue to remain a problem which is subject to much discussion in educational circles but very little action.

This chapter will consider the problems of personnel and structure within the primary education system to highlight the changes that need to be made. Discussion on personnel will focus on the uneven distribution of women teachers in positions of power and decision-making within the system. But as it is individuals who are subject to the structural constraints of institutions, my concern will also be with the way in which the mobilisation of bias within the education system prevents certain personnel, mainly female teachers, from attaining positions of responsibility and power within the system.

It is within this context that I will make some recommendations for change which will call firstly for more affirmative action in the promotion of women's interests, and secondly, a move towards a more democratic form of organisation within the school workplace to ensure equality
in the exercise of power by both women and men.

THE PROBLEM OF PERSONNEL

'Where have all the women gone? Like the sediment of a good wine, they have sunk to the bottom.'²¹² This analogy provides a general indication to the results of empirical research which has looked at the question of female personnel within the education system. In order to highlight the problem of personnel I will look at the presence and participation rates of women at three structural levels. I will begin at the micro level of the school, looking in particular at the relationship between the principal and other staff members in decision-making. What is observed at the level of the school is reflected at the intermediate level of union organisation and participation, and the macro level of one arm of the state, namely the Department of Education.

A. The School and the Role of the Principal

The lack of women in positions of power or decision-making roles at the trade union and government levels springs from the power relations which exist within the school whereby the principal is usually a male and the staff usually female as is consistent with the sexual division of labour within schools. This is illustrated below in the breakdown of primary personnel for 1984 which shows that only 14% of principals are women while women make up 81% of those who have between 2-5 years certificated teaching experience.

TABLE 17: PRIMARY TEACHING STAFF (31.3.1984)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>1,991</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Principal</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second D.P.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.J.C.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Teacher</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>1,222</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1,850</td>
<td>7,984</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year 1</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Extracted from "The Position of Women in Education" Teacaps, Department of Education, Wellington, 1985. See Appendix, Table 2.)

Principals, writes Coulson:

retain personal control over issues involving policy decisions, the supervision of teachers and the introduction of change; they tend to lack confidence in the ability of many teachers to perform their jobs adequately without supervision; and they perceive a need to involve themselves personally in every aspect of school life.213

This autocratic view of the principalship role is illustrated by Elaine Kerr's214 study which evaluates the principalship role in primary schools. Kerr's study is important and useful because she identifies the strategies principals use, both consciously and unconsciously to maintain the balance of power in their favour.

In her study of five principals (4 male and 1 female) she found that while principals maintained consistently that


they consulted their staff on policy matters, they in
fact over-estimated the degree to which they did this.
Instead, staff were informed rather than consulted that
certain changes were going to take place.

Kerr points out that it was common practice for
principals and senior staff to make important decisions
during senior staff meetings and these were not subsequently
discussed at the general staff meeting. If issues were
raised at the full staff meetings, they were presented
in a 'cut and dried' format leaving little or no room
for the general classroom teacher to question or change
the decision.\textsuperscript{215} This situation argues Kerr is further
exacerbated by the sexual composition of the school where,
consistent with the above table, junior staff comprised
younger, less experienced female teachers, thus making
it relatively difficult for them to challenge the collective
wisdom of the older male hierarchy. As a result writes
Kerr, "principals should not be surprised if little
initiative comes from the lower level under these circum-
stances."\textsuperscript{216} The lack of female participants in decision-
making means that few have any experience at leadership
roles and this poses ongoing problems for women in terms
of career prospects which will be discussed later, and
their participation in union activities which will be
turned to now.

\textsuperscript{215}Ibid., p 36.
\textsuperscript{216}Ibid. p 181.
B. **Women and Union Participation**

If we begin with trade union involvement, the general conclusion reached by Geare et al., was that:

in the case of women, two important conclusions can be drawn: first, female participation is undoubtedly lower than that of their male counterparts and secondly, women are blatantly under-represented in leadership positions inside unions. Given the combination of apathy, indifference and some male opposition to women assuming positions of real responsibility, very few women hold posts where they can actually help to influence and determine union policies.217

Their study also supports earlier theoretical claims,218 that domestic responsibilities can act as a barrier to union participation with nearly 38% of their female sample citing this as one of the barriers to their non-attendance.219 Other barriers to union participation included, too many other outside activities, some of which may arise directly out of family responsibilities and interests (35%); lack of confidence (30%); not knowing enough people at meetings (29%); and 'I just don't feel up to it' (31%).

Similar results were produced in the NZEI's own study of participation rates. In 1978 the NZEI presented a report entitled 'The NZEI as a Participant Democracy'.220 The findings of the report wrote the researchers would "probably not startle those readers who are familiar with NZEI affairs." What the survey did reveal was signif-


218 See Chapter 1, p 31.

219 Geare et al., op cit., See Table 26. p 33.

significant differences in attendance rates according to sex as reflected in the table below.

TABLE 18: MALE AND FEMALE ATTENDANCE RATES AT NZEI BRANCH MEETINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All or Most</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 18 shows that while the percentage of men who attend 'all or most' meetings is itself not great, it is still 2.8 times greater than the female attendance rate. However, the most significant finding is that nearly 50% of the female membership in the sample attended no meetings at all. When attendance rates were analysed according to status, the highest attendance rate was achieved by principals with 75% attending all or some of the meetings while the lowest attendance rate was recorded for the classroom teacher, with only 52% attending all or some of the meetings.

While these attendance rates refer to meetings at the local branch level, the difference in male/female participation is more marked at the NZEI's national level of Annual Meeting. While claims that the NZEI is a participant democracy, figures on personnel highlight the same conditions which exist within the school with regard to participation in decision-making, that is power is concentrated in the hands of a few, and these hands are nearly always male.

According to Rowbotham, 'if you are not able to
be present you can't participate', 221 and this is especially true of women in the NZEI. In its 103 year old history the NZEI has had only three female presidents, and over the last 25 years, the participation of women at the highest level of office, the National Executive, has been minimal in proportion to their numbers at the classroom level. The bastion of male dominance within recent times occurred in 1968-1969 when there were no women on the Executive, and only since 1984 has the NZEI been able to achieve the milestone of having 25% of its executive positions filled by women. 222

In terms of representatives attending Annual Meeting, 223 female participation at this level is somewhat greater than that observed at the Executive level, with women making up over 20% of those attending Annual Meeting since 1978. However, while these figures are encouraging, the NZEI still has a long way to go in order to match their secondary counterpart, the PPTA. 224 For example, in 1985 the attendance of female delegates to the PPTA meeting outnumbered men for the first time as Table 19 illustrates.


222 See Appendix, Table 3.

223 See Appendix, Table 4.

224 Post Primary Teachers Association.
TABLE 19: COMPARISON OF NUMBERS ATTENDING NZEI AND PPTA ANNUAL MEETING FOR 1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NZEI</th>
<th>PPTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Such an even distribution of female/male delegates at the PPTA meeting represents a positive move towards equal representation which will prevent to a greater extent, the unquestioned assumptions about women and work going unchecked within the secondary system. Furthermore, the fact that the PPTA has also achieved the above in its relatively short existence (33 years) compared to the NZEI's long existence suggests that within the NZEI, male dominance has become entrenched over time and more difficult to uproot.

An ongoing trend from the school level is that just as principals dominate decision-making within their own schools, and are the most regular attenders at local branch meetings, so are they the most predominant group serving on the National Executive. Over the last 25 years, 65 men and 12 women have been executive members, and an overwhelming number of them have been male principals as the table following illustrates. Only two members on the Executive have been of classroom teacher status. The dominant role played by the male principal both within the school and the NZEI suggests how common patriarchal assumptions about the role of women might be transferred from the micro level of the school to the union level.
TABLE 20: STATUS OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS, 1960–1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Principal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second D.P.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.J.C.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes those from Teachers College, University and the Psychological Services.


C. The NZEI and the Department of Education

While the NZEI and the Department of Education are both separate institutions it was suggested in the previous chapter that their members, whom are mostly male, both share the same premises or assumptions regarding women and work in relation to men. As a result, personnel from both organisations could be socialised into an unconscious bias with the interchange of personnel between the organisations merely reinforcing the bias via a 'closed shop' set up.

However, the difficulty with such a claim is that the interchange in personnel between the two institutions has been alluded to more than it has been empirically demonstrated. For example, McLaren suggests that the good relations enjoyed between Institute and Department owe something to the fact that 'many of the key positions
in the Department are occupied by ex-Institute office holders. Concurring with this view, Ingles writes:

its [the NZEI's] ability not only to influence Departmental thinking but actually staff the Department with its own members - ex-Executive members among them - is a remarkable feature of the system.

While both allude to the interchange of personnel, the presence of empirical data to support such claims are more difficult to produce. Historically one can cite the fact that George Hogben, NZEI President from 1886-1887, was Inspector General of Schools from 1899-1914, and more recently Arthur Kinsella who was a representative at the 1947 Annual Meeting, and who later served as Minister of Education from 1963-1969, as tangible evidence that some cross fertilization between members of both organisations does exist. But hard data on career patterns of NZEI and Departmental personnel is difficult, if not impossible to obtain.

However, we can demonstrate how the interchange of personnel may effect women in the primary service by looking at the Inspectorate, a group which plays a major role in determining teachers' personal reports which


226 Ingles., op cit., p 123.

227 While numerous attempts were made, requests for information regarding situations where Departmental Officers had previously worked for the NZEI were denied by the Education Department on the basis that the 'wishes of the officers concerned in this matter must be respected and that the Department was not in a position to provide further details concerning these individuals.'
are necessary for promotion. The table below shows how a number of former NZEI members have gone on to hold positions within the Department serving on the Inspectorate.

**TABLE 21: EX-NZEI MEMBERS ON THE INSPECTORATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total on Inspectorate</th>
<th>Ex-NZEI Members</th>
<th>%*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been rounded off.

(Source: Derived from the Directory of Education Officers, Inspectors and Advisors; NZEI Directory; Representatives at Annual Meeting.)

From the years that data is available up to 1979, former NZEI personnel have consistently made up 10% or more of the Inspectorate with the decline in 1984 due possibly to career retirements from the Inspectorate. The demonstration in the previous chapter of the mobilisation of bias within the NZEI, coupled with the fact that former NZEI members have served on the Inspectorate over a sustained period of time has important implications for women within the system.

In her study of the conflicting demands that home and work make upon women teachers, McDonald makes the relevant point, that it is not only the structure of the education system (to be discussed later) which hinders women's careers but more importantly, the attitudes of those who make the decisions about a person's suitability for
promotion.\textsuperscript{228} Said one woman in her survey:

\begin{quote}
[the] personal attitudes of some principals and working inspectors are against women, in general, working. Attitudes colour decisions on promotion.\textsuperscript{229}
\end{quote}

If we recall Lukes' point at this stage, where he suggests that the mobilisation of bias within the system can be recreated and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of particular individuals' choices,\textsuperscript{230} one can show how the underlying assumptions that individuals may unconsciously hold can collectively contribute to a mobilisation of bias within the system by looking at the assessment grades received by women when they have applied for personal reports.

If we look at the Primary Inspectorate for 1985, there were 78 male inspectors compared with 10 female inspectors. Of these inspectors, 23 had been on the Inspectorate since 1974, all of the latter were men with the exception of one woman.\textsuperscript{231} While trends show that women are applying for assessment in high enough numbers to ensure that they can move into senior positions if their assessment is good enough, figures for 1984 show that for both B and C reports,\textsuperscript{232} the mean assessment for


\textsuperscript{229}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{230}Lukes., op cit., p 62.

\textsuperscript{231}Figures derived from the Directory of Education Officers, Inspectors and Advisors, 1974 and 1985.

\textsuperscript{232}A B report can be applied for after 5 years of certificated service; a C report after 12 years. See also p 145 of this chapter.
women has been lower than that of men's. For the B report, the assessment was 3.4 for women and 3.9 for men, and for the C reports, the assessments were 2.7 and 3.0 respectively.\textsuperscript{233} The lower assessment received by women does not mean that women are worse teachers compared to men, but it does possibly reflect the fact that male teachers and inspectors share similar perspectives or are aware of the criteria that is needed to gain higher gradings than are women who may not understand the rules of the promotion game. The effect of receiving a lower mean assessment is that women are at a disadvantage when applying for graded positions, and in terms of personnel, are less likely to be present in positions of greater responsibility and power.

THE PROBLEM OF STRUCTURE

At a conference for women in secondary education, trade unionist Sonja Davies made the comment that women's lack of participation at an organisational level was the result of existing structures within our society, and argued that "it is the structures that defeat us."\textsuperscript{234}

\textsuperscript{233} Figures taken from Teacher Career and Promotion Study (Teacaps); The Position of Women in Education. (Wellington, Department of Education 1985.) See Appendix, Table 9, which shows the mean assessment scores received by women and men in division B and C reports according to Education Board District.

Below I will pay attention to the organisational structure within the NZEI and the career structure of the primary system in order to demonstrate how both exist to exclude great numbers of women from participation in decision-making.

A. Organisational Structure

Of women's participation in trade unions in general, Geare et al., write that "there is no simple explanation why higher numbers are not reflected in the elective and appointive positions held by women in unions."²³⁵ However, they do provide one explanation which gives some insight as to why there are such low numbers of women participating in union affairs which is directly applicable to the NZEI. They write:

most union meetings are dressed in the heavy trappings of formality and procedural strictness and discussions and debates are carried on in a jargon of their own. The inexperienced member probably finds the atmosphere of meetings rather strange, stiff and uncomfortable and is easily put off from making positive contributions to discussions.²³⁶

Like Geare et al's. study, the NZEI survey on participation showed that the major reasons for non-attendance were largely due to home commitments and the time at which meetings were held. As could be expected, a large majority of married women with dependants gave these as the prime reasons for non-attendance as meetings usually conflicted with children being home from school, and meal times. But if we look at other reasons for non-attendance, they point clearly to the inadequacy of the organ-

²³⁶Ibid., p 34.
isational structure as outlined by Geare et al. Some of the other reasons for non-attendance at NZEI meetings are outlined in the table below along with the percentage who nominated the reason.

**TABLE 22: REASONS FOR NON-ATTENDANCE AT NZEI MEETINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Too many older people dominate</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(72% of this group were Scale A women teachers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of knowledge of meeting procedure</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(94% women, almost all Scale A women teachers)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominated by men</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(100% women)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The findings from both studies, that a lack of knowledge or confidence was a barrier to women's participation can be analysed in relation to Lukes' third dimension of power. Recalling Lukes' argument, he writes:

> is it not the most supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable ...?237

His perspective allows us to consider the structural factors within and organisation which allows a mobilisation of bias to operate. For example, the perceived view by women from the above table is that NZEI meetings are dominated by too many older men with evidence to suggest that these are mainly male principals who dominate the

---

speaking time at meetings.\textsuperscript{238} These views are supported by empirical studies which show that men deny equal status to women as conversational partners with respect to allowing women the right to utilise their speaking turns, and thus denying them the chance to raise topics in conversation. As a result, one conclusion drawn from the research was that just as male dominance is exhibited through the male control of macro institutions in society, it is also exhibited through micro institutions.\textsuperscript{239}

Furthermore, the lack of knowledge of NZEI procedures, especially when meetings are conducted with standing orders couched in quasi-legal language, makes it difficult for novitiates to comprehend. Such institutional practices enable many potential issues to be kept out of politics due to the fact that many women already perceive themselves as being unable to cope with the meeting procedures, and as a result their non-attendance eliminates them firstly from raising grievances, thus giving the appearance of organisational consensus to the NZEI; and secondly, from any form of decision-making within their organisation.

In addition to this it can be suggested that the third dimension of power is enhanced by the organisational structure of the NZEI. For example, evidence would suggest that male novitiates are initiated into the organisational structure through the mechanisms outlined above.


structure to a far greater extent than females, and as a result male dominance within the organisation is reproduced. The structural mechanism which allows this to take place is through the presence of observers at NZEI meetings.

The role of the observer is exactly what the title implies, while observers attend Annual Meeting they are not entitled to any voting rights. However it does allow the observer to be initiated into the organisational structure of meetings and to gain some understanding, and with it confidence, in how meeting procedures work. But such an experience applies more to males rather than females. Overall, males who go as observers far outnumber females and as a result, more male observers return to the next Annual Meeting as representatives than females. This trend was most noticeable during 1971 and 1972 where of the 21 male observers who attended in 1971, 10 returned in 1972 as representatives whereas the presence of such a trend for women is almost completely absent.240 Such structural mechanisms, while not as obvious as the intimidating meeting procedures in discouraging women's participation, does nevertheless have the end result of reproducing a male dominated organisation.

B. Career Structure

Within teaching there exists a definite career structure with positions in the hierarchy dependent upon one's qualifications and experience. Theoretically,

240 See Appendix, Table 5.
advancement up the hierarchy is possible for all to achieve, but in reality this is more possible for men than it is for women. Below is an outline of the model career structure which exists within teaching, but because it is a model career structure, it does not consider the important variable of sex.

**FIGURE 4: MODEL CAREER STRUCTURE OF TEACHING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (approx.)</th>
<th>Career Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Entry into Teachers' Training College.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Year 1 Teacher. Full time teaching. Year is a probationary one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Year 2. First year of certificated service. Appointments are limited tenure or Scale A positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Year 3. Teacher should expect to have a permanent Scale A position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>After 5 years of certificated service a teacher can apply for a Division B report for use in applying for senior teaching positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>After 12 years certificated service with a minimum of 3 years in Division B a teacher can apply for a Division C report for use in applying for DP and STJC positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>With a minimum of 3 years in Division C a teacher can apply for a Division D position which are all principals' positions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Adapted from Teacaps, Department of Education, Wellington, 1982. See section 1, pp 6-16.)

For example, for a teacher to be eligible for Division B positions which include principalships in very small schools and the majority of DP and STJC positions except within large primary schools and intermediates, they must have 5 years of certificated teaching service before they can apply for a Division B report for use in seeking these
more senior positions. Such a long period before one is able to apply for more senior positions has important implications for women.

After certification a teacher is faced with the career decision of either remaining in teaching or changing careers. Additionally for women, there is also the decision of whether to leave teaching to have a family and then re-enter at a later stage. If we take the case that after certification teachers decide to continue within the teaching service, then the career structure is definitely in favour of male teachers. For example, having attained a permanent Scale A position, teachers have to wait another 2 years before they can apply for a Division B report which will enable them to apply for senior positions. 241 This 'two year wait' may not be of great consequence for male teachers, but for women their career decisions at this stage are more crucial.

With the national average age of marriage being 22 (21.9 to be exact) it can be inferred that many women teachers will have married while occupying Scale A positions. By the time they are eligible for their Division B assessments they will be approximately 26, and if they haven't already had a break in service as a result of family responsibilities, many may be considering the possibility of children. A break in service as a result of childrearing before gaining a Division B report means that many women are disadvantaged as a result of the existing career

241 These regulations are laid down in the Administration Manual, Part C, Vol. 1. See especially Chapter 2, para 2.2.
structure, and the regulations governing promotion acknowledge this to some extent by stating that:

while the lack of a personal report is not a barrier to application for a position in Division B or Division C, an applicant without the relevant report is at a disadvantage.\textsuperscript{242}

With movement up the career structure being dependent on length of service, women who are more likely to have a higher incidence of broken service will continue to be disadvantaged. This is reflected in the statistics, with the Teacaps survey finding that 41\% of women teachers having an unbroken service record compared with 74\% of their male counterparts\textsuperscript{243} and also in the subjective perspectives of women teachers who have broken service. The career structure which does not take into account the years taken off as a result of childrearing is viewed as less than satisfactory as two women teachers express below:

I am currently seeking promotion and ... I am losing out on equality as my male counterparts have qualifying service well in excess of mine. The 'opportunity' of six childrearing years does not qualify as service.

My absence during the years that my children were born has placed me so far behind my male age equivalents.\textsuperscript{244}

While the problems of personnel and structure have been separated for ease of discussion it should not be assumed that both are separate and have no cause or effect on each other. For example the career structure

\textsuperscript{242} Ibid., Chapter 7, para. 2.1.


\textsuperscript{244} McDonald, op cit., p 24.
may be viewed as the cause of why so few women are in positions of responsibility and power or conversely, the fact that so few personnel in power are women means that changes in both personnel and structure will be slow to achieve because those in power have a vested interest in maintaining and perpetuating the status quo. In order to alter the status quo some recommendations for change need to be made and acted upon.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

In working towards change the question women need to address is — do we work for change within the existing structures and organisational procedures, thus adopting a reformist strategy to achieve change or do we proceed in a more radical manner so that existing structures are completely eradicated in favour of a more democratic system? The thought of radical change does not appeal to a lot of people because in a majority of cases it is accompanied by social, economic and political upheaval and uncertainty with no guarantee that the emergence of a new system will be any better than the one overthrown. However, radical change does not always have to be this extreme.

Below I will outline two major recommendations for change, looking firstly at a need for more affirming action, and secondly at a need to move towards a more democratic form of social organisation within the school workplace. Both recommendations can be seen as working for change at two levels simultaneously. The
former can be viewed as adopting a reformist strategy to bring about more immediate improvements for women within education while the latter can be viewed as radical in the sense that in suggesting a move towards a participatory democracy we are trying to alter the base on which present decision-making and power rests with the primary system.

A. **Affirmative Action**

Affirmative action said the Minister of Women's Affairs "means quite simply taking the positive steps that are necessary if women are to achieve real equality of opportunity." The affirmative action that the NZEI needs to take can be best illustrated by contrasting their policy initiatives with that of the PPTA. The comparison will illustrate that at least within the NZEI, steps towards affirmative action are not as simple as Mrs Hercus suggests.

At the 1985 Women's Conference for Secondary Education one of the major themes to emerge from the conference was the need for greater female participation within PPTA affairs. Without greater participation, it was argued that women could not expect their perspective on all issues to be taken into account. As a result of such views recommendations from the conference were put forward to the PPTA Annual Meeting. Some of the


246 Other interested parties including the NZEI were also present.

recommendations passed at the Annual Meeting included:

- a women's co-ordinator to be included in the organisation of each PPTA region,

- future negotiations with the Secondary School Boards' Association for an affirmative action policy for appointments to PR positions until the proportions of men and women at each PR level is equal to the proportion of men and women in the service,

- negotiations for the reinstatement of salary credits for childcare, improved service credit for family care, the availability of childcare leave for any parent, and for a long term childcare leave plan to be finalised urgently.248

Such policy initiatives followed an earlier announcement that the PPTA would appoint a full-time permanent women's officer on its staff. Her duties would include advising on women's interests on conditions of service, participating in negotiations as necessary; building structures within the Association, both locally and nationally to enable women to participate fully and equally; and organise courses designed to assist women to become more effective in management and leadership skills.249

In contrast to such affirmative action aimed at promoting women's interests, the NZEI clearly shows that as an organisation, it is a follower rather than a leader with respect to women's affairs. Speaking on the PPTA's announcement of a women's officer, Mrs Hercus said:

it has been my experience that while these needs can be addressed within the general


249 For a full outline see PPTA News 6: No. 8, June, 1985.
structure of an organisation, the most effective action comes when they are specifically addressed by an officer whose job is to do just that.\textsuperscript{250}

The NZEI response to the announcement was rather lukewarm with the National Secretary saying that "it is an interesting development and we will be very interested to see the impact that it does have."\textsuperscript{251} The NZEI would view the development with interest because they had also presented proposals for a women's officer to their Executive, but the difference between the two organisations is that the PPTA have taken some positive steps while the NZEI's proposals are still 'lying on the table'\textsuperscript{252} until further notice. With respect to proposals for a women's officer, not only is the NZEI a follower, but it also illustrates the continuation of strategies concerning non-decision-making raised in the previous chapter, which the NZEI employs to the detriment of women's interests.

Rather than pursue any firm policy initiatives to mark the 'End of the Decade for Women', the NZEI produced a report at their Annual Meeting entitled 'Report on the Decade for Women'. Overall the report reviews the events of the decade with respect to women in education and the recommendations made can be seen as rhetorical rather than as vehicles for a change. One of the recommendations in the report read:

that the Institute should intensify its activities to create opportunities for women to become involved in Institute affairs so as to ensure that the most suitable members,

\textsuperscript{250}National Education 67: No. 3, July 1985. p 111.
irrespective of their sex, are not only available but are also given opportunities to represent the Institute at its various levels.253

The phrase 'irrespective of their sex' is the crucial difference between the maintenance of the status quo and a move towards affirmative action. Prior to the adoption of this recommendation, an amendment was made in an attempt to have the phrase omitted. It was argued that the Institute already had a full representation of men and that the phrase 'irrespective of their sex' in effect allowed the recommendation to preserve the status quo. However, the amendment was lost, with some male members arguing that such small changes were not only time wasting, but would also have the effect of 'putting offside the other half of the membership.'254

The NZEI could do more for its women members by taking a leaf out of the PPTA's book rather than to play around endlessly with meaningless words which do nothing to promote women's interests. Emphasis should be upon an immediate appointment of a women's officer whose job it would be to address the problems which arise out of both the present organisational and career structure.

With respect to organisational structure, criticism made earlier of male domination at meetings could be eliminated if the possibility was explored of allowing all staff members time off each month to attend NZEI meetings. Meetings held in school time would immediately remove the conflict between domestic responsibilities and attending meetings which at present is a barrier to women's

253 Ibid., p 8.
participation at meetings. Greater participation by women at NZEI meetings would ensure that they become familiar with the meeting procedures so that they can also make changes to simplify procedures. More importantly, their participation would serve to weaken and undermine the patriarchal order within the NZEI which has gained its strength and power on the basis of denying women access through the male construction of a symbolic system as embodied in the way meetings are conducted with the use of quasi-legal jargon.255

The inadequacy of the career structure has already been illustrated, and the following suggestions for change can be made. Firstly, if women are to feature more prominently in senior positions, then women with initiative need the inducement of earlier promotion within the career structure to encourage them to remain in the service. At present, while women remain excluded from decision-making in schools by principals,256 many may decide that leaving the service is preferable to remaining within an organisation which provides them with no opportunities to exercise their initiative. The benefits of earlier

255 See Spender, D., Man-Made Language. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980). She argues that historically women have been silenced in the patriarchal order as a result of a male constructed and dominated language system which excludes women from the mainstream of meaning so that the experiences of women have seldom been accorded central status in society. This point is similar to the point raised by Rowl botham about the subordination of women to men with respect to cultural expression, especially language forms. See p 160 of this chapter.

256 See Kerr., op cit.
promotion, as is the case in the United Kingdom where individuals can become principals in the early thirties, would mean that the career structure would be genuinely open to talent, with promotion based on proven initiative rather than seniority. Earlier promotion based on initiative and talent would not only see more women remain in the service, but eventually a more equal distribution of women and men in senior positions should be evident.

Secondly, despite the inducement of earlier promotion to encourage women to remain in the service, breaks in service will be inevitable for those women fulfilling the biological function of child birth. As a result, this break in the service needs to be acknowledged by looking at the possibility of reinstating the motherhood increment or something similar in terms of a salary credit for childrearing.

Attitudes also need to be altered if such action is to be successfully implemented. The motherhood increment, introduced in the early sixties to combat teacher shortages was abolished in 1978 as part of an anti-discrimination programme, but it was also a time when the economy was experiencing a recession. If salary credits are to be introduced, then it needs to be on a permanent basis which recognises the importance of childrearing to the continuation of society, and as a result it can not be subject to withdrawal in times of economic recession for state expedience.

Changes in senior management positions such as the Inspectorate are also necessary if women teachers are
to benefit from any introduction of salary credits. Firstly, the proportion of females on the Inspectorate needs to be increased so as to reflect the proportion of women within the primary system. When asked who encouraged them to apply for senior positions, responses produced an even proportion of men and women who cited the principal, However there were differences when it came to the inspectors. Men were more likely to identify inspectors as a source of encouragement, with nearly 17% of men citing inspectors as a source of encouragement compared to 8% of women.  

Such figures support the claim presented earlier that inspectors may hold different assumptions (either consciously or unconsciously) as to what are the appropriate work roles for women and men. The possibility that shared common assumptions exist between both male teachers and inspectors suggests that women may be placed at a disadvantage as far as career aspirations are concerned. More women are needed on the Inspectorate so that more affirmative action can be taken in the form of encouraging more women teachers to apply for more senior positions.

Secondly, a system of limited tenure may also be an advantage so that reappointments within the system would no longer be automatic. A limited tenure system where each individual has to prove him/herself to be better than other applicants may reduce the trends for some individuals remaining with the Inspectorate for substantial periods of their careers and it may go some way towards eliminating entrenched values, attitudes and assumptions about women and work.

Consideration also needs to be given to the criteria of personal reports. The lower assessment received by women does not mean that women do not possess the same qualities as their male counterparts, rather the opposite should be true because of the numerous comparisons made between primary teaching and the maternal role. Evidence would point to certain criteria within personal reports such as the management and leadership capacities, where one's competence and ease in organisation and administration is assessed. Given that junior staff members, most of whom are women, are excluded from a large part of the organisation and administration within schools, this is a clear disadvantage to them. If the criteria can not be changed then more women need to be aware of the importance of having some organisational training so that particular attention can be paid to this area of assessment. It is in this area that a women's officer could promote a level of awareness to women teachers as to what is required if they wish to consider assessment for promotion. The other way in which women can gain more organisational and leadership skills is embodied in changing the present organisational structure of the school into a participatory democracy.

B. Towards a Participatory Democracy

The term participatory democracy refers to equality in the exercise of power. It rests upon the presumption

---

258 See The Promotion of Women in the Primary Service. (Teacaps, 1980) Appendix A and B where the key to personal reports are outlined.
that:

any exercise of power should be shared equally between all those involved, unless this can be shown ... to be either impracticable or damaging to the realisation of democratic values in other ways.\textsuperscript{259}

In the development towards a participatory democracy, movement would begin within the schools, with major changes in the internal authority structure which would consequently alter the role played by principals. Within the hierarchial school organisation, power and decision-making is highly centralised and concentrated in the hands of a few. Delegation of tasks by principals is seen to occur in a somewhat \textit{ad hoc} manner and there exists the possibility that delegation can be executed in such a way that no real authority is delegated by the principal, just the workload.\textsuperscript{260} In making suggestions for change Coulson argues that a complete change in the role of the principal is needed whereby authority would become decentralised and rationalised. He suggests that:

\begin{quote}
while the chief should remain the school chief executive, his right to dominate policy making should cease and his leadership should rest upon rational influence rather than institutional supremacy.\textsuperscript{261}
\end{quote}

Leadership resting upon rational influence which gives the appearance that democratic procedures are taking place however ignores the subtle ways in which principals


\textsuperscript{261}Coulson., op cit., p 104.
can exert power and influence over their staff members. Kerr provides one example when she writes:

if the principal has considerable control in determining the agenda of staff meetings, he can so 'set up' the issues to be discussed to produce the outcomes s/he desires ... Where the principal has information the staff do not have, relevant to a particular decision, he has the advantage over them and can 'shape' discussion accordingly.262

A further suggestion Coulson makes towards achieving greater school democracy is that it is essential to evolve structures which will accommodate and satisfy teachers of 'restricted' and 'extended' outlook whereby career teachers with an extended outlook would be given more of the principal's administrative functions.263 Such a suggestion would be unacceptable under a participatory democracy because administration implies power to carry out tasks within the school and evidence throughout this study has revealed that career teachers are mainly men. Not only would the differential approach he advocates reproduce the present imbalance of personnel within senior positions of education, but there is also a danger of 'head-like' roles being recreated so that the status quo is reproduced which is inappropriate because a participatory democracy implies equality in the exercise of power.

White offers a more detailed account of how a participatory democracy would work in schools and the benefits that would be associated with this form of organisation. The existence of a participatory

262 Kerr., op cit., p 87.
263 Coulson., op cit., p 106.
democracy would eliminate what White calls the problem of 'dirty hands' or what we have referred to throughout this study as the mobilisation of bias. The concept of 'dirty hands' maintains that anyone involved in politics (regardless of what level) will have on occasion done something morally reprehensible to forward some important political project through the use of concealment or the making of misleading statements. 264 Some leaders argues White may not tell the whole truth but present their respective cases in the best possible light, under a participatory democracy however, such strategies would be ruled out. A more democratic form of organisation within the context of the school and the NZEI would ensure that all issues are presented for open discussion, time previously wasted by strategies designed to side track major issues would be eliminated so that a more efficient form of organisation emerges where the interests of neither sex is hindered by hierarchical authority structures, unnecessary secrecy and manipulative strategies.

Before continuing on however, one weakness in White's discussion on achieving a participatory democracy needs to be addressed. The weakness lies in her concept of fraternity which suggests that within a participatory democracy citizens must stand in a fraternal relationship to each other where individuals relate to others within the group as equals. 265 Although this may reflect a weakness in semantics, White's use of the word fraternity,

264 White, op.cit., pp 63-64.
265 Ibid., pp 70-71.
to use Rowbotham's argument, reflects another aspect of women's lived relationship of subordination to men. This subordination argues Rowbotham is internalised and reflected:

in words which express the hope of a new collective identity. It is not just a matter of 'mankind' but of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.' It is not only 'chairman' but 'brotherhood' and 'yours fraternally' as well.266

Because this study has concerned itself with the domination of men over women in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres, attention needs to be paid to the use of generalising concepts and caution exercised. Any criticism that this is petty can not be justified because the ideas and politics of women's growing consciousness to male oppression emerged precisely out of these small everyday moments of dismissive encounters.

The major advantage resulting from a more democratically organised workplace would be in terms of providing greater political education for all involved within the system. A more democratic form of organisation within the school would go a long way towards eliminating the sex-role stereotypes which students observe. Not only would students be able to participate in determining aspects of school policy themselves, arguably a necessary prerequisite for any education for democratic life, but they would also observe women teachers assuming more administrative and organisational roles than they do at present.

Greater participation by all individuals would also encourage more people to become politically active. This

266Rowbotham., op cit., p 53.
does not have to be militant activity as greater political activity can just mean that more people state their own thoughts, views and experiences in relation to issues that arise, where previously they may have remained silent. For women especially, the opportunity to speak and increase their self-confidence and to be allowed to use their initiative would in principle resolve the structural problem of male domination of the primary sector in a stroke. For men, the movement towards a more democratic form of school organisation may serve as an opportunity for them to gain greater awareness of the problems faced by women as a result of listening to issues raised by women. Such an organisation within the school where all individuals respect the views of others and are responsive to the needs for change would mean that separatist groups, determined on the basis of sex, could be avoided, with a democratic workplace ensuring that the interests of both sexes are equally pursued and maintained.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This study began with an analysis of labour market theory which generally held that the labour market could be segmented into two markets, that of primary and secondary, with men predominating in the former, and women in the latter. However, when the theory was applied to primary teaching, anomalies such as the predominance of women in what is regarded as a primary labour market job, and the different work experiences of men and women within the same job market, illustrated the limits of the theory's explanatory power with respect to women and education.

The failure to consider one of the most fundamental relations in society, that of patriarchy, was seen as the major contributing factor to the theory's limited explanatory power. Under patriarchal relations women are designated the responsibilities of childcare so that regardless of their occupation or labour market position, they can not be completely insulated against the demands of patriarchy. Rather it is believed, and has been shown through the use of a qualified reserve army of labour thesis that it is women who serve to insulate men from uninter rupted career paths and the threat of unemployment within the primary service. As a result, the presence of a reserve army of labour consisting mainly of women is
crucial to an understanding of why there is a marked difference in work experience between women and men within the same profession.

The difference between the work experiences encountered by women and men has been most clearly illustrated in this study through an analysis of the career structure within the primary service. While the primary labour market encourages worker stability and the use of initiative, state policy with respect to women and education has not fostered women's employment stability, and schools themselves have not promoted the use of initiative among staff, especially amongst female teachers. As women's employment is less stable compared to their male counterparts, caused directly as a result of their childrearing responsibilities, this serves to regulate their movement in and out of the lower levels of teaching rather than to encourage further movement up the career ladder.

Additionally, it was also argued that while initiative is valued within the primary job market, within teaching, especially at the lower levels, women are not actively encouraged to exercise their initiative. This formal lack of organisational and managerial experience hampers both assessment and movement up the career structure. The net effect is that women are trapped horizontally within the lower levels of teaching while men freely experience vertical movement up the career structure.

The movement of women teachers in and out of the primary service also seriously limits their opportunities to establish any form of collective and political organ-
organisation. Patriarchal demands which isolate women in the home, and the nature of teaching combine to militate against political organisation. For example, teaching itself is an isolated act seldom carried out in the presence of other teachers; morning and lunch breaks are either spent by supervising pupils or by listening to decisions made at staff meeting; and after school many women have family commitments to meet which effectively rules out any participation in school and union affairs, if in fact they are encouraged to attend.

The greater freedom that men enjoy over women with respect to political organisation is reflected in their prominence in senior positions within the school; within their professional union; and at the level of the state. Their ability to organise politically enables them not only to construct a political agenda which places women's issues at a very low priority level but it also allows the mobilisation of bias within the system to be evoked and used to the detriment of women's interests. This explains to some extent why the NZEI has not been more militant on behalf of its women members. The somewhat 'incestuous' relationship between the NZEI and the Department of Education militates against any major advances being achieved for women because there is always the possibility that concessions and compromises may be made in order to preserve the relationship.

Finally, while affirmative action may bring about more immediate changes and benefits for women in the primary service, the commitment to change must be a long
term one. Such a commitment would mean that at a micro level, schools and teachers would play an important role as political educators, bringing about changes in attitudes which in the long term can bring about changes to the structural or macro levels of society so that the present status quo in favour of men is abolished in favour of a more democratically organised school workplace.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout this study I have been fortunate in the help that I have received from the following people whom I now have the pleasure to thank.

Firstly, I owe my greatest debt of thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Hugh C. Lauder, who has so generously given me the benefits of his time and knowledge which has helped me to refine this study to its present form. His guidance and good-humoured encouragement and support throughout will be remembered with great gratitude.

To both Dr. John Freeman-Moir and Susan Sotheran, I am grateful for their valuable comments and insights in the area of women and education. Both have done much to shape and improve my thinking in this area.

For his work in reproducing the graphs I would like to thank Roger Corbett. And for the final typing of this thesis I would like to thank Colleen Williams. The final presentation of this thesis owes much to their time and efforts.

Finally, I would especially like to thank my parents and brothers. Without their continued support throughout my years of study, this would not have been possible.
REFERENCES


APPLE, M.W., Work, Gender, and Teaching. Teachers College Record, 84:3, 1983.


PARRY, G., A Fence at the Top: The First 75 Years of the Plunket Society (Inc.), 1982.


SIMMONDS, E.J., NZEI 100 Years. Wellington, NZEI, 1983.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL. Families in Special Circumstances (Vol. 2) Solo Parent Families. Wellington,


WRIGHT, E.O., Intellectuals and the Class Structure of Capitalist Society. In Walker, P., (ed) Between


APPENDIX
APPENDIX - TABLE 1

The Increase/Decrease of Teachers in the Primary Service 1920-1983

[Bar chart showing the increase and decrease of male and female teachers over the years 1920 to 1980 with specific events such as Great Depression, World War II, and emergency regulations.

(Source: Department of Education - Annual Report for given years)
Number of Teachers in the Primary Service 1920-1983

Source: Department of Education - Annual Reports for given years)
APPENDIX

TABLE 3: WOMEN ON THE NZEI NATIONAL EXECUTIVE 1960-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>% FEMALE*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1961</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1962</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-1963</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1965</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1967</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1968</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-1969</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1970</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1971</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1972</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-1973</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-1974</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-1975</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-1976</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-1977</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-1978</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-1979</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1980</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-1981</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-1982</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-1983</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1984</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-1985</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-1986</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures have been rounded off.

(Source: Figures derived from the NZEI Directory. Can be obtained from any back cover of National Education.)
APPENDIX

TABLE 4: REPRESENTATIVES TO NZEI ANNUAL MEETING 1960-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Figures have been rounded off.

(Source: Figures from Representatives at Annual Meeting. See NZEI Report of Proceedings for the above years.)
### APPENDIX

#### TABLE 5: OBSERVERS ATTENDING NZEI ANNUAL MEETING 1960-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Figures from Representatives at Annual Meeting. Observer status is indicated by brackets. See NZEI Report of Proceedings for the above years.)