THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF

THE CHRISTCHURCH YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

1883-1930

A Thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
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in the
University of Canterbury

by
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University of Canterbury

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"...SOMETHING OF A CINDERELLA AMONGST THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS OF CHRISTCHURCH."

- Mrs G.M.L. Lester, YWCA Administrator, (1935)
DEDICATION

To people like Nessie Moncrieff
and Betty McLeod - tireless,
dedicated, progressive.
The Young Women's Christian Association (1r. Madras and Gloucester Streets, Latimer Square), Christchurch

"The corporate expression of the goodwill of the community"
ABSTRACT

This study of the Christchurch YWCA (1883-1930) is largely concerned with the operation of an organisation within a specific social context, and the relationship of the environment outside the organisation to the internal life of the organisation. This involves both examining the effect of the organisation on its environment, and the effect the environment has on the organisation.

Environmental variables played a crucial role in shaping the development of the Christchurch YWCA; in particular, the fact that the study is located within a specific historical period has important implications for the type of questions that must be posed with respect to the development of the YWCA, factors influencing the decisions of the women who administered the organisation, and the implications such decisions had for the position of women in society.

Organisational theory and socialist feminism, the perspectives informing this thesis, direct us to ask how and why organisations form; who they intend to serve, and who in fact they end up serving; what constraints both material and ideological, are placed on the organisation in its attempts to realise its goals; what means are used to attain them; and how does an organisation, dedicated to realise the potential of young women, come to perpetuate class relationships, and existing relationships between the sexes?

The stereotype of the YWCA as a dull and unimpressive organisation is challenged in this study, as it is shown how the Christchurch Association, in its venerable efforts to meet
the changing needs of women and girls, also served interests represented by middle class women, capitalist employers, and the State.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks must first of all go the people of the Christchurch Young Women's Christian Association who approached me to undertake the task of writing their centennial booklet, and to Bill Willmott who suggested the project be turned into a thesis. My particular thanks to Ann Evans, Eleanor Horne, Nessie Moncrieff, Betty McLeod, and Elizabeth Sewell, who encouraged me with their information, insights, and enthusiasm for the task.

My supervisors, Rosemary Novitz and Geoff Fougere, have been tireless in supporting me with their suggestions, their enthusiasm, and most particularly their faith in me. Much appreciated is their personal warmth and empathy. My special thanks to Rosemary who gave up so much of her personal time to follow the progress of the thesis.

The support of family, friends, and colleagues, has been gratefully received. In particular, thank you Glenda, Mark, Ritz, Graeme, and Murray. Thank you Andy for your encouragement and love, and for your unique understanding. Also, thanks is due to Margaret Smith, who typed this thesis with interest and dedication. Finally, thank you Graeme Anderson, for asking me continually: "Have you finished yet?"
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CHAPTER ONE : AN INTRODUCTION TO THE
STUDY OF THE CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, 1883-1930

INTRODUCTION

For many New Zealanders the Young Women's Christian Association is analogous to school holiday programmes, or Saturday morning gymnastics classes. Other activities seen as typical of the YWCA might include sewing or knitting classes, 'hair and grooming' advice, or the provision of hostel accommodation. Today the YWCA is an organisation which is often taken for granted, yet seventy to one hundred years ago it was acknowledged as an organisation which was making a significant contribution to the welfare of young women in New Zealand Society.

This is a study of the Christchurch YWCA between 1883 and 1930, which is aimed at exploring the structure of the organisation, its relationship with the State and with the Church, and its place in New Zealand society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this the introductory chapter to the study it will be argued that, as it attempted to serve young women, the Christchurch YWCA also came to serve certain interest groups in society, such as capitalist employers, middle class women, and the New Zealand government. It will also be suggested that the tensions faced by women as they both entered paid work and embraced the cult of domesticity were illustrated in the programmes of the Christchurch YWCA. This study of a well-known but
under-studied organisation provides some useful insights into the lives of women at this point in time, whilst indicating some of the problems which occur when a study of a women's organisation is undertaken utilising present theoretical frameworks within sociology.

The YWCA was seen as a 'progressive' organisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries since it played a significant role in helping young women to become integrated into the New Zealand workforce, a phenomenon which was relatively new at that time. This it did by establishing employment agencies which liaised between the young women seeking work, and employers looking for staff. At the same time, by offering educational classes on specific employment related skills, the YWCA helped steer women into jobs we now label as traditional female occupations, such as office work, clerical work, and sales.

Although the YWCA was 'progressive' in these ways, it also maintained a conservative view of women's destinies. Besides teaching skills relating to employment, many YWCA classes concentrated on imparting knowledge regarding domestic skills. This served a dual purpose for women: it equipped them with skills that were needed in the market place by those requiring domestic servants, of which there was considered to be a shortage at that time, and also enabled them to assume their domestic responsibilities upon their marriage.

The YWCA's renowned hostel service may appear somewhat obsolete in relation to today's lifestyle of flatting and increased geographical mobility, but at the turn of the
century, this service enabled young women to enter paid employment independently of their families. With no comparable inexpensive, safe accommodation offered to young women in Christchurch, the YWCA not only catered for the needs of rural women seeking employment in the city, but also provided accommodation for various other groups of women in Canterbury and other centres. For example, the period 1883-1930 was characterised by Government Assisted immigration programmes, and the YWCA rallied to provide appropriate accommodation for young female immigrants all over New Zealand. The Christchurch YWCA established a hostel in Kaiapoi so that young women could live close to their work at the Woollen Mills there. In conjunction with the National YWCA, the Christchurch Association became involved in a hostel and job training venture in Palmerston North which was connected to the Flock House scheme for girls. Similarly, the Christchurch YWCA rendered assistance to the large transient female population moving through Canterbury at the time of the International Exhibition (1906-1907) by finding suitable accommodation for them, since at that time the Association did not have its own hostel facilities.

The YWCA was part of a widespread concern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to 'build for the Empire', and generated a movement promoting citizenship amongst girls. Impetus initially came from Australian YWCAs, but spread rapidly throughout New Zealand. The Christchurch YWCA shared in the promotion of the Girl Citizen's Movement; the precision of organisational structure within the movement is a reflection of the fastidious attention given to the
structure and organisation of the YWCA itself (See Appendix One). Credit for its efficient establishment and continued existence nationwide is due in part to this conscientious care.

The Girl Citizen's Movement combined the teaching of citizenship with attention to knowing about the uses of stale bread, the native plants and birds of New Zealand, or methods of stain removal. This knowledge was believed to contribute to 'Empire building' and the fostering of imperial allegiance. Such unlikely connections existed in other parts of the YWCA programmes as well, for it attempted to advance women's position in the public world, encouraging citizenship and facilitating paid employment, but never neglected the primary involvement of women and girls in the home, and their need for domestic skills.

The activities of the YWCA can be better understood if it is recognised that it was operating at much the same time as other female-oriented organisations such as the Plunket Society and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Today these organisations appear to be travelling quite separate paths. In the early twentieth century however, they shared many similar values and activities. For example, each organisation advocated that women were honoured to occupy the sacred positions of wife and mother (Sutch, 1973; Olssen, 1980; Tennant, 1976), and that accordingly they also held a moral status superior to men's, which made them uniquely fit to raise the next generation of citizens. These organisations rarely questioned the separate social roles of women and men; on the contrary, the distinct spheres of women and men were upheld
and encouraged, except in the case of the WCTU, which also challenged the notion of the sphere of politics as a male preserve. These organisations were committed to the view that the tasks of motherhood and wifery deserved honour, and energy was directed at raising the status of women in these positions. Scientific motherhood was the Plunket Society's response to a new status for women (Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Olssen, 1980); moral purity and self-control was the stand of the WCTU (Bunkle, 1980), whilst the YWCA synthesised these values and tried to impregnate their educational classes with relevant value-laden instruction. The YWCA has consistently endeavoured to provide services relevant to the needs of women. In the early half of this century, concerns such as female accommodation, workskills, and domestic skills occupied the energies of the YWCA. Today, the Christchurch YWCA is vitally involved in self-defense courses for women and girls, it has accommodated the Christchurch Rape Crisis Centre, and has been innovatory in providing mobile pre-school educational services. Gymnastics? Holiday programmes? Sewing classes? These have only played a small part in the extensive activity of an organisation which has been perhaps inadequately represented to the public by the media, and by lapses in its own public relations at various periods in its history. This study reveals that the YWCA, during the first fifty years of its existence, was informed, motivated, and determined to serve women. This study also reveals that despite its intentions, it paradoxically came to serve the interests of those who dominate women, and it helped ensure the continuation of
divisions between the wives of businessmen and professionals, and women who worked as domestic servants, textile workers, and typists.

INTEREST GROUPS: STATE, CLASS, AND THE YWCA.

In its bid to meet the needs of the young women of Christchurch, the YWCA, like YWCA's in other parts of the country, probably unintentionally, responded to the concerns of a number of interest groups besides its clientele. The YWCA accepted and fostered many prevailing beliefs about the relations between women and men; most particularly, it accepted dominance by men at virtually every level of New Zealand society. Although the YWCA asserted that women were men's equals, their spheres of activity and responsibility were accepted as being different; it essentially fostered women's subservience through its programmes.

The administrators of the YWCA believed that in the eyes of God, women and men were of equal worth; however they also believed that men were to hold a position of dominance over women, whilst women were to be subservient to men, as God had decreed to Eve, saying "I will greatly multiply your pain in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you" (Genesis, 3:16). This belief resulted in the selection of a particular organisational ideology, form, programme, and choice of personnel, which effectively served to reinforce the interests of certain groups in society rather than to challenge them.

While the YWCA hoped to meet the needs of young women,
it in fact contributed to the perpetuation of patriarchal relations,\(^1\) and involved itself in programmes and activities which served the interests of the State and the dominant economic class. The YWCA played a significant role in assuming responsibility for certain services, many of which are now seen as the responsibility of the State. In an age where a social welfare system was still evolving, many voluntary associations attempted to offer services which were not yet available under State provision, or were as yet inadequately performed (Sutch, 1973).

A crucial undertaking for the YWCA was the establishment of hostel accommodation for young working women; since there was no safe and inexpensive accommodation available to young women in the cities, their contribution in the workforce would have been considerably diminished had not the YWCA established an extensive network of hostels, making it possible for young rural women to contribute to the urban labour force. The establishment of YWCA hostels also saved the Government from the cost and time of providing immigrants with accommodation.

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1. The term 'patriarchy' was used by sociologist Max Weber to describe a particular form of household organisation in which the father dominated other members of an extended kinship network and controlled the economic production of the household (Barrett, 1980:10). Here the term is used in a similar sense to Eisenstein's (1979) interpretation: the power of the male through gender roles, and institutionalised in the nuclear family. Tied to this is the interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy, resulting in a "mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structure" (p5). Men take precedence over women, middle class interests take precedence over interests of the working class.
In a similar vein, the YWCA contributed to the settlement of British immigrant women who had been assisted by the Government. Not only did it accommodate these women, but it helped train many of them in domestic and farm work under the Flock House Scheme, and liaised between the New Zealand Government and the Society for the Settlement of British Women Overseas (SOSBW).

Although accommodation was its main service for immigrant women, the YWCA played an important part in helping women secure employment, by directing their attentions to the jobs available to them. From an early time in its history, the YWCA offered its services as a general employment agency for young girls, particularly for those interested in domestic work. The Christchurch Association established its Registry Office in 1905 (Annual Report, 1904-1905:4), and this service played a dual role: it both helped young women find accommodation and employment, and assisted employers both by providing accommodation for their workers, and by ensuring that employers received suitable job applicants.

The SOSBW was an English organisation, dedicated since 1862 to the satisfactory settlement of British Women emigrants (See Appendix Two). Co-operation with the SOSBW meant that the YWCA played a significant role in the immigration and settlement of young English women in New Zealand.
Finally, the YWCA shared with many other voluntary organisations the responsibility of playing the role of moral guardian of the community. Its programmes were intended both to keep young women 'off the streets', and to instil in them virtues appropriate to womanhood. Its hostels provided an ideal supervised environment where the moral development of young girls could be closely monitored, and their domestic skills enhanced.

The YWCA inadvertently contributed to the perpetuation of existing class relations, and did this in two main ways. Firstly, it promoted relations of authority and submission in the area of employment; the YWCA offered civic legitimation to employers' needs for labour and a disciplined workforce. Reverence for authority was a pervasive ideology that was present at all levels of YWCA activity, and the spiritual value of work was taken for granted.

Secondly, although the YWCA attempted to unite all women, it contributed to existing divisions between women; these were a consequence of the different places women involved in the YWCA occupied in the class structure. Its clientele had a particular destiny in the eyes of the organisers of the YWCA, and their task was to smooth the path to that destiny rather than change it:

It is not our aim to bring the members out of the spheres in which they have been placed, but to help them to do their duty, better in that station of life where God has placed them.

Young women working as domestic servants, factory workers, sales assistants, and typists, were not urged to question why they had to work for their living. They were encouraged to accept their social positions as part of the natural ordering of society in the same way divisions between women and men were considered natural. As I shall argue later, divisions by sex and by social status were seen as necessary for the smooth operation of society; each member had a specific role to play, determined by his or her social standing, and by his or her sex. Reasoning such as this stems from the biblical analogy of the functioning of society to the functioning of the body. A body consists of many parts, each with its own unique contribution to the proper functioning of the body; without the presence and activity of any one part of the body, the whole body suffers. (1 Corinthians 12:14-21).

For as in one body we have many members, and all the members do not have the same function, so we, though many, are one body in Christ, and individually members one of another. Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us use them: if prophecy, in proportion to our faith; if service, in our serving; he who teaches, in his teaching; he who exhorts, in his exhortation; he who contributes, in liberality; he who gives aid, with zeal; he who does acts of mercy, with cheerfulness. (Romans 12:4-8).
Each young woman had a position to hold in society, given to her by the 'grace of God', and it was her responsibility to maintain that position, not challenge it.

TENSIONS FOR WOMEN

While many women may have accepted as inevitable the inequalities between them and other women and men, there were nevertheless tensions in the positions they occupied in New Zealand society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The YWCA juggled several contradictory positions in its attempt to meet women's needs, which were neatly justified by its broad Aim - 'to meet the Changing Needs of Women and Girls' (emphasis mine).

What can be identified as contradictory for women? On the one hand, they were encouraged to fulfill their biological role as mother, and the associated roles of full time child rearer and wife. On the other hand, they were encouraged to equip themselves with skills which would be useful in the labour force. These were ideally to be utilised before marriage, or instead of marriage, but not concurrently with it.

The YWCA claimed to serve the needs of young women, yet its ideology steered a narrow course in its pursuit of fulfilling this task. "Ideologies must be seen in the context of the needs they serve; it is a reliable assumption that something more urgent than patterns of belief will lie behind the strong advocacy of doctrine by an organisational
leadership" (Selznick, 1966:264). The comfort and security of the women involved in organising the YWCA coloured their perception of the position of women outside their own social climate; this frame of reference helped shape the ideology of the organisation.

Women at this time were exposed to the view that, although they were naturally suited (biologically and psychologically) to mothering, this was at the same time a skill that they would have to learn at school, and from the Plunket Nurse, who would monitor their 'natural' mothering.

Another point of contention was the value accorded to women's work. The status of motherhood was elevated to an exulted position - the highest to which a woman could attain; yet recognition of this status was in the form of lip service rather than tangible reward. For years women were required to suffer the recriminations of out-of-wedlock motherhood; the consequences of drunken, violent, or irresponsible husbands whilst having no claim to their own property or money; and endure the pontifications of theorists and politicians on the subject of their destiny and worth.

Women were forced into low paying jobs with little mental stimulation, but were expected to work miracles to sustain the image of themselves as pure, moral, upright, always pleasant, and willing to help others. This moral superiority contrasted with their social and physical inferiority. They were upheld as 'keepers of the faith', yet put down because of their tendency to yield to temptations; their spirit was strong, but their flesh was weak; either way, women could not win.
The Christchurch YWCA acted to perpetuate this dualism in women's experience. It prompted women to take advantage of changing economic and social conditions and to launch themselves into public life, be it through paid employment in the labour force, or by taking an active interest in voluntary 'social work'. However the YWCA also encouraged women not to neglect their domestic responsibilities, and provided them with opportunities to equip themselves with skills appropriate for a domestic destiny.

THE YWCA AS A CASE STUDY

This study of the Christchurch YWCA focuses on the way one organisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries responded to contradictions in the expectations of women at the time, and how, in the process, it served the interests of the State, and met the needs of a dominant social class. The YWCA in Christchurch serves as a case study in which can be identified the relationship between organisations and their environments, and the processes of influence between women and men, and women and women. The factors explaining the development of a voluntary association, in this case the YWCA, are found in the context in which it operated. The period 1883-1930, the parameters of this study, affords ample rich information relating to a rapidly changing society, in which a young organisation is both trying to establish itself, and respond to change. The development and continued existence of the Christchurch YWGA reflects a measure of success in its response to some of the perceived problems of women - a response
which did not threaten patriarchal relations, nor the interests of the State, and employers.

The success and survival of the Christchurch Association can be attributed to two facets of its approach to serving women. Firstly, the YWCA was able to identify issues which were extremely significant for women at this time - those of employment and accommodation - and act on them with positive results. Secondly, it was able to articulate these concerns without actually challenging class and gender divisions in New Zealand society. In this way the YWCA was able to use resources which are commonly controlled by the middle class. Challenges to the status quo might have undermined the support the YWCA received from men, the State, employers, and patriarchal institutions such as the churches.

USEFULNESS OF THE STUDY

What contribution can a study of the YWCA in Christchurch between 1883 and 1930 make to sociology, to an understanding of the position of women in New Zealand society, and to the study of voluntary organisations?

Contributions to Sociology

Within sociology, women as a social group are often invisible, or inadequately represented. Implicit assumptions about how women do, and should behave tend to colour all subject areas in sociology. For example, Functionalist theorists presumed that the domestic oppression of women was
necessary for the stability of the social order (Oakley, 1974 (a):27). An androcentric tradition has come to dominate sociological analysis; it remains unclear how, and with what analytical and methodological tools sociologists actually can and should study women as a social group (Gould, 1980). In breaking away from traditional sociology and methodology, women find they are ill-equipped to express their experience (Gould, 1980). Images, symbols, and vocabularies essentially preserve the male perspective (Smith, 1974).

Oakley (1974(a)) offers three useful criteria for determining the extent of women's visibility in sociology. These may be applied to the field of the sociology of organisations and voluntary associations. Firstly, Oakley asks to what extent are women's experiences actually represented in the studies? In the field of all-women organisations, there are few studies; literature tends to focus on all-male, or predominantly-male, organisations. The context of these studies tends to hone in on the internal workings of the organisation, but fails to relate this to the external worlds of women, and the interactions of ideology concerning women and how they are represented in organisations.

Kanter (1977), in her study of men and women in bureaucratic business organisations, locates a large measure of the responsibility for the behaviours people engage in at work, and their fate inside organisations, in the structures of the work systems themselves. She has found that 'typical'
behaviour of women in organisations has been attributed to assumptions held about biologically based psychological attributes, or characteristics developed through a long socialisation to a 'female sex role'. Kanter's own findings have revealed that 'typical' female behaviour in fact turns out to reflect very reasonable - and very universal - responses to current organisational situations (Kanter, 1977:9). Moreover, she has found that women tend to interact in the same ways as males have been observed to act, and that individual differences between women were more striking than sex-differences. Kanter concluded that psychological 'sex-differences' seemed to play a limited role, if any, once women were given a chance and access to power (Kanter, 1977:300-303). Studies such as Kanter's contribute much to exposing the myths concerning women and their supposed unsuitability for handling authoritative and administrative roles in organisations.

Secondly, Oakley poses the question of how the representation of women in studies compares with the empirical role of women in social life. Voluntary association literature does tend to look at variables associated with women in these organisations. Correlations between sex and socioeconomic status, education, marital status, location, mobility, are all made (Bell and Force, 1956; Slater, 1960; Moore, 1961; Babchuk and Booth, 1969; Booth, 1972, Tomeh, 1973).

Thirdly, Oakley alerts us to the question of whether the subject categorisations themselves make sense from the
perspective of women's particular situations. In sociology, the focus tends to centre on power, politics, class relations, work, racial tension, and so on. Mostly these topics concern themselves with male experiences if they are not already seen as exclusively domains of masculine study. Little attention is given to domesticated women, privitisation of women's oppression, or small group behaviour of women. A little more information is available concerning public organisation of women, but this comes mainly from the discipline of history or political science.\(^1\)

It is the contention of this thesis that most organisational literature presents a hidden view of women; inference about the activities of women have to be drawn from this literature, since it is presented from the male perspective. Knowing this, it is difficult to know if the information given includes women, and if so, under what circumstances, and to what extent. The main sources of literature used in this study regarding organisational theory, Perrow(1979), Zald(1970), Sills(1968), and Stinchcombe(1965), did not once address themselves specifically to the unique circumstances aspects of women's lives can contribute to organisational study.

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1. For example: Patricia Grimshaw's *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, 1972
   A.M. Burgin's *Women in Public Life and Politics in New Zealand*, M.A. Thesis in Political Science, 1967;
Although the Marxian concept of class is often used in this study, it has limited usefulness for the study of married women's class positions. For example, although married women were entering into the paid workforce in increasing proportions, the majority of them did not work for remuneration. Amongst these non-employed married women were women of varying social status. Since they cannot be assigned to classes on the basis of whether or not they sell their labour, how can the obvious social differences between them be explained? Women's class positions therefore have to be implied from their relationships with men, and essentially a comparison of class relations among men is used to explain the relations between the administrative women of the YWCA and their clientele.

At times it has been more useful to view the women in this study in terms of the status groups to which they belong. Although women have been seen as a subordinate class in relation to men (Cass, 1978:34), married women experience the social status of their husbands. They carry out domestic

1. Marx's concept of class is dialectical. On the one hand, there is the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production, and are thereby capable of exploiting employees. On the other hand, there is the proletariat, the mass of propertyless people, who are exploited on the labour market by the bourgeoisie. The essential difference is whether or not a person owns property or the means of production; whether or not a person hires labour, or sells their own. Women often do not own property in their own right, but some women benefit from being associated with someone who does. Therefore, for women, Marxian class divisions have to derive from a woman's relation to a man's relationship to the means of production.
labour and child care, and enter the workforce within the material conditions provided by their husband's financial position. Their life-style and patterns of consumption are influenced by the market value of their husband's labour-power, or their husband's control of the means of production. Differences amongst husbands (or fathers if the women are still single and dependent on their parents) lead to divisions of women into working-class, middle-class, or upper-class. These are actually status categories based on consumption, or the buying power yielded by the male's position in the labour-market; they act to divide women, "allying their interests with the status position of their husbands" (Cass, 1978:34).

The use of status categories facilitates a clearer understanding of the divisions between the YWCA administrators and the clientele. All of these women, regardless of their social standing, would share at some point in their lives, tasks in common, those relating to their domestic responsibilities. Despite class differences, most women would bear and rear children, and look after the affairs of their households. During the initial years of bearing and raising children, it is likely that most women would not be working for paid employment (Olssen and Levesque, 1978). Differences however existed in the ways women executed their domestic responsibilities. Middle-class women like the administrators of the Christchurch YWCA were able to employ domestic help to take care of dreary household chores, and also to occupy the children. Working class women had to budget on a working class man's wage; this invariably meant
that the tasks of housework and childcare were left solely in their hands. Such differences, it can be seen, clearly linked to the position of the husband in the labour market, not to their own market position. Other differences occurring amongst women, such as patterns of consumption, locality of residence, standard of dress, accumulation of luxury items in the home such as objets d'art, and so on, also came about by this relationship.

**Identification and Discussion of Tensions**

Women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were continually exposed to competing ideologies relating to their involvement in public life, to their natural biological ability to produce offspring, to their status as wives, mothers, and workers, and to their moral qualities. This study of the Christchurch YWCA has been able to locate these areas of conflicting debate in the wider society, and has been able to identify the quarters from which competing ideologies arose. It has also been able to augment the growing body of information relating to women's involvement in organisations, and the tensions they experienced in reconciling their public role in organisations with their domestic role. Accomplishing this has pointed to the significant part the social environment played in influencing both the activities of individual women, and the activities of a group of women banded together into a public organisation such as the YWCA.

Voluntary associations are influenced by their social
environment, just as individuals are. This then, is another source of tension. Organisations like the YWCA try to achieve certain goals within their social setting, but are often faced with opposing forces within that setting which must either be overcome in order for the organisation to attain its aims, or are to be accommodated, resulting in certain unintended changes in the structure and activities of the organisation itself.

This study of the Christchurch YWCA explores the tensions women experienced between their responsibilities to their families and their menfolk, and those demanded by the administration of a voluntary association, or those demanded by participation in paid employment. It also attempted to show how the YWCA as an organisation continually accommodated and adapted to its social environment, trying to strike a balance between having an impact on that environment, and being changed by it.

WOMEN IN HISTORY

Any deliberative analysis of an organisation will always be hampered by a basic flaw in thinking relating to the gathering of information, and to the processing of it. Where history is concerned, one is usually impressed by how much of it really is HIS story, and seldom HER S, or at least as perceived by her.

When setting the Christchurch YWCA in its historical context, it must be recalled that any resources used, such as
newspaper reports of the days' events, and historical texts, will be written, for the most part, from the male viewpoint (Carroll, 1976; Rowbotham, 1974). This presents essentially HIS story, rather than HER S. Writing a social history of the Christchurch YWCA is an attempt to write about an aspect of HER story. The dilemma of male-oriented sociology then, also applies to historiography.

As Talbot (1979) quite clearly points out, women are residual categories for study; this gives the impression that they are different (which they are) and deserve special study. But the fact that they are different from men seems to imply for sociology that men are the unit of analysis, and women, a subunit. Thus anguishing over distortions in analysis with respect to sample size or adequate conceptualisations for example, is a waste of time when the whole analytic foundation in sociology is skewed in the first place (Talbot, 1979:27).

A study of the YWCA requires diligent attention to the gender factor. It is not sufficient to merely acknowledge the fact that the YWCA is a women's organisation; the implications of this fact must be drawn out. Attention must be turned outward to its social context for a full appreciation of the force and direction the YWCA exhibited. The YWCA can be regarded as a case history, highlighting the role of women in public life, for example.

Historians are generally skeptical about the value of women's history unless it can enhance our understanding of other things as well, filling in the gaps in existing [male]
history (Carroll, 1976). Their reluctance to accept work in women's history for its own sake reflects the low esteem and the stereotyped images accorded to women (Ibid). Much of woman's roles throughout history is based on assumption, and only a few very exceptional women are ever accounted for (e.g. Cleopatra, Joan of Arc). The average woman is seldom studied in isolation; her life style is assumed to be whatever the men are not recorded as doing. Thus her story is limited to a number of stereotypical roles which are essentially changeless over time, and she becomes not worthy of historical study.

The study of the women involved in both the running of the Christchurch YWCA, and the women who formed its clientele, shows that they were not necessarily confined to a life of domesticity. Domestic duties may have been the responsibility of women, but they were also very involved in running a large, successful, prestigious organisation, or participating in committee work, or attending classes on various topics for a variety of reasons. This study found that it is indeed the 'unusual' women, those who are publically conspicuous, who tend to gain the attention of the public, the media, and the historians. The administrators of the YWCA were prominent citizens, either because they were married to prominent men, or because they had made notable achievements in their own rights. Kate Sheppard, for example, for many years the chairperson of the Board of Management of the Christchurch YWCA, was a prominent Christchurch citizen. Her prominence stemmed from her involvement not only in the YWCA, but as the
Superintendent for Women's Suffrage, and as the driving force behind the formation of the National Council of Women in 1896.

The study of the Christchurch YWCA has revealed more detail on middle class organisers than on its clientele. This is evidence for the fact that specific and detailed information on the average woman is scarce. And so, within the context of such a system of beliefs and values, "...it is not surprising that historians should be skeptical about whether women's history can tell us anything 'that we did not know before', and that some of the search for theory should be a definitive effort to give assurance that it does" (Carroll, 1976:xi).

History has also refrained from taking women seriously. To document what women in organisations created, in this case through a study of the Christchurch YWCA, is to contribute to the serious study of women. What were they trying to achieve? What sort of opposition did they face? Did they challenge or serve the interests of the State, of employers, and of men? How did they seek and establish support? To document one type of contribution by women, the response of the YWCA, is a step toward redressing the imbalance created through androcentrism.

Although it is acknowledged that women are largely invisible in history, there is dispute over the reasons for their invisibility. Sarachild (1975) offers two principal reasons:

1. Women were invisible because they actually were not there, in any ways worth mentioning, because they were so oppressed.
2. They were there, working very hard in any
number of ways - both traditional and non-traditional - that were never acknowledged.

The invisibility of women is an illusion; the illusion, as well as the long established power behind it, prevents women from ever being seen for what they really are, and from ever being free agents. The women organising the YWCA established an entirely new organisation, overcoming financial obstacles to set the Association firmly on its feet. They were dynamic, motivated, and influential women, who knew what resources would be needed, how to obtain them, and once obtained, how to utilise them. The fact that these women can be identified as members of an influential sector of society reinforces what history has already shown: only exceptional women may become visible, for apparently they are the only ones with an interesting story to recount.

It is vitally important to pursue original sources as far as possible when relating the past experiences of women, in order to avoid the pitfalls of the misleading fabrication of events. Much women's history has been re-written without consultation of the primary sources, as Sarachild has indicated when examining histories of the women's liberation movement.

This study was made consulting as far as possible original documents written by YWCA women, and by consulting newspaper reports on their activities. One advantage of pursuing an historical study is that newspaper reporters of
the early twentieth century went to great lengths to describe events, to give opinions as to people's character, to describe dress worn, and to give background information on people. This has provided a rich source of information both about the YWCA, and its social context. Attitudes and values underlie the writings, and these give clues to the degrees of acceptability or worthiness of activities the Christchurch YWCA undertook.

It is imperative to create a women's history accurately and thoroughly based on primary sources set in historical context, to clear up the misconceptions and to strengthen the theoretical base on which the women's liberation movement lies. As Sarachild (1975) writes:

As long as I didn't understand from my experience that reading about 'history' should mean reading the original sources, I didn't find reading feminist history useful for much more than inspiration and a feeling of personal sustenance.

(p 24)

As far as possible this study tried to use the original writings of the Christchurch YWCA for its resource materials. These tend to portray the YWCA in positive and benevolent terms, but much factual information is yielded; in addition, the attitudes of the writers filter through the press reports. This type of information is invaluable for interpreting the beliefs and attitudes of the YWCA, and this helps establish an analysis based not only on what the YWCA achieved, but what
it saw itself as achieving, and the motivations behind some of its actions. (See Appendix Three for a discussion about the constraints of historical research).

DATA SOURCES

Information relating to the structure and functioning of the Christchurch YWCA between 1883-1930 was obtained by examination of an almost complete set of Annual Reports, minutes of the very first meetings (1883-1894), newspaper articles collected by the Association, pamphlets it produced, and some of the books it has published about its work.

Annual Reports proved a rich source of information on all aspects of the YWCA. Each report listed the members of the voluntary and paid staff, heads of important committees, and changes and reasons for change amongst personnel. A full financial statement was given for each year, which listed in detail areas of income and expenditure. In most reports, there was information on membership numbers, and for some years, the occupations and religious affiliations of members were recorded. At the end of most Annual Reports, there were not only lists of the members and subscribers of the YWCA, but also lists of those who donated to the Association, along with the amounts donated. From these detailed lists conclusions were able to be drawn concerning the nature of membership and clientele, the patterns of income and expenditure, the sources of donations and funding generally, and the characteristics
of the YWCA administrators.

Each year, progress of the YWCA programmes was recorded, with suggestions for change where appropriate. At times quite a large amount of detail was given on what went on within clubs and classes on the activities the YWCA undertook in relation to its aims, and the success of these. Detail relating to programme activities tended to fluctuate from year to year however, at times being overshadowed by major events in the Association, such as the establishment of the Kaiapoi Hostel, the opening of the Latimer Hostel, or perhaps the visit and effect of an overseas YWCA dignitary.

Attention to detail in the Annual Reports enabled the compilation of numbers moving through hostels, numbers their hostels could accommodate, the marital status of volunteer and paid staff, staff turnover, planning and implementation of programmes. Detailed comments on the purpose of certain clubs, classes, or religious programmes also gave insight into the YWCA's belief that certain types of instruction were appropriate for a certain 'type' of girl. For example, some clubs were designed to cater for the 'Business Girl', and others for girls working as domestic servants.

Minutes of meetings in the early years of the YWCA were an invaluable source, for they offset the absence of Annual Reports for the period 1883-1888, 1890-1904. These Minutes came to light about a year after the commencement of the study, and were a welcome added bonus, not only because they filled gaps in the data, but because they gave a more regular account of the changes occurring in the early YWCA.

Although they were scant in terms of detail, these Minutes
helped to give a more realistic picture of how the Association established itself, the procedures by which it undertook its business, and the suggestions and the decisions made in efforts to revive the vulnerable organisation.

Wading through newspapers to gather information from an alternative perspective is an arduous task, but this was made simpler by utilising the YWCA's own collections of press cuttings relating to its activities. As happens with many young organisations, the YWCA laboriously gathered (and in fact still does so) newspaper items referring to its work. These were mounted in scrapbooks; unfortunately, the first press cuttings appear in 1911, and it is unknown whether this is when the collection was first made, or whether previous scrapbooks have been lost. That early scrapbooks were lost is most likely; scrapbooks and Minutes were unearthed from a musty, damp, dark basement at the Latimer Square premises prior to the sale of the building and effects, in 1982. These scrapbooks were a valuable source of information since they yielded a different view of the YWCA than was portrayed by the Annual Reports. For example, speeches made by YWCA personnel were recorded in great detail, and enhanced much of the analysis presented in this study. Responses to speeches made by YWCA administrators were also reported, and so were speeches made about YWCA work by prominent citizens or dignitaries.

Comments made by reporters were not necessarily confined to factual statements about the YWCA, but also encompassed
opinions concerning the personal qualities of the YWCA administrators, including at times, descriptions of what they wore. For example, Helen Barnes, the National Travelling Secretary for the YWCA of Australasia, when visiting Christchurch, was described as gracious and dignified, and numerous comments were made about her smile (Lovell-Smith, 1961:18). Every opportunity was taken to reassure the public that although she was proficient at her job, she was still womanly:

Although such an earnest and strenuous worker, Miss Barnes evidently does not feel impelled to scorn the graces of good dressing and when the writer saw her first she was gowned with elegance and taste in fine black and white striped marquisette worn over a rose silk foundation and over her shoulders was thrown a handsome scarf of fringed Indian crepe.

(Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916, p75).

Finally, publications by the YWCA were utilised to gauge how the YWCA wanted to portray its public image. Pamphlets were distributed to let the community know the forthcoming events of the YWCA, or the official opinion of the YWCA on some topical issue. For example, one pamphlet addressed the problem of lack of inexpensive and safe accommodation for young women staying in Christchurch (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925, p95: pamphlet, "The Canterbury Girls: Their Needs, which are our Responsibility"). Unfortunately there were only a limited number of these pamphlets available.
The YWCA of Christchurch, New Zealand, Australasia, and the World have all at various times published small books regarding the nature of its work, or the history of its development. This study drew on several books published on the YWCA, mainly in relation to its history (Lovell-Smith, 1961; Jenkins, 1978; Law, 1961), including the development of the YWCA throughout the world (Association Chronicles, 1939). In addition, several handbooks came to light, most notably on the Girl Citizen's Movement (National YWCA, 1925), and an allied movement in America, the Camp Fire Girls (1913). These books were invaluable for recognizing the significance the social environment played in determining and shaping the response of the YWCA world-wide, and in Christchurch.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has drawn attention to the fact that the YWCA is an organization with achievements other than those with which it is commonly credited. It made a number of important contributions to the community in its services to women, particularly in the fields of accommodation and employment. However, in its attempt to help women in these ways, the Christchurch YWCA effectively served to reinforce social differences between women, and between women and men.

By imposing its own middle class values on its clientele, the women running the YWCA failed to challenge existing social differences between themselves and their clientele. This imposition of values also had the effect of putting their clientele in a paradoxical position, by exhorting them to embrace middle class values, such as full-time motherhood for
married women, but to do so within the constraints of the working class material setting.

This introductory chapter drew attention to the pitfalls of pursuing a study, particularly an historical study, of women's involvement in organisations. It indicated how in both sociology and history, women have often become a residual category, or a topic for special attention.

Finally, it was mentioned in this chapter that the goals and activities of organisations are often shaped and modified by their social environment, both in terms of tangible forces such as politics, the economy, commerce, and in terms of ideological forces, comprised of dominant belief systems which may exist at any one point in time in a society.

The overarching theme of this thesis, the interplay between organisations and their social environments, will be discussed throughout this thesis, using the YWCA as a case study; the discussion will move from a general level to increasing levels of detail. Each chapter will discuss the mechanism of the interplay between the Christchurch YWCA and its environment at a different level; in this way, it can be seen that environmental influences exhibit a variety of forms, and may affect an organisation pervasively.

Chapter Two examines on a general level the interplay of the organisation and its environment, considering how these forces shaped the establishment and programmes of the Christchurch YWCA, and how the YWCA endeavoured to survive within these constraints. The discussion in the following chapter is informed mainly by a branch of organisational
theory, known as the Institutional School, and by theoretical work associated with a Socialist Feminist perspective. A discussion of the usefulness of these perspectives in relation to the Christchurch YWCA's formation, establishment, and adaptation, forms the basis of that chapter.

Chapter Three examines the historical context of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, in greater detail. Here it is intended to locate aspects of women's lives in a specific period of time, identifying what particular changes were occurring that affected the lives of women which prompted the YWCA to act and establish the services for women it considered were necessary for their well-being.

The Fourth Chapter of this study turns its attentions to the organisation itself, tracing the development of the Christchurch YWCA from 1883 to 1930. This will entail an examination of the changes in YWCA structure, and areas of finance and membership, each in relation to the social context in which the YWCA operated.

Chapter Five attempts to identify the beliefs and values held by the YWCA, and how these were played out in its programmes and extension work. It will be shown in this chapter that just as aspects of the structure of the YWCA can be seen to be affected by environmental influences, so too can the ideology embraced by the YWCA be affected. Just as the effects of environmental influences are evidenced by changes in the patterns of administration, finance, and membership, changes in ideology can be identified by looking at changes in the programmes of the YWCA, since the programme
is an expression of beliefs and values which an organisation holds.

The Sixth Chapter attempts to draw together the threads of the preceding discussion, applying the themes developed by the thesis to two specific aspects of the work of the YWCA. The first case study, which looks at the involvement of the YWCA in female immigration and the Girl's Flock House Scheme, attempts to illustrate how changing environmental conditions inspired a particular response from the YWCA. The second case study, which examines the Girl Citizen's Movement, tries to illustrate how ideological changes in the social environment may influence the beliefs held by an organisation like the YWCA. By looking at the Girl Citizen's Movement, it can be seen that the YWCA beliefs were located in a time where New Zealand thought was dominated by allegiance to the British Empire, and which, for women, was directed to the elevated status of motherhood, and responsibility of women to raise the future generation of New Zealand.

The final chapter of this study will serve as an overview and will attempt to draw out the implications of the social history of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930.
CHAPTER TWO: THE INTERPLAY OF
ORGANISATION AND ENVIRONMENT

INTRODUCTION

This study of the Christchurch YWCA is largely concerned with the operation of an organisation within a specific social context, and the relationship between the social environment and the internal life of the organisation. This involves an attempt to examine both the effect of the organisation on its environment, and the effect the environment has on the organisation.

Environmental variables, it will be shown, played a crucial role in shaping the development of the Christchurch YWCA. The fact that this study is located within a specific historical period, has significant implications for the type of questions that must be asked with respect to the development of the YWCA, the factors influencing the decisions of the women running the organisation, and the implications such decisions had for the women the YWCA sought to serve.

Organisational theory and socialist feminism, the main perspectives informing this thesis, direct us to ask how and why organisations form; who they are intended to serve; and who they in fact serve. These perspectives also suggest the importance of looking at the constraints placed on an organisation in its attempts to realise its goals; what means are used to attain these goals; how the organisation perpetuates or challenges class relations; and the impact on the
organisation of relationships between the sexes.

In its investigation of the YWCA in relation to class, the State, and patriarchal relations, this thesis draws on the insights associated with socialist feminist analysis of the relationship between class and patriarchy. A version of organisational analysis, the Institutional School, has been employed to show the impact of external class structures and State relations on the functioning and structure of the YWCA. Socialist feminism has added an extra dimension by focusing on relations between women and men, which organisational analysis tends to overlook; it also recognises class differences between women themselves.

This study of the Christchurch YWCA is informed by the view that organisations, although they attempt to alter their environment, also become altered by it. Forces of influence derive from such areas as the economy, the demands of clientele, dominant religious and political ideologies, and the power of the State. These environmental influences are acknowledged as significant in the study of organisations by the Institutional School (Stinchcombe, 1965; Perrow, 1972). On the other hand, particularly in the study of a women's organisation, relations between the sexes must be considered. Patriarchal ideology relating to the position of women in society affects an organisation like the YWCA at all levels, shaping the particular forms that pressure from other institutions might take, constraining opposition to the status quo, and shaping the way the organisation carries out its aims.
It is the aim of this chapter to determine the response of the YWCA as an organisation, and the Christchurch Association in particular. What prompted YWCA's to form, and how did they proceed to establish themselves firmly in a society? What benefits were derived by which groups, by the establishment of the YWCA in Christchurch? And what forces were at work continuing to mould the initial intentions of the organisation? Given the occurrence of constraining influences, how did the YWCA ensure its continued existence?

ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE YWCA

The first YWCA ever to be established was the London YWCA, in 1855. Its formation was a rather spiritual concern for the welfare of young women all over the world, and its beliefs and values were developed along similar lines to the English YMCA, founded in London, in 1844. The study of the establishment and development of the Christchurch YWCA is better understood in the light of a brief examination of the origins of the first YWCA, for this mother-organisation laid certain foundations regarding the beliefs and activities of the YWCA, upon which other YWCA's came to build. Undoubtedly the impetus for the first YWCA stemmed from an interest by the founding members in the YMCA, and many women who helped establish the London YWCA were already closely involved with YMCA affairs there. Even today, the YWCA and YMCA are structured along similar lines, and run their programmes in much the same way, utilising a small paid staff, and a large recruitment of voluntary staff.
The very first YWCA (London) existed as two separate groups: Emma Roberts' prayer group, and a home for nurses; this illustrates its continuing spiritual and practical concerns for women. Emma Roberts had organised a highly successful women's Prayer Union in 1855, which took the name of Young Women's Christian Association. In this group, prayer for the social welfare of people all over the world was the main activity (Binfield, 1973:128). In the same year, a home for nurses was established in the West End of London by the Honourable Mrs Mary Jane Kinnaird and a few friends. She "...was the more dynamic of the two founders of ...the YWCA, and from the 1860s, she involved her husband, her son and daughters, the ladies of the Tritton, Morely and Noel families as much in the YWCA as they or their husbands were involved in the Young Men's Christian Association" (Binfield, 1973:240).

The fact that women who were instrumental in establishing the YWCA in London were married to men who supported the YMCA shows that a link between the two organisations existed right from the start.

Under Mary Kinnaird, the aim of the YWCA was to train and house young women nursing in the Crimean War under Florence Nightingale. In 1877 after the death of Emma Roberts, the two groups merged and were formally founded as the YWCA. Lord Shaftesbury became President, Lord Kinnaird, the Treasurer. In all its branches throughout England, it offered all women, not just nurses, a place to recreate; it also offered
educational classes. Binfield claims it had rather a 'select' clientele, "although it aimed consciously enough to attract the working girl" (Binfield, 1973:329). Eventually it came to serve women of all occupations, not just nurses.

Mary Kinnaird's daughter, Emily, was the Secretary of the London YWCA for twenty-five years. A dynamic force in the organisation, she was fervently concerned with issues of sweated labour, education, local government, drink, and prostitution. She believed the YWCA movement to be a direct product of the religious atmosphere which culminated in the spiritual revival of 1859 (The Times (London), 1 May, 4 May, 1931, cited in Binfield, 1973:328).

The London YWCA seemed to survive on donations from wealthy families, particularly those involved in both YWCA and YMCA work. Emily Kinnaird listed George Williams (founder of the YMCA), Lord Shaftsbury (Seventh Earl of Shaftsbury), Samuel Morley (Millionaire), and Lord Radstock (Preacher), as the most generous givers (Binfield, 1973:328). Thus the YWCA began as an organisation run by wealthy and influential people.

It is the contention of this thesis that the positions of social and material comfort enjoyed by those running it, tended to prevent the YWCA from identifying more effectively with its client's needs; differences in wealth and status were accepted, and it was presumed by both the organisers of the YWCA and by the general public that a middle class lifestyle was to be aspired to. Thus programmes presented by the YWCA encouraged women to embrace middle class values, whilst it did little to alleviate their material hardships.

The YWCA in New Zealand grew out of the concern of some citizens in Dunedin for the welfare of immigrant girls arriving
in the city. A group of women used to visit the immigration barracks to assist them in any ways possible. Finding the girls lonely, bewildered, and afraid of the unknown future, it was decided that what was needed was a social centre in Dunedin, where young women could meet their friends, seek advice from older women, and have somewhere to pass their time, since there was no such provision along these lines at the time. The service gradually grew to include building a hostel and club rooms. It is unclear from whence came the impetus to establish a YWCA in New Zealand. As Jenkins comments, "...we can only assume that among the immigrants from Britain there were some who had previous experience of the work among young women and sought the help and advice of the newly formed YWCA in Britain in establishing the Dunedin Association" (Jenkins, 1978:3).

The Christchurch YWCA began with a different emphasis, visiting the sick and conducting services at the public hospital (Minutes, 20/3/1883), but soon it focused on aid to immigrant women, and responded to the problems of accommodation generally in Christchurch (Annual Report, 1905-1906:4). The YWCA initially acted as a liaisonary body referring young women to safe and respectable boarding houses, of which there were few. The provision of immigrant accommodation it must be remembered was a phenomenon not experienced by the London Association since New Zealand was a new settler society. However, the issue was still one of an acute shortage of accommodation for young women; as a result, YWCAs around the world have been renowned for hostel establishment, be it in
response to immigrant demand or urbanisation (Unity in Diversity:40). Hostelling has become probably the most widely recognised of all its activities. This service began very early on in the history of the Christchurch YWCA and was an attempt to house young rural women, seeking work in the city, in safe and inexpensive boarding homes.

In its initial stages, there was a strong emphasis by the Christchurch YWCA on its evangelism programme, and although it never lost sight of its aim - 'to bring others to Christ' - other functions of the Association gradually became more prominent. As the YWCA in England later stated, "Since we have developed our work on broader lines the public have supported us far more generously ..." (The Overseas Daily Mail (London), March 1920, Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916, px).

The Christchurch YWCA was also closely involved with the immigration of women into New Zealand, and co-operated on several occasions with the Government in its Assisted Immigration programme, helping to relocate these women and liaise between them and the community. The Christchurch YWCA became increasingly concerned with the employment and unemployment of women, and set up an employment agency in 1905, to try and help young women find work, particularly those requiring domestic work (Annual Report, 1904-1905:4).

Since the young urban working girl was a relatively new phenomenon, hostels, employment services, and the YWCA's other main service, education, were in high demand; educational
Classes were an attempt by the YWCA to equip women who either had not had the opportunity to acquire skills which the changing job market demanded, or who otherwise could not avail themselves of educational institutions which offered the appropriate knowledge and skills training.

Whilst the YWCA can be criticised for its lack of challenge to the position of women in society, the success and continued survival of the YWCA can be partly attributed to its ability to focus on and pursue issues which had significant and long-term relevance for women. Educational opportunities were expanding, and educational qualifications were becoming increasingly significant as a means of access to jobs. Accommodation for women was scarce and was a crucial consideration for the increasing numbers of women moving into urban areas in the pursuit of paid employment. For those who had not had adequate preparation for employment, the Christchurch YWCA endeavoured to provide opportunities whereby necessary skills such as bookkeeping, language comprehension, shorthand, and housekeeping, could be acquired, to help women find jobs, and to enable them to live in Christchurch, near to their places of work.

WHY DO ORGANISATIONS FORM?

What motivates an organisation to form, and how does it introduce itself into a society which is unaccustomed to its presence? Sometimes people organise because they discover or learn about alternative ways of doing things that are not
easily done within the existing social arrangements (Stinchcombe, 1965). An important consideration in relation to the YWCA was the existing structures of social welfare available to women at this time, and who provided it. If such services did exist, were they catering adequately to the needs and requirements of women? In its early stages in England, the YMCA, for example, was acknowledged as a welfare organisation which managed to achieve what the churches could not; "...with the surrender of general evangelism as a major goal, the organisation could maintain a less competitive relationship with the denominations. With its emphasis on fourfold works providing for the physical, social, mental, and spiritual welfare of youth as a guideline, the YMCA could accept and reject programs... without being restricted to programs specifically religious in content. Furthermore, the focus of serving young men essentially bypassed social gospel concerns with changing society, centering instead on assimilating individuals into the ways of right living" (Zald, 1970:54). Clearly then less emphasis on doctrine and more on programmes of activities enabled the YMCA, and the YWCA, to appeal to a wider clientele.

If people consider that an organisation will continue to be effective enough to reward them for the trouble of building it, and for the resources invested in it, then they might consider it worthwhile to organise. The women of the YWCA certainly believed that their work would be effective, and the energy they spent establishing the Association
shows the strength of their convictions, for it took three attempts amidst widespread economic crises for the YWCA to be firmly established in Christchurch.

Those who develop organisations are not entirely altruistic, and therefore tend only to invest effort into organisations from which they, or the social group to which they belong, will receive some benefits (Stinchcombe, 1965). The benefits derived from involvement in the formation of the YWCA were not material, in terms of financial reward, but were of a more abstract nature. Both forming, and acting on the staff of a voluntary association such as the YWCA, gave middle class women an opportunity to display their benevolence. By assuming leadership roles, they were able to ensure that their own personal public image showed them to be kind-hearted, charitable women, serving the community with Christian love. Such a reputation was desirable in this era; these financially endowed women could therefore not be accused of a non-charitable disposition. Experience as a YWCA administrator also gave women a chance to learn leadership skills, to acquire a sense of business procedure, and gave them a tangible and legitimate way of exercising power. Unless they could serve on an organisation like the YWCA, middle class women, although part of an influential sector of society, had few opportunities to exercise power directly in the community.

The benefits of organisation can work both ways, and groups with which the YWCA aligned itself indeed also reaped benefits from this association. The Christian Protestant
Churches benefited from the recruitment of women who became Christians through their contact with the YWCA. Recruits brought financial and moral support to religious institutions, and also could help in the mission of evangelism. In the area of religion, the YWCA may have been able to appeal to some groups of women more effectively than could the churches.

Capitalist employers, making use of female labour, were also able to benefit from the efforts of the YWCA to inculcate in women the skills for which employers were looking. For example, the YWCA offered women a chance to learn shorthand, bookkeeping, and domestic skills. Perhaps the willingness of employers to donate to the YWCA (see Chapter Four) reflects their appreciation of the YWCA’s efforts to ensure the existence of a cheap and subservient labour force. Never did the YWCA run vocational courses or impart career skills which might lead to women competing with men for jobs.

It has already been mentioned how the State was able to profit from the YWCA in its capacity as a welfare agency. Like the employing sector, it too benefitted from a well-disciplined female workforce, which was not prone to strikes or agitation regarding conditions of employment or wage rates, and which was willingly obedient to authority. The Girl Citizen’s Movement for example endeavoured to produce a girl who would among other things, be a willing and pleasant worker, tried to instil in her that discipline belonged to all facets of her life style, and believed that work, however menial, was a significant contribution to help God build His Kingdom on Earth.
How many think when they do their daily work that they are helping the Great Architect to carry out His plan?
Poor workmanship means poor work spoiling the beauty of the whole, while good workmanship brings satisfaction to the worker and happiness to others.
(GCH: 144).

Finally, amongst the women the YWCA served, it had significant beneficial services to offer the middle and upper classes, the same social echelon to which the women who ran the YWCA belonged. Domestic servants were in high demand; those who were requiring their service were women who were on a social par with the organisers of the YWCA. By providing an Employment Agency to help women find domestic workers, the women of the YWCA were essentially catering to their own interests and those of their class. In periods of high unemployment the employment of girls into domestic service was seen as a social service, since it provided them with their livelihood.

Services to the social group to which YWCA administrators belonged also ensured the continued existence of the YWCA, for the use of domestic servants to perform housework and care for young children freed women to run organisations like the YWCA.

It cannot be forgotten that the YWCA also benefitted from certain groups it served. The churches offered an extensive channel of communication through which the YWCA could advertise both its programmes and its financial and voluntary staffing needs. Employers donated to the YWCA, and also made it possible for the YWCA to extend its services further afield.

Chapter Six consists of a case study of this symbiotic
relationship, whereby the YWCA was able to extend its influences to the township of Kalapoi by running a hostel for female workers there, for the owners of the Kalapoi Woollen Mills; the hostel cost was borne by the mill owners. The State also contributed finance to the YWCA, and often requested its assistance in hostel work; this liaison gave the YWCA a chance to expand its horizons where it otherwise could not have done so.

CONSTRAINTS ON ORGANISATIONS

If the Christchurch YWCA was responding to its surroundings in the ways outlined above, what constraints were at work, resisting the innovations of the YWCA and attempting to mould the organisation in relation to its environment?

The first constraint on any organisation is perhaps what Stinchcombe (1965) terms the 'Liability of Newness'. Other than the problems of establishing itself over and above existing organisations, it has the problem of forming new roles with which to implement its aims. When these new roles are created, they must be done so bearing in mind the general skills available amongst the newly engaged staff. People in established organisations can simply teach existing roles to successors (usually by example) and adjustments might be made to roles in spite of the skills of the staff, if this will make for smoother operation. It is an easier task to modify an existing role to a new person since the basic functioning and effectiveness of the role is already known. In a new organisation, roles have yet to prove their effectiveness and utility, and so continuing adjustment of both roles and staff
is a problem, since it is indeterminant whether it is the particular member of staff or the role that really requires change. However, in a new organisation, much time is spent on devising roles, of finding suitable people for them, and of adjusting staff and tasks to flow more smoothly. This can act as a liability to an organisation because it takes time away from the primary task of attaining the goals of the organisation.

The implementation of new roles fetches high premiums in terms of time, worry, conflict and temporary inefficiency. By utilising a set of training programmes for directors of YWCA activities (the role of General Secretaries), the YWCA managed to keep these costs at a minimum. There was much change in the structure of the Christchurch YWCA for the first thirty years of its existence, which is documented in Chapter Four. After this time it moved into a period of consolidation, and by 1914, had reached a high degree of structural stability. Coincidentally, the period of consolidation occurred at the same time that the first trained General Secretary arrived, in 1911, to take over the daily administration of the Christchurch YWCA.

Ella MacNeil, for example, was a graduate of the YWCA Training School in Adelaide. A dynamic woman, her acquired skills, plus her personal aptitude and motivation, clearly equipped the Christchurch YWCA for many years of progressive work. It was she, in conjunction with the President at that time, Mrs Albert Kaye (See Appendix Four), who pioneered the building of the Christchurch YWCA hostel and headquarters in Latimer Square, in 1914; this closed as recently as 1982.
Figure 9 (chapter Four) gives some idea of the revenue this venture alone brought in the years which followed, contributing significantly to the continued existence of the YWCA in Christchurch. Thus qualities of leadership, as well as specific role-training can serve to offset the 'liability of newness'.

Old organisations have a set of stable ties to those who use their services (Stinchcombe, 1965). The stronger those ties and loyalties, the harder it tends to be to establish a new organisation. The YWCA was, however, established in a society where the YMCA had already made an impact, and established a network of communication appropriate for its use. Since the women of the YWCA were often related to the men of the YMCA by kinship or marriage, and the organisations were 'brother and sister' types, social ties for the YWCA were more easily set up. Similarly, the social status of the women who organised the YWCA provided, pro rata, a network of loyalties which contributed to the establishment and continuance of the organisation, thus usurping the effects of older organisations' unity, and the potential prevention of the YWCA's foundation.

Another area affecting the organising capacity of groups is the process of urbanisation, an important factor in relation to the YWCA in its hostel capacity. Apart from immigration, transitions between the rural and urban areas of New Zealand put the YWCA into contact with a wide and changing spectrum of clientele, challenging its resources to cater effectively, to plan progressively, and to broaden its philosophies. Urbanisation also had the potential
for certain negative effects on the YWCA. Higher rates of geographical mobility made it difficult for the YWCA to follow through its programmes for any length of time, mapping the progress of individual girls. The turnover of staff and Board members however was low, particularly amongst those who were married. As a result, committee and Board members tended to serve for one or two decades. It might be thought that this stability amongst the administrators led to a lack of innovatory activities on the part of the YWCA. This was not the case; there was just sufficient numbers of new comers and retirements each year to inject new vigour and ideas into the Association, without actually threatening its structure. As well, the YWCA received frequent visits from other YWCA representatives both throughout New Zealand, and from overseas (England, Australia, China mainly) to ensure the creation and flow of fresh ideas.

For an organisation to become established and to survive for any length of time, obviously there is a need for resources of wealth, power, and legitimacy with which to build the organisation (Stinchcombe, 1965). Needless to say, the financial aspect of the YWCA was a major consideration; it was fortunate to have the financial support of the middle class to fall back on. This knowledge must have provided a certain amount of security for the administrators of the YWCA. Binfield's (1973) biography of George Williams, founder of the YMCA, documents clearly the type of financial contributions made by wealthy families to both the YMCA and YWCA of London.
For example, Samuel Morley was an enthusiastic supporter of both organisations in England, and gave freely from his millions (Binfield, 1973: 329).

The Christchurch YWCA was also supported to a certain extent by generous donations, particularly from the business sector. 1 Because financial support is a crucial aspect for voluntary organisations, the YWCA had to be careful to retain this support, and therefore had to be careful to avoid challenging the interests of wealthy benefactors. For similar reasons, the YWCA had to be careful not to challenge the Church, since this institution provided invaluable moral support.

Mitchinson (1979) and Fenwick (1977) point to the importance of the legitimacy of an organisation in the eyes of the community; in particular, Fenwick identifies the need for respectability in terms of public image, so that a voluntary association can make unhindered progress in its given social context. This has special implications for women's organisations, and the variables 'class' and 'marital status' take on extra significance. They provide clues as to the sources of wealth, power, and legitimacy within the YWCA, and within the community as a whole, helping to explain in part the longstanding existence of this organisation. Women's organisations, more than men's, were required to prove that they were necessary and effective, and that support of them would not result in a waste of time and money. The fact that

1. This can be seen by looking at the lists of donors in each Annual Report.
the YWCA administrators were middle class women gave supporters a certain amount of confidence in them, for they could be sure that the women's husbands were able to step in financially and act as advisors, if the women were unable to direct the Association. Sources of wealth, power, and legitimacy then, were obviously going to come from associations of the middle class sector of society: professional men, businessmen and clerics.

Generally, opposition which might have proved a constraint to the YWCA was not so much in the form of competing organisations, but opposition to the evangelism of the YWCA. For example, in the May issue of the *The Woman Rebel* (1914), edited by American birth control campaigner and anarchist Margaret Sanger, appeared the following comment:

> Compared with the diseased, perverted hypocritical ghouls of American 'civilisation', cannibals strike you as simple healthy people. If they feed and fatten upon the charred flesh of human beings, cannibals at least do not hide behind the sickening smirk of the Church and the YWCA... Working women! Keep away from the YWCA as you would from a pesthouse... steer clear of those brothels of the Spirit and Morgues of Freedom.
> (Gray, 1979:69,70).

Clearly the proponents of freedom of thought, for example, deplored such organisations as the YWCA for the ideologies they propounded.

Since the YWCA tended to offer services, or a combination of services, not offered by any existing organ-
isions its only possible competitor may have been the churches. Here there was overlap with prayer groups, worship services, and religious instruction. The YWCA occupied a paradoxical situation in regard to church institutions. It was both supportive of and supported by the churches, financially and morally; and yet it was also in competition with them for clientele on the basis of providing a certain measure of social welfare. With respect to its hostel services and programmes, the YWCA overshadowed its only apparent rival, the Girls' Friendly Society, an Anglican organisation attempting to cater for young girls. Simpson (1962) claims that this was because the YWCA was able to offer a wider variety of activities, and because it was interdenominational, thereby appealing to a wider group of girls.

The need for support from churches was paramount, since churches provided an invaluable and inexpensive channel for the communication of YWCA activities. To have thrown out religious objectives could have led to an undermining of the YWCA in this period; foundation on Christian precepts thus served many functions. Yet as Zald (1970) pointed out in connection with the YMCA, the YWCA survived despite competition from the churches because it was willing to dim the intensity of its focus on evangelism and thereby appeal to a wider range of women. Religious values instead were filtered through the programmes in a more subtle way.
ADAPTATION AND SURVIVAL: THE CASE OF THE YWCA

Given that certain environmental forces are continually acting on organisations, how do they set about resisting these forces, or adapting themselves to them? An organisation once formed will do its best to remain in existence since this is in the interests of the people who invested the time, money, and energy in establishing and running it. An organisation is therefore faced with the choice of changing its environment completely to suit its operations, which is the endeavour of all organisations, or to compromise and attune itself to the environment. Environmental forces tend to result in organisations accommodating in order to keep running smoothly; they tend to change in terms of modifying their goals and modifying their structure.

In adapting goals to ensure they are attainable and thereby ensure the continued existence of an organisation, some goals might be completely succeeded by new ones. The concept of 'goal succession' (Sills, 1968), or goal displacement (used here to include changing interpretations of goals) is well documented by such writers as Michels (1911), Weber (1911), Lipset (1960), Gouldner (1961), and Blau (1963). A succession of goals occurs as an organisation adapts its strategies in order to survive and grow. In this adaptation process, coalition or affiliation with other organisations may occur, particularly in the formative years. According to Starbuck (1965), because organisations, with age, tend to become more concerned with organisational structure than with goals, the older the association, the more adaptable its goals, while the younger
associations find it easier to change their structure. This is relevant to the YWCA's experience. Once it settled into its most stable bureaucratic structure, around 1914, goals and their interpretation tended to change, rather than the internal structure. This matter is developed in Chapter Five.

What are some other sources of goal displacement which the YWCA may have experienced? Goal succession could explain both the stability of the YWCA leadership (See Appendix Five) and the noted decline in emphasis on evangelical goals around 1920-1924. It was mentioned above that both volunteer and paid leaders and administrators of the YWCA tended to occupy their positions for a good number of years. In order to maintain their positions, the administrators might have been careful to preserve the structure (now much stabilised) of the Association by concentrating their energies on attending to the maintenance of business already in motion rather than in pursuing new programmes, and then endeavouring to determine the changing needs of women and girls. The effort of managing the many committees the YWCA had created by the 1920s could conceivably have detracted from the energy put into goal attainment.

It is difficult, because of the historical nature of this study, to ascertain whether or not some goals were displaced, because much of what went on within the YWCA went unrecorded. So, for example, it might appear that the YWCA would set a goal one year, and nothing was accomplished later. This could be due to the fact that information
in the appropriate Annual Report simply did not address this issue, therefore one could be led to believe that a certain goal was not attained, even though it may have been. There are, however, some comments relating to the goals of the YWCA and the extent to which they were achieved. In the area of religious goals, information concerning the progress of evangelism and spiritual development amongst individuals is fairly abundant, since the underlying purpose of the Association was a religious one. Lack of progress in this area therefore was of prime concern and was commented on whenever appropriate to do so. Chapter Five, in its discussion of the values and beliefs of the YWCA, will illustrate this by tracing the development of the YWCA's interpretations of Christian doctrine and ideology, and the modifications made to these interpretations.

Finally, goal displacement might simply arise out of a desire to improve upon former goals; this seems to be the most predominant mode of change which can be traced throughout the period of the YWCA; it was motivated by the ideology of 'doing one's best' in all undertakings. This theme is also developed in Chapter Five, by examining the changes made in the programmes run by the YWCA, and the reasons given for making changes.

Given that goals may have to be altered in order to ensure the survival of the organisation, often there is associated change in the internal structure of the organisation. This might involve changes of staff, as some staff may not be capable of identifying with new goals or directions. More likely change will occur in the way the organisation divides
its tasks. It may be thought that amalgamation or further subdivision of tasks within the organisation would be a strategy of improvement. Or perhaps delegation of responsibility might be better achieved through a well-integrated committee network than by utilising single personnel or delegates. Indeed the YWCA recognised that as it established itself in the Christchurch community it would have to continually assess the efficiency of its structure in regard to attaining its goals. This is essentially what it did, as the pattern of structural change 1883-1914 reflects. The specific nature of these changes is examined in Chapter Four.

Although it is in the interest of organisations to accommodate and assimilate to their environments, there are also forces at work which make it easier for an organisation to survive (Stinchcombe, 1965). It has been mentioned already that if an organisation has been preceded by a similar type in the community, then initial hurdles are more easily overcome. Precedential organisations did pave the way for the YWCA, enabling it to integrate into the community more easily, in relation to its public acceptability. Since people had been exposed to an organisation of like-purpose, for example the YMCA in Christchurch (which was founded in 1862), the Christchurch YWCA was more likely to be favourably received. This process meant that communication networks were already in existence through relations with the YMCA (discussed above), and patterns of development in the YMCA had given the community an example of the possible and probable development of the YWCA. The community thus had had exposure to a similar
organisation, which had encountered a favourable response, and was therefore more willing to accept and foster the growth of the YWCA.

Another aid to survival which is vitally linked to the ideal of goal adaptation, is that of following the course of least resistance (Stinchcombe, 1965). The YWCA in this aspect had made a shrewd move right from its inception in London, since its very first efforts were directly in line with what was acceptable to most people anyway. The need for safe and inexpensive accommodation for women was acknowledged; the need to preserve the purity and chastity of young women was also accepted. Since no right-minded person should like to see this threatened (alternative accommodation was either financially exploitative, or possibly a front for prostitution), YWCA innovations along this line were welcomed. With the prevailing acceptance of religion among the middle class, the aims of the YWCA, in building a Christian character in young girls, were condoned.

The question might be raised at this point: to whom were the activities of the YWCA acceptable? Here it is with Marx that the thesis aligns itself, when he writes that "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (The German Ideology, in Tucker, 1978:172). Since the ruling class have the means of material production at their disposal, they also control the means of mental production; their ideas are the expression of the dominant material relationship. Essentially it was from the ruling class that the YWCA's ideas emerged. Women earning their living were urged to aspire to
the values espoused by their social superiors. Despite their poverty, and harried existences, they were to be generous and loving mothers, giving selflessly of themselves, as well as of the fruits of their labour. Material hardship was not supposed to interfere with one's devotion to spiritual and domestic responsibilities; always women were to aspire to practise their moral superiority.

The original aims of the YWCA, informed by the social status of its administrators, and the adaptations it had to make concerning its goals in relation to the constraints and demands of its social environment, were expressed to the community via its programme of activities which will be discussed in some detail in Chapter Five. As it shall be seen throughout the thesis, not all the consequences of these programmes were relevant to its aims.

The expression of its aims is neatly summarised in what is termed the Fourfold Development of the YWCA. Seeking to 'meet the changing needs of women and girls' (its general aim), the YWCA sought to develop this utilising a framework which divided the life of a girl into four aspects: the mental, physical, social, and spiritual. Programme activities were organised around these themes, and it can be seen in Chapter Five that departments and committees tried to deal specifically with one.

The mental aspect of the girl's life was to be developed through educational classes; the physical was fostered through physical recreation classes and sports teams; the social aspect was fostered, in addition to associations in classes, via social gatherings, parties, teas etc. The spiritual
aspect did receive specific attention through Bible study, prayer circles, and church services, but it also pervaded every aspect of YWCA functioning. All classes and clubs, meetings, and gatherings opened with prayer and closed with a benediction. The intensity of the spiritual communication depended in part on the type of girl to which the class catered, and also on the particular leader taking classes, as some felt better equipped than others to evangelise (See Chapter Four).

In every aspect of its programme, there can be seen changes which reflect prevailing norms filtering from the social environment within which the YWCA existed, and in particular, the norms of the dominant class. Ideologies concerning the 'proper' values for women and girls to embrace in their daily lives, aspirations, and thoughts, and those concerning the position of working women in society generally, are well illustrated in the Girl Citizen’s Movement, and the Girls’ Flock House Scheme, which are discussed in detail in Chapter Six. Whilst attempting to help young girls find accommodation and to acquire employment skills, the YWCA wasted no opportunity to instil in these girls the attitudes it considered would serve them well in their future lives.

Concerns on a pragmatic level might have involved offering a variety of programmes to help women pursue their chosen course in relation to their employment; but in relation to attitudes, the YWCA held a narrow set of beliefs regarding the values that pertained to good Christian living. The Girl Citizen’s Movement and the Girls’ Flock House Scheme in particular illustrate how the YWCA served group interests such
as those of the State, capitalist employers, the middle class, and men, in the process of pursuing its goal, 'to meet the changing needs of women and girls'.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has attempted to identify some of the ways in which its social environment had an impact on the Christchurch YWCA. As a result of constraining forces in their social environment, the YWCA administrators attempted to help young working women, but within a particular framework, defined by the interests of their own status group, and by their beliefs concerning the relationships between women and men.

Although it has been indicated that the social environment plays a significant role in shaping the response of the Christchurch YWCA, a description of the social environment has yet to be made; this is the aim of the following chapter.

The period 1883-1930 saw a wide range of profound changes which affected the lives of New Zealand women. Such changes as birth control, legislation enhancing women's social freedom, widening employment opportunities, female suffrage and the vote for women attained in 1893, all served to orchestrate change in most aspects of women's lives. Whilst the significance of advances for women is not denied, it is outside the parameters of this study to examine all the prolific changes relating to women.

The following chapter aims to study those aspects of women's lives which were relevant to the response of the YWCA. Thus female immigration, education and employment opportunities
will be discussed, as changes affecting the practical aspects of daily living women experienced. However, more pervasive perhaps, were the changing patterns of thought relating to the status, worth, and destiny of women. These ideologies combined, promoted a new kind of domesticity for women, based on scientific principles, and on the moral superiority of women. The main mouthpieces of the new womanhood were the WCTU, and the Plunket Society.
INTRODUCTION

In order to fully understand the activities of the Christchurch YWCA during its early years of operation, it is necessary to place the organisation within its historical context, delineating the influences on it and identifying the conditions to which the Association responded.

Whilst ensuing chapters will attempt to document the nature of these interactions between the organisation and its environment and the outcomes of the YWCA's activities, this chapter will attempt to illustrate the social conditions within which the Christchurch YWCA operated, and to which it responded.

The examination of the social context within which the YWCA emerged and established itself involves a discussion of changes and continuity in women's lives at that time, some consideration of the relationship between the YWCA and other women's organisations responding to the challenges of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in New Zealand, and the identification of the particular circumstances surrounding the formation of a Christchurch branch of the YWCA.

Since this thesis is concerned with the response of the YWCA to the needs of women, and the ways its response was shaped by influences emanating from its social context,
only certain aspects of women's lives relevant to the response of the Christchurch YWCA, will be discussed. Thus, this is a selective history, and the themes covered are related to the particular social conditions which shaped the activities of the Christchurch YWCA.

In the period 1883-1930, there were a series of Government Assisted Immigration programmes operating throughout New Zealand (New Zealand Yearbooks, 1893-1936). The Christchurch YWCA, in response to the needs of immigrant women for accommodation and employment, established hostels, an employment agency, and participated in a domestic training programme in co-operation with the Girls' Flock House Scheme (Chapter Six), in addition to offering classes in employment-related and domestic skills. The issue of women's immigration and its relationship to YWCA activities will be briefly reviewed on a general level at this point in the thesis, since it is discussed extensively in Chapter Six.

The need for accommodation for young women was not solely the consequence of an influx of female immigrants, but was also a result of increased urbanisation (Johnston, 1973). With changes in the economic structure of society (Olssen, 1981), requirements of the job market were altered, and with widening job opportunities for women, a transition from rural areas to urban centres became necessary in order for them to take advantage of these opportunities.

For example, women were now able to choose from an expanded variety of jobs, particularly in the areas of sales and clerical work.
The altered economic structure of society brought about profound changes in relation to the educational and employment opportunities of women. Around the turn of the century, the proportion of women working either as domestic servants or seamstresses diminished, in the face of growing opportunities for women to be employed in factory and clerical work (Olssen, 1980).

At the same time, opportunities for women to be employed in the professions grew (Ibid), as women became more accepted as students of tertiary education relating to the professions (law, medicine, for example); women entered the labour force in unprecedented numbers (Sutch, 1973), with an increase in married women's involvement. A discussion of changes in women's involvement in employment between 1883 and 1930 is the focus of the second section.

Such changes altered the lifestyles of many women. Many girls became financially and morally independent of their families at an earlier age, and concern was expressed by the YWCA, religious groups, and other women's organisations, about the future welfare of these girls. Not only was there concern that these women might not be sufficiently equipped for their imminent domestic responsibilities, but there was widespread concern for the moral development of young women. Since young women experienced diminishing ties with church and family, many voluntary associations endeavoured to step in and educate young women in their moral responsibilities as wives and mothers of the future generation of New Zealanders. Under the
Influence of British Imperialism, young mothers were made responsible for the production of a pure, stable, healthy, and fit race of children, who would uphold the superiority of the Empire. The YWCA, along with organisations such as the WCTU, the Plunket Society, the League of Mothers, and other home-oriented organisations, tackled various aspects of women's domestic lives in their own unique ways, ultimately endeavouring to produce the nation's finest wives and mothers. The theme of domesticity will form the third and final section of this chapter relating to aspects of women's lives which had an impact on the activities of the YWCA.

Naturally, none of these aspects of women's lives can be examined in isolation, for each is related in some way to the others. There will also be in this chapter some account of the female suffrage struggle, since it embodies some of the ambiguities between striving for women's public recognition, and accepting domesticity as a woman's ultimate responsibility.

**IMMIGRATION**

In 1891, the population of New Zealand was estimated at 626,658; by the end of the 1930s, it had reached 1,491,484 (Olssen, 1981:251). This increase was primarily due to large increases in immigration (Sutch, 1973:71). Some people immigrated with Government assistance, and others, attracted by the prospects of a developing economy, paid their own passages.
During the late nineteenth century, thousands of immigrants arrived in New Zealand; most were British. Many were employed in Otago and Canterbury because of the public works being undertaken there (Sutch, 1973:71). Female immigrants were often employed as domestic servants, a great shortage of which had developed over the years (Ibid; Starky, 1973:53).

Many voluntary associations arose at this time to meet the needs of this fluctuating and geographically transient population. Women and girls were seen at a high risk of being recruited into prostitution, from being beaten up by drunken husbands, and from being left destitute by the consequences of these treatments (Sutch, 1973; Bunkle, 1980; Roth, 1980).

The pattern of female immigration, since the 1860's fluctuated somewhat, but the most notable changes occurred just after the turn of the century. In the period 1891-1895, excess of arrivals over departures for females was 5,403 (New Zealand Yearbook, 1932:71). Still reflecting the results of the economic depression of the 1880s, female immigration dropped to 3,318 in 1896-1900. However, in the period 1901-1905, female immigration rose to 14,223, and continued to rise steadily until World War One, when it understandably dropped to 7,875 (Ibid). "Development of secondary industries and the remarkable expansion of dairying... provided a substantial foundation for increasing numbers" (New Zealand Yearbook, 1932:70).

At this time, the Government relied on voluntary organisations such as the YWCA and the Girls' Friendly
Societies to house and undertake responsibility for the general welfare of young female immigrants, or to refer young girls to safe boarding houses on its behalf.

The need for such a welfare service was widely affirmed. Mrs J. Wilson, a representative of the Charitable Aid Board, addressing the Christchurch YWCA, alluded to the declining social conditions in Christchurch, saying that "Juvenile crime, self indulgence and lack of parental control were rampant" (Christchurch Press, 31/7/1917).

A "Christchurch Press" reporter stated a few months later that the YWCA was successful in offsetting difficulties that might befall young immigrant women without friends or lodgings in the city.

We do not need to dwell on the dangers that beset the path of young women in this position further than to point out that the YWCA is an effective safeguard against them. (Christchurch Press, 4/10/1912).

The YWCA was not the only organisation involved in meeting the special needs of female immigrants; the Salvation Army (hostelling both women and men), and the Girls' Friendly Society also provided services for these young women. There is a scarcity of information on the role the Girls' Friendly Society played; however, it is known that these two organisations, both in operation since 1883 and offering a similar service to the same potential clientele, did at one stage contest responsibility for these immigrant women.
In 1912, a deputation of YWCA women waited on the Honourable H.D. Bell, asking that the Association have equal rights with the Girls' Friendly Society in housing girl immigrants from Britain (Lyttelton Times, 17/4/1912). Apparently the Girls' Friendly Society had sent the Minister a letter asking for sole responsibility for housing women, and a subsidy for acting in this way on the Government's behalf. When the Government had indicated the possibility of a favourable response, the YWCA protested. The YWCA stated that it recognised the worth of the Girls' Friendly Society, but "wanted its own responsibility", since it too had been connected with hostel services for many years (Ibid). Furthermore, the YWCA challenged the ability of the Girls' Friendly Society to house all female immigrants that required accommodation, and also added that "it was not right that an institution supported entirely by the Church should be subsidised to the exclusion of a non-sectarian body like the YWCA" (Ibid). Both organisations ended up working on behalf of the Government in accommodating female immigrants.

Voluntary associations such as the YWCA and the Girls' Friendly Society which also began in Christchurch in 1883, provided welfare services which were not available from the State. The YWCA was not unaware that it was serving the interests of the State in this matter. When accused, for example, of using rate payer's money to finance its hostel in Christchurch, the YWCA pointed out that it operated under a Government subsidy, which merely paid the expenses connected with meeting and housing immigrants sent to the YWCA by the
Department of Immigration, and a retaining fee to secure rooms kept for immigrants upon their arrival. "In this the Government does no more than discharge its obligation to see that the immigrants are safely housed until they get work, and at the same time saves the country the cost of building, equipping, and staffing Government hostels for the reception of immigrants" (Christchurch Press, 25/5/1913). It appears therefore that the Christchurch YWCA saw this service as a way of contributing to patriotism, rather than in terms of perpetuating systems of stratification in society.

Providing accommodation was not the limit of the services the YWCA provided for immigrant women. Many of the women came to work as domestic servants or maids (Sutch, 1973:71), and the YWCA concerned itself with the inculcation of domestic skills, and the processes of obtaining employment. At one period, the YWCA of New Zealand incorporated both accommodation and job training services under the Flock House Scheme (refer to Chapter Six). Generally, however, local Associations like the Christchurch YWCA used their educational classes and clubs to impart knowledge relating to domestic matters.

The accommodation and employment services the YWCA offered to young women were not confined to immigrant needs, these services were also to help young rural women coming to the city to work. One of the primary reasons the Christchurch YWCA had entered into a hostelling service was to offer safe and inexpensive accommodation to young girls
coming from rural backgrounds to Christchurch to work (Annual Report, 1908-1909:5).

The period 1883-1930 saw a gradual but distinct pattern of urban drift, which became accelerated in the 1920s (Table 1). The process of urbanisation was not, however, represented equally between the sexes. Changing sex ratios in relation to rural-urban living, poignantly illustrate the great need for accommodation and employment aid for women in particular. Initially, an imbalance of the sexes prevailed, with males outnumbering females in the 1870s. However, by the 1880s, the sex ratio had begun to change; by 1900, the numbers of females exceeded males in the four main cities and their suburbs (New Zealand Yearbook, 1930:96), although provincially, males still outnumbered females (Table 2). With proportionately more women than men in the towns, not all women were able to marry; many would spend a lifetime in paid work to secure their futures. These single women were seen to need protection, and the YWCA's hostel environment and employment agency claimed to supply the basic requirements of these women in terms of accommodation, employment liaison, and moral support.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION: CHANGING OPPORTUNITIES

Both the transition of women from rural to urban centres, and the immigration of young women were a response to the changing economic structure and labour market demands of New Zealand society.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>% RURAL</th>
<th>% URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>62.34</td>
<td>37.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>60.47</td>
<td>39.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>61.16</td>
<td>38.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>61.95</td>
<td>38.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>60.87</td>
<td>39.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>57.96</td>
<td>42.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>57.07</td>
<td>42.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>54.18</td>
<td>45.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>51.23</td>
<td>48.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>48.38</td>
<td>51.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** New Zealand Yearbook: 1930:96

**Table 1:** Urban/Rural Population Ratios
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CANTERBURY</th>
<th>NEW ZEALAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>89.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>107.2</td>
<td>99.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>101.3</td>
<td>95.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>102.3</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** "Population", CENSUS, 1936:4

**TABLE 2:** FEMALES PER 100 MALES, 1881-1936
In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women who were in paid employment were commonly found in tailoring, dressmaking, millinery, textiles and clothing factories, boot and shoe factories, and printing and book binding (Olssen, 1980:163-165; Starky, 1979). The main avenue of employment for women, however, was domestic service (Olssen, 1980; Starky, 1979; Sutch, 1973). At all times during this period, domestic service received the highest representation amongst female workers, except in 1911, when Textiles exceeded it by 0.7% (See Table 3).

Although domestic service continued to draw the majority of the female workforce, the proportions of women in this occupation decreased steadily over the period. Olssen (1980) suggests that women were taking advantage of the new work opportunities available to them, because conditions of work were more agreeable. Domestic service required long hours of work, poor wages, and was associated with unsolicited sexual advances, poky accommodation, arduous duties (Olssen, 1980:162). Public employment was preferred by women, since the work was more defined, the hours shorter, and better holidays were given (Ibid).

This preference amongst women to work in occupations other than domestic service created a 'shortage' of domestic workers, although their demand stayed the same. In other words, the demand for domestic workers was highlighted as women were choosing to opt into other types of employment!

Prior to any marked changes in the female workforce, factory work was the most common alternative to domestic service (Table 3), becoming a more viable occupation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1936</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEDICAL</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICE</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMESTIC</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXTILES</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALES</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFICE</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Adapted from Olssen, (1980), p163

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL FEMALE WORKFORCE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1881-1936
after the efforts of the Tailoresses' and Pressers' Union to improve working conditions. This Union, founded in 1890, endeavoured to combat the practice in factories known as 'sweating'. This was a system whereby employees were paid wages so meagre that they had to take work home after hours to earn enough to ward off starvation. "It was feared that women who had been forced to spend the best part of their youth in such slavery would be incapable of producing a healthy race of children" (Starky, 1979:47). Low wages and long hours were not the only hardships; often workrooms had inadequate ventilation or heating, were overcrowded, and the workers were expected to use them as their lunchroom.

In 1890 the Government, under pressure from interest groups, set up the Sweating Commission; eventually the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act was passed in 1894, and agreements between unions and employers were made legally binding (Ibid, p48). Although Tailoresses' unions consisted of majority of women members, most of the executive positions were filled by men (Ibid, p49). This reflected a tendency for women to be poorly represented in positions of responsibility, which was evident throughout the occupational structure. Factory work did offer a viable alternative to women working as domestic servants, and it was often preferred because it was less isolated, had defined

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1. "One of the chief difficulties of Association industrial work in ... New Zealand is that the Labour group is so powerful, and has been able to gain so much by its own efforts, that the Churches and other Christian bodies like the Association have felt very little responsibility for action" (Unity in Diversity:68).
hours of work; holidays were a certainty (Dominion, 1909, April 17, p10, cited in Olssen, 1980:162).

Factory work became a viable occupational choice not only because of the Union's efforts to secure fair wages, and good conditions of work, however. Development of New Zealand Manufacturing diversified to produce a wide variety of goods "from bricks, to beer and sweets, to soap" (Brooking, 1981:245).

With the general period of expansion for New Zealand manufacturing around the turn of the century, moves were made by women to avail themselves of the new range of jobs open to them. Thousands of women continued to enter the workforce as domestic servants, although the proportion of women workers in this occupation shrank (Figure 1). Domestic servants thus became in high demand, since women now had a wider range of alternative employment to choose from. Table 3 shows that women now increased their representation in textiles, sales, and office work, as technological development resulted in an expansion of the labour market for these occupations.

Absolute numbers moving into the professions increased (Table 4), although the percentage of women in this type of work relative to other occupations, declined (Table 3). Teaching was a profession deemed acceptable for women, since it could be seen as an extension of women's childrearing functions, did not challenge any of the conventional stereotypes of women, and reinforced women in the role of servants to others (Hughes, 1980). Since schools were needed all over New Zealand, education offered good employ-
Figure 1: Composition Female Workforce: Selected Occupations, 1881-1936

Source: Adapted from Olssen (1980), p 163
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1936</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NURSES</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>3403</td>
<td>4393</td>
<td>8721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDWIVES</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOCTORS</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUNS</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEACHERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSIC TEACHERS</td>
<td>1548</td>
<td>2617</td>
<td>3573</td>
<td>5053</td>
<td>7637</td>
<td>7233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOVERNESSSES</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>1369</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>1141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAITRESSES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOTEL SERVANTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOARDING HOUSE SERVANTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COOKS</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>2227</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARMAIDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASHERWOMEN</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSEKEEPERS &amp; MAIDS</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>993</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>5212</td>
<td>5147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMESTICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRESSMAKERS &amp; MILLINERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACHINISTS</td>
<td>3658</td>
<td>6002</td>
<td>10299</td>
<td>17322</td>
<td>6868</td>
<td>5914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS IN CLOTHING</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>2350**</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>2825</td>
<td>3716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOP ASSISTANTS</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td>2425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALE &amp; AGENTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLERKS &amp; CASHIERS</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>9229</td>
<td>13204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPISTS</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>1374</td>
<td>(9027)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEHOGRAPHERS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1106</td>
<td>5024</td>
<td>13425</td>
<td>21055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n.e.- no entry under this description

* There is some uncertainty concerning all of these figures, but this one illustrates the general problem with the Census. In Table XIV, "Population and Houses", Census 1901, p.8, the total number of servants in private houses is given as 15,407, and in the footnotes, 17,211 is given. These figures are from the Alphabetical listing, 19189.

**- For this year tailoresses were included with machinists.

Classification for occupations in the clothing industry changed often.

***- This is the figure for 1896, given in "Unemployment", AJHR, 1929, 11-8.

ment opportunities for educated women, even in the rural areas. Indeed, in 1878, women already made up nearly 41% of teachers (Appendix to the Journals, 1878, Vol. V, HI, 2-3, cited in Hughes, 1980: 123).

As Table 4 shows, nursing was an occupation which expanded quickly as a profession for women. Although nursing did not begin in New Zealand as a profession, being undertaken by women with little or no training, under the initiative of Grace Neill, it did eventually gain professional status. Her work as Assistant Inspector of Hospitals enabled Grace Neill to determine what was needed to create better nursing in New Zealand; largely due to her work, New Zealand was the first country in the world to pass a Nurses’ Registration Act, in 1901. Three years later there followed an Act for the Registration of Midwives (Neill, 1961: 34-37), and in 1909 the Trained Nurses’ Association was founded.

Professions besides nursing and teaching posed a considerable challenge to women. Those entering the medical profession for example, were considered unsexed (Hughes, 1980: 130); their financial backgrounds and opportunities provided little capital, presenting much difficulty in establishing themselves in practices (Ibid: p131).

As a Christian organisation, the YWCA was duty bound to emphasise the Christian solution in its response to women's problems (Mitchinson, 1979: 374). Part of this response involved recognising the plight of the working woman. How did the women of the YWCA view the problems
of employed women? How did the social standing of the YWCA administrators affect their response to conflicts in the role of women in society? Was there any challenge to the status quo, or was there more emphasis on directing women to adapting to their situation?

The Christchurch YWCA exhibited a rather ambivalent response to the dilemma of what was considered as appropriate vocations for women, both challenging and perpetuating some of the myths surrounding women in relation to their employment. Although the YWCA was able to recognise that the phenomenon of the working women was not a transitory one, it responded by channeling women into occupations which reflected the stereotyped beliefs about the nature of women - that they were subservient, submissive, and that their calling was to serve men.

Despite this dualistic response, the YWCA endeavoured at least to help women earn their living. When typewriters, for example, were first introduced, there arose the problem of finding people to operate them. Although shorthand was in common usage, the advantages of combining this skill with typing were not immediately recognised (Beeching, 1974:34). Few typing schools existed; this was not surprising since typing offered limited financial returns.

In America, the YWCA was one of the first organisations to foresee the possibilities of a new career for women, and in 1881, it started a typing class for eight girls. The initiative of the YWCA spread rapidly, and about five years later, some sixty thousand girls were operating typewriters in offices throughout the United
States (Beeching, 1974: 35). The response was similar in New Zealand: in 1911, there were only fifty-seven typists, yet by 1921 there were 3475 (Table 4). The Christchurch YWCA offered shorthand classes as early as 1910, but never offered typing between 1900 and 1930. Instead, it referred girls to the Technical Schools, which had the necessary equipment for women to develop this skill.

The YWCA's dualistic response was not unique amongst the social institutions of this period. Changes in the economy and the related fields of commerce and employment, had wide-reaching implications for the education system. No sooner had women won the free and equal right to education in the late 1870s, than conflict arose regarding what they were to be taught (Newman, 1979; Sutch, 1973). The founding of secondary schools for girls had laid the foundation on which professionalism for females could be built. This was particularly important since the excess of women over men in the urban areas meant that many women would not withdraw from the workforce on account of marriage. If women were to contribute usefully to social life, and were not to marry, then an education was required that would enable them to earn their own living.

At the turn of the century, manual training was introduced into schools, and girls were steered into cooking and sewing; although girls' schools had wider aspirations for their pupils, they nevertheless thought that girls should acquire domestic skills. Olesen (1981) maintains that one of the important functions of the educational system during the
First twenty years of this century was the training of children for roles in the workforce. "Education was seen as a method of socialising the young into hierarchically structured and time-dominated organisations" (Olssen, 1981: 270).

Schools did more than slot pupils into the increasingly competitive labour market however; they also were instrumental in moulding youth to fit the requirements of society: for boys, this meant becoming a financial provider, and manifested itself in terms of training in job-related skills, such as woodwork and metalwork. Girls however were offered courses which fitted them for both the workforce and the home. Arguments regarding the vocational guidance they should receive came from all sides, both for and against any one type of training.

Early in the 1900s, schools came under attack for their 'defeminising' influences. Notably Sir Truby King (founder of the Plunket Society) and Dr Ferdinand Batchelor (a specialist in women's diseases) warned against the adverse effects of education for women. They were certain that higher education diverted women from their natural state of wife and motherhood:

> The schools invite women to 'enter on a course of study for which Nature never intended them, and which undoubtedly in a considerable number of cases is followed by an inadequate development of these organs and functions which are characteristic of healthy womanhood.' (Olssen, 1981: 167).

These medically 'enlightened' opinions did not go unchallenged. Dr Emily Sideberg, the first woman to graduate from the University of Otago's Medical School and a prominent
member of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, countered each of Batchelor's arguments, pointing out that a better educated woman who could be financially independent was likely to fare better if her husband was unemployed, not needing to rely on charity or public support (Olssen, 1980:169).

Dr. Agnes Bennett, the Superintendent of St. Helen's Maternity Hospital in Wellington likewise espoused the benefits of higher education for women, in better equipping them for their domestic role. Both women agreed on the need for domestic training because as Olssen (1980) has indicated, they accepted the role of women as wives and mothers. Motherhood and wifery then were seen as specialised tasks requiring formal training. They also accepted the doctrine of 'proper spheres' for women and men, and of females' moral superiority; "motherhood and domesticity gave women their moral superiority ...[which was] essential to the progress of the race" (Olssen, 1980:174). The point of contention was not women's domestic responsibilities, but the place and value of paid employment relative to the inevitable demands on them as wives and mothers (Olssen, 1980:175).

In 1905, when secondary schools refused to cater for technical interests, the first technical day-schools opened. Increasingly, the education system became directed at the inculcation of skills for specialised jobs. Education emerged as a way of filtering women for various positions in the workforce, just as it had done for their brothers (Olssen, 1981:270). The YWCA's response was to give women the chance of acquiring work-related skills outside the formal education system, although later on it handed over this aspect of its work to
Vocational Guidance (Lovell-Smith, 1961:33) and the Workers' Educational Association (Newman, 1979:86).

In 1909, during a time of increasing emphasis on training in domesticity for girls and women, Home Science was introduced at Otago University as a degree course, with the encouragement of Dr Batchelor, who strongly advocated home science as a correct direction for all women who were ready to receive tertiary education (Olssen, 1980:168).

Once women received the same education as men, it was hard to exclude them from the professions completely (Hughes, 1980). Despite the handicaps, practical and psychological, visible and invisible, small numbers of women had begun to enter the professions by the end of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1881, 2.5% of employed women were involved in the medical profession, 7.5% by 1921, and 7.7% by 1936 \(^1\) (Table 5). Similar trends were also evident for the profession of law (Hughes, 1980).

The YWCA's efforts to help young girls acquire marketable skills involved steering them into jobs which were predominantly performed by females, such as domestic service and office work. It can be argued that such a move was founded upon the rationale that these were the jobs women had least problem in securing. However, the YWCA also expressed in the following press statement, its concern about the future toll employment might take on the young girl, especially if she were to be working alongside men:

---

1. Dramatic increases between 1921 and 1936 Census will not be observed because of the effects of the 1930s depression.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>% OF ALL WOMEN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE WORKFORCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>11.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>12.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>15.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>15.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>17.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>17.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>18.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>17.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>20.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>17.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>18.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Census of New Zealand, 1881-1936

**TABLE 5:** WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE, 1881-1936
There is a danger that our younger generation of women may lose that self-control and repose and dignity which made their mothers true home makers. There is also the danger that excessive indulgence in excitement and pleasure seeking will produce a neurotic type of woman who has lost her taste for simple home life and duties; that constant contact with men will lessen the reserve and self-respect which we want to see in our girls... (Timaru Post, 9/7/1912, Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1911-1916:13).

Instruction in the finer points of domesticity then can be seen as a move to balance the influences young women experienced, hopefully offsetting the temptation to abandon her responsibilities of wife and mother in favour of financial independence and all that might be associated with that.

The YWCA gave the impression that many people considered the weak link in the social chain of a girl's life to be the time she spent between school and marriage, or the beginning of a career. The YWCA felt:

If those years are moulded by the all-round influence of an elevating force like the Association, there will be little fear that the future mothers of the race will not be suitably prepared for their destiny, whatever it be ....What the present age needs is more ideality translated into terms of practical common-sense, and the extended classes and healthy intercourse indicated in the programme ...give every promise of moral and social value in years to come. (Canterbury Times, 29/2/1912).

This kind of rationale was the motivation behind the YWCA's classes and lectures and activities relating to the preparation of young girls in the finer points of domesticity.
DOMESTICITY

These arguments arising over the future destiny of women and the concomitant problems of education for women, occurred in the context of the growing trend towards a new definition of motherhood and domesticity. Impetus for this transition in women's domestic status came from many quarters, but none were as influential as The Women's Christian Temperance Union, with its stress on moral purity, and the Plunket Society, which attempted to elevate motherhood to the status of a scientific profession. Since the YWCA aligned itself with the fundamental beliefs of both the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Plunket Society, including many of their ideas in its programmes, a discussion of domesticity in the context of these two influential organisations is fitting.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was one of the driving forces behind the quest for a new moral order in society, and this was symbolised in the form of temperance: abstinence from alcohol was a symbol for abstinence from evil, and for the development of self-control (Bunkle, 1980: 69). Women were held responsible for moral order in society, since they were considered to be morally superior to men, and it was their task to uphold the sanctity of marriage and the family (Bunkle, 1980: 73).

The prevailing belief in women's moral superiority gave women a unique status; this was reinforced by the
efforts of the WCTU to eradicate all social evils, women's common cause and moral fibre supposedly transcending all class differences. Without a woman's influence, men would fall into "the slough of sin and wickedness - alcohol, smoking, bad language, gambling, and sexual vice" (Dalziel, 1977:119). Women's purity, piety, and virtues were considered essential to harness men's animal nature.

The quest for social purity was at the heart of the temperance movement; the WCTU was foremost in attacking double standards (Bunkle, 1980:62), contending that men should abide by the same standard of sexual purity as women were meant to do (Ibid).

Social purity, in the sense of sexual purity, was to be attained by both sexes. It was important that the double sexual standard be challenged, for its existence threatened the stability of marriage and family life, and therefore the domestic future of women.

The YWCA shared a similar view of womanhood, wishing to preserve the special responsibilities it brought:

...[the YWCA] teaches the dignity of womanhood, and glory of homemaking, the need for personal health of body, mind, and spirit....
(Timaru Post, 9/7/1912, Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1911-1916:13).

The notion of purity was symbolic of piety; the phrase 'cleanliness is next to godliness' was taken literally. It is not surprising to discover then that the temperance movement, like the YWCA, was founded on Christian precepts, and it gave social and political expression to religious beliefs (Bunkle, 1980:67).
Dalziel (1977) recognises that the concept of women as wife, mother, homemaker, and moral guardian, was closely associated with agitation for suffrage, and the extension of the vote to women (p113).

Dalziel further contends that women were not necessarily seeking equality, but an elevation of their separate role, and power to put across peculiarly female values; i.e. legal representation of women's values. The efforts women had made in the pioneering days had gained recognition, fostering a rise in the status of women's work, and raised women's own conception of their role. The vote was recognition of this. Dalziel emphasises the positive satisfaction women derived from their separate role as an explanation for their political aims; the driving force behind the political behaviour of women at this time was their desire to have their role appreciated publically (Dalziel, 1977:1-11).

Tennant (1976) points out that it is important to recognise that the franchise was "the sequel to a more generalised feminism which had been evolving in New Zealand for more than three decades..." (p1), with women's entrance into new spheres of education and employment, and the formation of separate women's organisations. Furthermore, it was when organisations such as the WCTU endeavoured to promote wider social reform by influencing legislature, that a conscious social feminism found expression. The Union had found itself blocked by legislative disenfranchisement, and therefore sought early in its existence to work for female suffrage.
The temperance movement developed in England and America in the nineteenth century as part of an evangelical crusade for social reform. It was believed that moral transformation of the individual would result in a transformed society. By the 1870s, the evangelical denominations had established themselves and their temperance societies throughout America (Bunkle, 1980:55). With concomitant institutionalisation of revivalism, much impetus was lost, and women took initiative for action. Pickets and demonstrations outside town bars were organised by women and in 1874, the WCTU was formed to sustain this initiative. The organisation became an avenue for active ministry by these women, whose attempts at leadership were otherwise thwarted by male interpretations of religious doctrine. Skilled and determined organisation turned the WCTU into the then largest women's organisation in the world (Bunkle, 1980:56).

Eight Unions were organised in New Zealand, in Dunedin, Invercargill, Christchurch, Oamaru, Wellington, Rangiora, Auckland and Napier. Although for many years a national organisation in New Zealand, it never really had a mass following. The effectiveness of the WCTU, according to Bunkle (1980), was its capacity to generate an extraordinary sense of female political solidarity; it attempted to give political expression to uniquely female values.

The Union also supported all measures which would give women economic independence, equal pay, job opportunities, unionisation of working women, the employment of married teachers, the right of wives to economic independence and
a recognised share of their husbands income (Bunkle, 1980:62).

It has been mentioned that the WCTU crusaded for social purity; this demanded not only abolishing the sexual double standard, but also prohibiting the use of alcohol and abolishing prostitution. At this point, the WCTU became involved in the franchise movement.

Since the purpose of government was "to exercise social control to achieve moral order" (Bunkle, 1980:64), women should be able to vote to realise this, since most interest groups perverted this purpose by negating individual moral choice in their lobbying. It was thought by the women of the WCTU, that women would be "Moral and disinterested voters whose 'influence will tend to sweeten and purify the political atmosphere'" (Bunkle, 1980:44). Thus enfranchisement of women would restore the moral purpose of government. Gaining the vote, according to Bunkle, was seen as the key strategy for achieving temperance and social purity (Bunkle, 1980:64).

Temperance movements offered women positions of power and responsibility within their organisations. "By attracting women in considerable numbers, and subsequently offering them equality of status with men in their societies, temperance had served a twofold function for the feminist movement" (Grimshaw, 1970:165). Firstly, on the practical level, women learned the tools of political agitation; secondly on the ideological plane, women became aware, with increasing intensity, of the injustice of the social and legal
disabilities their sex was still heir to.

Around 1885, the campaigning for the vote for New Zealand women gathered momentum, and, energetically directed by Kate Sheppard, the National Franchise Superintendent, the consciousness of women regarding their right to vote was raised. Sheppard organised the franchise petition nationally after the dismissal of three petitions on bar-maids, social purity, and the franchise (Bunkle, 1980:65). Petitions signed in 1891 drew 10,085 signatures throughout New Zealand, and in 1892, 20,274 (Grimshaw, 1972:49). The extent of public interest in women's suffrage was so great that candidates of the 1890 election were forced to take a stand on the issue. The Government was split over the issue; Ballance, Reeves, Cadman and Ward were for the vote, Seddon, McKenzie, Carroll and Buckley, against. Their alternatives seemed gloomy: oppose suffrage and arouse the anger of the suffrage movement and their own backbenchers, or back suffrage and gamble with their political future. (Grimshaw, 1970:165).

The other issue which influenced the attitudes of various politicians was, of course, temperance. It was natural that politicians with temperance leanings came to the forefront for women's emancipation (Fulton, Sanders, Stout). Aware of the seriousness of the suffragists, supporters of the drink trade were threatened for the first time, and made moves to persuade politicians their way (Ibid).

In 1891, with the beginning of a new government, the women's suffrage issue was ignored, until supporters in Parliament agitated for its continued attention. There were many interrupted debates, and rumours were spread to
Members of Parliament to persuade them against suffrage. Despite this, however, in 1893, suffrage for women was attained by 20 votes to 18. Parliamentarians who were opposed to female suffrage took the decision to the Governor, arguing that there was not enough time to enrol women for the next election. The Governor, however, approved the new legislation; this left six weeks for enrolment. 80% of the female population registered, and 85% of these voted, proportions which compared very favourably with those in the male population (Grimshaw 1970: 176).

It was in the aftermath of suffrage victory that the Plunket Society was established. Sir Truby King, its founder, became an active proponent of women's domesticity based on his longstanding concern for child health. During the thirty-three years previous to the founding of the Plunket Society, there had been a gradual decline in infant mortality from more than 10.5% to 7.5% due to improved conditions of welfare and sanitation, and increased hospital and medical aid (Wilkins, 1918). That is, the total rate of decline was 3% in thirty-three years. Between 1907, when the Plunket Society was founded, and 1918, there was a fall of 2.5%, from 7.5% to less than 5% infant mortality, due to the added input of Plunket efforts (Ibid).

The bulk of the Plunket Society work was aimed at improving the health of the greater number of infants who did not die, educating mothers to more 'rational' and 'scientific methods' of mothercraft, and applying to the children the results of the world wide study of infant
King held strongly to the view that the natural aptitude of women lay in a very definite direction, "and that any woman who diverged from the pattern of devoted wifehood and motherhood was laying in store for herself a life of discontent, ill health, and possible mental collapse" (Tennant, 1976:85). Many of King's views regarding the feeding and rearing of children were derived from observations of his mental patients at Seacliffe, where he concluded that many mental conditions were directly related to poor mothering. As Parry (1981) notes: "It had become unfashionable for anyone who counted herself a 'lady' to breastfeed her children, and the standard of artificial feeding was so poor, that many babies failed to survive the first year of life" (Parry, 1981:17).

The Christchurch YWCA aligned itself to the ideals of the Plunket Society. Through its classes, lectures, and through the Girl Citizen's Movement and Hearth Fire Clubs, the YWCA showed its support for an ordered and 'scientific' approach to domesticity. Its concern with the transmission of domestic skills can be accounted for on two levels.

Firstly, at the surface level, the YWCA followed the path of least resistance, by offering to the public what it presumed was wanted. Demands for domestic workers by employers on the one hand, and demands for better quality mothering by the medical profession on the other hand, were heeded by the Christchurch YWCA. Their programmes and classes reflected their concern for the opportunity for young women to acquire these skills.
At a deeper level however it can be seen that such an orientation served the needs of middle class women who both required the use of domestic servants, and required status for their own domestic position.

Consensus amongst prominent feminists about the importance of training for domesticity and motherhood won increasing support from the women of the labour movement (Olssen, 1980:177); Dora Montefiore, for example, an Australian socialist-feminist, considered "Motherhood... the supreme function, the supreme overmastering instinct and desire of womanhood" (Montefiore, D., Maoriland Worker Dec. 1911:15, cited in Olssen, 1980:177). Jane Mander, also a socialist, felt that housekeeping would one day become one of the "most honoured, best paid services in the world" (Mander, J., Weekly Herald, 18/6/1920, cited in Olssen, 1980:177).

In 1911, a Housewife's Union was formed. It was hoped that through this Union, fair prices for household goods and food could be established. It was also hoped to study issues such as housing, pure food and drug legislation, and to encourage manual and domestic training (Olssen, 1980). The Union concerned itself with a wide variety of issues, agitating about equal pay, social welfare, working conditions, conscription, violations of freedom of conscience and war aid, for example, (Sutch, 1973:120-121).

The Christchurch YWCA was in total support of the prevailing beliefs heralding the elevated status of domesticity, as a paid job, or as part of the role of wife and mother. It quickly assimilated the ideals of the Plunket Society, which offered practical advice to women...
The 'scientific' approach to housework and household organisation lent itself to instruction in YWCA classes and clubs. Such methods pertaining to domestic affairs had clearly defined parameters, and therefore were easily divided into teaching components. For example, in a lecture given to members of the Christchurch YWCA, a Miss Patterson from the Domestic Science School in Opawa, spoke on the "Science of Cooking and Homemaking" (Sun, 7/10/1916, Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1911-1916:119). In this talk, Miss Patterson covered the different methods of cooking meats and soups to their greatest nutritional value; the different properties of food; home-cleaning; and proper care of bedrooms and living-rooms. On another occasion, Plunket Nurse Mackay spoke on the care of children, advising "fresh air and plenty of it", and hygienic and warm clothing in place of the tight swaddling clothing commonly used (Sun, 15/2/1917, Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1914-1925:10). As in many of the Plunket maxims, aspects of child care and housework were couched in numerical terms, whenever possible, giving them the appearance of a scientific status. For example, in emphasising the value of sleep for the infant, Nurse Mackay said that a baby should sleep \( \frac{1}{2}\) of its time during the first six months " (Emphasis mine). "Regular habits, regular feeding, and plenty of fresh air and sleep made sane, healthy, normal babies" (Ibid).

The concept of efficient scheduling and organising of the daily routines of living were not confined to babies; they were also to be observed by adult women, since this would ensure the health and survival chances of their babies. A 'reasonable' scheme for the day was given as
follows by Sir Truby King:

Buy an alarm clock, and set it for 6:30 a.m. When the alarm sounds jump straight out of bed and have a cold bath or cold sponging followed by an active rub down with a rough towel. Dress rapidly and take at least a quarter of an hour of really active exercise in the open air — quick walking, running, skipping, etc.


The YWCA structured its advice in a similar fashion, detailing the tasks with fastidious care. A publication of the British YWCA, Our Own Gazette (Volume Three, 1886), for example, managed to devote a page each to the topics of washing dishes and setting fires (See Appendix Six).

In a similar way, tasks assigned by the Hearth Fire Clubs took pains to ensure no detail was overlooked. Grace Staples, a member of the 'Koa' Hearth Fire Club¹ had performed the following tasks and demonstrated her knowledge of the following topics, in order to win 'honour' points, enabling her to progress to a higher level within the Club:

- Four Vegetables
- Uses of Stale bread
- Stains
- Camp
- Five mile walk
- Brushing hair for one month
- Having windows open for two months
- Three kinds of cake
- Describing 20 birds
- Recognising 20 leaves
- Recognising 10 weeds
- Reciting 40 lines of poetry
- Swimming 100 yards
- Swimming four standard styles
- Doing two standard dives
- Can play hockey efficiently

¹. Refer Chapter Six.
Grace's sister Elsie had aspired to much the same kinds of achievement, and had included in her list that she had "stayed from the pictures for one month" (Ibid). Abstinence from cinemas was an admirable feat, for the moral value of such types of entertainment as the cinema, theatre, and dance halls was severely questioned (Overseas Daily Mail, March 1920, in Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1916-1925, p7).

It is likely that the combined forces of the WCTU, the Plunket Society, and the YWCA had a profound impact on young girls of the day, the WCTU giving political expression to its beliefs, while the Plunket Society maintained the support of the medical profession. The YWCA was able to gather all this information and present it articulately to those who were the target for this powerful set of ideas and beliefs—the young, developing, woman.

The message to women projected by these organisations was one of the importance of preparing adequately for a domestic life. For some women this took the form of involvement in the paid workforce as a domestic servant, or for others, work in their own homes as wives and mothers. The home was seen as the woman's kingdom (Bunkle, 1980:57), and this was to be protected by the presence and influence of a spiritually and domestically well-prepared woman.

The YWCA and the WCTU shared some ambiguities in their responses to the needs of women. The WCTU, for example, tried to encourage women to participate actively in the public sphere, arguing that the influence of women would ensure the correct moral development of society, just as women's vote would "purify the political atmosphere" (Bunkle, 1980:64).
The WCTU stressed women's particular role, regardless of whether or not they participated in the paid labour force, as guardians of public morality, and justified women's rights to the vote on the basis of their role as those rearing the next generation. Kate Sheppard, for example, a member of both the YWCA and the WCTU, supported every increase in employment opportunities for women; her prime concerns were women's economic dependence in marriage, and their unequal opportunities, which made marriage an economic necessity (Bunkle, 1981:22).

Similarly, the YWCA tended to offer a conflicting message to women. The Christchurch YWCA endeavoured to help women of all positions to become united, via this common interest in home and family responsibilities; at the same time, however, it perpetuated divisions between working class and middle class women, by its actions regarding the domestic servant 'dilemma', its educational classes which encouraged women to pursue occupations appropriate to their social status, and by young women's participation in clubs which catered for them differentially on the basis of their socioeconomic status.

Like Kate Sheppard, the YWCA elevated homemaking, but also worked to facilitate women's access to employment and their right to participate in activities of their own choosing, whether they might be recreational, educational, or social.

The quest for purity, to attain the highest conditions of health, since this contributed to their purity, and also made them fit to be effective and strong wives and mothers.
"Health was the reward for cleanliness; disease inevitably followed defilement" (Bunkle, 1980:69).

All three of the key organisations discussed in this chapter, the WCTU, the Plunket Society, and the YWCA, also concerned themselves with issues of women's health; it was felt that in order to be effective mothers, women needed to be healthy. Kate Sheppard, for example, believed "the physical freedom to play and grow would develop a positive self image in women that would go far to liberate the psyches" (Bunkle, 1981:22). The Plunket Society likewise concerned itself with women's health (Olsson and Levesque, 1978:12), though with the ultimate concern of women's offspring (Christchurch Press, 16/6/1922 - see above). The YWCA, likewise, agreed that women's health was a most important consideration, for it helped prevent disease, rendering women fit for service to their families.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to outline the changes and areas of continuity in aspects of women's lives between 1883-1930, which are particularly relevant to this study of the Christchurch YWCA. Since the main concerns of the Christchurch YWCA related to female immigration, accommodation, employment, education, and the domestic responsibilities young women would inevitably face, these have been the areas of focus for this chapter.
It was shown how immigration and urban migration were, in part, dictated by the changing nature of employment for women, and how both of these phenomena imposed certain demands on the Christchurch community. These were perceived as the need for female accommodation, for education relating to job skills, and for affirmation of the 'traditional' values assigned to womanhood, embraced in the cult of domesticity as it was propounded by the Plunket Society and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, two extremely influential voices in the community.

Changing labour market opportunities, coupled with the changing domestic market, meant that more women were looking for paid employment, and a wider range of jobs were available to them. This led to new needs for housing and education, and for social control for young women who were no longer under their parent's care but who were not yet married. This, in turn, created anxieties about the effects of paid employment on their [later] fitness to be wives and mothers.

This chapter has attempted to indicate aspects of the social setting which are relevant to the understanding of the activities of the Christchurch YWCA in its historical context. The following chapter examines the internal dynamics of the YWCA, its structure and its ideology, which continued to indicate the relationship between the Christchurch YWCA and its environment.
CHAPTER FOUR: DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHRISTCHURCH YWCA: 1883-1930

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss changes in the development of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930. This involves examining not only changing administration patterns, but also in the financial organisation of the YWCA, patterns of membership, and how the YWCA attempted to extend its area of influence.

As changes in all areas of the YWCA are discussed, it will be seen clearly that these emanated largely from the social context in which the YWCA operated. Constraints arising out of the economy, the demands of the labour market, and the availability of financial and moral support can be seen to evoke change at certain points in the development of the YWCA. Similarly, contemporary ideologies served to mould the response of the YWCA to its clientele. As indicated earlier, the women running the YWCA found themselves in the curious position of trying to meet the needs of young women in Christchurch, whilst at the same time serving the interests of certain dominant groups in society, namely the State, capitalist employers, and the middle class.

This interest in identifying constraints in the social environment of organisations is a feature of the Institutional School of organisation theory. This approach usefully points to the crucial role material forces (such as the economy, dominant groups, the labour market) play in shaping the structure and development of organisations (Perrow, 1979:176).
Socialist feminist analysis directs attention to ideological forces which determine women's positions in society, the real power they might have, and, in the case of the YWCA, the paradoxical situation in which the women running the YWCA found themselves, when attempting to help other women; their help was offered because they recognised that women generally do not fare as well in society as men, but it was limited to aid which would not threaten their own comforts which were derived from their association with men of high social status.

In this chapter, changes in the administrative structure of the YWCA are explained in terms of their relation to their social context. The expectations of those running the YWCA, the demands from the environment to which the YWCA attempted to respond, and correlates of sex and socioeconomic status all played a part in affecting change in the administrative structure. Looking at particulars of expenditure reveals where the YWCA decided to invest its finances; particulars of income can illustrate the effectiveness of YWCA ventures. Correlates of membership such as the occupational and denominational composition of the membership give an indication of the nature of the clientele which the YWCA managed to attract. Finally, the YWCA was typical of any organisation attempting to extend its range of influence and this is discussed in terms of its 'Extension Work', which was its expressed effort to become more widely known in the community and beyond.
ADMINISTRATION

In studying the administration structure of the YWCA, four areas emerge as of sociological interest. Each of these areas reflects the influences of the YWCA's environment, and change can be interpreted as a response to this influence. Firstly, the actual structure of the organisation exhibits, perhaps predictably, a pattern of increasing bureaucratisation, specialisation, and professionalisation of roles; this changing structure affords one aspect for examination. Secondly, the correlation of marital status and unpaid or paid positions held within the YWCA highlights the mores surrounding women in their public and private lives. Thirdly, the phenomenon of having men in a financial advisory capacity to women reflects the repute accorded men vis-à-vis women for business acumen. This sheds light upon the unequal involvement of women in the business world, and reflects inequalities in the distribution of certain kinds of knowledge between the sexes.

Finally, insight can be acquired regarding the status association of women involved in running the YWCA. From correlations between their marital status and their positions on the administrative staff (whether or not they were paid or unpaid), it can be seen that the YWCA administrators were a group of women who were not representative of the population generally. Determining where these women fitted on the socioeconomic scale has important implications for understanding the perspectives they held in regard to their clientele, the kind of values they sought to uphold, and how these perspectives guided them in their provisions of programmes and classes.
for young girls.

**A Changing Structure**

The Christchurch YWCA passed through approximately twenty years of instability before it finally became established in the community in 1901. Prior to 1901, there had been two other attempts to establish a YWCA in Christchurch; the reasons for its uncertain beginnings were often not recorded, but in one case, lack of rooms to rent appeared to be an obstacle which prevented a sure foundation (Minutes, Jan. 19, 1886) and downturn in finances appeared to be another (Minutes, c. July 10, 1894).

The Minute Book of 1883 contains the earliest information concerning the administration of the Christchurch YWCA. There were three key positions (President, Secretary, Treasurer) and a handful of women making up the committee. Initially all work for the Association was undertaken by these women on a voluntary basis.

The period 1883-1901 was marked by a series of attempts to keep the YWCA in operation. In 1884, 1886, and 1894, the YWCA closed its rooms, selling or donating the chattels. It is not clear why the Association closed in November 1884; it appeared to be running a fairly stable, if somewhat simplistic, programme of hospital visitation and church services at the hospital. A note appears at the end of the Minutes of November 5th, 1884, stating that the next
meeting would be called as soon as possible after the return of a Mrs Packe from England. What role Mrs Packe played in the YWCA is unknown prior to 1886, when it becomes evident that she was a committee member. It is not clear if a meeting was called on Mrs Packe's return, but over a year later, on January 19th, 1886, a meeting was called (with Mrs Packe present), but this was to arrange the closure of the organisation, since the Young Women's Institute, in whose rooms the YWCA had been meeting, was to close down.¹

Fifteen months later, in April 1887, the Association was revived on the impetus of YWCA worker, Miss Menzies, from England. She rallied the members together, and soon afterwards a Coffee and Reading Room had been opened at 128 High Street, "for those engaged in business during the day" (Minutes, April, 1887). There is mention of some classes being held there, but no indication as to their content.

To superintend the running of these rooms, Mrs Stewart was employed as a Matron to assist Miss Menzies (Figure 2).

Gradually the Association built up its numbers and expanded its activities. Again it became a viable organisation with regular committee meetings, Annual General Meetings, and a programme of hospital visiting, church services, social evenings, public lectures, and charitable deeds (e.g. sewing for the poor).

¹. Mrs Packe could have been involved with the WCTU, and her travel overseas could have been on WCTU business. In 1889, a Mrs Packe was President of the New Zealand WCTU (Bunkle and Hughes, 1980, p59), and at this time was attending the 4th Annual Convention in New Zealand. If this was the case, then WCTU involvement might explain the absence of Mrs Packe from the Christchurch YWCA from 1887; at that point, she would have been reasonably high up in the WCTU hierarchy, her position consuming much of her time.
FIGURE 2: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE

CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, 1887.
However, by 1893, finances had taken a down turn; Coffee Room and Registry Office takings were no longer covering expenses, and in July 1894, the YWCA once again closed down. Perhaps the YWCA was shaken by the impact of the depression of the 1880s, which affected not only voluntary associations, but businesses all over New Zealand. People who were unemployed could not afford the money to spend on YWCA support, and were therefore less able to utilise the services it offered. By the end of the 1890s however, an upturn in the economy came about as the full impact of refrigeration was beginning to be felt (Brooking, 1981:226).

When, in 1901, Mrs W.M. Oates, a member of the World's Committee of the YWCA and Secretary of the Glasgow Branch, visited Christchurch, the response to her suggestion to re-establish the YWCA was enthusiastic, perhaps in the light of the economic boom which took New Zealand well into the 1920s. Mrs Oates called a meeting of women to discuss the possibility of reviving the Association; a Provisional Committee was elected, and it was agreed to elect a Board of Management and form a new branch.

With an opening in March, quickly followed by a social and concert, membership was acquired, and weekly meetings were soon underway. A Tea and Luncheon Room and Reading Room was set up under the management of a Matron, Miss Turnbull. Throughout the year, garden parties, meetings with missionaries, bible classes, lectures, and a wood-carving class were held, setting the pattern for the format of the YWCA in its future years.
In its initial stages, the administration of the YWCA was limited to one committee, the Board of Management, and a small group of paid staff. The Board of Management consisted of the usual officers - President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and a committee. The Board was responsible for formulating policy, initiating activities, and carrying out any business forwarded to it by the World Office (formed in 1894), and later, the National Office (formed in 1926). The structure of the paid staff was subject to the most extensive changes in the period 1901-1930. Initially only a Matron was employed to run the Registry Office, Coffee and Reading Room. In 1905, however, the position of General Secretary was created; the person holding this position was responsible for the daily running of the YWCA, implementing policy decided upon by the Board (Figure 3). Miss Clara Waterson became the first General Secretary. Also during this year, an all-male financial Advisory Committee was created.

It was not until 1912 that further change in the staff structure was evident, with the creation of the position of Employment Secretary. This person was responsible for the running of the newly established Employment Office, an expanded version of the former Registry Office. The Employment Office endeavoured to help young women find jobs. It would register women seeking employment, and potential employers looking for employees; it attempted to match the two groups' needs and catered mainly for domestic servants, and those seeking to employ them.
FIGURE 3: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE
                      CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, 1905
The movement of women into other areas of employment had decreased the availability of domestic servants. The establishment of the YWCA's Employment Office was intended to help women find domestic servants more easily, although it also served to help women find other employment. This is an example of the administrators of the YWCA providing services which were a response to their own needs, and to the needs of the women they wanted to serve, and illustrates the paradoxical situation they assumed, of furthering the causes of two groups of women often with conflicting interests.

Around 1911, Lady Islington became the first Patroness of the YWCA (Annual Report, 1911:3). A move such as this ensured not only the respectability of the YWCA, but also gave it the sense of stability and permanence it needed after its shaky beginning. Ties such as these led to contact with the business and social elite of Christchurch society. Contact with this echelon had important implications for the activities the YWCA carried out, and the values it proposed. These implications shall be drawn out below.

Up until 1911, YWCA affairs lay in the hands of the Board of Management, several sub-committees, and a staff. By 1912, the organisation had amassed some twenty-six 'departments' (Figure 4). These 'departments' consisted of an assortment of clubs, classes, administrative bodies, and services; essentially, they were sub-committees organising the activities of the YWCA, and were exclusively co-ordinated by the General Secretary. Thus she was in charge of daily finance, the Bible Class, and clubs, concurrently. In 1913, Girls' Committees were developed to give older girls extra
FIGURE 4: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, 1912.
responsibility by putting them in charge of some of the clubs run by the YWCA. No doubt this took some of the pressure off the General Secretary. However, soon after, also in 1913, the twenty-six departments were reorganised into six broad sub-committees, each with its own convenor. The 12th Annual Report (p4) cites these as Finance, Hostel, Religious and Educational (Bible study courses, services, and classes in singing, swimming, homemaking, elocution, home planning, etc.); Missionary and Foreign Work (Arranging missionaries to come and talk to the YWCA, raising money for missionaries); Hospitality (making hostelers, travellers feel at home); and Membership (increases in membership, subscriptions, rolls, etc.)(Figure 5).

The YWCA acquired its own premises with the building of a hostel and offices in Latimer Square, in 1914. With this new building came the semblance of a fresh, more businesslike approach to the Association's running. It described itself as an organisation now operating in six spheres. Firstly, it had an Administration Department; club rooms, the Reading/Rest Rooms, the library, and the class rooms came under its care. It also ran the Hostel, Cafeteria, Travellers' Aid, and visits to factories and hospitals. Elaboration of these undertakings appears in the following chapter. The second sphere of its work related to its educative role, offering instruction classes as diverse as woodwork, sewing, history, baby care, and so forth. Thirdly, it provided recreation like volleyball, folk dancing, social evenings, galas, picnics, and often in this way, it served its social function, holding rallies, concerts, 'At Homes', etc.

The YWCA by this time was well known for its club work;
FIGURE 5: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, 1913.
it offered eleven clubs in 1914, and, as shall be seen later, on closer examination of these clubs, a certain type of club tended to be offered to a certain 'type' of girl. Finally, it laid great emphasis on its religious function. In 1914, the YWCA had eleven Bible Study Circles, three Mission Study Circles, held fifty-two church services, had four Prayer Circles, and was active in supporting missionaries and foreign workers in India and China (Annual Report, 1914:6) (Figure 6).

It is often difficult to distinguish clubs and classes; there seems to be no particular criteria offered by the YWCA to justify this distinction. It appears, however, that whilst clubs often experienced a vast amount of instruction in the way classes did, their base was broader than that of a class. Classes met solely for the purpose intended: sewing classes sewed, history classes learnt history. Clubs on the other hand, might need to incorporate some sewing, or some lessons on history for example. It depended entirely on the nature of the club.

By 1915, the structure of the YWCA had stabilised into one which was to last for the duration of this study. A few more Secretaries working in specific areas were employed to spread the load of responsibility, and the General Secretary once more became an overseer of the daily operation of the YWCA (Figure 7).

The changes in the structure of the YWCA may be seen as a consequence of the naturally occurring evolution of an organisation, progressing from simple to complex. The YWCA's development occurred in a period of New Zealand history already
FIGURE 7: ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE CHRISTCHURCH YWCA, c.1920-1930.
reflecting the move towards increased bureaucratisation in organisations. No doubt improved printing and communications technology assisted in creating the mound of paperwork which organisations now considered necessary to produce (files, records, duplicate documents, etc); this required a more bureaucratic response from the YWCA, to cope with the increased differentiation of other organisations' attempts to streamline their operations.

The creation of new departments in the YWCA was not only designed to cope with the effects of its increased activity in the community perhaps, but itself created extra work; a self-perpetuating system requiring attention by extra staff was one of the by-products. Olssen (1980) has pointed out that the period 1880-1920 was one of increased bureaucratisation of the state, and that work became much more specialised; this focus on orderliness and categorisation carried over to the YWCA producing the changes alluded to above. The general influence of 'scientific' awareness applied to work (both paid and unpaid) and its emphasis on orderliness also added weight to the prevailing attention to law and order. This was even carried over to the sphere of the home and family, and was associated with attempts to make motherhood and housework more 'scientific' occupations (Olssen and Levesque, 1978:8).

Marital Status

Marital status is a variable not usually considered in the application of organisational sociology to the study of organisations. In the case of a women's organisation however,
this variable demands attention, since it indicates much concerning the socioeconomic backgrounds of those women running the YWCA.

On examining the correlation between the marital status of YWCA staff and Board Members, and whether or not they were providing their service voluntarily or for remuneration, a significant pattern can be identified: married women provided voluntary work and single women, the paid work. There are only three exceptions to this pattern, and these occurred in the founding years of the YWCA, 1889 and 1902. This pattern reflects the division of paid work and unpaid work between married and single women beyond the YWCA.

In the period 1883-1930, the main occupation of married women was that of wife and mother. Motherhood and housewifery were the ideal vocation for married women, whether or not they were financially able to pursue this full time. Table 5 showed that women as a percentage were a minority of the labour force comprising less than 20% of paid workers at all times, except in 1921. Women who were not in paid employment were either single and from wealthy families, or married. Only those married women who absolutely had to, were in paid work. In 1921 for example, 55.3% of all women in the workforce were less than thirty years old, and 83.3% of these were single (Official Yearbook, Government Printer, Wellington, 1914).

The roles of wife and motherhood have not always been separated from remunerative work, but with the process of industrialisation, gradually two separate spheres emerged - the public arena of the workforce, which became commonly inhabited by men; and the private sphere of the home, predominantly the woman's world (Mitchell and Oakley, 1976:Ch2).
The home took on a new function as exclusively the place of domestic production. Women lost their status as producers of goods on which their families depended for their economic survival (Ibid).

The reproductive function of womankind also took on added meaning. New technology, besides enhancing capitalistic opportunities for exploitation and gain via the factory systems, gave women the chance to limit their fertility with more certainty than ever before (Olssen and Levesque, 1978:10). It was not long after Queen Victoria's reign that the emphasis in relation to reproduction appeared to fall on the quality of child care, rather than the quantity of children born. Women were now to gain status and respect via their domestic duties; women's lives were assessed by themselves and others in terms of acquiring a husband as a necessary prelude to housework and child bearing and raising (Roth, 1980). It is necessary to remember of course that working class women still moved in and out of the paid workforce (Olssen, 1980:164,165,167).

The mechanism by which women's domestic role gained status in the face of declining family sizes was through a new definition of motherhood and wifehood, which absorbed traditional religious and sentimental attitudes, but also recast them in a scientific mould (Olssen and Levesque, 1978). The evolution of the full time housewife was not unique to New Zealand, but also occurred in Britain, the United States, Canada, and Australia. One of the mouthpieces of this domestic ideology was the WCTU which had spread widely and rapidly throughout the world, advocating 'social purity', and holding women responsible for moral order. The WCTU was extremely concerned with the
interests of childcare, education, and the young. Bunkle (1980) argues that in the WCTU can be found "the ideological foundation of women's place in our society" (p54). The WCTU also focused its attentions on agitating for better employment opportunities and conditions for women, but other organisations such as the Plunket Society and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children saw the home as being the most strategic place from where women could exercise their moral influence.

Naturally motherhood and domestic work required different responses from women of differing social standings. Some women were fortunate enough to employ help from domestic servants, nannies, or governesses, whilst those less well-off had to rely on compassionate friends or relatives for help.

The married women who ran the YWCA could somehow afford the time for their voluntary work, despite their domestic obligations. This suggests that they were the women who could employ domestic servants, giving them time to run the YWCA; it was also, of course the case that some of the administrators were older married women whose children no longer required their constant attention.

Women might avoid caring for their own children either by the employment of a governess, or of domestic servants. As has already been shown, domestic servants were in high demand; this demand well exceeded supply. The women involved in the administration of the YWCA took it upon themselves to help alleviate this domestic servant shortage. Their concerned cries of finding 'suitable employment' for girls in the days of tremendously expanded job opportunities for women needs to be
viewed skeptically, in the light of the plight of the middle class with their perceived domestic servant shortage. These YWCA women knew only too well the consequences of being short of domestic help, let alone 'good' help. Its later willingness to become involved in the Flock House Scheme for Girls which facilitated the immigration of domestic servants from Britain further illustrates the degree of vested interest they had in involving themselves in solutions to the servant dilemma. The implications of the class position of women in the YWCA administration will be discussed later in this chapter, and discussion of programmes aimed at solving the servant problem will be found in the ensuing chapter.

It can be seen that generally married women filled the voluntary positions in the YWCA and single women the paid ones. Table 6 shows the marital status of the women occupying the key positions of the organisation. Figure 8 shows the financial situation of the positions, and Table 7 shows a combination of both, illustrating poignantly the relationship between paid/voluntary positions, and marital status, in relation to employment for females, but also the very probable class divisions inherent in the YWCA hierarchy.

One could hypothesise therefore that the YWCA was essentially run by women belonging to the upper and middle class sections of the community, since they could afford, financially, to participate in non-remunerative activities outside their homes. The paid staff whose task it was to fulfill the wishes of the Board, were single women.

This is a consequence of the expectation of society at that time, that married women should not work for money.
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**TABLE 6 : MARTIAL STATUS OF WOMEN OCCUPYING KEY POSITIONS**

m = MARRIED
s = SINGLE
FIGURE 8: DISTINCTION BETWEEN PAID AND UNPAID WORKERS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE YWCA
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| UNPAID POSITIONS | PAID POSITIONS |

**TABLE 7:** **FINANCIAL POSITION AND MARITAL STATUS OF KEY POSITIONS.**

- **m** = MARRIED
- **s** = SINGLE
The belief was that women were financially supported by their husbands, who were earning not a wage for themselves, but for their families. This belief however is evidently a middle class phenomenon, for not all women were in the fortunate position of being able to rely on their husband's income for their livelihood.

The fact that single staff members relinquished their paid positions on their marriage reflects again the trend in wider society, that married women should not earn money. Miss Christie, Matron of the Coffee Rooms (1904-1906) resigned from the position on her marriage (Annual Report 1905-1906:3). Similarly, Ella MacNeil, General Secretary (1911-1914) and then Foreign Worker in China (1915-1927), resigned from the employ of the YWCA after marrying a Dr. Anderson (Law, 1961:44).

The Role of Men

Finance is always a major consideration, and the YWCA relied heavily in the initial stages on donations from people. Aware of its financial vulnerability advice was sought from a group of businessmen who were formed into an Advisory Committee later in 1905. This committee was staffed entirely by men, who not only gave financial advice, but who also helped produce the large sums of money needed to pay building expenses when the YWCA undertook to build its hostel complex. Amongst the donors to the building fund were companies to which men of the Advisory Committee belonged (Royds Brothers and Kirk Ltd, Field and Royds, Kaye and Carter Ltd, all gave £100); some men gave on an individual basis (A.F. Carey and W. Reece gave £50 each, and R. Malcolm gave £25) (Christchurch YWCA Scrapbook, 1911-1916:26-28).
PLATE 2

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND ADVISORY BOARD.
The fact that a male was the Treasurer from 1889-1892, and that an all male Advisory Committee was created demonstrates the reticence of these women to assume full responsibility for the management and financial standing of their organisation. This reticence was a consequence of women's marginal position with respect to the handling of money in a public or private capacity. It was also associated with problems of raising loans from bankers or financiers, at a time when women were not regarded as being financially reliable.

The Advisory Committee was composed of socially prominent men from the community. The occupations represented amongst these men were managers, solicitors, merchants, and drapers, for example. To give a more precise illustration, the following men held occupations indicative of this trend. George Callender (accountant for the New Zealand Shipping Company), C.E. Salter (solicitor in own law firm), T.G. Field (seed and produce merchant), Andrew Fuller Carey (of Carey's 'Ready-money' store...drapery), Roberton W. Horn (timber agent), John Ingleedew Royds (of Royds Brothers and Kirk Limited...importers and merchants), W. Goss (of Goss Limited...timber merchants), Thomas D. Boag (JP; farmer), F.H. Sandall (agent with Woodroffe and Co.,...merchants), Andrews Borrows (manager, Kempthorne Prosser and Co.,), Ernest Harry Wyles (accountant), Edward Hitchcock (Civil servant), W.H. Seed (manager, Petersen's Jewellers), William John Hunter (of Franks and Hunter...solicitors), Arthur Charles Bratherton (solicitor).

1. Up until 1884 married women were not allowed to own their own property and had no right to their own earnings. Thus they could not be expected to develop business expertise of any prominence due to the prevailing belief that it was inappropriate for a married woman to earn her own living; this resulted in women having little experience in public money matters.

Many of these men, representing professional and business interests in Christchurch, were husbands of women holding office or serving on the management of the YWCA. This type of representation, and the family ties between Board members and Advisory Committee members holds true throughout the period of this study. For example, Mrs Callender was the Honorary Treasurer (1903-1914), and Vice-President (1916-1919); Mrs Salter was a committee member (1904-1905); Mrs Carey was a committee member (1910-1914; 1917-1925), and Vice-President 1917-1919).

Mitchinson (1979:376) writing about the YWCA in Canada, suggests that the creation of an all male Advisory Committee in those days was understandable given the probable difficulty in attracting funds if the women had no male financial advisers. Although capable of successfully running boarding houses, cafeterias, and employment agencies, these women did not see themselves or were not seen by others as capable of dealing sufficiently well with business matters on their own. Success in terms of access to money depended on these crucial links with a professional, economic, male elite.

**Socioeconomic Status**

The Advisory Committee, composed of socially prominent businessmen, provided the YWCA with a vital link to the business world. Many women involved in the administration of the YWCA were wives of men on the Advisory Board. Other administrators were married to Ministers of Religion (e.g.
According to the classification system which Olssen (1981) has devised, the positions represented by husbands of YWCA women are indicative of the 'entrepreneurial' class (p266). The 'entrepreneurial' class as Olssen uses it, consists of three strata, linked by shared aspirations, values, and interests. The uppermost stratum comprised bankers, importers, exporters, and wealthy businessmen and farmers. Overlapping this stratum was another comprised of less wealthy businessmen and merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, and doctors. Then came small businessmen such as grocers, and self-employed tradesmen. Olssen also asserts that the entrepreneurial class dominated all the churches (Ibid).

There are two main points which must be made in the light of this information. Firstly, associations with men of this standing allowed easier access to money and expertise. Women married to these men were automatically caught up in the social circles which provided necessary contacts for raising finance, or for attaining financial advice and services. Secondly, it cannot be disputed that women involved in this level of society must have held certain perspectives on what was involved in serving the interests of young girls which were influenced by their own social position.

1. Olssen used the term 'entrepreneurial' loosely to include both business and professional occupations. (Olssen, 1981: 266-268).
In attempting to help young girls, the YWCA steered a course that in effect offered a solution to the problems the women running the Association might be experiencing, for example, the problem of obtaining good domestic servants. The response to the 'problem' of supply and demand of domestics is a poignant example of the YWCA's interest in maintaining the status quo.

That single women involved in the administration of the YWCA were part of this upper echelon of society is more difficult to prove. However, it is significant that the General Secretaries had usually received a tertiary education at least, and very often had gained a Master's degree. They were likely to be the daughters of the sort of men who served on the Advisory Committee of the Christchurch YWCA.

FINANCE

Financing a voluntary association requires engagement in certain activities that are not commonly found amongst commercial organisations, the most common of which is fund raising. The YWCA relied on a variety of sources for its finance, the most stable and dependable area being that of money gained from subscribers and donors. Table 8 shows the main areas of income for each year, it can be seen clearly that subscriptions and donations, rents, the hostel and the cafeteria consistently gave the highest returns. Figure 9 shows how these areas compared to each other. Here it can be seen that the hostel was the major source of income, with the cafeteria second, after it opened a room nearer the centre of town, making it more accessible to the public.
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<th>CAFE</th>
<th>REGISTRY OFFICE</th>
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1. Various included: Missionary Boxes; Special donations; Legacies; Garden Party proceeds; All Nations Fair proceeds; Entertainments.

**Table 8**: Four Major Areas of Income, 1889-1930
FIGURE 9: ANNUAL INCOME: FROM RENTS, HOSTEL, CAFETERIA & SUBSCRIPTION FEES, 1889-1930

- - - - HOSTEL
- - - - CAFETERIA
- - - - SUBS/FEES
- - - - RENTS

YEARS (*No Data)
Figure 10 illustrates the growth of annual income (data derived from Treasurer's statements in Annual Reports, 1889-1930). A marked increase in income can be seen after the YWCA built its first permanent premises in Latimer Square in 1914. With added facilities, the ability to offer more classes, and of course with the adjacent hostel facility, an income rise is perhaps a natural coincidence. Membership numbers show a similar development, but once again it is impossible to assert that one solely causes the other—membership and income are inter-related variables, contributing to the overall development of the organisation.

To give an idea of the variety of financial sources, money was also attained from sales of handicraft, proceeds of public lectures, and socials, Registry Office fees, concerts, booklets, sales of various surplus chattels, overdrafts and loans, and monies received from the National YWCA (formed 1920) (Annual Reports, 1889-1930).

Donors gave amounts such as one pound, or two or three guineas. But what is more interesting than the amount of donations, is the type of people who donated. By far, the majority of donors fell into the upper strata of society. Wives of farmers, drapers, managers, accountants, solicitors, real estate agents, Ministers of Religion, wool buyers, doctors, and manufacturers regularly gave (Annual Reports, 1889-1930; Wise's Directory, 1903-1909). It is interesting to note that between 1901 and about 1920, it was women who were primarily responsible for these donations; 1920-1924, more of a fair
representation between the sexes is evident; and in 1925, it was primarily men who were the donors. Perhaps men were beginning to see the YWCA as an organisation which could now meet some of the needs of businessmen; in return for their donations, the YWCA was able to staff hostels for young working women and could continue to run classes preparing young women for employment.

It must be noted at this time that the work of the YWCA had become widely renowned amongst the business world because of its associations with the Society for the Settlement of British Women Overseas, and the Girls' Flock House Scheme, and the establishment of a hostel at Kaiapoi in conjunction with the owners of the woollen mills there. This sort of co-operation would have resulted in the YWCA being seen in a more favourable light by the commercial sector, and increased donations from businessmen could reflect this. In addition to this possibility, increased communication technology (printing, telephone, advertising etc.) may have enabled the YWCA to reach a far wider source of donors and in a more economical way than in previous years.

Expenditure occurred mainly in the areas of salaries, provisions (Food etc for the Coffee Rooms), and fuels. Table 9 illustrates the pattern of expenditure. Figure 11 shows how the main areas of expenditure compared to each other; it can be seen that expenditure was highest on salaries, a reflection of the increased bureaucratisation of the YWCA, and its increasing reliance on paid workers. Figure 12 shows the pattern of total expenditure for the period 1889-1930).
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1. Various included Gas, furniture, purchase of piano, interest on loans, repairs and maintenance.

TABLE 9: FOUR MAJOR AREAS OF EXPENDITURE, 1889-1930.
If both patterns of income and expenditure are compared, it can be seen that both were very much affected by changes in the economic conditions in which they were set. Income decreased around the years of World War One (1914-1916) and showed a definite decline towards the beginning of the 1930s depression after a boom period in the 1920s. As far as expenditure goes, the trend in salaries reflects the fact that inflation was already present prior to the 1930s. Between 1914 and 1923, there was rapid increase in salary expenditure; this was not, incidently, due to any increases in staff numbers; it is probably a reflection of increased recognition in terms of remuneration of the value of women's work combined with effects of inflation. The increase in the YWCA's fuel bill in 1915 was due to the installment of electricity to the building, plus an increased usage of the facilities, which, being newer and more expansive than previously, naturally incurred more usage.

**MEMBERSHIP**

In discussing the matter of membership in connection with the YWCA, the term 'member' is gauged in terms of the financial supporters of the YWCA, which is inclusive of all types of membership (see below) and subscribers and donors. After all, it is the financial supporters per se who kept the YWCA functioning. However the fundamental reason for viewing membership in these terms is one of necessity - lists of members (provided in the Annual Reports) more often than not were inclusive of subscribers and donors, or of associate and honorary members. It was nowhere clear that subscribers...
had to be members in order to subscribe and receive the benefits of subscription (possibly magazines and newsletters); furthermore, subscribers were always categorised with donors in these lists. It was therefore felt that in discussing membership, it would be an oversight to omit these people, since they supported the YWCA, principally in terms of finance, but possibly in many other ways as well. When reflecting on membership generally, the intention is to gauge the penetration of the YWCA; if numbers of subscribers and donors rose over the years, then that, as well as membership growth, depicts the fact that the YWCA was becoming more widely known and acknowledged in the community.

Definition of Membership

The YWCA distinguished amongst three types of members:

1. An ACTIVE member shall be those who acknowledge their acceptance of the Lord Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour. These alone shall have the right to vote and hold office.

2. An ASSOCIATE member shall be persons of good moral character nominated by one active member.

3. HONORARY members shall be those sympathisers with the work of the Association who subscribe not less than ten shillings per annum. (Annual Report, 1903-1904:10).

Recruitment

The YWCA depended for a large part on its liaison with religious institutions for the recruitment of its members.
Because the pulpit was one of its avenues for publicising its activities, it drew many young girls from Christian backgrounds. This essentially served to reinforce the view of the organisers of the YWCA, that what its clientele wanted was a good, clean, wholesome programme, steering women into virtuous patterns of Christian thought and behaviour.

The Coffee and Luncheon Rooms run by the YWCA contributed also to the recruitment of members. Here, women could have a meal or a drink, and rest in quiet, comfortable surroundings. The whole atmosphere of the rooms was one of 'Christian' warmth, at least that was the intention (Annual Report, 1915-1916:8). Religious tracts were left scattered on the tables, and the activities of the Association were widely advertised all around. This avenue was able to reach a more secular market than could the pulpit. These means, together with newspaper advertising, were employed in such a way as to appeal to the secular young working girl who was interested in pursuing a 'virtuous' lifestyle. Discourse was pitched at the level of employment or domestic related interests; activities tended to be practical in nature, rather than at the level of moral philosophy.

It can be assumed too that families tended to attend the YWCA (membership shows several instances of sisters of mother and daughters belonging to the Association), and that verbal networks operated to spread the reputation of the YWCA; thus members were recruited in these ways as well.
Characteristics of Members

In 1915, the Christchurch YWCA began to examine the nature of its membership by vocation and denomination. Members' occupations clustered around the traditional female roles, such as domestic work, office work, and work in the clothing industry, with few women representing those in professional occupations. Members tended to work in domestic service, textiles, factory work, and service work generally.

Table 10 gives the representation of occupations for the years this data is available, 1915-1926. The largest proportion of members of the Christchurch YWCA were represented in domestic work, and office work (Table 11). As can be expected, medical work is under-represented, which is a reflection of women's patterns of employment in the wider workforce (See Figure 1).

There was a large degree of fluctuation in the numbers of YWCA members for all categories except sales and medical, between 1915 and 1926 (Figure 13). It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for the fluctuation in each occupational category. Economic changes seem to offer little explanation; the period 1915-1926 was one of increasing economic prosperity, yet occupations of members reflect no correlating patterns. Similarly, the influenza epidemic of 1918 did not seem to affect occupations such as office work or education for example; on the contrary it appears it would have affected textile workers. Rather than attempting to see correlations between occupational characteristics and activities in the
### Table 10: Occupation of Members, 1915-1926

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**MEDICAL:** Nurses, child's nurse, dental assistant.

**EDUCATION:** Teachers, students, schoolgirls.

**SERVICE:** Domestic servants, waitresses.

**TEXTILES:** Dressmakers, tailorresses, workroom, milliners.

**SALES:** Dispenser's assistant, sales assistants.

**OFFICE:** Clerk, typist, office, secretary, stenographer, telegraphist, telephonist.

**HOME:** No employment in sense of need for employment.

**MISC. 1:** Authoress, Journalist, Photographer, Deacon and Social Worker.

**MISC. 2:** Engraver, Hairdresser, Leather Designer, Retoucher.
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**Table 11**: OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS, (%) 1915-1926
social environment which are not necessarily there, Figure 13 probably represents the areas on which the YWCA concentrated its efforts of recruitment for each year. For example, in 1920 the Christchurch YWCA set up an Employment and Immigration Committee to deal with problems which might arise with the arrival of immigrant girls in large numbers (Annual Report, 1920:6). It has already been mentioned that most immigrant girls arriving in New Zealand came to work as domestics; doubtless, with the girls' contact with the YWCA Employment and Immigrant Committee could have resulted in their membership of the Association, and this rise could account for the increase in members who were domestic workers between 1919 and 1923. Similarly, improvements in cafeteria services to office workers in the urban centre would have provided a large pool of young women from which to recruit members (Annual Report, 1920:12).

A concerted effort in 1920-1921 to contact girls in industry (Annual Report, 1921), may have resulted in an increase in members from this source. In addition, the period 1920-1924 coincides roughly with the time the YWCA had set up its hostel in Kaiapoi, and this catered for textile workers. Although information is sparse about recruitment, it can safely be assumed that the patterns of occupational representation amongst members does reflect recruitment strategies more than anything else. Notice that members were more likely to be manual workers than professionals; this illustrates the type of clientele for whom the YWCA designed its programmes.
Membership was predominantly Protestant in religious affiliation, the greatest proportion being adherents of the Anglican church, to which almost half the membership belonged (Table 12). The next most popular denomination was Presbyterian, followed by Methodists and Baptists. As can be seen from Figure 14, Catholics in comparison were very few, but still better represented than other denominations such as Seventh Day Adventists, Brethren, etc (Table 13). By comparison, it can be seen from Table 14 that the representation amongst denominations as expressed by the YWCA is similar to that for Christchurch as a whole, except for Roman Catholics. Of YWCA members, only 2.5% were Roman Catholics, compared to 11.3% of the female population of Christchurch in 1926 for example. Here it is quite plain that Roman Catholics were under-represented among the YWCA membership. This is clear evidence for the Protestant character of the YWCA. Generally the Christchurch YWCA drew young Protestant girls, mainly from Anglican backgrounds. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were over-represented. This difference in representation between the YWCA and the Christchurch population as a whole is offset by the lack of representation by Catholics.

This Protestant focus reflects the Protestant origins of the YWCA as a movement, combined with the tendency to recruit members via churches which were all Protestant.

The fact that the Christchurch YWCA collected information on religious affiliation of its members signifies the importance it attached to its status as a Christian organisation. Further confirmation of this is that the YWCA required personal salvation as a prerequisite for voting rights. The YWCA possibly regarded the Christian girl as a more responsible
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**TABLE 12**: DENOMINATION MEMBERS (%), 1916-1926
FIGURE 14: DENOMINATION OF MEMBERS (%), 1916-1926

YEARS (* No Data)

- ANGLICAN
- PRESBYTERIAN
- METHODIST
- BAPTIST
- ROMAN CATHOLIC
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<td>801</td>
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* Numbers not specified but the denomination is represented.

**TABLE 13**: DENOMINATION OF MEMBERS, 1915-1926.
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<td>2.5</td>
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<td>-</td>
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* Includes 'Catholics Undefined'

+ These subsumed under 'Other Christian Bodies', or 'All Other Beliefs'.

**SOURCE:** Compiled from New Zealand Census, 1916, 1921, 1926.

**TABLE 14:** PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN FOR SELECTED RELIGIONS IN CHRISTCHURCH, (INCLUDES RICCARTON, SPREYDON, WOOLSTON, NEW BRIGHTON, AND SUMNER), 1916-1926.
decision maker.

What does this tell us about the women who ran the YWCA? Firstly, they saw themselves as committed Christians, many of them being wives of ministers. Secondly, their religious interpretation of the world helped to shape the ideology of the YWCA. As will be shown in detail in the chapter on the Girl Citizen's Movement, the aim was to produce a girl of upright Christian character; once these qualities were cultivated, it would automatically follow that she would serve her husband, family, and country guided by her unique moral sensitivity.

Reasons for Involvement

What prompted young women to associate with the YWCA? There are three aspects involved in discerning the reasons why young women became involved with the YWCA.

Firstly, one must look at the factors inducing young women to join. Perhaps previous or early exposure to YWCA activities and programmes prompted women to join. This would certainly apply to women whose sisters and mothers enjoyed the YWCA. It has already been mentioned how various means were employed to influence the decision of women regarding their willingness to become involved in this organisation.

Secondly, one must consider the attributes of the organisation. How well people knew its purpose, would influence their consideration regarding affiliating with the organisation. The image or reputation of the organisation was apt to draw people with similar sympathies; however,
because the YWCA covered aspects of religion, service, civic concerns and social life, it managed to reach a wide clientele and gain support from a diversity of sources. Young women might have been motivated to join the YWCA if access to information concerning its activities were easily accessible; thus the YWCA endeavoured to ensure a clientele through means already mentioned, and through extensive newspaper articles and advertising. For example, when the Great Exhibition was on in Christchurch, 1906-1907, leaflets advertising the YWCA's accommodation services were distributed throughout the country at railway stations and ports (Lovell-Smith, 1961:7).

It cannot be overlooked that the attractiveness of the physical plant (hostel, coffee rooms, etc) could subtly draw young women to the YWCA. Numerous mentions were made of the efforts to make the Coffee Rooms and hostel homely and inviting, with reference to alterations and additions to the décor (Annual Reports, 1911-12:11; 1924:4; 1931:2).

Thirdly, there are the personal motives of women themselves to consider. Almanzor (1961), in her study of volunteer and staff participation in the American National YWCA, usefully divides these into five areas. The potential for a woman developing a career via her contact with the YWCA was a very realistic possibility. Courses in shorthand, and bookkeeping, for example would help launch or consolidate women in clerical careers. For staff members, the prospect of working in an environment such as the YWCA brought a variety of benefits, not withstanding the Christian atmosphere which must have pervaded such an organisation. Those women wanting to gain leadership skills and experience in administration
had ample opportunity in an organisation such as the YWCA; staff were given responsibility in a very real, as opposed to token, sense. By heading committees or working as a paid employee, women could experience first hand the running of meetings or committees, co-ordination with other people or groups, planning procedures, assessment of one's effect in relation to stated goals, and other aspects of administrative work.

Friendship could also have been a strong motivating factor for women to join the YWCA. Many young girls had left their rural homes to come to the city to find employment, and doubtless, knew few people there. Similarly immigrant girls started life in Christchurch without any friends. The YWCA Hostel became for many young women, a second home, providing security, discipline, friendship, and direction.¹

Finally, the YWCA offered an alternative to activities outside the home. Churches were not given to offering extensive social programmes and other forms of past-time in Christchurch were possibly too expensive (opera, theatre) or maligned in reputation (music halls, dances). For women living away from home, it was all the more important to the YWCA that its activities remain inexpensive. Furthermore, it attempted to appeal to women in terms of their social status and assumptions regarding these. The YWCA offered some women help in seeking employment as domestic servants, for example,

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¹ Information obtained through personal interview with Betty McLeod, Life Member of Christchurch YWCA, 1983.
and other women opportunities for singing, literary discussion, and amateur dramatics. This implies that the YWCA was sensitive to the contrasting needs and interests of women in different class categories.

Growth of Membership

Although membership numbers fluctuated at various times throughout the period 1883-1930, the general trend was one of increased growth of numbers. Figure 15 shows that membership growth was not a case of consistent increase in numbers, although the general trend does indicate this. Growth occurred rapidly from 1905-1910, and then dropped off. Again numbers increased at a greater rate from 1915-1918, evened out, then increased at a greater rate again from 1920-1923. In 1924-1925, a very sudden downturn in numbers occurred, and growth was spasmodic to 1930.

The period 1905-1909 shows quite a dramatic rate of increase in membership, reflecting not only the fact that the YWCA was at last off the ground, well established, but also reflected the zest with which the organisation approached the challenge of gaining more support. The YWCA became a firmly established identity at this time in the community. This period marks the years the Association began its Registry Office in aid of unemployed girls. In 1907 the YWCA opened its Travellers’ Aid service, helping girls visiting Christchurch for the Exhibition to find 'respectable' lodgings. Leaflets were distributed in country areas and other towns, at railway stations etc, and even given to the stewardesses of the coastal steamers. This endeavour inevitably had the effect
* INCLUDES LYTTLETON MEMBERS

** INCLUDES LYTTLETON, SYDENHAM, KAIAPOI MEMBERS
of advertising the YWCA more widely, thus gaining new members. It was mentioned in the 1907-1908 Annual Report, with regard to increased use of the YWCA luncheon rooms:

We rather expected that, after the close of the Exhibition, fewer girls would come in to lunch. This is not so. Even in the slackest business season, when many are having enforced holidays, about eighty come up daily, and at busy times there are over one hundred (p4).

Throughout the period 1905-1909, the YWCA had been trying to establish its own Boarding Home; previously it had to place young women in homes as boarders. With its efforts in placing women in lodgings and its endeavours to buy a house, the YWCA became more widely known to the community, again increasing its opportunity for membership recruitment.

The next period of rapid growth occurred around 1915-1918, after a fairly stable phase in membership. This coincided with two major events, one internal to the organisation, and the other external. It was in 1914 that the YWCA opened its own building - offices, tearooms, a games room and a hostel all on the same premises at Latimer Square. This complex had been built by the YWCA, and campaigns for its financing had been in progress for several years. The new hostel offered 29 beds (Annual Report, 1913-1914:10). All classes and activities were now on the premises; thus administration of the organisation must have become much easier.

The membership committee had resolved on hundred new members to celebrate the opening of the new building, and managed to achieve its goal. It did so by carrying out two thorough canvasses of the city.
The external event which may have influenced membership numbers was the advent of World War One. Special projects began which related to war needs. Energy was turned to practical ways of helping care for the men at the Front. Since the whole city was touched by the wartime drama, naturally there was much activity associated with helping in whatever way possible (Lovell-Smith, 1961:19). To join with the YWCA in making socks and garments for the Red Cross Society and Hospital Ships, for example, was one way of expressing war sympathy.

It is difficult to determine what may have caused the peak in membership (1923) and the rise to it from 1920. One explanation could be that with the opening of the Kaiapoi Hostel, members were added, but not recorded apart from the main membership until 1923. There is, however, one overt clue as to this rise. Towards the end of 1920, it was found that a large number of girls using the cafeteria regularly were not members of the Association, and it was decided that a rule be enforced whereby all girls using the cafeteria regularly should become either Association members or just cafeteria members, and thus strengthen the Association, and enable them to take advantage of the privilege offered by the Association. This did not seem to decrease the attendance of girls (Annual Report, 1920:21). If attendance did not drop because of the new rule, it must be assumed that membership had in fact increased.

By 1924, it was admitted that the cafeteria was not a financial success, yet it persisted because it was "a means of getting into touch with many girls we would not otherwise
reach" (Annual Report, 1924:5). The fall of in attendance at the cafeteria was attributed to unemployment among girls (Ibid). Table 15 substantiates this comment. It can be seen from these figures that female unemployment had increased between 1921 and 1926 for the areas of Professionals, Domestic Workers and others. Although, unemployment decreased for Primary Production, Industrial, Transport and Communication, and Commercial sectors, it can be assumed that the YWCA's assertion that its cafeteria numbers dropped due to unemployment, was correct, given that their clientele was more likely to be drawn from domestic workers and other groups. Those involved in Industrial and Commercial work were perhaps likely to experience the benefits of cafeteria provision on their work premises.

For the remaining years covered by this study, 1925-1930, membership never again attained its former strength. These years marked the beginning of the 1930s depression. Many young women became unemployed. "Some of the activities began to dwindle as girls in many cases went back to their homes in the country, and the patronage of the cafeteria began to decrease" (Lovell-Smith, 1961:31-32).

Rules for membership changed very little over the years, apart from the 1920 adjustment; this therefore has not really affected membership patterns. Generally, it was a matter of changing the required age limits of certain types of membership.
<table>
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<th>INDUSTRIAL GROUP</th>
<th>% OF UNEMPLOYED TO TOTAL UNEMPLOYED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MALES 1921 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRIMARY PRODUCTION</td>
<td>25.75 17.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDUSTRIAL</td>
<td>28.92 26.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION</td>
<td>11.18 10.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMERCIAL</td>
<td>11.77 12.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>3.91 3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOMESTIC</td>
<td>2.84 2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER GROUPS</td>
<td>15.63 27.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100.00 100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(SOURCE: NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK: 1926,p776; 1930,p894; Data Taken from 1921 and 1926 Censuses).

**TABLE 15 : PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYED TO TOTAL UNEMPLOYED, NEW ZEALAND.**
Any organisation makes an attempt to build up its membership; without members or clientele, there is no reason for the organisation to exist; clients who became members helped ensure that funds were kept flowing through the organisation, and therefore ensured the existence of the organisation.

The clientele of the YWCA were young women, mainly involved in clerical or sales work; if they attended a church, it was likely to be Protestant, probably Anglican. The way members were recruited to the YWCA had implications for the type of clientele it recruited. For example, by recruiting from the pulpit in Protestant churches, young Christian girls who were church attenders became its clientele.

The manifest function which the YWCA claimed to exhibit usually amounted to the imperative of spreading the gospel, and putting young women on the right life-path before it was 'too late'. However one must not overlook the fact that increased membership also meant increased finance flowing through the Association, enhancement of its reputation within the community, and of course, added reason for staying in existence.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has attempted to trace the changes occurring in the structure of the Christchurch YWCA from 1883-1930. These changes have occurred in the areas of administration, finance, and membership. It was found that the structure of the YWCA underwent change which developed into the increasing bureaucratisation of the administration,
resulting in a more complex structure than its initial form in 1883. This was seen to occur within the context of changing commercial technology and the increased bureaucratisation of the commercial sector of New Zealand generally.

It was also observed that there was a clear correlation between marital status, and whether or not women involved in running the YWCA were in paid positions. Members of staff who worked voluntarily (without remuneration) were generally married women, and those women who worked as paid staff members were single. This information is consistent with the belief at that time that married women ought not to work for money, and that single women who married, should leave their positions of paid employment.

The fact that women who worked voluntarily were also married led to a discussion of their relationship to men of a particular social class. It was found that women in administrative positions were married to men of high social standing in the community. This had implications for the way in which YWCA women fulfilled their domestic responsibilities in comparison to the experiences working class women would expect, to carry out their domestic obligations. It was clear that women were divided from one another by their social standing, which was determined by their relationship to a man and his social status.

The relationship women running the YWCA had to men was discussed in the wider context on relationships between the sexes; it showed that the YWCA women had a typical relationship to men generally. They were subservient to men,
and dependent on men for their personal security and status, and for the financial progress of the YWCA. This is symbolised in the adoption of an all-male Advisory Committee; the YWCA made its financial transactions and business subject to the advice of men.

In the area of finance it was seen that the finances of the Christchurch YWCA were subject to fluctuations in the wider economical context.

Membership of the Christchurch YWCA was fairly representative of the female population in terms of occupation and denominational affiliation. Members were drawn mainly from those in manual and lower level white collar occupations; they were also predominantly Protestant. Young Catholic girls were under-represented among YWCA members.

Membership was seen to grow steadily as the YWCA developed, but was also subject to economic fluctuations, and in particular periods of high unemployment.

This chapter has focused on the ways the structure of the Christchurch YWCA developed over its first fifty years of existence, and what sorts of changes occurring in the social environment might have effected change. Such factors as economic change and changes in modes and trends occurring in employment for women, had a definite impact on the development of the Christchurch Association.

The following chapter attempts to discuss the easily categorised and defined influences on the Christchurch YWCA – namely the impact of belief systems and ideology. It attempts to trace their impact on the beliefs held by the women in the YWCA administration, and their consequent attempts to devise and offer programmes and services to their clientele.
consistent with those beliefs.
CHAPTER FIVE: IDEOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND THEIR EXPRESSION IN YWCA PROGRAMMES

INTRODUCTION

It has been shown in preceding chapters that the Christchurch YWCA operated in a social context which continually affected its structure, its membership, its financial viability, its commercial concerns (the hostel and cafeteria), and the programmes and services it offered to young women and girls. The forces of constraint discussed thus far tended to be those which have emanated from the economic, political, and commercial sectors. This chapter endeavours to determine what ideological constraints served to exert an influence on the YWCA, and how the YWCA responded to these influences. Since the ideas and beliefs to which an organisation is committed are expressed in its activities, the programmes and services which the Christchurch YWCA offered, are examined as a means of revealing its system of beliefs and values.

The emphasis of this chapter is on the influence exerted upon the YWCA by dominant ideas emanating from its social environment. These ideas helped to shape the beliefs and values of the YWCA, and the expression of them. As beliefs regarding the position of women in society, and their relationships to men are uncovered, the realities of the tensions many women experienced in trying to fulfill their domestic, spiritual, moral, and social responsibilities become evident.
The pervasive, underlying ideology of the YWCA was that of Protestant Christianity, as expressed by the mainstream Christian churches. The foundation of the YWCA on such Christian precepts has important implications for relationships between women and men; its adherence to Christianity served to reinforce the position of women as one which was subordinate to men, except in terms of her moral status, which was considered superior.

The first part of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the most pervasive value system by which the YWCA operated— that of Christianity. The second part attempts to illustrate how not only this ideology, but others as well, helped to shape the activities and direction of the Christchurch YWCA. These will be expressed and illustrated in terms of the programmes the YWCA offered, and the attempts it made to spread its influence.

BELIEFS AND VALUES

The driving force behind the Christian doctrine for the YWCA was to introduce women to the 'abundant' life, via self development and the 'release of personality', which is found in the Christian faith (Unity in Diversity: 17)

Clearly the purposes, aims, bases, and philosophies of the YWCA reflect the times in which they were conceived, not only in the initial stages of the organisation, but also as the YWCA developed and changed. Its ideology was explicitly Christian for many years; however the process
of secularisation is evident as the YWCA endeavoured to fulfill its aims in a changing social context.

During the course of its existence the YWCA developed a basic philosophy of promoting the overall welfare of girls and women, encompassing the physical, spiritual, intellectual, and social elements of individuals' lives. One of the main ways it sought to achieve this, as shall be seen later, was via the medium of leisure and recreation, and its educational programmes, in which all four of these themes were seen to foster the notion of well-being. Consequently the YWCA created an impressive variety of leisure pursuits and classes, always with the guiding principle of 'meeting the changing needs of women and girls'.

An examination of the various aims, the stated 'Purpose', and comments emanating from those running the YWCA gives a good indication of its ideology, and associated changes in the assumptions of its organisers. At this point it might help to distinguish the terms 'Aims', 'Basis', and 'Purpose' as the YWCA used them.

The 'Basis' referred to the underlying ideology of the YWCA from which it gained its 'Purpose' for being in existence and according to which it developed. The 'Purpose' indicated

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1 Unfortunately no record of the very first 'Aims', 'Basis', or 'Purpose' of the Christchurch, National or World YWCA has come to light.
in broad terms the reasons for the establishment and existence of the YWCA; it formed the motive for the YWCA activities. Finally, the 'Aims' involved a statement of the specific goals of the Association, and would vary from time to time.

In 1909, the aims of the Christchurch YWCA for the forthcoming year were:

- to influence each other to a deeper, more fully consecrated life;
- to end this new year with our Home free of all debt, and to provide things honest in the sight of all men;
- to enlarge our sphere of influence by coming into close individual touch with many more, and increasing our membership;
- to be, by the grace of God, the best that we are capable of being;
- so that we may have the high honour of winning others to love and serve Him.


The first indication of a stated Basis appears in the 1910-1911 Annual Report of the Christchurch YWCA; one can assume this to be the Basis of the Joint YWCA of Australia and New Zealand (formed in 1907) since the New Zealand National Association had not yet been formed.

The National YWCA seeks to unite those young women who, regarding the Lord Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, are vitally united to Him, and through the love of God shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit desire to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom amongst all young women by such means as are in accordance with the Word of God.

This Basis exhibits the strong Christian influence upon which the YWCA was founded. It also shows their strong concern with the religious education of young women.

The Aims for the year 1911 were:
- to help girls away from home to a home;
- to give counsel to any girls in need of it;
- to give strangers a warm welcome;
- to help girls to make the best of life.

Although of a more practical nature, these Aims present a somewhat passive and almost defeatist attitude: "...to make the best of life..." implies that women had to change, cope, act, in response to life, not vice versa.

In 1913, a theme, presented as a general aim, emerged regarding the concerns of the YWCA for young women. It was stated simply as:

- the physical, intellectual, social and spiritual development of girls.
(Annual Report, 1912-1913:1).

This was an international theme, and has remained the aim of the YWCA up to the present day. Later, the phrase - 'the Fourfold Purpose' of the YWCA - was coined, and has served as a useful tool for looking systematically at the programmes of the Association.

The Annual Report of 1913 also reveals for the first time the World and British Mottos of the YWCA.

World Motto: "Not by might, nor by power but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts" (Zechariah 4:6)

British Motto: By love, serve one another.
Annual Report, 1912-1913:1).
Again the orientation is Christian, emphasising a reliance on God, and service to others.

The Christchurch YWCA became concerned about the growing numbers of 'self-supporting' girls, seeing this trend as presenting both a problem and an opportunity (Annual Report, 1912-1913). The 'problem' was that these girls, having left the protection, sanction, and authority of their homes and families, were deemed naive, and the YWCA feared for their physical safety and spiritual growth. This gives an indication of the novelty it was for single women to be living financially independent of their parents. It was sensed that women moving away from the control of home and family needed the guidance and protection of other institutions, like the YWCA.

In terms of opportunity, the YWCA saw it this way:

(There is) an almost unlimited field for work; a great opportunity, a great need for women of highest type, a need for better physical health, for more developed mental capacity, for a deep and true Christianity. Many organisations are working towards these ends, but none offers such a wide and comprehensive programme as the YWCA. We have voluntarily accepted a special relationship to the girls of today, and the work before us in the year that is to come is to make many more girls understand what the Association is, to inspire many more to service here and in the Churches, and to strive with all our might that every girl coming into touch with our activities shall know what it means to be a servant of Jesus Christ and of humanity.

This thread of Christian ideology ran throughout each area of YWCA work. In the Religious Department, the YWCA aimed at making Christianity the 'mainspring' of a fully developed, well ordered life, and saw itself to be the 'handmaiden' of the Church. The aim of the Educational Department was to provide themselves with all true 'womanly knowledge' (Annual Report, 1912-1913:10). Classes were thus offered in Dressmaking, Millinery, Homemaking, Elocution, etc. With respect to the social element: "Recreation and fun are recognised needs in the lives of young people, and the provision of opportunities for wholesome enjoyment must claim an important part in the thought of every Association" (Annual Report, 1912-1913:12).

In 1916, the YWCA further added, in relation to the religious work, that the aim of "uniting girls vitally to the Saviour has first place in all our activities, and through the means provided is heard the call to service in the home, in the Church, and in the world" (Annual Report, 1915-1916:8).

By 1917, the Joint YWCA (and possibly the World YWCA) had changed its Purpose to the following:

The association of women and girls of a city together for the purpose of bringing into practical realisation in every woman's life the Christian ideals of womanhood in a wholesome, joyous way. This is accomplished by spiritual, intellectual, social and physical activities, adapted to meet the ever-changing needs of girls. The field is all women and girls from the age of twelve years.


The Christian ideals of womanhood are nowhere explicitly stated. However, these are adequately illustrated upon examination of the classes or programmes run by the Association, since these are the expression of YWCA beliefs. The above
quote illustrates clearly the expression of four-fold development - spiritual, intellectual, physical and social. The emphasis tended away from the evangelistic ideals of conversion, to embrace more generally the notion of living the "good life" - the 'practical realisation' of the "Christian ideals of womanhood".

By 1920, the statement of Purpose was:

To unite women and girls in allegiance to our Lord Jesus Christ, in the fellowship of His Church, and the service of His Kingdom.
To promote a co-operation of prayer, Bible study, and service through which each member may make her contribution to the spiritual, moral, and social progress of the world.
To make available all that will minister to the development of Christian character, mental capacity, and physical health of young womanhood.


However, this wordy statement gave way to a more simplistic and concise Purpose in 1926, with the founding of the New Zealand National YWCA, now a separate identity from Australia:

To unite young women in personal loyalty to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord;
To promote growth in Christian character and service through physical, social, mental, and spiritual training;
To become a social force for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

(Annual Report, 1926:11).

And by 1930, the explicitly Christian Aims propounded a few years previously were to some extent secularised:

To unite women and girls in a world-wide fellowship, to help them to find a definite purpose in life, to be honest and fearless in their thinking, to attain the fullest appreciation of the joys of friendship, service, and beauty, and to interpret by radiant living the love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

Shifts away from an explicit theological commitment raised concern amongst many of the older members, who were afraid that the standards of the YWCA would be slipping.

Gertrude M. Madge, writing from an international viewpoint, about the aim of religious education in the YWCA, noted this secularising trend in 1925. Initially religious education, according to Madge, was contained more or less in homogenous evangelical circles; religious education meant primarily building up the devotional life of the individual by means of Bible classes and prayer meetings. "Since those days, however, three movements, both within and without the Association, have profoundly modified this situation, and the Association, together indeed with the whole Church, has found it necessary to expand to an almost unlimited extent its original conception of the scope and meaning of religious education" (Unity in Diversity: 19).

The first of these movements was that of interdenominationalism. With a greater diversity of people moving about from country to country the Church and YWCA found itself in the presence of many different points of view. For example, Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, Anglo Catholic, and Congregationists were some of the other faiths encountered.

The YWCA firmly believed that the old principle of concentrating on the Bible, but avoiding controversial points had broken down; it believed that a united church must be inclusive of truth as seen from all viewpoints, not a mere least common denominator of agreement (Unity in Diversity: 20).

The second movement was the intellectual movement, the most characteristic feature of it being one of literary criticism of the Bible. Literary criticism developed along
radical lines in the so called 'modernist' movement in theology; it touched practically all denominations of Christians. Its position had been to take sides as little as possible, according to its principles of inclusiveness, but in some countries, it had been impossible to avoid facing the issue, and schism had been the result (Unity in Diversity:20).

Finally, the social service movement effectively helped to expand the YWCA's notions regarding religious education. This movement tried to build the Kingdom of God in the 'here and now'. It had the effect of transforming religious education into the "corporate training of an army for active service" (Unity in Diversity :21). This emphasis on the ethical and social aspects of Christianity attracted a considerable number of those who were not persuaded by its theological truth, and could unite themselves with any organised body of believers.

The YWCA thus recognised that its membership could consist of apathetic Christians on the one hand, who paid lip-service to the Christian faith, and of those rejecting Christianity, but enthusiastic for world reform, on the other.

The concern of the YWCA throughout its existence has been for women. This has been expressed in different ways according to the conditions of women at particular points in history. One of the greatest areas of concern has been that of the working conditions of women, and the new freedom employment gave them at the beginning of the twentieth century. A prevailing fear was the possibility of freedom developing into license:
The motive underlying everything is primarily a religious one - the desire that young women of our time shall be protected from the ... snares that beset them, and shall be enabled to attain to the full stature of Christian womanhood. (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916, p49: pamphlet "Its Aims and Work").

The object of all its programme work was practical Christlike living:

...girls are trained and encouraged to exercise themselves in the truths taught, and the outcome is to be found, not only in the Prayer and Mission Circles of the Association, but among the ranks of the Sunday School teachers, loyal Church members and workers on the rolls of Missionary bodies in heathen lands, and in the less romantic, but not less worthy, company of brave young women who are witnessing to the power of Jesus Christ in home, in office, in factory, and in school. (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916, p49: pamphlet: "Its Aims and Work").

In a bulletin for the opening of the new building in 1914, the Christchurch YWCA asserted:

...we want to make our Association a force in our city; we want our members to stand for the highest type of womanhood; we want the offices, workroom, and homes to be better, happier places because of the girls' Christianity; we want girls who do not know what 'abundant life' means to find it through our Association. (Lovell-Smith, 1961:17).

These quotes illustrate the desire of the YWCA for preserving existing female virtues of moral superiority, chastity, submissiveness, in a situation which threatened to undermine them.
The YWCA became very concerned with changing employment opportunities and the possible consequences and effects of these changes. It assumed a parental role in its attitude to working girls:

Never before has the Association been so needed as in this time of national and world-wide industrial change. The call to girls to leave their homes and take their places in the business world is causing the change; it is rare nowadays to meet a girl who is not earning a wage or salary, and through her monetary independence able to throw off the yoke of discipline and often with it, all home ties. She is having to learn for herself the facts of life at an early age, and in a way few mothers had to do; she is unconscious of her needs. But the wise mother knows she has to be guided and cared for either by her or someone else as she learns the lessons life has to teach her. (Annual Report, 1916-1917:7).

The YWCA was concerned that because women now had financial independence of their families, they would also aspire to moral independence and no longer heed parental discipline and advice. In such a period, where values changed swiftly from generation to generation, parents were endeavouring to socialise their children into a culture of which they had not had the benefit of experience. This explains why the YWCA continually emphasised the need for leaders to study adolescent psychology - because they themselves had no experience of the type of lifestyle and social pressures that the younger generation were experiencing.

Attitudes such as these explain the YWCA's constant attention to the moral plight of young women, and its willingness to assume the maternal socialising function.
Strangely, domestic knowledge was one area the YWCA felt girls were sadly lacking; one might think that domestic skills had been inculcated into all girls of that time. Apparently this was not the case, for working women were:

...outside the sacred influence of Christian homes with little or no time to develop what nature with infinite pains has given her a peculiar fitness for, the ability to be a home-maker.

(The Young Women's Gazette, 1900, cited in Mitchinson, 1979:377).

Here it is evident that the Christchurch YWCA attempted to juggle one aspect of the ambiguities to which women were exposed - that of having to learn a supposedly innate role.

The YWCA was designed to provide such a home environment, and through its educational facilities such as domestic science classes, the training needed when these young women assumed the administration of their homes (Mitchinson, 1979:377). Although the YWCA acknowledged the natural role of women to be that of the homemaker, Mitchinson, in a study of the Canadian YWCA as an aspect of reform, suggests that the importance of the Association lay in its ability to recognise that the working woman was not a transitory phenomenon (Mitchinson, 1979). The cafeteria enabled women to purchase hot, nourishing, inexpensive meals; the hostel provided them with safe, inexpensive accommodation; the Employment Agency tried to help the working woman fit into jobs others required of her.

Mitchinson's (1979) assertion that if women were going to work, "they would be encouraged by the YWCA to do so in a way that least challenged social stereotypes" (p378) is borne out by this investigation of the Christchurch YWCA.
Essentially, the YWCA tried to meet the real needs of women and girls while at the same time using the provision of services as a basis for exerting social control and guidance on a section of the population for whom the controls of home and community had been partly eroded by migration from rural areas, and/or independent work.

THE PROGRAMMES

The programmes of the YWCA can be interpreted as the expression of its ideology. Each aspect of programme work attempted to communicate something to young women, that the YWCA saw as being beneficial to their character and lifestyle. The main medium of communication was via clubs and classes, set up to isolate certain sets of characteristics. For example, some clubs focused on homemaking, whilst others were oriented toward social gatherings.

The YWCA endeavoured to serve its clientele by dividing its programme work into four aspects which it saw as pertaining to the balanced life-style of the individual; it was concerned with the social, mental, physical, and spiritual aspects of girls, and developed its programme along these lines.

The following discussion will examine the programmes of the Christchurch YWCA in terms of its own 'Fourfold' aims, and looks in some detail at the clubs which most usefully illustrate the central ideas associated with the programmes.
Social Development

As has already been mentioned, social development was acknowledged as a necessary part of a young woman's life, but only if it were 'wholesome'. The Christchurch YWCA aimed:

"...to provide facilities for young men and women to meet in wholesome surroundings and under good influences, to set up right standards for men and girls..." (Annual Report, 1922-1923).

The types of activities arranged specifically for social purposes were picnics, parties, fêtes, concerts, socials. Often activities were arranged with the men of the YMCA, and as the Association matured, these mixed social occasions became more frequent.

Some clubs were formed which provided a particular environment within which social activity could occur. For example, the Merrymakers Club (1920-1925) was a purely social club, arranging Christmas parties and social gatherings (Annual Report, 1922:20). Interaction with the opposite sex was a fairly frequent occurrence, the young men very often members of the YMCA or local churches. This club catered for women over twenty; a similar type of club, called the Revellers catered for women over eighteen in much the same way (Annual Report, 1925:17).

The Gaiety Community Club (1925-1930+) aimed to provide activities, educational and social, for girls and boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty one (Annual Report, 1925:14). Their evenings were always open to the public, and there was no set membership. A committee of seven women and seven men organised the evenings, being responsible for the type of
programme provided and for the conduct of those present. They discovered that many of their participants wanted the opportunity of learning to dance, and of improving their steps, and so some Dance Practise Nights were run, gaining high attendance.

Some social activities were arranged more for their extrinsic than intrinsic value. For example, the Sunshine Club (1912-1930+) was formed for service to others (Annual Report 1912-1913:11). Members looked out for poor children needing clothes, and would then buy and make up material into suitable garments. Activities also included fireside talks, dramatics, and singing, but its main objective was to 'lend a hand'.

Obviously the clubs organised by the YWCA offered social opportunities of a different kind. Always the emphasis was on friendship and fellowship, 'living out the love of God in relation to other people'. The idea that the YWCA was a home away from home pervaded every activity. The traditional female-related values were cherished and elevated - the happiness of serving others, hospitality, friendliness, subordination of selfish interests, valuing people, duty to one's home and friends. One of the YWCA's interpretations of Christianity was of joyous service and friendliness.

Educational Development

It is difficult to glean information on this topic which stands in isolation, apart from merely citing the classes that were held for educational purposes. The information available tends to take the form of brief description of classes held. However, it is possible
to develop some overall impressions, despite the relative lack of explicit commentary.

The aim of the Education Department was "to provide girls with opportunities to equip themselves with all true womanly knowledge" (Annual Report, 1912-1913:10). Classes offered varied greatly in content and frequency of occurrence. Some ran for many years, others only for one or two.

Classes offered seemed to fall into three categories: hobbies/recreation, homemaking, and employment, though it is not quite that simple to demarcate. Traditional instruction was offered in sewing, cooking, homemaking, but also in hygiene and nursing, first aid, and Plunket care; emphasis lay along practical lines. As early as 1903 wood carving was offered, and later on, just after the new building was opened such topics as business methods, and leadership training were offered. Some job related instruction was given; for example, in shorthand, English, literary works, history, and dressmaking. The variety of instruction available was vast; leather work, singing, physical culture, sex hygiene, art of story telling, and basketmaking, are just some examples of this diversity. Later, the clubs will be seen to illustrate more poignantly how education infiltrated all YWCA work.

The YWCA as a movement recognised and valued the need to cater for the individual woman as far as possible. It saw its purpose as the education of the girl in the context of the community in which she lived, and the release and development of her personality (Unity in Diversity:11). Designing a programme to achieve this then was not a case of duplicating the work of other local Associations, of planning a well-
balanced and nicely rounded curriculum, nor of offering courses which it had been customary to offer in previous years. Rather, the YWCAs endeavoured to find out what sort of community of girls it had at its doorstep. They looked at the surrounding churches, schools, other organisations, and the social forces affecting women in society at the time, and they tried to structure programmes which were unique and appropriate. (Unity in Diversity: 11-12).

Many clubs served an educational purpose, particularly in the education of girls for domesticity. For example, the Hearth Fire Girls Club (1912-1923), one to which girls of all social backgrounds could belong, was associated with the domestic destiny of girls (Annual Report, 1912-1913: 11). The promise girls took on joining the club was:

I promise, on my honour, that, wherever I may be, I will do my best to be contented, to be courteous, to give service, to hold on to health, think, to be trustworthy, and to reverence God. (Pamphlet: "For your big sister...", 1919).

The character traits identified here can be seen to reinforce the idea of women as servants of others. This promise also promotes the position of women as those who adapt to the situations they encounter, rather than trying to change them: "...I will do my best to be contented...".

The object of the Hearth Fire Movement was to "Band girls together for the purposes of home-making, helpfulness, 1.

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1. See Appendix Six for the elaborate instructions conveyed to girls for washing dishes and setting fires.
health, and happiness" (Annual Report, 1912-1913:11).

This club was adapted to girls of any age between twelve and twenty, and was designed to cater for all girls whether or not they were career oriented. It was deemed to appeal to girls of all 'talents' - home, business, office, school, factory, domestic.

This club, which was organised throughout New Zealand YWCAs, was a forerunner to the Girl Citizen's Movement. It was divided into small groups, or Hearth Fires, each of which called itself by some Maori name, such as Aroha (Love), or Kia Ora (Warmest Greetings); each group kept a logbook. Some of the logs are still in existence, and give an idea of the type of activity undertaken by Hearth Fires. Meetings were of little substance: a short devotional, a recitation, or accounts of the achievements of girls' domestic skills might occur. Usually a Bible study closed each meeting, which lasted for about half an hour.

Another educational club was the Pathfinders Club (1912-1919), which was designed to increase the knowledge of girls, so that they could be more responsible for their own welfare. Its aim was:

The Pathfinder seeks the path to 'being the best she can' through:

Knowledge, in learning to live
Health, in preventing disease
Self-control, over all our senses
Service, to those about us.
(Pamphlet: "For your big sister...", 1919).

Again, the emphasis falls on women as those who serve
others; the preoccupation with knowledge of disease and hygiene was not only for the benefit of the individual girl, but to help make her a better potential mother, by enabling her to ensure the survival of her children. Thus emphasis on the practical aspects of childcare was not unlike the aim of the Plunket Society, which was initially aimed at lowering infant mortality by preventative measures (Begg, 1968).

Although it appears that the YWCA assumed that young women would always be dependent on a male for their livelihood (father, brother, husband), the possibility of facing financial independence was acknowledged by the YWCA, through the introduction of a savings scheme in the form of a Thrift Club (1912-1928) (Annual Report, 1911-1912:14). This club provided an opportunity for girls who wished to save money regularly. One of the YWCA's approaches to welfare work in industrial firms was through the Thrift Club. A Secretary would collect small amounts of money from girls individually, bank it, and pay it out with interest at the end of the year. Money could be withdrawn at any time, but if done so before a year had passed, interest was forfeited. The Thrift Club activity was carried on for many years, and grew in numbers until the Post Office Savings Bank took over. Thrift Clubs which are now present in primary and secondary schools, were thus initiated by the YWCA (Lovell-Smith, 1961:25).

It has been mentioned how some aspects of YWCA work resulted in the perpetuation of class interests; some clubs were specifically designed to cater for different classes. The Guild of Helpers (1907-1916) was comprised of 'Leisured' girls who wanted to be of service to the YWCA (Annual Report
The library was kept in order by the Guild, which also helped in fund raising. It was formed by a number of girls living at home, and not obliged to earn their own living. They provided their own afternoon teas and were ready to help with refreshments at evening meetings. Sometimes members of the Guild would relieve someone from a position, act as accompanist to the Singing Club, address and post letters, etc.

Other services included mending chairs, and screens, stuffing cushions, covering furniture, helping with household ironing, stitching magazines, and caring for library books. It is possible that these girls were to become the Board members of the future.

The Argonauts Club (1912-1914) was an educative and recreative club for business girls (Annual Report, 1912-1913:10). It had an intellectual flavour to its programmes which included debating, readings, and travel evenings. However, the Merry-go-Round Club (1911-1915) was an educative and recreative club for girls in domestic service (Annual Report, 1911-1912:13). It held social and literary evenings, and also went for excursions. Debating was an activity which was probably seen as outside the educational experience of these girls, and travel evenings would probably only raise hopes in them which they could not possibly realise.

Club work was seen as providing opportunities to develop skills in leadership and organisation. Leadership powers were developed consistently by throwing responsibility onto Girls' Committees. Attributes such as initiative, drive, and planning were cultivated through the system of committee work. In addition to the group club leaders (all of whom
were young women under secretarial direction), there was a group of prospective leaders, going through a weekly training course, both practical and theoretical. This group would study club methods of Bible study, elementary psychology, and physical training, with a view to working amongst girls:

Each club has its own officers, and our ideal is that all club affairs shall be planned and carried out by its members, and that each club shall be responsible for its own finances. Work in a club should give the girls experience in organisation and leadership, in the conduct of business and in service to others. (Annual Report, 1911-1912:14).

As with the matter of religion, the YWCA recognised the fact that classes and courses, although a valuable method of education, were not the only method; clubs, hostel, cafeteria work continually provided girls with learning experiences. But besides the structured approach, education was acknowledged to function equally well in the informal daily interactions women and girls had with one another.

The World YWCA, speaking for all YWCAs, prided the organisation on its ability to resist the mass-education of women, reasoning that the touch of the individual teacher was the most potent educational force. Therefore it urged YWCAs to consider its responsibility toward girls whose needs were so individual and different from other's that they could be met only individually. One of today's criticisms commonly directed at the YWCA concerns the way it slotted women into traditional roles, occupations, and recreational pursuits through its clubs and classes. While the YWCA perpetuated the status quo by steering women into traditional occupations, its value in the expanding fields of clerical work must be
acknowledged. The Christchurch YWCA was willing to help women take opportunities which would provide them with a steady income, and it was able to recognise that the working woman was not a transitory phenomenon. In retrospect, this may appear to be a move to ensure women pursued jobs traditionally earmarked as 'feminine occupations'; taken in context however, it can be seen that this was a progressive move for women.

Physical Development

The mechanism for achieving the physical development of the girls was mainly via clubs, each centred on one activity. The main aim was "to relieve the tension of nerves and muscles after a day's monotonous work". This implies that its clientele was predominantly those in manual unskilled work, or possibly those in lower level clerical positions.

'Physical Culture' was a programme which ran for decades, yet the content of this course was never made explicit. It was probably a general exercise class, concentrating on appropriate postures, and calisthenics. Swimming was very common throughout the years, as were boating, walking, and tennis. Other activities included volleyball, Swedish Gymnastics, netball, tramping, cricket, folk dancing, and Christchurch-wide Sports Days, which the YWCA initiated and ran, in conjunction with other sporting bodies (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916). The variety and the time devoted to organising them suggests that the women who ran the YWCA may have been conservative as

1. All Annual Reports listed various physical and recreational pursuits each year.
far as women's roles went, but they were part of the growing group of women who advocated throwing away the corset and challenging the myths surrounding women's capacity for vigorous exercise:

The physical development of members has received close attention, as it is recognised that health must be conserved. The body as the "temple of the Holy Spirit" has been the underlying ideal of all this development, the necessity of having a healthy body to hold a healthy mind and spirit.

**Spiritual Development**

The YWCA movement was founded on a profound commitment to the spiritual meaning and purpose of life. As it has developed over the years, its religious emphasis has shifted at times to accommodate shifts occurring in the Christian faith outside the organisation. Initially a fundamentalist perspective prevailed, but as social change wrought attitudinal change from society, so too did spiritual interpretations of the Christian faith change. The Christchurch YWCA is no exception to these circumstances, and exhibited, along with the world trend, a changing presentation of its religious convictions. The underlying interpretation of Christianity has been discussed above. How does that relate to the Christchurch YWCA's attempt to foster the spiritual development of the individual girl?
The spiritual element pervaded all programme work. All clubs, social, and classes opened with prayer and a Bible reading. But the YWCA also presented a programme which was specifically 'spiritual'; the following activities are an example of this:

- Inspirational addresses
- After Church song services
- Prayer Meetings
- Bible study
- Vesper services
- Evangelism
- Missionary interests.

As the YWCA itself said, its underlying motive was a religious one, and its goal was both to protect girls from harm and enable them to grow into mature Christian women.

Around 1918, a decrease in the attendance at religious meetings was noted, and 1919, the attendance at the Sunday Service had dropped so much that the religious programme was restructured entirely to yield more variety. However the situation remained unsatisfactory: "Our religious work is the least satisfactory part of our work" (Annual Report, 1920:9).

In relation to the Annual World Week of Prayer, it was noted that "very few people troubled to come, evidently not realising that they could do any good by prayer" (Annual Report, 1920:9). By 1922 the YWCA had rationalised to a certain extent its predicament. Previously it had measured its religiosity in terms of numbers of prayer meetings, Bible studies, etc., since it was these types of activity that were viable, and hence able to be measured. Now the YWCA of Christchurch began to realise that other signs such as acts of thoughtfulness or kindness, 'good works' for those
less fortunate, could be interpreted as spiritual in attitude; attitude became a more meaningful indicator of spirituality in addition to good works.

The Christchurch YWCA discovered in its ranks not only a decrease in demand for explicitly religious activities, but a reluctance on the part of the leaders who, through fear of making the girls feel insincere, "often fail[ed] to appeal to the heart of reverence and the longing for the ideal which is in every girl" (Annual Report, 1922:8). Not only was diffidence a problem, but they determined also that leaders were not sure enough of their ground to be articulate. Leaders knew enough of 'girl psychology' to react against the old, more direct, methods of instruction which they felt the contemporary girl would not tolerate; and yet they were not absolutely certain of how the need of all girls for spiritual interpretation could be achieved. As well, they had the problem of some leaders being better able to teach religion than others. "Those who without doubt have the Spirit of God directing their lives have not always the gift of speech, and are often too shy to be articulate, or else have no notion of how to approach matters from a girl's point of view" (Annual Report, 1922:8).

The YWCA was well aware that some young women might want a more secular experience, and it was for this reason that it believed its first task was to meet girls' conscious needs, and then introduce them gradually to religious philosophy, which the YWCA defined as their unconscious need. Hence classes were of a pragmatic nature, and the religious theme was an underlying current, pervading the situation. The Girl
Citizen's Movement, for example, defined the practical need of girls to be education for womanly citizenship (ultimately domesticity), and attempted to provide instruction on skills needed in the workforce, and the home. It graduated to social relationship skills, and then brought the girls to consider her relationship to God. The latter was seen as enabling the girl to have a responsible attitude in all other areas of her life.

Additionally, the YWCA's liaison with Protestant institutions did not only reflect its spiritual dimensions, and bestow upon it respectability; it had a much more pragmatic function - that of providing a communication link between the YWCA and society, especially so in the early stages, when the pulpit served as an advertising platform. Announcements of the need for money, of pending activities, etc., were made over the pulpit in various churches all over Christchurch. The YWCA realised this as a valuable resource of communication, for many annual reports in this period expressed thanks for this service by the churches (Annual Reports, 1906-1907; 1909-1910).

Thus the programmes of the YWCA can be seen as an instrument for perpetuating the ideology of the YWCA; clubs and classes can be seen as a key medium for combining all four aspects of the four-fold aim. The programmes of the YWCA can be seen to reflect its service and evangelical purposes, and its response to women's and girls' needs within a certain framework.

Programme work also illustrates the way in which, on the one hand, the YWCA ardently promoted devoted motherhood and domesticity, while on the other hand, it endeavoured to supply the working girl with the skills which she might need in the workforce. It was never required to tackle the issue of the
married working mother since this was a phenomenon with which
the women of the YWCA would rarely come into contact. In
addition, their organisation focused on young women, and so it
was involved in moulding women for future roles, not in attempt-
ing to reform lifestyles already in existence amongst older
women.

Finally, the programme work of the YWCA can be seen to
take on three distinct characteristics. Firstly, it can be
interpreted as acting as a therapeutic device. Clubs, classes,
and social activities had the effect of counteracting the
oppression of poor working conditions, and of attempting to
raise the morale of young girls, particularly in times of
economic hardship. Furthermore, by adopting an individual
faith, the religious element acted as a panacea, providing
spiritual and mental consolation, and purpose in a rapidly
changing society. Secondly, the programme work can be seen to
utilise leisure as an epistemological concept: clubs were
valued for character building for example. Finally, programme
activities helped fill in the time left over after the oblig-
ations of daily life had been fulfilled. Thus leisure was
seen as luxurious way of spending time. During the 1930s
depression for example, it was stated by the Christchurch YWCA
that leisure was intended to fill in the extended time some girls
experienced due to unemployment. Organised social clubs and
activities provided a controlled environment for girls to
develop, and allowed the YWCA to have a tighter rein on the
moulding of young girls' characters.
EXTENSION WORK

In this section, areas of YWCA activity which reached out into the community will be examined. This involves looking at the hostel, cafeteria, visitation, and service ventures offered to the community. There are four main areas of extension work to consider when assessing the impact of the YWCA; each area had a unique function.

Firstly, the YWCA, in its earlier years, set up a number of agencies designed to help young women integrate into society. The Registry Office was created in 1905, to help young women coming to Christchurch to find employment (Annual Report, 1905-1906:4). The demand for domestic servants was very high, and exceeded supply for many years. In this service, the YWCA was able to advertise itself, as well as to ensure young girls found respectable employment. "As a rule, YWCA girls bear a well-deserved high character with their mistresses, and our own members keep their places, and very seldom come and ask for new ones. Lady helps, housekeepers, and sick nurses have also been asked for and found" (Annual Report, 1906-1907:3).

In 1913, the Registry Office had become such an enlarged venture that it closed down due to lack of space and staff (Annual Report, 1912-1913:7). It is not clear whether the YWCA handed over its service to some other organisation to carry on, or who else was providing such a service in Canterbury at the time. Possibly the WEA or Vocational Guidance stepped in, but there is no reference to this. On the other hand, work which had been done by the Registry Office might have been assimilated with the YWCA's aid to Assisted Immigrants; this is pursued more
fully in the following chapter.

In 1908, a service to travellers began. Called "Travellers' Aid", this office served immigrants from England, Scotland, and Australia (Annual Report, 1906-1907:5). Lists of respectable boarding houses were kept, but establishments did not always let the YWCA know when they were full. Coupled with understaffing at times, this meant that some girls ended up on the streets. The 1907-1908 Annual Report cites a case of a girl being sent alone (usually a YWCA staff member would accompany her) to a boarding house which turned out to be full. The girl, disheartened did not go back to the YWCA for further help. She almost spent the night on the streets, but for a woman who took her in. The Report appealed to its members: "Will our members think of this, and realise that if our Association is to be as useful as it ought to be, we must very soon be able to take these strangers ourselves?" (p5).

In 1909 the Office worked in conjunction with the Canterbury Sheepowners' group (Annual Report, 1908-1909:7), and in 1911, a woman was appointed to regularly meet boats at Lyttleton, to give girls accommodation, since by then the YWCA had opened its own boarding home. (Annual Report, 1908-1909:4).

In 1913 Travellers' Aid was asked by the Government to help in providing accommodation, which it did in conjunction with the Girls' Friendly Society (Annual Report, 1912-1913:9). The Government paid a small fee to ensure that a bed was being reserved. Travellers' Aid continued until 1916, just after the outbreak of the First World War. The association with the Canterbury Sheepowners' will be discussed later in connection
with the Girls' Flock House Scheme.

What does this tell us about the place of the YWCA in the community? The YWCA was attempting to liaise between groups of disadvantaged women and the society into which they hoped to be integrated. Clearly it performed a liaisonary role with respect to the young women it tried to help. In a less obvious way, however, it also served other groups in society at the same time. For example, service was given both to working women and to future employers through the operation of the Registry Office and the Flock House Scheme.

A second area of service was the cafeteria. Cafeteria work began right back at the inception of the YWCA in the form of the Coffee Rooms, where young women could have morning and afternoon teas and a place to rest. Gradually foodstuffs were introduced, being supplied free from various women in the community, and in 1911, hot meals were served for the first time (Annual Report, 1910-1911:5). Several changes of venue were experienced, but always the cafeteria drew large numbers of clients. The original site of the cafeteria is unknown, but in 1909, they were relocated into Madras Street, which was "not so central"; so the original rooms must have been closer to the city centre (Annual Report, 1908-1909:6).

In 1917, a rest room was opened in High Street and proved to be very successful, and by 1921, about 40,000 meals per annum were served (Annual Report, 1921:21). Gradually, custom diminished as the depression of the 1930s loomed. Despite this, in 1926, the cafeteria managed to come out of its overdraft and began to thrive. In 1930, it changed sites once more, to 588A Colombo Street (Annual Report, 1929-1930:4).
The cafeteria worked served a certain number of functions besides the obvious ones of thirst-quenching, and the provision of a resting place. It has already been mentioned how the cafeteria served as a recruiting ground for YWCA members. Yet it also proved to be an extremely financially viable venture throughout its duration. Furthermore, the opening of a cafeteria put the YWCA into a more prominent place in the eyes of the public, and gave it added status. People could appreciate that through business investments, the YWCA was serious about its work, and was willing to be financially self-supporting instead of relying solely on generous donations.

The YWCA hostel, the third area, initially began in a referral capacity; that is, the YWCA offered to help people find places to stay. However, in 1909, with the purchase of the premises in Madras Street, it began to take its own boarders (Annual Report, 1908-1909:4). With a capacity of 12 beds, it accommodated over 170 girls that year. It was able to accommodate over 200 before it moved to Latimer Square site, which had a capacity for 29 beds (Annual Report, 1913-1914:10). An average of 400 people per annum could be boarded and in 1918, and with the addition of another storey and another 25 beds, over 500 people were given accommodation (Figure 16). The hostel provided cheap and respectable living accommodation for the working woman, but it never questioned why it was so difficult for her to find such accommodation without help.

Since the major fear of the middle class about working women was that participation in the workforce would lead to a decline in moral standards, the YWCA wanted to ensure the
morality of working women and it did so through the creation of a controlled environment in the hostels. Supervision and daily religious and domestic ritual were seen as key mechanisms for ensuring the preservation of high moral standards amongst working women.

In 1921, the YWCA set up a hostel in Kaiapoi in response to a request by the Director of the Kaiapoi Woollen Mills, who wanted the YWCA to administer and run a hostel for skilled woollen workers who were brought from Yorkshire to work in Kaiapoi (Lovell-Smith, 1961:24). The National Field Office saw this as an opportunity to establish a full-scale YWCA, but this is not what the Directors of the Christchurch YWCA wanted there. The Christchurch YWCA also objected to another YWCA so close to its own (Law, 1961:7). A compromise was reached: Christchurch was to administer the hostel, with a group of Kaiapoi women and the Christchurch Board forming a joint committee for this purpose. A Christchurch worker spent half a week in Kaiapoi building a varied educational and recreational programme there. The hostel continued until the economic climate in New Zealand made it inadvisable for the Woollen Milling Company to bring out more workers, and in 1924, it was closed down (Law, 1961:8).

The final area of extension work relates to the YWCA's moves to establish branches in the Canterbury area. Significantly, three were formed in this period - at Lyttleton, Kaiapoi, (as has been described) and Sydenham. In order to help plan for future work, the YWCA in 1921 undertook a survey of the Lyttelton district (Annual Report, 1921:20). The survey included existing recreations and clubs, and also the approximate number
of girls in the Port. Lists were also obtained of girls belonging to the various Bible Classes, and Girls' Friendly Societies, with the idea of getting in touch with the remainder who might be interested in club work (Ibid). A part time secretary was appointed, funds were raised, and club rooms were rented. This branch flourished into the 1950s (Lovell-Smith, 1961:39).

The Sydenham branch began in 1923, and similarly, the YWCA endeavoured to find out about the area before establishing itself there. Ministers, teachers, and those with a knowledge of the district were asked their opinion as to the need for such a club (Annual Report, 1923). This branch incidentally, catered for both sexes, one night a week being Boys' Night. This branch closed down in 1932 because of a dwindling of numbers (Annual Report, 1931-1932:8).

Not every organisation is formed to change its environment, but all usually seek to have some impact on their environment. Extension work shows how the YWCA took opportunities which lent themselves to a wider advertisement of its existence. The care it took to assess the viability of its ventures, was in accordance with the ideals of the World YWCA: to review situations before acting.

By moving into a business venture like the cafeteria, it could reach the working girl; by providing hostel accommodation, it could reach the immigrant and rural girl. Its services to those who were unemployed brought it into contact not only with working girls, but employers.
And finally, by establishing branches at Kaiapoi, Lyttleton, and Sydenham, it could extend its membership and finances, and ensure its continued existence.

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter has been to identify the belief systems of society under which the Christchurch YWCA acted, and their impact on its activities. The YWCA adhered to the doctrines of Protestant Christianity, and this coloured its entire programme. All work the YWCA undertook was seen as part of a service for the extension of the Kingdom of God. Since the Christian faith has very definite teachings on the place of women in society, particularly their relationship to men, the YWCA offered a programme reflecting these teachings. It encouraged women to accept their submissive position, exhorting them to serve men and God by fulfilling their responsibilities and duties to the best of their abilities. In every aspect of her life - social, physical, educational, and spiritual - the young girl was taught to love and serve God, so that she might better serve others.

Although the YWCA believed the working woman was 'there to stay', it believed that ultimately most girls would marry, and consequently relinquish their jobs. At this stage in their lives, and for the rest of their lives, young women would need not only to draw upon their spiritual wisdom - so well instilled in them via the YWCA - but on their domestic expertise. Since this was the probable destination of most girls passing through the YWCA, the Association lost no opportunity to prepare the young girl for her domestic future.
This chapter and the preceding one have looked at developments within the YWCA at a rather general level. This chapter in particular has shown that spiritual beliefs transcended status divisions between women; the message of subordination to men was one for all women, regardless of their social standing.

The following chapter attempts a more detailed look at how the YWCA implemented its beliefs in two specific programmes; the demands and needs created by female immigration, and the Girl Citizen's Movement, which further illustrates the interplay between the YWCA and its social environment.
CHAPTER SIX: TWO ASPECTS OF YWCA WORK: INVOLVEMENT IN ACCOMMODATION FOR IMMIGRANT WOMEN; AND THE GIRL CITIZEN'S MOVEMENT

INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters have attempted to show how the YWCA at every level of its structure, and in every aspect of its programmes, was affected by occurrences in the wider society, and by dominant ideologies emanating from certain key sectors in society. At a more specific level, this chapter will monitor the process by which two specific programmes of the YWCA were influenced by the social, economic, and political environment in which they developed.

The focus of this chapter will move to the national level of the YWCA, in order to capture more effectively the aspects of YWCA work which illustrate the themes discussed in the previous five chapters.

Discussion of the first of these spheres of activity, the provision of hostel accommodation for young immigrant women, will indicate relationships between the State, employers, and the YWCA in the development of accommodation provision and job training for female immigrants. It will be evident that the YWCA, although meeting the needs of young immigrant women, did so within a specific ideological framework, emphasising the importance of domestic training for girls. In this the YWCA was informed by middle class opinion on what they thought working class women desired and needed in relation to their employment and/or domestic responsibilities.
The second area of study, the Girl Citizen's Movement, will illustrate how the YWCA attempted to instil in young girls the skills they would need to become dutiful citizens of New Zealand, and indeed, the Empire. It was believed that a part of this process should involve training in domestic expertise. Citizenship, it was also believed, was a spiritual matter; each girl was a citizen of the Kingdom of God, and the Girl Citizen's Movement provided an opportunity for young girls to learn about what God required of a young Christian girl. This chapter will explore some of the ways that patriarchal ideology was used to steer young girls into subservience to men, and into domesticity.

In both of these areas of YWCA endeavour it will be evident that women were continually bombarded with sets of beliefs regarding their character and worth as women. Essentially women were elevated as superior moral beings; however their life was to be one of service, devoted to men and children. There was little room for the development of individual potential, nor the pursuit of personal dreams.

IN Volvement in female immigrant employment and accommodation

The YWCA's involvement in work with female immigrants has had a long history. The Christchurch YWCA became concerned about the employment opportunities for female immigrants, and established a Registry Office to help find immigrants jobs and accommodation. Over the years, the YWCA worked with the Government and with the SOSBW in its attempts to help immigrant women integrate more smoothly.
into the community.

The YWCA's formal involvement with immigrants and travellers can be traced back to around 1906-1907, triggered perhaps by the International Exhibition held in Christchurch that summer. Later the YWCA co-operated with the Government in assisting immigrants; the Christchurch Association also co-operated with the commercial sector in its establishment of a hostel in Kaiapoi in association with the Kaiapoi Woollen Mills (See page 229 below).

Around this time, the early 1920s, the YWCA of New Zealand embarked on a new venture, in association with several other voluntary associations; it became extensively involved with the immigration programme run by the British Overseas Settlement League (of which the SOSBW was one aspect) and the New Zealand Immigration Department. This service was later linked to the Flock House Scheme for Girls (See Appendix 7), which was essentially an employment training service for immigrant girls, set in a hostel environment.

In order to appreciate the significance of the YWCA's involvement in the Girls' Flock House, it is necessary to trace the developments which culminated in this scheme, and to examine the surrounding social conditions which fostered the YWCA's interest in this aspect of community service. Since the Girls' Flock House Scheme was primarily a scheme for domestic workers, an examination of this area of employment and its concomitant development is necessary in an attempt to establish the reasons for the instigation of this scheme at this point in the history of New Zealand.
Explaining why and how a shortage of domestic workers occurred directs attention to changes in New Zealand society which led to new patterns in the distribution of the female workforce across a wider variety of occupational opportunities; this of course generated changes for women in relation to their private familial roles. It is these changes that the YWCA defined as problematic; its involvement in the accommodation and employment needs of female immigrants, and its involvement in a scheme such as the Flock House are examples of its attempts to resolve these 'problems'.

The first section of this chapter will look at how a domestic 'shortage' arose in Canterbury in particular; it will also look at the early response of the Christchurch YWCA both to the need for accommodation by female immigrants, and the need for domestic servants by middle class women. Later, YWCAs throughout New Zealand co-operated with the Government Assisted programme, and helped to liaise between the governments of New Zealand and Britain in this venture. This culminated in work on the Flock House Scheme for girls.

The Domestic Worker Dilemma

As early as 1885 the New Zealand Government's Immigration Department had been operating a scheme of Assisted Immigration, dealing mainly with British subjects. Apart from being eligible by dint of birth, applicants for assisted passages came from residents of the Dominion nominating domestic workers, or farm labourers, "irrespective of the relationship existing between the domestic or agriculturist and the person making such application" (New Zealand Year Book, 1915:101).
Domestic workers and farm labourers granted assisted passages were required to follow their respective occupations in New Zealand for a period of one year after their arrival. They were met on board by officers of the Immigration Department who accompanied the Port Health Officer to the ship. After being interviewed and medically examined they were given relevant information such as addresses of district agencies of the Labour Department, and their kin or contacts were notified of their arrival (Ibid).

In the case of female immigrants, special circumstances applied. Domestic workers were chosen after application to the High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and were sent to New Zealand under the supervision of one or more responsible 'matrons'. The Government advertised the fact that the Immigration Department kept a record of those people in the Dominion who wanted the services of a female assisted immigrant. The women were classified under two categories: those with work already arranged, or friends to go to; and those without either friends or work. On arrival, they were met by the Girls' Superintendent of the Immigration Department, and arrangements were made for sending to their destinations those girls who were going to friends or to definite positions. Those requiring accommodation were directed to homes or hostels approved by the Minister of Immigration for this purpose; the YWCA was one such hostel (Ibid).

The Superintendent then separately considered the case of each girl and arranged to place her with an applicant for a Government Assisted girl. In placing these girls, considerable reliance was placed on the statements made by them; however
the Department endeavoured to take steps to get full and independent details of the work the girl was actually engaged in prior to leaving Britain. By 1920, the YWCA had eventually attained quite a standing in the authorities' eyes for:

The Imperial Government and apparently the Dominion authorities in England have agreed to allow girls in filling up official forms, to say, 'Going to the YWCA' instead of stating what definite employment they are going to. (Law, Letter to Editor, Press, 2/3/1920).

Around May 1927, the system of Assisted Immigration was temporarily suspended except in regard to domestic workers and single women, children under the Flock House, Salvation Army, and Church of England schemes, and spouses of immigrants who had arrived previously (New Zealand Yearbook, 1932:90).

Assisted immigration however, did not solve the shortage of domestic workers. As was shown in Chapter Three, the composition of the female workforce had changed significantly so that in relative terms, a shortage of domestic workers had arisen. Although the absolute numbers of females employed in domestic work was always greater than any other category of female employment, the percentage of the female workforce in this occupation fell significantly from 54.6% in 1881, to 24.7% in 1936 (Refer to Table 3, in Chapter Three).

Falling proportions were also evident in the field of textiles, and to a minor degree, in the field of education. Counter growth occurred considerably in the areas of office work, sales assistance, and to a lesser extent in medicine and service. Growth in these latter sectors drew women away from domestic work as a vocation, offering them more
employment opportunities as waitresses, cooks, nurses, teachers, clerks, and typists. For the first time in the history of women's paid employment, alternatives to isolation, long hours of work, unpleasant duties, poor wages, unsolicited sexual advances, and unattractive accommodation, the conditions of most domestic workers, were discovered. Thus considerable expansion of women's work opportunities contributed to the creation of a domestic servant 'shortage'.

In some New Zealand cities, by the 1920s, women were outnumbering men (Olssen, 1980:160-161), therefore it was in the rural areas that the need for domestic workers was felt more acutely (e.g. Timaru, as shall be shown later, was vastly undersupplied).

Finally, the effect of World War One on the rate of immigration cannot be ignored as a contributing factor to the domestic worker 'dilemma'. War has always affected migratory patterns; World War One was no exception. As was the case during the Boer War, numbers of immigrants fell considerably. From 1906-1910, the excess of arrivals over departures was 15,512 for females; in 1911-1915, 17,905; but in 1916-1920, it was only 7,875. The following quinquennium however (1921-1924) showed a dramatic increase in female immigration, the excess of arrivals over departures being 23,256, the highest figure since 1875. (All data from The New Zealand Yearbook, 1930). Comparison of this figure with Figure 1 (Chapter Three) shows that domestic workers showed a slightly
increased representation in the female workforce, perhaps due to increased Assisted Immigration of domestic servants.

The effects of war had a significant effect on migratory patterns, which in turn affected patterns of employment including that of domestic work. It shall be shown below that the 1921-1925 increase mentioned above occurred concurrently with the agreement between the British and New Zealand Governments to supply female (and male) labour to New Zealand at a time when there was great female unemployment existent in Britain.

**Travellers' Aid**

It could be said that the International Exhibition of 1906-07 (staged in Christchurch) was the triggering device which prompted the Christchurch YWCA into aiding immigrants in a formal capacity. In preparation for this event, a sub-committee was set up to advertise the services of YWCA to girls travelling alone and arriving in Christchurch by train and steamer. The YWCA also agreed to act for the Travellers' Aid Society, and in 1908, it started its own service to travellers. Called 'Travellers' Aid', this office continued to serve immigrants from England, Scotland, and Australia. Lists of respectable boarding houses were kept for the Association to which travellers could be sent.

There is no doubt that the YWCA acquired a fair reputation for hosting boarders, for liaising between boarders and boarding establishments, and for arranging accommodation on behalf of employers for employees. The establishment of the Kaiapoi Hostel (1921) is one such example which shall be discussed
below. However, as early as 1907, the YWCA was already performing this latter function.

"Fourteen girls have lately arrived from England to work for a firm of bootmakers in Christchurch, and we were asked at a fortnight's notice, to provide them with cheap board. Suitable lodgings have been found for them in the same house, and the Secretary spent the first week with them, to help their hostess with her arrangements, and now goes daily to lead family prayer." (Annual Report, 1906-1907:5)

These girls were probably Assisted Immigrants and the YWCA was probably contacted via the Immigration Department on their behalf.

It was in 1909 that the YWCA Travellers' Aid office first came into contact with the Canterbury Sheepowners Group, when it was asked to escort and accommodate a group of fifteen women coming to New Zealand under the auspices of the Sheep Farmers' Syndicate, until they were placed in positions in the country, doing domestic work.

In 1913 Travellers' Aid was asked by the Government to help in providing accommodation, which it did in conjunction with the Girls' Friendly Society. The Government paid a small fee to ensure that two beds were reserved on the arrival of each ship. Travellers' Aid continued until 1916, just after the outbreak of the First World War; there is no record of its winding down, nor of the reasons for its cessation.

It is already apparent from the discussion so far and in preceding chapters that the YWCA's services were aimed at a specific social group, namely working class females, on behalf of their middle class employers. In relation to
the housing and placement of domestic workers, a picture emerges of services for working class women provided by middle class organisers as part of a system to provide labour for middle class urban households, factory owners, and propertied farmers. Yet the YWCA claimed that it endeavoured to unite women regardless of their differences. It must be concluded that the YWCA's aims were operationalised only within certain cultural confines. Links between women of all classes were indeed espoused, but this unity was not conceived of as a unity based on economic and social equality between all women, but a unity in the spiritual sense of all belonging to 'family of God, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ'. Social differences were often seen as merely the natural ordering of society, required for its efficient functioning (Refer to Gertrude Kinnaird quote, Chapter One, p9 above). Never was the system of social class differences per se questioned; on the contrary, this was the YWCA's frame of reference when deciding on whom to serve, and how best to serve them. While the middle class organisers can be seen objectively as acting in the interests of their class in assisting in the supply of domestic servants, their subjective perception of this work was altruistic. They did not deliberately act in their own personal interest, but the effects of their actions were such to ensure the continued supply of the domestic help which facilitated their own involvement in voluntary work, as well as meeting needs of other employers of domestic servants.
Government Sponsored Immigration

Around 1923 or 1924, the Government Immigration Department entered into a formal contract with the Dominion Committee of the YWCA whereby twenty four hours of free hospitality would be granted to immigrant domestic workers by the local Association at the port of arrival, or en route to their destination. The Associations were under contract to hold a certain number of beds at call; Christchurch had to reserve ten beds. These beds had to be in the Association building, so when the hostels were full, temporary accommodation had to be provided in the Administrative buildings. Each month the Field Office refunded the expenses of the local Associations on the basis of 6/- per day. Each half year the remainder of the Government grant of £500 per annum was paid out on a pro rata basis to the YWCAs of Auckland and Wellington (the chief ports of arrival). This Government subsidy for immigration work was already being received by the Dominion Committee each year from 1921-1925 inclusive, before the contract had commenced. This type of financial arrangement between the YWCA and the New Zealand Government was retained throughout their co-operation in the Girls' Flock House Scheme (Law,1961:12).

The origins of this contractual agreement with the Government lay in the arrival of two delegates, Misses Girdler and Watkins, for the Society for the Settlement of British Women Overseas (SOSBW). They were travelling throughout New Zealand early in 1920 as envoys of the British Government, sent to confer with the New Zealand Government to investigate conditions regarding the need for women settlers in this
country, and the conditions awaiting them.

The 'need' for women settlers was often expressed in terms of a shortage of domestic servants. It was publically acknowledged that domestic servants were needed in Canterbury (Lyttleton Times, 10/3/1920; Christchurch Press, 10/3/1920), and that there was female unemployment in England (Ibid); therefore it was a logical step to transport surplus English women workers to New Zealand to meet the demand here for domestic servants. It is not clear who was responsible for initiating the idea of English females to work in New Zealand as domestic servants; it may have originated in Britain or in New Zealand as a brain-child of politicians or people of high social influence, themselves probable users of domestic servants. Newspaper accounts of the arrangements give differing impressions as to whence the impetus came. The Lyttleton Times, (10/3/1920) gives the impression that the SOSBW was functioning to alleviate the domestic servant shortage in New Zealand, yet the Christchurch Press (10/3/1920) merely reports that the SOSBW delegates had arrived, viewing the situation from the British perspective, namely that there was an oversupply of female workers in Britain, and these women were wanting to come to New Zealand. Ethel Law, the General Secretary of the YWCA at that time, in a letter to the Editor of the Press (2/3/1920), gives the impression that elements of both existed; furthermore, the fact that a domestic servant shortage existed in New Zealand at the same time as an abundance of female unskilled labour in Britain, was co- incidental. Therefore the respective governments had taken
logical co-operative steps by setting up this exercise.

Prior to the arrival of Misses Girdler and Watkins, a committee of women selected by the 'Imperial Government' was established; this committee was representative of all the chief women's organisations and had amongst its members four YWCA representatives (Christchurch Press, 2/3/1920).

Meanwhile, the New Zealand Field Committee of the YWCA had resolved "that each local Association be asked to set up an Immigration Committee for the purpose of being ready to house and care for possible immigrant girls and to find a representative or representatives in the surrounding towns who would do the same" (Law, 1961:3).

The proposed liaison between the YWCA and the SOSBW was welcomed as a solution to the domestic problem. The Lyttleton Times reported:

"The question of how to solve the domestic problem is a difficult one, and anything in the nature of a solution will be welcomed by hundreds of women in New Zealand".
(10/3/1920).

Concern was expressed that the problem might not be solved. Since Canada, South Africa, and Australia were also in this scheme, it was thought therefore that New Zealand would not receive the inundation of domestic servants deemed so urgently needed (Christchurch Press, 10/3/1920).

What compounded this fear was the fact that the shipping fare to these other countries was cheaper than to New Zealand, and therefore more women were likely to emigrate to those colonies rather than to New Zealand.

How does the YWCA's response to the 'domestic servant dilemma' correspond to its stated goal, 'to meet the changing
needs of women and girls, and to its programmes which are the manifestation of its ideology? In the first place, the YWCA recognised the fact that woman needed employment, and it endeavoured to aid women in this area. The fact that it laid strong emphasis on domestic work once again illustrates how the YWCA operated within 'acceptable' limits. In its defence however, it must be acknowledged that this course of action offered a highly practical solution to the needs of some unemployed women. If women could most easily gain employment in a certain type of work, then this would be the most logical direction in which to encourage them. At a more abstract level, it is clearly evident that the YWCA paid allegiance to God, King, and Country. Its involvement was also seen as a valuable contribution to the building of the Empire. It is important to realise, however, that the response of the YWCA to the problems of women's employment was two-sided: whilst providing work for young women, domestic service also supplied servants to middle class wives.

YWCA involvement in this scheme can be seen as an extension of other aspects of its work, for example, the sewing courses it offered to its members, which provided them with marketable skills. Olssen (1980) remarks that although there was expansion of women's employment opportunities, "...by and large the new forms of work represented expanding occupations that required skills traditionally deemed peculiar to females. Certain domestic skills - needlework, washing, nursing, and personal service - had become sources of capital accumulation" (p165). Thus it can be seen that a strong link existed between the YWCA programme and the demands of the work force.
Prior to the arrival of the SOSBW delegates a fair amount of preliminary correspondence had taken place between the British Overseas Settlement League (of which SOSBW was one aspect) and the New Zealand YWCA. It seems that the YWCA was the key organisation amongst the women's organisations dealing with the SOSBW, for seldom is any other organisation mentioned by the press of the day. The British Overseas Settlement League had contacted the New Zealand YWCA before embarking on its public appeal, and appealed to the YWCA (on the basis of its renowned reputation for housing women) to be responsible for women under this scheme. It was at this point that a committee comprised of various women's organisations was formed in Christchurch; the long term aim was to establish hostel centres in country towns as well as ports.

The British envoys met with the New Zealand Field Committee of the YWCA in March, 1920. The Chairperson, Mrs Kaye, was authorised to write to the Prime Minister (Massey), offering the service of the YWCA on behalf of immigrant girls, and asking whether the Government would be willing to cooperate with that service (Law, 1961:3). Newspaper articles concerning these preliminary organisation meetings give the impression that the New Zealand Government was already involved with the SOSBW delegates (Christchurch Press, 10/3/1920, Lyttleton Times, 10/3/1920, Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925:42). However, it could have been the case that the Government was involved with assisted immigration generally, but not yet specifically with the SOSBW. Alternatively, the Government was possibly already involved and the YWCA was merely assenting to a request by the Government to help
immigrant girls, and sending its formal confirmation after meeting Misses Girdler and Watkins. Either way, many benefits accrued from the YWCA's association with the Government and BOSL. Most significantly, the YWCA gained publicity, and the nature of the publicity (i.e. association with political powers) brought a measure of status and respectability to the organisation. At times it had been mentioned as an aside in the press that the YWCA was a little-known organisation (Scrapbooks, Christchurch YWCA, 1911-1916; 1916-1925); involvement with these groups gave ample opportunity to put this right.

It was explained by Miss Girdler to the Field Committee that girls would sign up before leaving England for social kinds of work and would be assigned to different towns according to the type of work specified. The YWCA would be asked to see to their housing and welfare in the town to which they went. It was suggested by Miss Girdler that some carefully chosen women should come to existing hostels for three months for experience in order to be ready to take charge of hostels as they were opened. The Committee agreed. Miss Girdler also suggested that the Farmers' Union and Employers' Federation be represented on YWCA Immigration Committees (Law, 1961:3).

It was then decided to form a Citizen's Committee to gauge public response to the scheme, and to give the public an opportunity to express how it wished its problem to be solved, whether by the YWCA or some other organisation. One of the Field Committee members felt that the resources of the YWCA should be used. It was thought that no definite resolution on this matter could be made until more was known about the Government's policy, and whether it would be willing to
subsidise the YWCA in order that they might take care of temporary housing of girls in the cities and create the necessary machinery for housing girls in the smaller towns. It was resolved to co-operate with the scheme once the Government had approved it. It was also decided that Miss Girdler and Mrs Kaye should interview the Prime Minister in the event of the Government's agreement to make the YWCA its recognised agent in this matter and to give the Association financial aid. Miss Girdler was asked to arrange through the World YWCA to send six women for three months for this hostel work (Law, 1961:4).

The SOSBW representatives attended a meeting called by the Christchurch YWCA to set up the Christchurch YWCA Employment and Immigration Committee, in March 1920. They met with the Mayoress, representatives from the Girls' Friendly Society, the Sheepowners' Union, the Victoria League (See Appendix Eight) and the YWCA. The visitors explained that, as the YWCA had had experience with housing Service Women during the war, it had been asked to continue this work in peace time; presumably this request came from the British Government. Many ex-Servicewomen were intending to emigrate to the overseas colonies to find work, and the YWCA had been asked to house and place those arriving. A sub-committee was formed with Mrs Bowron presiding. The scheme envisaged the establishment of a number of hostel centres in country towns. This, however, was not one of the results of the plan. Lovell-Smith (1961) suggests a number of reasons for this: New Zealand was a country with a small population; it was recovering from the effects of the war, and the loss of thousands of its young
citizenry; the first need was the housing of its own people (p23).

In May 1920, the Government requested the YWCA to appoint referees in towns where there was no YWCA, the specific duties of such referees to be:

1. To find accommodation for any girls sent by the Government or by the YWCA;
2. To help to find them suitable employment;
3. To keep in friendly touch with them.

Thus the task of the local YWCAs was to act as a distribution centre for the country districts. The press of the day kindly reported that "the YWCA would be giving practical assistance in solving a difficult problem" (Christchurch Press, 10/3/1920).

The girls coming to New Zealand (throughout this period) were required to pass three tests:

1. They were not granted free passages by the Imperial Government unless they had good records in the Services;
2. They had to pass the Dominion Authorities' test in England;
3. They had to be accredited by the YWCA authorities, a colonial-born woman being responsible for their selection.

It is unfortunate that there is no record of the essence of the Dominion Authorities' test. However it can be seen that great lengths were taken to eliminate as far as possible 'undesirable' young women. In addition to these standards, the girls were required to state definitely what work they were prepared to do. Fear was expressed that the girls might immigrate with job-skills not really needed in New Zealand. The Lyttleton Times pacified the public with the following
"Most of the girls waiting for a chance to come to New Zealand are girls who have joined one or other of the Army Service Corps in England, and have had experience in canteen work and cooking. They are not, as many people imagine, munition workers unsuited to the duties required of them". (10/3/1920).

It is evident by now that emigration schemes were not designed around the needs of British women workers, but were designed to supply workers with particular skills to employers.

It is interesting to note that, despite Christchurch's involvement in the establishment of the SOSBW venture, not one mention of this is made in its Annual Reports. From 1925 onwards there were vague allusions to the presence of overseas transients utilising the hostels; only in 1929 is there a specific mention that these transients might be linked into this venture.

"There have been 722 arrivals, including ...overseas girls brought to New Zealand by the Immigration Department". (Annual Report, 1929-1930:3).

The only other hint that Christchurch was involved was its response to the National YWCA's request for local Associations to establish immigration Departments. The Christchurch YWCA Employment and Immigration Committee was:

"...set up to deal with the problems which will arise on the arrival of immigrant girls in large numbers. So far the machinery of organisation has had no work to do. There have been very few girl immigrants, and no guarantees of assistance from the Government".


Obviously in 1920 the scheme was still in its infancy; female immigrant numbers were to rise substantially a few years later, and the YWCA had not yet acquired the prominent
reputation to which it was to rise in future years.

**Plans For A Hostel In Timaru**

The Christchurch YWCA visited Timaru in March, 1920, with the idea of creating an interest there in the scheme, believing that South Canterbury, the centre of a rich agricultural district, would be interested in the coming of potential workers. A public meeting had been called by the Mayor of Timaru to discuss ways and means of establishing a hostel in Timaru; Misses Girdler and Watkins and some representatives of the YWCA had gone to Timaru and shared information about the pragmatics of running hostels. Such aspects as finance, minimum numbers to sustain financial viability, committees, and clientele were alluded to; in addition it was advised that a male advisory committee be set up:

"...the women's committee was not much use without the assistance of the men..."

(Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925:42).

The Christchurch YWCA had not actually been asked to start a hostel in Timaru, but had made it known that it would assist the citizens of Timaru if that was what was desired. Timaru responded by acknowledging their need for a hostel. Mr Scott of the Employers' Association had said: "It was certain that 100 domestic workers could be placed in South Canterbury alone, and a large number would be placed in shops

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1. One newspaper reported that 1000 domestic workers could be placed, it is not certain which figure is the correct one, but the fact is a chronic shortage was perceived.
and factories in Timaru". (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925:42). As a result of the meeting, a committee was set up, comprised of three members of the Employers' Association, three from the Farmers' Union, three from the Chamber of Commerce, and several prominent Timaru women. For reasons unknown, the project was never realised; it was some seven years before a full YWCA was established there.

The Kaiapoi Venture

Meanwhile the Directors of the Woollen Milling Company in Kaiapoi had decided to alleviate their own particular problems of housing their workers brought over from England. Initially they had considered housing both men and women, but finding this impracticable, had decided to first of all solve the problem of housing women workers, since there was no suitable accommodation available in Kaiapoi for them (Christchurch Press, 23/8/1921). The Directors had bought and furnished a large house in Kaiapoi acquired from the estate of the late Mr H.G. Blackwell, one of the founders of the Woollen Mills. However it was decided that they did not have sufficient expertise to administer and run the hostel, so they approached the YWCA to do so according to its own methods. The hostel housed twenty girls, and had extensive grounds with tennis courts; it was intended to serve only women who worked at the mills, but later on, other women were able to use it as well. Some women used it as a convalescing centre, and during summer, groups of women spent weekend holidays there (Annual Report, 1922:21).

Two important implications arise from the fact that it was
decided to cater for the female workers before the male. Firstly, once again women were viewed as relatively helpless, requiring protection and care. The hostel ensured a controlled environment guaranteed to keep the young women protected and out of trouble (promiscuity and possible pregnancy) and thus fit for work. Women were also less likely to change jobs and move away from the town if they could be provided with pleasant, safe accommodation.

By the time the Kaiapoi Hostel opened in September, 1921, the YWCA was well-known both for its role with the Government and the SOSBW in this Immigration scheme and for its general service in regard to accommodating young women. It is probable that their reputation prompted the directors of the Kaiapoi Woollen Mills to approach the YWCA to administer their hostel for young women brought from Ayrshire and Yorkshire to work in the mill.

It was only a couple of years later however, before the momentum gained thus far had begun to wane:

"Except to camps and at the time of the floods the Hostel has not been full". (Annual Report, 1923:7).

It was observed that most women from England left Kaiapoi for places where a better train service could transport them around more, and could take them closer to the metropolitan life to which they had been accustomed in England. The downturn

1. There had been severe flooding in Kaiapoi and the hostel had been used as a refugee centre.
was further accelerated by the lack of suitable YWCA staff to carry on the work there; as a result, classes and clubs suffered.

By the end of 1924, the hostel was closed down, "...owing to the fact that there were no more mill-workers expected from England, and the lack of a suitable YWCA Secretary to undertake club work in the community" (Annual Report, 1925:6).

The Kaiapoi/YWCA co-operation was hailed as a splendid example of the recognition of the importance of fostering good relationships between employers and employees. The employers were lauded as considerate, generous, and kind-hearted; in the more practical vein, it was also recognised that a happy worker is more productive:

"Employers with broad sympathies are now turning with more or less generous purpose to the question of industrial betterment, and are beginning to realise the value of a happy environment in making for industrial progress and efficiency". (Sun, 5/9/1923).

The co-operative venture was also an example of the way in which the YWCA accepted and acted within the class relations of its day. Effectively the YWCA provided discipline, 'distraction', and entertainment for women workers on behalf of employers who hoped as a result to have a more contented and stable workforce.

Of course the YWCA was quick to act upon an opportunity to extend its own influence, but once again, this activity was offered in the context of values of which it approved. In this case, the YWCA was accepting of authority of employers over employees; it promoted capitalism via the sanctioning of increased productivity in industry (which according to Marx is achieved via increased exploitation of labour); and it interpreted any 'progressive' action as good for the Empire:
"Mrs Bowron [President] paid an eloquent tribute to the humanitarian ideals which actuated the directorate of the Company. The girls whose home the building would be would make better citizens and more useful workers as a result of the personal interest shown in them by the Company... The personal note struck would make for closer co-operation and better feeling between employers and workers, which was true Empire building". (Sun, 5/9/1921). (Emphasis mine).

Girls' Flock House

The Girls' Flock House Scheme was an aspect of YWCA work which stemmed from almost two decades of hostel experience, liaison with other voluntary associations, liaison with both the New Zealand and British Governments, and most significantly, the development of its many years experience with immigrants and travellers. It was in the context of Government Assisted Immigration that the Flock Houses originated.

The activities of the British Overseas Settlement League in New Zealand were later linked up with the Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of indebtedness to British Seamen's Fund, by whom the Flock House was established. It is not explicit why this link was made, but certainly a liaison between the YWCA and the Sheepowners' Union had been established at the public meeting in Christchurch in March 1920. As was the case with the SOSBW, the YWCA was once more approached for assistance, this time by representatives of the Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Indebtedness to British Seamen's Fund, the Hon. Edward Newman, and Mr T.R. Lees. They made the following proposal to the YWCA Dominion Committee in September 1925:

1. The New Zealand Field Committee changed its name to the 'YWCA Dominion Committee' in 1924.
"That in addition to bringing to New Zealand the sons of British Seamen of the Naval and Mercantile Marine who had been killed or disabled in the war, the Trust was now prepared to bring out to New Zealand the daughters of such British Seamen, who had been killed or disabled in the war, many of these girls being sisters of boys who were already at Boys' Flock Houses".
(Law, 1961:30).

As this quote indicates, a Boys' Flock House was already in existence. Girls were now brought out to help solve the problem New Zealand was feeling in terms of a shortage of domestic workers. The young boys and girls were to be trained in domestic and farm work. Girls would learn dairying, domestic work, cooking, laundry, sewing, also bee-keeping, poultry work, orchard work, gardening, and related tasks. This gave them preparation for paid domestic work and eventually married life (Law, 1961:31).

The funds of the Sheepowners' Trust had been contributed to by the Sheepowners of New Zealand from the profits earned by New Zealand wool as a result of war prices. The New Zealand Government fully approved and supported the scheme for the Boys' Flock House and the scheme for the Girls' Flock House. The fund was intended to be used in the acquisition of a suitable hostel and small farm property adjacent to Palmerston North, and was used to pay all outgoing expenses including the wages of staff, maintenance, girls' pocket money, and travelling and out-of-pocket expenses of the YWCA staff who were running the hostel. The selection of the girls was to be made by the London Advisory Committee of the Sheepowners' Fund, in conjunction with the British YWCA. It was stipulated that girls must be those who came within the provisions of the Trust. They had to be:
1. Daughters of British Seamen;
2. Of excellent moral character;
3. Strong and healthy and keen for country life;
4. Between the ages of 15 and 18 years.
(Law, 1961:30).

These criteria reflect the general qualities seen as appropriate and admirable in young women, and with the required ages, a portrait of an ideal (rural) wife emerges. Again it must be recognised that the fact that girls and boys were to be trained in domestic and farm work, and enabled to do so, suggests that this scheme was not just one to assist the children of seamen, but a means of improving the supply of domestic and farm labour.

The YWCA felt it would be better for the Trust to assume the legal guardianship of the girls, just as they were legally responsible for the boys, rather that the YWCA become legally responsible (Law, 1961:30). The fact that legal guardianship was even considered to be out of the hands of the Trust leads one to suspect the motives of the Trust. Was it trying to assume as little responsibility as possible in its bid to import this (cheap) labour, relying on the YWCA to assume as much responsibility as possible for the welfare of these young people?

It was decided that the YWCA was to engage and have full control of female staff, the Trustees controlling the management of the farm. The YWCA was to have complete responsibility for the girls from the time of selection in England, during shipment, at the hostel, and while in employment. The Trustees were to have the right to approve the place of employment of the girls.

It cannot be naively assumed that the YWCA's services
were being utilised purely on the grounds of their hostelling expertise. It appears that the YWCA was also to be used as a means of maintaining the moral character of the girls. Hostel life, for example, consisted not only of shelter and food, but also of religious observances each day, and Sunday fellowship at nearby churches (Information from personal interview with Betty McLeod). Rules of conduct were laid out to ensure a 'trouble-free' lifestyle. YWCA methods of hostelling, and its activities relating to employment serve as an example of the way women's organisations can be used to perpetuate expectations of women which may not in fact always be in the interests of women.

The approximate term of training at the hostel was to be between six months and a year. After being placed in employment at current rates of wages, a proportion of the wages were to be paid into a savings account held in trust by the Trustees on behalf of each girl, in the same way a proportion of savings was held on behalf of each boy. At the conclusion of the term of apprenticeship, or when a girl was on the point of marriage, the savings were subsidised by the Fund to provide a "very useful nestegg" (Law, 1961:31).

This then was the essence of the discussion between the Sheepowners and the YWCA Dominion Committee, September, 1925, and the outcome. It was resolved that "in the view of such an opportunity of service to the Empire, and in gratitude to those who have given of their lives for our safety, we feel privileged to undertake the work for which the Trustees have asked our co-operation" (Law, 1961:31).

The hostel established was equipped to house fifteen to twenty girls. The intention was that Flock House should be the New Zealand home of these young girls, even when they left to go to their employment. One hundred and twenty eight British girls passed through the Girls' Flock House in Palmerston North before it ceased to operate in 1931.

Thus the Sheepowners and the YWCA may have presented the Flock House Scheme as a response to the needs of the daughters of British Seamen, but they in fact served the interests also of the YWCA and farmers, by facilitating the supply of domestic workers who were, through the scheme, taught skills which were needed by employers. As immigrants, the girls would accept the few years conditions of employment which an increasing percentage of young New Zealanders found unacceptable.

Conclusion

Beginning with its involvement in the Travellers' Aid service, the Christchurch YWCA developed the capability of serving immigrants in a new way, by providing them with accommodation, and job training. Other groups involved in immigration too began to use the services of the YWCA, and thus a symbiotic relationship developed between the YWCA and propertied farmers; the YWCA and immigrant domestic workers; the YWCA and factory owners and workers; the YWCA and the State, for example.
Some of these groups tended to be sufficiently powerful to attain the ends desired. The Kaiapoi manufacturers were also extremely confident that the first group they chose to administer their hostel, would do so. Not only does this reflect the characteristic of voluntary associations to be willing to 'do good', but also shows how they are, to some degree, at the mercy of more powerful groups to give them opportunities they need to attain some of their goals.

Did involvement with these immigration and accommodation schemes have any impact on the YWCA? Did the outcome enhance the YWCA's standing in the community, or contribute to its legitimacy? Certainly isolated incidents of change can be pinpointed. For example, the YWCA did not want to establish a YWCA in Kaiapoi despite the Field Committee's desire otherwise; yet it compromised and ended up running a YWCA programme on a part-time basis. New staff were needed, new committees formed, new programmes organised. The Girls' Flock House scheme meant that new workers had to be trained to administer the hostel. Contacts were made with non-New Zealanders in the efforts of arranging the SOSBW's tour, and also for arranging hostel administrators via the World's YWCA. Most significantly the YWCA experienced changed relationships with its own New Zealand Government and with overseas officials. It had become a voluntary organisation of significant standing in its liaisonary role to help "solve" the domestic servant dilemma. Its capability to undertake such ventures in turn could be seen to be usable by other importers of immigrant workers for industry rather than domestic employment (Kaiapoi and Timaru).
Generally, it can be seen that the original function of the YWCA was hostelling, which brought it into contact with immigrants, service personnel, factory workers, and associated employees. In the hostel environment, the attention of the girls was confined to the immediate surroundings, and the aims of the YWCA (particularly the religious aims) could be communicated more effectively and efficiently.

How did a Christian organisation directed at serving all women, come to serve as an employment, discipline, and training agency for capitalist, middle class employers? In the first place, the YWCA was committed to helping young women find employment, and the best opportunity for employment at that time for immigrant women lay in the area of domestic service.

The YWCA had gradually established its reputation as an employment agency and a hostelling service, and so was ideally placed to participate in immigration schemes which combined these services and provided young girls with the necessary non-denominational moral guidance. Those running the YWCA justified involvement in these schemes by referring to the problems young women encountered finding safe, secure accommodation:

It is a recognised fact that in the majority of boarding homes the girl boarder is not welcomed. She needs too much attention (Pamphlet: "The Essential Needs of our Girls", c.1917).

This quote illustrates well the notion that women needed protection and care, and were dependent on someone else to provide it.

The Travellers' Aid service, the liaison with the Society
for the Settlement of British Women Overseas, the Kaiapoi Hostel, and the Girls' Flock House Scheme, are all clear examples of the role the YWCA played at this time. That is, it was an organisation essentially committed to the supervision and organisation of working class girls, with a welfare orientation, providing security, protection, and guidance, a substitute parental role. Revealed then is the YWCA's conception of its service to women. Women were to be given every opportunity to realise their potential, but this was to be within a clearly demarcated cultural boundary, supportive of the status quo.

THE GIRL CITIZEN'S MOVEMENT.

The Girl Citizen's Movement could be considered the pinnacle of girls' work, directed at forming their character in ways conducive to Christianity, patriotism, and domesticity. The following discussion will examine the period prior to the foundation of the Girl Citizen's Movement, the way the YWCA expressed its interest in work with young girls, and the origins and development of the Girl Citizen's Movement.

The emphasis of this section of the chapter is on the ideas and values embodied in the movement, and how these were related to the spheres of family, church, work and education. The way in which the Girl Citizen's Movement articulated and stressed uniquely female qualities will be illustrated. Finally, this discussion attempts to show the relationship between the Girl Citizen's Movement and the ideas underpinning British Imperialism, and the way the movement attempted to carry out, on a small scale, Imperialist goals, which incorporated all Britain's colonies and former colonies.
Up until this point, the emphasis has been on how the YWCA attempted to serve young women in the community; it was usually the case that these women were approaching or had already reached a certain independence from their families, particularly financial independence. The programmes mentioned in Chapter Five, and the work schemes and related hostelling experiences described in the first part of this chapter tended to focus on the late-adolescent girl or young women actively engaged in employment. In the early 1920s it was recognised that a younger age group, although included in YWCA activities, was not being catered for specifically, and attempts were made to incorporate adolescent girls into a programme designed around their age group; this was the case not only in New Zealand but worldwide. Apart from recognising the fact that the adolescent age group was often overlooked in terms of providing social clubs and educational classes, it was believed that this age group responded well to 'character' training, and that there was much potential to be developed here regarding leadership skills in the community, particularly in the context of service to women's voluntary associations. This group (12-18 years) was also considered ready to accept responsibility - or at least to be initiated into accepting more responsibility - for augmenting and implementing programmes in the YWCA, and for service to the community.

The conclusion concerning the facile conditioning of the adolescent character was based largely on the YWCAs study of 'girl psychology', possibly Freudian in orientation:
The young girl, sunk deep in her own feelings, in her Ego, is led on to devote herself to life in all its forms; because she feels in nature the same secret urge, she feels herself one with it; since other girls have the same feelings, she is in fellowship with them, and is ready to devote herself to them also..... Here then, she finds God and Christ: in her own inner life, in nature, and in humanity. (Unity in Diversity :107).

The point of departure for younger girls' work is not actually delineated; one must assume that the content of the younger girls' YWCA experience was essentially along the same lines as that of the older girls'. This would revolve around the importance of the four fold development of the individual girl, with the overarching aim of preparing the girl for her ultimate destiny, the domestic arena; enveloping these would be a covering of Christian virtue. The differences between Junior and Senior Work would probably lie along the lines of more simplified tasks, with emphasis on personal care and hygiene, and basic domestic knowledge for younger girls. That is, the programme would be pitched more at the personal level of experience, to be expanded later on in the YWCA Senior Work, to embrace service to the wider community. Indeed, evidence at hand testifies to this. Logbooks of some of the young girls' clubs record the contents of their meetings; repeatedly, girls endeavoured to attain excellence in the performance of domestic skills, or the retention of domestic knowledge. Such accomplishments as knowing the uses of stale bread, how to make three kinds of cake, or to have the windows open for two months (Refer to Chapter Three, p 98) were made by the young girls.

It was in 1922, at St. Wolfgang, Austria, that the YWCA as an international body paid special attention to
the adolescent girl, for previously its focus had been on young women, or young girls:

We believe that the adolescent girl has an indispensable contribution to make to the Association through her vision, enthusiasm, and youth, through her demand for a joyous and living Christianity and for an unyielding standard of sincerity, her open-mindedness, her readiness in applying principles, her potential leadership, and her democratic spirit.

(Unity in Diversity: 97)

Note the positive, almost optimistic way in which the YWCA viewed the young girl. Although the YWCA would probably claim it focused on the potential of young girls' character, there emerge nevertheless elements of naive idealism; at the heart of every girl lay these virtues and it was the task of the YWCA to help realise them. It is almost as if a scientific formula could describe its reasoning: take one girl with hidden virtues, add the YWCA programme, and the model young girl emerges, virtues in full bloom. The YWCA seemed to assume that, given the right teachings, the young girl would emerge with all these virtuous qualities. Some general standards of Girls' Work were also laid down at the ST. Wolfgang conference:

The objective of the Girls' Work Programme of the YWCA should be to strengthen the life of the adolescent, and within a Christian atmosphere to afford her:

1. A preparation for life which shall emphasise the essential oneness of body, mind, and spirit, and give opportunity for its expression in her home relationships, community service, and church life.

2. Outlet for the group instinct, the spirit of play, the creative impulse, and leadership.

3. Activities which teach the joy of labour and its essential dignity.

4. Nurture of her religious consciousness, and help in realising the claims of Jesus Christ and in the shaping of her life's purpose.
5. Guidance towards ideals of fellowship between nations and of world peace, for the extension of the Kingdom of God.

(Unity in Diversity, :99)

These recommendations illustrate the goals and ideals fostered by the World's YWCA and designed as guidelines for each nation. Christian principles of service, love, social co-operation, and the feminine spheres of home, Church and community are clearly at the forefront of YWCA policy.

Reference to the 'body, mind, and spirit' shows the belief sustained by the YWCA in the essential harmony of all facets of the character, a belief originating from Christian theology. The second standard seems to be emphasising the notion of the 'well-rounded' character, whilst the third is distinctly derived from the Protestant Work Ethic, adhered to widely at this period in history. Of the final two standards, the fifth illustrates the current of evangelical revivalism with which the YWCA flowed, unabashedly presenting an overtly religious programme. If this were the international platform on Girls' Work, then it must be concluded that international relations amongst women were geared for these distinctly feminine spheres - home, Church, community; politics and economics remained the preserve of men.

Various countries established unique programmes designed to cater for the younger girl. For example, the Girl Guide Movement (See Appendix Nine), although created by Sir Robert Baden-Powell, was introduced into many countries via the YWCA; in some countries the YWCA companies of Guides formed a special section of the national movement as belonging to a 'kindred society'; in others they were an independent
body linked in some cases with other Guide organisations of the country by a federating committee. By 1925 YWCA Guides were organised in Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, India, Jamaica, Malaya, Norway, Palestine, South Africa, Sweden, and Syria (See Appendix Nine).

The Girl Reserves, found in fewer countries than the Guides, originated in 1918 as a means of co-ordinating YWCA work in the United States. This movement emphasised girl initiative and adult guidance, "because it believes that the object of all its work is to build character, not conduct" (Unity in Diversity: 101). The Girl Reserves spread from the United States to Japan, Korea, Belgium, Portugal, Roumania, Estonia, Latvia, South America, Turkey and Syria. In each country, aspects of the movement, as with the Guides, were changed to be appropriate for local needs. The Girl Reserves and Guides are only two examples of the efforts of the YWCA in many countries to provide for its younger clientele. It was in this context that the Australasian Girl Citizen Movement was created; this was Australia's and New Zealand's contribution to young girls' work, laying special emphasis on civic privileges and responsibilities. It originated at a time when New Zealand was guided by imperial ideology, which "at its liberal best contained a belief in the co-operation of nations and in the settlement of international differences by agreement" (Malone, 1973:23).

Possibly because the adolescent girl was more impress-
ionable than her older sister, the YWCA took its responsibility toward her very seriously. No time, money, or effort was considered too great when it came to training leaders for work with young girls; and the standards set were high:

Leaders must have creative imagination balanced by sound psychological knowledge, and above all, a love for girls and a belief in their infinite possibilities. They must be convinced that practical efficiency and physical fitness must be accompanied by due recognition of the spiritual values of life if the fullest development of character is to be attained, and that means to an increasing knowledge of God, through Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, must always find a place in our special programmes for girls' work. (Unity in Diversity; 105).

Within the Girl Citizen's Movement, which fostered leadership skills in young women, leadership training camps were a regular occurrence. Instruction in leadership was admirably specific to the task in hand. For example, 'effective storytelling' was one topic that received close attention; since it was recognised that young children like to hear stories, effort was made to ensure this was done effectively.

Origins of the Girl Citizen's Movement

The Girl Citizen's Movement was essentially the result of an organising strategy designed to replace the Hearth Fire Movement and Round Table Clubs of the YWCA in New Zealand, and to co-ordinate Girl's Work nationally. The Hearth Fire Girls were unique to Christchurch and Dunedin, whilst Round Table Clubs existed in Wellington and Auckland. The Hearth Fire Girl's Club was a modification of the Hearth Fire Association in the United States, and was an organisation for girls 12-18
years old. It existed for the purposes of Helpfulness, Home-making, Health, and Happiness, and was introduced into the Christchurch YWCA in 1912. Girls worked in groups of twelve with the Guardian of the Fire (a mature woman) as leader. A chief Guardian was the head of the organisation (it was likely that the General Secretary acted as Chief Guardian) and she, with the Guardians formed the Council. Groups met weekly with a monthly Council Meeting, when new members were sworn in (Appendix Ten).

Within the Hearth Fire Club there were different divisions which required a set of specific tasks to be performed; when a girl could do these thoroughly, she would receive an 'honour'. Divisions included the Home, Out of Doors, Day's Work, for example. A uniform belonging to the movement - a Dutch cap, frilled apron, and fichu - was worn at ceremonies, Council Meetings, camps, etc. Often the Guardian would address the girls and encourage discussion on such subjects as hygiene, care and management of babies, conduct of meetings, household work, bible studies, knowledge of the city, basket-making, etc. As was mentioned above, it appears that the content of the Junior Girls' programme was fairly similar to the Senior Girls'.

The Hearth Fire Girls' Clubs were a very successful venture for the YWCA, and were received enthusiastically by the younger girls who were involved. Attempts were made in ensuing years to re-organise the administration of all girls' work, with the formation of a Girls' Department in 1916, as part of the Christchurch Association's overall reorganisation of its activities at that time (See Chapter Four). However,
in 1923, a national reorganisation occurred in the area of Girls' Work with the introduction of the Girl Citizen's Movement by Miss Marjorie Black, who had become the Girls' Department Secretary for the YWCA of Australia and New Zealand, a national travelling post. The GCM had already been in existence for three years in Australia and had been originated by Miss Black there. The clubs for younger girls were reorganised into sections of the Girl Citizen's Movement.

Briefly, the structure of the Girl Citizen's Movement consisted of a hierarchically organised set of committees operating from a local to a national level. At each local YWCA a number of 'Sections' comprised the local 'Community' of Girl Citizens. The Sections were governed by a 'Citizen's Council', comprised of representatives from all Sections. Overseeing the Citizen's Council was a Governing Body of women in the town who acted as advisors to the Council. (For a more detailed description, see Appendix One). Each month a Community Gathering would be held at which new Citizens were enrolled, and various business was discussed. At each Community Gathering one Section was responsible for entertainment. A typical programme might consist of half an hour of organised games, folk dancing, or physical exercises, fifteen minutes of business, presided over by a member of the Section. In this meeting the programme was discussed, plans were made, and finances considered. Next there might be half an hour of handiwork or instruction (raffia work, leather work, fancy work, first aid, singing, etc.), and finally fifteen minutes for discussion of character standards, or a short religious devotional period. The programme varied according to the age, development needs, and tastes of the girls.
Once a year, the Christchurch Girl Citizens held competitions amongst all the Sections, competing for the Girl Citizen Silver Cup. Judges were from the Christchurch community, and the prizes were given out by the mayor. Not only was there competition in sports events, (rowling, swimming, basketball, volleyball, etc.), but also in dramatising bible stories, performing action songs, folk dances, and recitation. There was also an annual conference of New Zealand Girl Citizens to which each Community sent delegates; here national feedback and planning of activities took place. Besides these gatherings, many camps were held, and leadership training, as was mentioned above, figured prominently in the running of the Girl Citizen's Movement.

The object of the Girl Citizen's Movement was to give girls, through normal natural activities, the habits, insights, and ideals which would make them responsible women capable and ready to help build up the best type of New Zealand citizen.

Guidelines to behaviour were set out as the 'Girl Citizen's Code', "to which Girl Citizens strive to be loyal that through Beauty and Truth they may help to build the spirit of their country" (Girl Citizen's Handbook:16). The Code consisted of eight Civic Laws:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Honour</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-control</td>
<td>Co-operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-respect</td>
<td>Courage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Duty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Girl Citizen's Handbook:16).

All of the laws were to be fulfilled in Love; Christ was held to be the True Citizen, one who manifested the characteristics of the Civic Code.

The following discussion identifies and explores
the focus of the Girl Citizen's Movement on the family, the church, the workplace, and educational experience. It also looks at some of the values propounded by the Girl Citizen's Movement. These range from views on relationships with the other sex, to patriotism and the essential qualities of the ideally feminine woman.

Focus on the Family Sphere

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the family was deemed to be the main stabilising force in society, and its status as such was jealously guarded by moralists, Church leaders, politicians, and most significantly, by women themselves. Seen as an inevitable experience for women, marriage and parenthood were increasingly promoted as a vocation of national import, and women were viewed as 'race producers' by the medical profession, political arena, and their own sex (Tennant, 1977:144). Because of its social function, activities within the household and marital relationship received intense scrutiny; in particular the roles of housewife and mother were elevated to an almost sacred status, and domestic duties were continually refined to reflect this importance.

Since this was the age of scientific discovery, a scientific approach to many areas of society emerged and it is not surprising, therefore that parenthood was one area to receive the hallowed attention of scientific understanding and application, tempered with moral vision. The Girl Citizens, although not overtly pushed into marriage and
motherhood, nevertheless were steered in this direction (Girl Citizen's Handbook:122): furthermore, encouragement took on a noticeably 'scientific' tone, as girls received instruction in childcare and housework in progressive stages. 'Care and Management of a Baby', for example, might be approached in the following order, for such was the importance placed on organisation and efficiency:

- (importance and significance of child care (health, survival, fitness of the race, etc.)
- baby routine
- food
- clothing
- role of Plunket
- values to be taught the child

Plunket Nurse Mackie, for example, approached this topic in this way, in her demonstration on the "proper way to bathe and dress an infant", and her "sound advice as to the right food for children of different ages" (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925:41).

It has already been shown how Plunket propounded a scientific approach to motherhood (Sun, 7/10/1916; 15/2/1912; see page 97 above, Chapter Three): this was fully endorsed by the YWCA, and the Girl Citizen's Movement was one avenue through which Plunket values were transmitted. On several occasions the girls were addressed by Plunket Nurses, and sometimes by Sir Truby King himself. In a lecture by Dr Truby King to YWCA members, the importance of regular and clean habits, plus the efficient use of time, was propounded as being a significant investment for later adult life, given that "the probable lot of most [women] would be that of wives and mothers" (Christchurch Press, 16/6/1922). King covered topics ranging from diet (non-stimulant, raw foods, whole foods), to the "evil results of faulty high-heeled boots" (Ibid).
Domestic skills received a more prominent place than parenthood in the programme of the Girl Citizen's however. It must be remembered that these girls were between twelve and eighteen years old; parenthood was not necessarily imminent, but the performance of domestic tasks probably was. Besides, these skills were easily practised in the home and did not require the mature responsibility that baby-handling entailed. Examples of specific teachings will reveal themselves throughout the remainder of this chapter. More significant is the rationale for the inculcation of domesticity. It was assumed that the education of girls in housewifery could provide a simple and economic solution to wide-ranging problems in society, such as wife-desertion, poverty, child neglect, and juvenile delinquency, by making the wholesome charms of the home more compelling than the attractions of the public bar or urban street (Tennant, 1977:146). Women of the Government's Labour Department thought that the prevalence of wife desertion was the consequence of "too many New Zealand wives...approaching their household tasks with considerably less than the maxim of devotion and efficiency" (Tennant, 1977:146). Mrs Helen Stavely, in her 1899 report wrote:

I fear that they themselves [deserted wives] are often to blame for such a state of things by their want of knowledge in making a comfortable home.... The husbands get into the habit of looking for comfort outside their own home, and eventually drift away, no-one knows where.


A pleasant home environment was often seen as sufficient
to ward off most social ills, and it was largely the woman's responsibility to facilitate this process.

Although the YWCA tended to steer girls towards domesticity, it did see alternatives to marriage as viable, and certainly encouraged girls to fill their single years with worthwhile employment. A statement from the Otago Daily Times at the turn of the century, could equally well have emanated from the YWCA:

...a girl would be shortsighted if she regarded marriage as her only possible vocation, and parents had a responsibility to ensure that their daughters did not through their own incapacities become a burden on the State. (20/5/1909).

Hence the YWCA emphasised other vocations besides domesticity through its educational programmes, though these were along typically feminine lines, such as typing, sales assistance, bookkeeping, clerical work. More significantly, however, it revered education as the tool of character training, and this shall be discussed later.

The Sphere of the Church

Inevitably, the Girl Citizen's Movement embraced the ethos of Christianity; it did so in a variety of ways, depending on what spheres of life and modes of behaviour were being discussed in club time. Usually it endeavoured to inject some point of Christian relevance into the experiences of the young girls. Despite the pervasive nature of the religious frame-of-reference, some specific points can be made regarding the Church and notions of good and evil. Professor Shelley, lecturing the directors of the YWCA, summarised an opinion most fashionable to this era,
when he said that "...the forces of the future are in the hands of women; ...religion is as definitely the sphere of women as politics is the sphere of men; and... the relation of religion to politics expresses the relationship of woman to man" (Scrapbook, Christchurch YWCA, 1916-1925:69).

Doubtless, Professor Shelley was not referring to women as religious leaders; most probably he, and others like him, meant women were the most significant supporters of religious institution, and were most suited to practising its edicts. The fact that this was not overtly stated illustrates inherent assumptions about women as followers rather than leaders. Generally the YWCA endorsed these kinds of beliefs, except in the field of morality, where women emerged clearly as social leaders, typified by organisations such as the YWCA and the WCTU for example.

It is interesting to note that the woman chosen to illustrate the concept of 'Truth' in the Girl Citizen's Handbook was one who indeed exemplified this concept, but who posed a contradiction in terms of the expectations imposed on women, since she was a preacher. Now it was by no means uncommon for women to preach to their own sex, but this woman, Maude Royden, was a preacher at a large city Church in London. Apparently a large proportion of her hearers were city working girls who found in her, "a sympathetic courageous teacher and friend; to many she stands as the embodiment of all that is truest in life" (Girl Citizen's Handbook: 65-66). Some of the beliefs Royden held echoed those of the YWCA; among them was identified the need for the leadership of women in all phases of life.
It was imperative that women aspiring to such positions should 'seek the things that are true and pure'.

It is true that the writings of the Girl Citizen's Movement encouraged leadership, but Girl Citizen activities did not reflect this, apart from equipping women to be more effective members of voluntary associations. Leadership skills taught inclined towards chairing meetings, drawing up agendas, putting and moving motions, for example, facets of committee work pertaining to the operations of a voluntary association.

Besides religious 'leadership', girls were taught the virtue of 'Duty', which was pitched at a spiritual level, challenging the conscience. 'Duty', in its broad sense, essentially required choosing the 'right' from 'wrong'. Whenever tension arose between doing 'right' or 'wrong'...

...it helps us to remember that the desires of the self which has grown through reaching toward the ideal, though they conflict with those of the changing superficial part of us, are more truly the things we want, and we will not do ourselves the injustice of identifying ourself with our wayward impulses instead of our real desires. We are not happy when we refuse to do our duty, because though a small part of us may be satisfied, the real self truly wants to do what it knows is right. (Girl Citizen's Handbook: 121) (emphasis added).

Again contradictions in the YWCA's philosophy can be identified. It will be now be clear that the YWCA was attempting to mould the character of young girls along particular lines, and this is did with passion. Much time and effort was invested into the task of ensuring that young girls would put aside their 'wayward impulses' forever. Yet
at the same time, coming through was the strong conviction that girls were basically good - their 'real desires', 'real self' were extremely pure and virtuous; it was up to the YWCA to preserve this domain of womanhood, or to help manifest it if it were latent.

If the feminine character was already devout, what need was there for instruction of this kind? One can only presume that the YWCA played the role of God's advocate, attempting to intercede for the young naive girl, protecting her from the evil influences of Satan. This is in line with Christian doctrine.

The Experience of Work

The third sphere of focus is that of the workforce, a public arena. The first point to consider when looking at employment in relation to young women of this era is the rationale for their working, since some single girls were fortunate enough to be able to choose whether or not to work; this practice is much less common today. It was recognised that a number of factors could influence a girl in her choice of whether or not to enter paid work, the most common one being economic; secondly, it occupied one's time, and in the third place, it afforded the opportunity to mix with others (Girl Citizen's Handbook: 145). However these are merely the pragmatic aspects; the Girl Citizen's Movement recognised them, but went a step further and looked at them from a metaphysical aspect:

All Girl Citizens want to help build the City Beautiful.

(Girl Citizen's Handbook: 144).
That is, they were contributing at an individual level to the building of the Kingdom of Heaven of earth, helping the 'Great Architect' to carry out his plan. Clearly the Girl Citizen's Movement adhered to the Protestant Work Ethic. Work was seen as a worthy activity in itself, and idleness was likely to be utilised by Satan for wrongdoing. Although people chose their vocation for a variety of reasons (e.g. money, social attractions, opportunities for meeting the other sex, filling in time before marriage, survival, helping out family finances) some reasons were very definitely adjudged worthier than others (Girl Citizen's Handbook:145). Wisdom and sincerity of choice were highly valued, girls were encouraged to choose in relation to their personality, their interests, and their abilities, and to do their 'Best Always' (Girl Citizen's Handbook:123).

It was shown in Chapter Three how public roles for women were expanding in the early twentieth century, and how it had become increasingly acceptable to be away from the family home in order to work. The YWCA recognised that the working woman was not a transitory phenomenon and rallied to help integrate women into the workforce. The Girl Citizen's Movement played its part along these lines with the younger girl. It even went so far as to use itself as an example of the wisdom of investment introducing the concept in this way:

The Girl Citizen's Movement is something like a BANK in which you invest your CAPITAL which includes your leisure time, your capacity for friendship, your ability to follow a course, your power to do a variety of things. It, if wisely invested, will make a good return of INTEREST.

(Girl Citizen's Handbook:37)
Investments of time and energy were seen as eventually bringing returns.

Although women were encouraged into the workforce, and extolled to undertake positions of leadership and responsibility, at a pragmatic level this did not happen. Recommendations for vocational choice, effectively slotted women into stereotyped jobs. If girls liked to make things, the Handbook encouraged them to work in a factory, rather than at a trade or craft; if they liked to meet people, shop assisting was recommended, rather than psychology, teaching, business etc. If girls preferred to keep house and cook, then domestic service was suggested, rather than running a hotel or boarding house. One example of a successful women used as a model for the girls was British politician, Margaret Bonfield, who did not fit the vein of the above suggestions. Bonfield was the first woman to occupy a seat on the British cabinet; she was intensely interested in the conditions of working women, and through experience in Unions and Councils dedicated to worker welfare, eventually became Minister of Labour in the late 1920s. The Girl Citizen's Movement never fostered political activism. Incidentally Bonfield's success was attributed to her spirit of co-operation, and her ability to recognise others' talent; success always had to be tempered with modesty and humility in women.
**Educational Experience**

In many ways the YWCA could be said to be echoing the processes already at work in wider society. The education system, for example, even under the tensions of feminist pressure, tended to steer young girls into marriage and motherhood. The feminist lobby often emphasised education for better motherhood, or for viable alternatives if this was not to be.

By the early 1900s, women's education was sufficiently accepted such that questions relating to the purpose and directions of women's education were being raised; these decisions were inevitably influenced by other social conditions. For example, there was a "...preoccupation with racial fitness and purity, and an exaggerated fear that the Anglo-Saxon race was in a state of mental and physical decay" (Tennant (1977:144). The education system of the late nineteenth century was deemed to complement the stabilising effects of the dedicated housewife if the correct teaching was given: "If boys and girls were respectively instructed in farming, carpentry, and boating, and cooking, scrubbing, the laying of tables and sewing, innumerable social ills would be eliminated" (Tennant, 1977:146). Domestic science was introduced and gained status in schools; it also gained popularity and in 1918 it was second only to biology as the main science taught in secondary schools for girls. Tennant (1977) suggests that this was "related to the growing militarism of society and an emphasis on national efficiency..."
and numerical strength during the war years...." (p147).

Her contention aligns with evidence of patriotism and imperialism during and after World War One. While some women's organisations stressed the importance of motherhood and home-life to the war effort, individual members went further, arguing that domestic instruction should be compulsory for girls, just as military training was for boys. "...if boys were to be trained to fight for their homes, should not the girls be trained to make the homes worth fighting for?" (Tennant, 1977 :147).

Vocational training in schools for girls focused on home life, offering instruction in sewing and home economics; even the programme of work for female students in teachers' training colleges provided for substantial training in home life (Ibid). Vocational training in the Girl Citizen's Movement echoed the response of the schools.

Schools also attempted to mould the character of New Zealand's youth into the paths of model citizenship. Whilst schools experienced criticism and resistance over this, the Girl Citizen's Movement did the same without recrimination. The very standards of Girls' Work laid down at St. Wolfgang testify to the advantage and importance of the 'well-rounded personality', a trait particularly suited to the model citizen. To reinforce the belief, examples of great citizens were presented upon which girls could model themselves. Church 'Heros' such as Marsden, Bishop Selwyn, John Hobbs and Nathaniel Turner were considered; Statesmen like Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Richard Seddon, John Ballance, and Sir Robert Stout were upheld. New Zealanders of renown
were also counted amongst model citizens; Rutherford, Walpole, Bracken etc. and the only women in the list of 31 models were Rosina Buckman (singer) and Edith Howes (authoress). As models of good citizenship and people who loved their country, they presented a hard act to follow for the young girls of the Girl Citizen's Movement, who were endeavouring to remember ways of recycling stale bread etc.

Such women as Katherine Mansfield, Kate Sheppard, Agnes Bennett, Eveline Cunnington, Louisa Dalrymple, Kate Edger, Elizabeth McCombs, Ettie Rout, were not mentioned in the Girl Citizen's Handbook. Surely among these New Zealand women could be found illustrations of duty, courage, health, honour, self-respect, self-control, knowledge and co-operation! Instead young New Zealand girls were taught to look to men as their examples of citizenship, and to women outside their own country for character reference. Surely this represents a blatant anti-patriotic attitude. Did the YWCA not see the efforts of its own heroines as sufficiently significant to uphold as exemplars? Was the female franchise seen as a product of male condescension, rather than a hard-fought, hard-won struggle by women, for women?

From among the many themes covered by the Girl Citizen's Movement in its focus on the family, the workplace, the church, and education, three in particular emerge as being all-pervasive; the unique qualities of females; the responsibilities of Girl Citizens; in boy/girl relationships; and the ideology of imperialism.
Apart from their biological uniqueness, women were thought to possess various unique character traits, which in theory were as valuable as 'male' qualities. Sir Truby King was one of many advocates of a separate education for each sex. He argued that a boy's education should develop his virile qualities, while a girl's education should develop her womanly qualities - to make her different from the boy. He said that women were men's equal, but that the lives of the sexes should be complementary, not antagonistic, since the decadence of modern life was a result of competition between the sexes (Transactions of the Tenth Session of the Australian Medical Congress, 1914, 1916:88, cited in Tennant 1977:147). The role of woman in society was that of moral guardian; the duties of this role were the exhibition by women of such character traits as love, truth, co-operation, self-control, self-respect, honour, health, knowledge, courage, duty, and inner beauty, summarised by the Girl Citizen's Movement in its Civic Law (Girl Citizen's Handbook:16). Some of these moral traits of course applied to both sexes, but often the manifestation of them was to be distinctly different.

Preoccupation with women's health was a prominent aspect of Girl Citizen's programmes, influenced perhaps by the emphasis by the Plunket Society on the health of mothers and babies, and the belief that women were the 'weaker sex', more delicate, and therefore in need of health care. Lists of health concerns by the Girl Citizen's Movement focused on good grooming and hygiene; health was clearly linked
Health was also a woman's greatest asset, since it enabled her to fulfill her main womanly vocation - service to others:

Remember that God intended us to be healthy in body and mind and we can give much better service to our fellows if we obey simple laws of health. It is a matter of unselfishness. You cannot help influencing those around you and those who come after you; therefore fitness is a matter of duty towards others as well as towards yourself. (Girl Citizen's Handbook:72).

Note the overtones of 'duty' filtering through such a basic concern as one's own health; women were to be fit in the interests of others.

The Girl Citizen's Movement provides a unique slant on the value of self-control, by listing various 'commandments' of sportsmanship. Apart from forbidding cheating and unsporting behaviours, women were exhorted to show humility, to respect the authority of the umpire, to cooperate with their team, and to be non-competitive, playing the game for the game's sake (Girl Citizen's Handbook:79). The non-competitive overtones were in direct contrast to sporting values associated with males. For example, rugby served to organise young men into competitive sporting relations, and "became a ritualised activity in which boys could learn physical courage and heroism, engage in violent combat and yet the violence was kept within bounds - it could be stopped at the blow of a whistle" (Phillips, 1980:231). The game of rugby was also recognised as a means of sublimating sexual energies.
Since women's status was borne out of their unique contribution to motherhood and domesticity, the Girl Citizen's Movement attempted to encourage and justify this by sanctioning it with references to God's Will, and Scripture, the classic reference being drawn from the virtuous woman whose price was 'far above rubies' (Girl Citizen's Handbook: 84). If one compares the well-known Bible passage, Proverbs 31:10-31, to the Civic Laws of the Girl Citizen's Movement, a similar description of the model woman emerges, so closely did the YWCA model its ideology on the Bible. For example, the 'virtuous' woman is Healthy - "She girds her loins with strength and makes her arms strong" (Proverbs 31:17); She does not neglect her Duty - "She rises while it is yet night and provides food for her household and tasks for her maidens" (Proverbs 31:15); She possesses Knowledge - "She opens her mouth with wisdom, and the teaching of kindness is on her tongue" (Proverbs 31:26); She is Honourable - "Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praises her, 'Many women have done excellently, but you surpass them all' " (Proverbs 31:28-29).

The Girl Citizen's Handbook contained a hymn expressing the virtuous qualities of the home maker:
Lord of all pots, and pans and things, since I've not time to be
A saint by doing lovely things, or watching late with Thee,
Or dreaming in the dawnlight, or storming heaven's gates,
Make me a saint by getting meals and washing up the plates.

Although I must have Martha's hands, I have a Mary's mind;
And when I black the shoes, Thy sandals Lord I find,
I think of how they trod the earth, what time I scrub the floor
Accept this meditation, Lord, I haven't time for more.

Warm all the kitchen with Thy Love, and light it with Thy peace;
Forgive me all my worrying, and make all grumblings cease.
Thou who didst love to give men food, in room or by the sea,
Accept the service that I do - I do it unto Thee.

- Cecily Hallack


As Margaret Tennant (1977) indicates, the emphasis placed by such organisations as the YWCA, the WCTU, and the Plunket Society on the unique qualities of women, "...initially used by these groups as an argument for women's equal participation in public affairs to counterbalance the male perspective- was just as easily used to justify their distinctive treatment" within the education system, the church, the workplace and the family (Tennant, 1977 :144).

Whatever the intentions of the Girl Citizen's Movement regarding the future positions of women in society, it must be affirmed that such movements saw that women's fundamental area of responsibility was the home, and that the separateness of women and men must be maintained.

Boys and Girls

The approach of the Girl Citizen's Movement to female/male relationships illustrates their emphasis on the
uniqueness of feminine qualities, particularly the view that women were of necessity the moral guardians of the community. The Girl Citizen's Handbook challenged young girls on the reasons for choosing their boyfriends, and asked searching ethical questions concerning the nature of these relationships. They asked whether it was possible to have truly constructive friendships together apart from flirting, asking girls to consider what interests boys and girls had in common. These questions imply the idea that women and men had separate spheres of interest, and are most likely to form close relationships only with members of their own sex.

Similarly, the responsibility for setting the tone of female/male relationships did not fall equally with both sexes. This is indicated by questions from the Handbook such as: 'Is the giving of favours to be regarded as payment for a good time?' 'Who dictates the standards, boys or girls?' 'Who have the higher standards, boys or girls?' (Girl Citizen's Handbook: 102).

Indeed, Truby King's contention that the sexes must be complementary is illustrated here - women were clearly expected to take responsibility for the patterns of behaviour between the sexes:

The soul's armour is never well set to the heart unless a woman's hand has braced it; and it is only when she braces it loosely that the honour of manhood fails.
(Ruskin, Girl Citizen's Handbook: 102).

Quotes such as this communicated to the young girl that it was she who must assume responsibility for refraining from sexual experimentation, since it was her honour that was lost, if she didn't. Men, on the other hand, although
exhorted by movements like the WCTU in its crusade for social purity to aspire to the same sexual standards women were to maintain, did not suffer the same consequences for sexual activity; the sexual double standard allowed them to 'sow their wild oats'.

It appears that the YWCA recognised that sometimes a girl's honour might fail her, and wondered: "Is it lack of courage that makes girls unable to withstand custom in their conduct with boys?" (Girl Citizen's Handbook:118). Two points emerge here. Firstly, it was assumed that girls were pure, and sincerely wanted to resist the temptation of sexual intimacy. Secondly, concerns in this area may well have been spurred on by the growing rate of births out of wedlock ('illegitimate'); Figure 17 shows that prior to 1930 there had been a sharp increase in illegitimate births. Considered in the context on religious fundamentalism, imperialism, and the rise in the national importance of the family, it is little wonder that concern was shown about illegitimate births.

Imperialist Ideology

Since the focus of the Girl Citizen's Movement was on citizenship, patriotism was also fostered; this included not only the veneration of prominent New Zealand citizens, but also education concerning Maoridom and Maori culture. However, patriotic devotion was rooted firmly in British imperialism. At the time, sentiments associated with the Flag, the Monarchy, the Empire, King and Country were
Figure 17: Illegitimate births per 100 among Europeans, 1885-1961

Source: Koopman-Boyden, 1978:19
extremely popular; the Boer War had served to heighten these sentiments. Symbolisation of growing national feeling occurred with the passing of the New Zealand Ensign Act in 1901; in 1903 'Empire Day' was proclaimed and was to be observed annually, and in 1907 New Zealand was granted Dominion status.

The means by which these concepts were transmitted to children was via the New Zealand School Journal. Seven years after its establishment in 1907 it had become compulsory in State schools. Each issue consisted of several pages of stories, poetry, and articles, with a few illustrations. It was used constantly apart from a source of information for spoken and 'silent' reading, comprehension, and spelling. Malone points out that, while the Education Act of 1877 effectively kept religious instruction out of the New Zealand primary school curriculum, there was nevertheless the deliberate indoctrination of children with a pattern of concepts about the British Empire (Malone, 1973:12).

Launched by George Hogben, Inspector General of the Department of Education, a liberal imperialist, the School Journal emphasised social leaders as model citizens. Hogben believed in the Empire as a civilising force with a high moral responsibility; he was opposed to aggressive war, but was prepared to fight in defence of Truth, Liberty, and Justice (Malone, 1973:18). By the end of World War One, there had been much emphasis laid on the need to fight the force of autocracy and militarism with strong discipline, which involved the subordination of the interests of the individual to the State, and the use of the education system to mould
youth into the habits of obedience, self-sacrifice, and unquestioning loyalty. The Girl Citizen's Movement was just one response among many to this patriotic imperialism, and one which was consistent with the particular expectations of females.

From its first publication until the early thirties, an average of 30% of the space of the Journal was devoted to imperial, military, and other 'patriotic' topics (Jenkins, D.R., Social Attitudes in the New Zealand School Journal, Wellington, 1939, p3, cited in Malone, 1973:13. Apart from articles about the Royal Family and accounts of famous battles and British heroes, articles on civil government stressed the subordination of the individual to the state and the Empire; many of the articles and poems stressed the Empire as a moral concept (Malone, 1973:14), an attitude shared by the YWCA. Achievements of great men were presented as role models, and this too was done in the Girl Citizen's Handbook. Children were always reminded of their duty to the flag, which symbolised their dedication to the nation:

If we, British children, become men and women of the right kind, our Empire will always be a good and a great one and our flag will always stand for all that is best and noblest on earth.

Although the Girl Citizen's Movement did not practise ceremonial flag-saluting and such, this idea of allegiance to the flag nevertheless was present; in one of the Logbooks of the Hearth Fire Club, many of the minutes of meetings were decorated with illustrations of flags, not only of New...
Zealand, but of other countries, symbolising international co-operation. This presents an interesting combination of patriotism and internationalism in the Girl Citizen's Movement. To be patriotic is to subscribe to the welfare of one's own country before others. Internationalism however demands overcoming the bias of patriotism. The YWCA juggled both patriotism and internationalism.

Values extolled in the School Journal were reflected also in the Girl Citizen's Movement:

G is for games which we all play with zest
I is for industry doing our best
R is for rest to keep our health sound
L is for loyalty in Citizens found.

C is for cleanness in body and mind
I is for interests so varied we find
T is for tramps over gully and hill,
I is for our Islands; with pride they us fill
Z is for zeal; we work as a team
E is for our enterprise shedding its beam on
N the new Era. Let's follow the gleam.

(Girl Citizen's Handbook:64).

The School Journal imparted similar values:

May you excel in the practise of Faith, Courage, Duty, Self-Discipline, Fair-Dealing, Even Justice, Good Citizenship, Loyalty, Patriotism, and Sympathy...


Just as the view of citizenship was paralleled, so was the view on war. From 1914 on, war was described in the Journal as 'wicked'; attitudes to war (with World War One as the main point of reference) became less liberal and contained
a measure of anti-German sentiment (Malone, 1973:18).

Although the Girl Citizen's Movement never fostered anti-racial sentiment, it too denounced war as wickedness, which stemmed from hatred, covetousness, and oppression. The solution to war was seen as an individual responsibility:

What we must do, each one of us, is to try to see always the other person's point of view and build up an ideal understanding of fair-play which will gradually draw in most right-thinking people, eventually making war impossible. (Girl Citizen's Handbook:46).

Social thinking generally was in agreement, stressing willing civil obedience, and a reverence for authority. The Girl Citizen's Movement revered patriotism (as its name suggests) and encouraged at every opportunity girls to obey the city's laws, and furthermore, 'excite' a similar respectful attitude in others to do the same.

Empire ideology was in most respects an ideology of struggle. The 'enemy' however, was never defined; it seemed to consist of forces which were never named, but whose presence was to be assumed. Since the Empire was largely based on Christian precepts, there was the automatic assumption that good and evil existed; these beliefs were the frame of reference for Empire ideology, hence the emphasis on the need to cultivate harmonious attitudes and behaviours such as co-operation and civil obedience, nationally and internationally if possible. Once again the Girl Citizen's Movement can be seen identifying with this facet of empire ideology.
Metaphorical phrases relating to 'struggle' abound in the Girl Citizen's Handbook:

We will never bring disgrace on this our city by an act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our suffering comrades in the ranks. We will fight for the ideal and sacred things of this city.

(P43) (Emphasis added).

The utilisation of Joan of Arc as a woman depicting patriotism succinctly illustrates the passion which extended throughout associations like the YWCA, and the country in general at this time:

...a slender, young girl in her first bloom with the martyr's crown upon her head and in her hand the sword that severed her country's bonds - shall not this and no other stand for Patriotism through all the ages until time shall end?

(Girl Citizen's Handbook:54).

Conclusion

This examination of the Girl Citizen's Movement has provided an example of the YWCA's programmes for girls in the early twentieth century, and illustrated the beliefs and values it brought to these programmes. The philosophy of the Girl Citizen's Movement drew on basic Christian principles in its interpretation of healthy social relationships, both with other girls, and with members of the other sex.

It is not surprising at that time that the Girl Citizen's Movement embraced the view that women have certain unique qualities, and it endeavoured to encourage girls to rejoice in the differences of the fair sex, seeing them as bestowed upon them by a loving God. Such ideology was at the heart of the movement: girls and women were a unique
subspecies of the human race; they had been given certain responsibilities by God, and there were certain distinct ways of undertaking and expressing these responsibilities.

However, the Girl Citizen's Movement was not just about 'girlhood' - it was also about citizenship. The structure of the movement attempted to emulate the structure of the community, with a few chosen leaders (Counsellors) and the rest, followers (Citizens). The responsibility of citizenship was taken very seriously; each girl was encouraged to see herself as a necessary cog in the wheel of life. Without individual contribution of the highest possible standard, the young girl could be responsible for the development of a less-than-ideal community in which to live.

Emphasis on citizenship coincided with the prevailing mood of allegiance to Mother England, or the British Empire. Imperialist ideology was instilled in youngsters while they were still at school, and publications like the *School Journal*, as well as organisations like the Girl Citizen's Movement, played a part in this process of fostering imperialism amongst the young.

The YWCA initiated its programmes in response to its changing social environment; the Girl Citizen's Movement can be seen as an example of the way it adapted its general goal of meeting the needs of girls and women, to the social context of imperialistic fervour, and requirements that young girls grow up to be healthy, efficient, and skilled homemakers.

The study of the Girl Citizen's Movement has also shown how the YWCA successfully combined imperialism and domesticity with the movement; this was illustrated by a
comparison of imperial ideology as transmitted to children through the School Journal, and domestic ideology which was articulated by the YWCA.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Examination of the provision of accommodation and employment of immigrant women, and of the Girl Citizen's Movement has been a useful way of examining the translation of the beliefs and values of the YWCA into specific services and activities.

The YWCA's concern for the welfare of immigrant women was expressed through their efforts to provide employment and accommodation for them. The YWCA established employment agencies, designed to help young women find jobs; it established hostels in order to provide accommodation which was safe and inexpensive; and it embarked on training schemes, the most notable being the Girls' Flock House venture, designed to help young immigrant girls acquire marketable skills.

Although it might have been the sole intention of the YWCA to meet the needs of young immigrant girls, their aid was not the only consequence of their actions. In their bid to help young women find employment, the YWCA also helped to supply employers with trained workers, whose skills matched the demands of the market. Domestic Service was in high demand throughout this period and the training of young women...
in domestic skills through programmes such as the Flock House can be seen to be of benefit to them in their search for jobs. However, those who required the services of young domestic workers were usually married middle class women, whose socioeconomic status afforded them the money to be able to employ servants. This also gave them the time they required to run organisations such as the YWCA. Girls in the Flock House programme were also taught other skills in addition to domestic work, such as bee-keeping, dairying, orchard work, and gardening. These skills too were marketable, and provided employers with well-trained workers.

In addition to skills-training, the atmosphere of the hostel environment fostered the development of a well-disciplined personality, also an asset in employment. Doubtless young immigrant women were grateful for safe and inexpensive accommodation, as well as the security of the familiar faces of the matron and her assistant, who tried to befriend the girls as well as look after their material needs. However, under the well-regulated rhythm of hostel life, girls were reputed to appear at prayer meetings, to attend regular social meetings and business meetings connected with life at the hostel, and to spend their spare time doing something 'useful' like knitting or sewing for the poor.1 The routine of hostel living encouraged girls to routinise their personal lives; organisation and routinisation calls for

1. Information obtained from personal interview with Betty McLeod.
a certain measure of discipline, and it was this quality which employers also sought in their labour force. In the light of this, it is little wonder that the Kaiapoi employers, for example, appealed to the YWCA to manage their hostel.

Not only did middle class married women and employers benefit from the hostel and employment services of the YWCA, the State was also able to shift some of its responsibility for the welfare of immigrants onto the YWCA, by asking for its co-operation in the Flock House Scheme. The actions of the YWCA in liaising between the British and New Zealand Governments, and in establishing hostels all over New Zealand, saved the State considerable time and money in its own welfare programme at that time; accommodation liaison for immigrants was performed by the State, but it was not actually able to provide accommodation, merely to refer women to hostels through Immigration Department officials.

An examination of the Girl Citizen's Movement revealed the beliefs the YWCA held regarding almost every sphere of a girl's life, including her personal development and character. Discussion of the movement indicated the ways the YWCA attempted to instil in girls certain values pertaining to Christian womanhood.

Girls were instructed to apply Christian charity and compassion in every sphere of their lives, and were exhorted to remember that they were citizens of the Kingdom of God and as such, should endeavour to do the best they could to bring glory to God.
Citizenship was projected as the earthly equivalent to living in God's Kingdom in Heaven. No matter how minor one's contribution to the community, it was vital and significant to the well-being of all citizens; no person's contribution was too small to be of worth to God, and therefore to the community and the country.

Finally, the Girl Citizen's Movement was successful in combining imperialism, patriotism, civic duty, and domesticity for women into a programme of activities, paralleling what was already occurring in the education system.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

An examination of the activities of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, has shown that the major thrust of its work was to serve the accommodation needs of rural and immigrant women, and the employment needs of women in Christchurch generally. This study has also shown how the Christchurch YWCA provided educational and recreational programmes which were designed to instruct women in moral codes of behaviour and domestic responsibilities. These major areas of concern were illustrated by the YWCA's involvement in female immigration liaison between New Zealand and Britain in its attempts to train young women in marketable skills, in its educational classes, and in its involvement in programmes for young girls designed to foster appropriate attitudes and behaviours.

The Christchurch YWCA has served as a case study for documenting the activities of a certain group of women who had a specific purpose for working together in a voluntary organisation like the YWCA; this case study has also been useful for identifying the ideas, social changes, structures, and events which influenced the activities of the organisation.

A version of organisational theory, the Institutional School, suggested the significance of influences in the social environment in relation to the operations of an organisation (See Chapter Two:36). This thesis has illustrated the utility of this particular framework, by examining the development of both the structure and the programmes of the Christchurch YWCA.
in the context of a changing social environment.

However, the utility of the ideas which the Institutional School offered, were limited, for they failed to address gender as a significant factor influencing the relationship between organisation and its environment (See Chapter Two:36). Women's organisations may encounter particular problems in gaining legitimacy, or access to funding, as a result of gender inequalities in the societies within which they seek to operate.

Socialist feminist analysis was used to overcome this oversight, since it recognises that women's positions in society, and their experiences, are not the same as men's; at the same time it acknowledges the variations in the situations of women of different classes, and the impact of the economic organisation of a society on both women and men.

The usefulness of a socialist feminist perspective in this study was not confined to its focus on gender as an independent variable in an understanding of the development of the Christchurch YWCA. Socialist feminists have drawn attention to the fact that, whilst women might be divided from men as a result of sexism in society, women are also divided from each other by social stratification and class consciousness (Rowbotham, 1973:xxii). It was clearly evident from this study that there was a status difference between the administrators of the Christchurch YWCA and their clientele; this gap was essentially preserved rather than undermined, by the programmes and services of the Association.
The frameworks of analysis provided by the Institutional School and Socialist Feminism, have helped to shape the questions that were asked when studying the Christchurch YWCA. The establishment of the YWCA was examined in terms of the Institutional School's identification of the need to determine the motivations for forming organisations. Asking why the YWCA was established led to a consideration of the importance of the relationship between the Christchurch Association and other YWCAs which had formed earlier, both nationally and internationally (See Chapter Two:37-41). This showed how the Christchurch YWCA modelled itself on its predecessors in its initial years; the shape of its development reflected the fact that the Christchurch YWCA had embraced the same values and beliefs of YWCAs before it, had structured itself in the same way, responded to the needs of women in similar ways, and also utilised the services of middle class men, as in fact earlier YWCAs had done.

Looking at the motivations for the formation of organisations prompted discussion concerning the way in which the founding of the Christchurch YWCA was a response to perceived social problems, by a distinct group of women (See Chapter Two:43). Consideration of the social context, which the Institutional School suggests is a necessary feature of organisational analysis, helped to determine the nature of the challenges to which the YWCA was responding, and how its response was shaped by its social environment. For example, by tracing the origins and growth of the cult of domesticity, a deeper understanding of the content of the YWCA programmes is possible. An examination of the origins
of the Christchurch YWCA helped to show that both economic conditions and prevailing beliefs about the plight of young women shaped to a certain extent the development of the Association.

Examination of the beliefs and values of the YWCA revealed that these were basically founded upon Christian precepts, and they had ramifications for the moral responsibilities of women, and for their life styles, based on the principle of submission to God, and to men. An examination of programme content, particularly of clubs and classes, showed how the Christchurch YWCA viewed the 'needs' of young girls with respect to their social, physical, spiritual, and educational welfare (See Chapter Five:182).

This study of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, has also been able to illustrate the way that organisations seek to extend their influence in society, ensuing their continued survival by increasing their clientele, thereby gaining moral and financial support. The extension work in which the Christchurch YWCA engaged revealed that, as an organisation, it desired to spread its influence throughout Christchurch and Canterbury (See Chapter Five:197). No doubt a great deal of impetus came from the Association's drive to spread the gospel through Christian service and concern. However, the extension of the influence of the Association also served to advertise its existence and activities more widely, drawing clientele to itself, and gathering funding, and thereby consolidating its position in the community.

Finally, an examination of the YWCA's services to immigrant women revealed that not only were the interests of
female immigrants served, but also those of the State, middle class women requiring domestic servants, and other employers, such as farm and factory owners (See Chapter One:6; Chapter Three:66ff; Chapter Six: 236).

This study of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, has yielded more than just a collection of facts relating to its establishment, development, growth, structure, programmes, ventures, beliefs, and public 'good works'. It has shown that the organisation, despite its intention to serve the needs of young women, reproduced through its programmes, divisions in the larger society. The YWCA at times often served the interests of other groups in society which benefitted from the perpetuation of divisions between women and men, between middle class and working class women, and divisions between employers and employees.

Several contradictions regarding the operation of the YWCA, and in the lives of the organisers, have been suggested by this study. In terms of the operation of the YWCA, the activities and programmes offered by the organisation served the interests of employers; at the same time, it perpetuated images of women which tied them to the home, and encouraged women to participate in public life, in the workforce.

As well as contradictions in its operations, this study pointed to the contradictions of being a woman in the public arena. These women were running an all-woman organisation, attempting to meet the changing needs of women and girls; yet at the same time, the YWCA depended on men, particularly those of its Advisory Committee, to provide support for, and legitimization of the organisation.
A major focus of this study has been the interplay of organisation and environment. Throughout the period 1883-1930, the Christchurch YWCA was influenced by the beliefs, values, and attitudes of powerful social groups, and its political and economic context. In its attempt to meet the needs of women and girls, the YWCA tried to provide young women with accommodation and employment training; these however, fostered the image of women as subservient to men, and working class women as subservient to middle class women; these images were manifested in the employment of working class girls as domestic servants by middle class women, and the encouragement of girls to acquire domestic skills. Throughout its programmes, the Christchurch YWCA showed that it believed the ultimate destiny of women to be domestic, whether or not this was to reap financial reward. Underlying this encouragement was the YWCA's interpretation of the position of women in society, which was based on Christian views of womanhood.

This concluding chapter will attempt to discuss three main themes which have dominated this study; all of them are relevant to the interplay between organisations and their social environment. It will also discuss the existence of inconsistencies in the goals and programmes as a consequence of the influence of the social context.

The first major theme is that the development of the Christchurch YWCA was affected by certain dominant beliefs and values that were held by key groups in society at that time. These were closely linked to Christianity, and included beliefs about the domestic duties of women, beliefs
about the nature of relationships between women and men, and British Imperial ideology. Such ideologies had constraining effects on the aims of the Christchurch YWCA, colouring its response to the 'changing needs of women and girls'.

Not only current beliefs and values, but also material conditions had an impact on the activities of the Christchurch YWCA. Certain changing conditions in the economic climate prompted the YWCA to assume certain responsibilities relating to women. The impact of the domestic servant shortage prompted the Christchurch YWCA to set up its Employment Agency (See Chapter Five:197), to incorporate domestic training skills in its programme, and to participate in the Girls' Flock House Scheme (See Chapter Six:232). The YWCA also incorporated other job training opportunities into its programmes, and held definite beliefs regarding the occupations certain categories of women would undertake. Working class girls were instructed in domestic or clerical skills; middle class girls received instruction in English, History, etc., (See Chapter Five:188).

It was mentioned above that in its bid to serve the 'changing needs of women and girls', the Christchurch YWCA also came to serve certain interest groups in the community, namely the State, middle class women, and capitalist employers. By providing a welfare service for immigrant and working women, the YWCA postponed the responsibilities of the State in this area. By educating young women in marketable skills which were

1. Prompted also by the YWCA beliefs that women would ultimately need to use domestic skills.
needed by employers, the YWCA met employers' needs. By training young women in the skills of domestic work, the YWCA, helped to ensure a steady supply of domestic servants at a time when they were in high demand. It can be seen then that the context of the programmes, and the activities of the YWCA, with all their contradictions, makes sense once they are placed in social context.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES IN THE FORM OF IDEOLOGIES

Mitchinson suggests that "as a Christian Association, the YWCA was duty bound to emphasise the Christian solution in its response to the problems of women" (Mitchinson, 1979: 374). This study has shown that the Christian beliefs of the women running the YWCA determined, in part, their perception of what was problematic for women, and also determined the appropriate responses that they felt needed to be made.

Appeals to conscience concerning 'proper' behaviour were made, on the basis of the relationship young women and girls had with their Creator, with their country, and to their destiny as mothers (See Chapter Three). Women were held to be the moral guardians of society, and as such, had a social obligation to examine their characters in the light of Christian standards for women, and make any necessary changes that might be relevant (See Chapter Three).

The YWCA attempted to combine the messages propounded by both the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Plunket Society, in its programmes. Nowhere, however, is this effort more pronounced than in the Girl Citizen's Movement,
which attempted to influence the attitudes of young girls in every aspect of their lives - their homes, their education, the spiritual and work experience, and their relationships with boys.

It was believed that women ultimately belonged in a domestic situation, and their responsibilities were, upon marriage, domestic and reproductive. The position of women in society as subservient to men, particularly in the home, arose out of beliefs concerning women's moral superiority, and their uniquely spiritual attributes of piety and desire for purity (See Chapter Three:100).

The Plunket Society and the WCTU conveyed these beliefs with fervour. The Plunket Society, for example, under the charismatic Dr. Truby King, penetrated most corners of the country, and most homes, within a very short period of time, proclaiming its message of the need for a scientific approach to motherhood.

It was not sufficient, however, for women to acquire the skills which would enable them to attend to their domestic responsibilities in an efficient and devoted manner; it was necessary for women to also acquire the 'correct' moral attitudes, for their task of rearing the nation's future generation was one of great importance. A well-developed moral conscience involved the deliberate pursuit of pure living - purity in hygiene, daily habits of living, thoughts, actions, and motives. Much of the impetus for the promulgation of values of social purity, it was shown in this study, came from the campaigning and evangelism of the WCTU. Women had separate, but equal, spheres of responsibility from men; the
tasks they undertook were to be approached with a dedicated, spiritual, and pure, attitude. Women, it was believed by both the YWCA and the WCTU, were to do their 'best always'.

This study identified some of the influence British Imperial ideology had on the lives of New Zealand women, in relation to their duty as citizens. The YWCA translated some imperial principles into a code of living, which it conveyed in its work with girls. Since the Girl Citizen's Movement was concerned with making girls into good citizens, it is not surprising that Imperial ideology played a substantial part in prompting the establishment of this movement, and suggesting the content of its instruction. The teachings of the Girl Citizen's Movement paralleled a similar indoctrinatory process occurring in New Zealand primary schools at that time; education clearly was the tool of character training, both within the formal schooling system, and within the Girl Citizen's Movement and YWCA generally.

In examining the Girl Citizen's Movement, links were made between the desires of the State in its preoccupation with rebuilding the nation after World War One, and the activities of the Movement which sought to convey to young girls their role in the building of the Empire. Each girl was assured she held a special responsibility to build the Kingdom of God on earth, and that no contribution was too small towards attaining this goal, provided she was doing her best. Knowing how to recycle stale bread, for example, was a contribution to the household budget, and no doubt to the economy, of which the young housewife was encouraged to be proud.
In every aspect of the YWCA's work, messages were conveyed relating to the relationship of women to men, both in relation to intimate relationships, and behaviour with men in the workplace. In its business operations, the YWCA was affected by the prevailing economic conditions and the activities of the commercial sector, as well as the beliefs of organisers concerning women's capacity for business. It was commonly accepted by society, for example, that women, in order to succeed in business ventures, needed the assistance of men, both to overcome their lack of familiarity with the way the commercial world functioned, and to gain access to outside resources of finance, which were controlled by men. The YWCA also held this belief, and hence, its creation of the all-male Advisory Committee, which not only furnished them with financial advice, but which also gave them a certain measure of status and respectability in the eyes of the community (See Chapter Four: 130; Chapter Six: 228).

The spiritual ideology with which the YWCA identified, was essentially based on male-instituted Protestantism, paying homage to a 'male' God. In this light, it is not out of character to find attempts to mould girls in the Girl Citizen's Movement into people who would fit a set of expectations requiring them to complement men, and to meet men's demands. Young women were encouraged to do their best, and not to be a burden to anyone. They could do this by being skilfull in their inevitable domestic duties by being obedient and submissive as employees and wives, and by accepting and developing their unique feminine qualities (See Chapter Six: 261).
The YWCA's programme reinforced and perpetuated views of women's position in society. Cicely Hamilton, writing in 1909, believed that marriage, for example, required a certain 'trade-off'. While marriage remained the main source of women's livelihood, she felt that women had to satisfy male ideals of womanhood to succeed at this trade; the 'trade' was security and status from men, in exchange for sexual, domestic, and provision-of-heir services from women (Hamilton, 1981:1). The views of the YWCA were consistent with this, seeing women and men as occupying complementary roles in their relationships with one another. Similarly, Truby King of the Plunket Society encouraged women and men to work in a complementary, rather than antagonistic way (See Chapter Six:261).

For the most part, the YWCA can be seen to comply with, and indeed foster, the prevailing dominant beliefs which emanated from its social context; in particular, it promoted the values of Protestant Christianity, the current beliefs concerning the separate spheres of the sexes, and aspects of Imperialist ideology which had enkindled the nation.

The development of the YWCA can be seen not just as being determined by dominant ideology in relation to women, but also as actively reconstructing it. This was due to its concern for upholding the family as the cornerstone of society, which carefully looked after the physical, social, and moral needs of New Zealand citizens, and in particular, supervised the development of the future generation. Since the family was ordained by God, women's moral and spiritual responsibility, and thus her destiny, was transparently clear.
Examination of the social context of an organisation involves assessing the impact of the changing material conditions, on its goals, structure, and activities.

The changes in society at this time with which the Christchurch YWCA became concerned were those relating to the welfare of young women. The YWCA responded to changes relating to the increased participation of women in paid employment, the requirements of women for urban accommodation, and the development of marketable skills, particularly those relating to domestic work, office and sales work. In addition, the YWCA was concerned for the moral welfare of young women, and attempted to instil in its clientele, the virtues of Christian womanhood, and of domestic duty.

An examination of the social context of the Christchurch YWCA helped to determine what kinds of problems the organisation might encounter in its attempts to establish itself, and begin to offer its services to Christchurch women. In terms of the process of its establishment, the Institutional School suggests that new organisations are initially at a disadvantage relative to existing organisations, not only because organisations already established tend to have a monopoly on clientele, resources, community acceptance, and loyalty networks, but because the development of new roles within a recently established organisation pose problems in themselves. The YWCA overcame this to a certain extent by the use of trained General Secretaries (See Chapter Two:48).
Another obstacle young organisations might have to face is the possible shortage of wealth, power, and legitimacy. The YWCA, it was shown, was supported financially, in its initial stages, by donations from wealthy members of the community. Significantly, organisers were married to the type of men who might themselves donate funds, or encourage others to do so.

This study has shown that the difference financial support to which the women of the YWCA administration, and their clientele, had access, brought about by their relationships to men occupying different positions in a stratified society, afforded women different life styles, life chances, and life experiences.

For married women who were financially secure, domestic responsibilities were shared with domestic servants, able to be employed by these women because of the income of their husbands. Child care, to a certain extent, was also assumed by others employed by middle class women (Olssen, 1980:164). However, the experience of working class women was very different; it was they who undertook the tasks of childcare and housework. If they were very poor, they might also hire their domestic services to other women, or take in washing, mending, etc., to meet the financial needs of their households (Ibid; Sutch, 1973:71).

The social status of the women running the YWCA shaped the type of activities associated with it, and the values they incorporated into the programmes. These women believed that working class girls would need to be trained in a specific set of skills to help them in their occupations and in their future homes. They tended to perceive these as clerical skills, sales
assisting duties, and domestic skills.

In the area of domestic training, the women of the YWCA believed domesticity to be the eventual calling of all women; therefore elements of domestic training were incorporated into various aspects of the YWCA programme, to ensure that girls would be well-equipped in this area, whether or not they would seek employment as domestic workers.

The marital status of paid and unpaid/voluntary workers in the YWCA reflected the marginal position of married women in paid employment: married women worked on a voluntary basis, whilst the paid staff were single women. Generally, the married women running the Christchurch YWCA were the wives of doctors, lawyers, accountants, self-employed businessmen, and company managers. Since these women had free time to run a voluntary association like the YWCA, it is likely that they employed other people to help take care of their household duties (domestic servants), and possibly their children too.

The YWCA prided itself on being sufficiently adaptable to warrant its continued existence; this served to reinforce its status as an organisation which responded to social change, rather than as a leader of social innovation:

Changing ideals among our girls and women call for change of methods - and we must endeavour to be adaptable in our manner of approach to girls while steadfastly holding to our Christian principles (Annual Report, 1925:5).

The YWCA saw itself as flexible in its approach to
smoothing the path of its clientele. It did not, however, intend to change that path and direct women away from the narrow course commonly ascribed to them.

The Institutional School of organisational theory suggests that organisations, in their efforts to adapt to and accommodate change in their social environments, might have to undergo, to a certain degree, some modification of their goals and aims. This study of the Christchurch YWCA revealed that some modification of goals was required, in order to facilitate the harmonious functioning of the Association in the community. This was a subtle process, made possible by the all encompassing nature of the goal of the YWCA: 'to meet the changing needs of women and girls'. For example, the YWCA began as a distinctively Christian organisation, whose main occupation was prayer, 'good works', and evangelism, to win others to Christ. Over the years however, it lost its evangelistic fervour, and became rather more secularised, although Christian charity was still a definite underlying value of the organisation.

There was common concern expressed amongst older members of the Christchurch YWCA about the changing interpretations of its goals, most particularly in the area relating to its religious commitment; some felt that the YWCA was departing from its emphasis on evangelism, and were concerned about the effect this would have on the standards of services and care the Association could offer to young women and girls. This was justified by the YWCA in terms of its broad aim: if girls' needs were to change, then so must the approach of the YWCA.

'Thus the success and long-standing existence of the Christchurch Association can be seen as an outcome of its
willingness to comply with dominant ideologies expressed by the churches, the cult of domesticity, and articulate middle class members of society.

**INTEREST GROUPS SERVED BY THE YWCA**

The social history of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, has revealed that the women of the Association, although genuinely concerned about the welfare of young women and girls, often, at times, served the interests of groups in society other than its clientele.

The Christchurch YWCA offered its services to young rural and immigrant women by the provision of accommodation, employment liaison, and job training. It also provided cafeteria and rest room facilities in central city Christchurch, a varied leisure and educational programme for the young women of the city, and moral and spiritual guidance. These services were developed to meet the needs of girls and women; they also served the interests of other more powerful groups and institutions.

In the provision of these services to women, the YWCA was seen to act in the interests of the State, capitalist employers, the middle class, and the Church. The culmination of work with immigrant women, in this period, was, for the YWCA, its involvement in the Girls' Flock House Scheme. Discussion of this scheme illustrated the efforts of the YWCA to provide accommodation and job training for young immigrant women; it also served as an example of the way in which the YWCA, in attempting to provide services to meet the needs of women, created a controlled environment within which young women were encouraged into a domestic, and subservient, lifestyle.
By serving the needs of immigrant women, the YWCA postponed the need for the State to undertake its responsibilities regarding accommodation, job training, and employment of these women. Hostels, for example, utilised by the Government at times, essentially saved the State the time and money in building their own hostels to house female immigrants. This underlying function of its hostel service was openly acknowledged by the YWCA (See Chapter Three:70).

The State however was not the only group to benefit from the services the YWCA offered to female immigrants. Capitalist employers, farmers and middle class women were able to benefit from services such as the Girls' Flock House. Education in domestic and farm work, as well as in clerical work (bookkeeping, shorthand), provided a flow of trained women ready to enter the workforce. Liaison for employment and accommodation was a responsibility which the Christchurch YWCA undertook. In terms of employment liaison, this too ensured employers would be supplied with suitable job applicants.

Since, at this time, there was a high demand for domestic servants as a consequence of increased work opportunities in other occupations for women, the encouragement by the administrators of the YWCA to steer girls into domestic training, can be interpreted as a means of providing servants for middle class women like themselves.

Other services provided by the YWCA benefitted employers as well as the young women for whom they were provided. For example, the provision of a cafeteria, and of rest rooms, helped to offset fatigue factory and office girls might experience, and thus helped revive them for their afternoon's work.
Finally, assuming responsibility for the spiritual and moral welfare of girls, the Christchurch YWCA acted on behalf of the Church and the State. Its evangelising efforts and activities helped to recruit more young people into the churches, thus supplying churches with congregations, and also with possible financial resources. The YWCA's emphasis on the moral responsibilities of women was aimed at fostering responsible citizenship in women, which would benefit the nation as a whole. This was seen as consistent with the wave of imperial feeling present in the nation at this time. Whilst schools fostered imperial allegiance through its Journal, the YWCA fostered imperialist ideology through its Girl Citizen's Movement.

Women were exposed to many sets of contradictory beliefs and ideas at this point in history, relating to their position in society, their vocation, and their intrinsic 'worth'. The YWCA was one organisation which attempted to place dual demands on women's lives. On the one hand, employers and the State were to greatly benefit from the YWCA's encouragement of women to acquire marketable skills and to do their best. On the other hand, however, and at the same time, the YWCA prepared women for full-time domesticity on marriage.

CONTRADICTIONS AND TENSIONS

The women of the YWCA in their efforts to help young women and girls in Christchurch, and throughout New Zealand, tended to expose them to contradictory messages. The response of the YWCA to the problems of working women was divided between its secular and spiritual goals, and constrained by
the limits of the domestic ethos surrounding women. In addition, alignment with the beliefs of institutions helped to define what the YWCA saw as being a 'problem' for young women; its concern for the moral, as well as physical welfare of its clientele, was expressed within the framework of a Christian, and middle class belief system.

Financially secure and socially influential, the administration of the Christchurch YWCA resulted in little significant innovation, and certainly little challenge to the accepted features of women's involvement in society. It did however facilitate women's response to changes in the labour market, and opportunities for work in urban areas. The framework from which the women running the YWCA operated was defined by the interests of their own status group, and their benefits concerning relationships between women and men.

The women of the YWCA administration were the wives of men who belonged to the entrepreneurial sector of society (See Chapter Four:131), and essentially imposed their middle class values onto their clientele. Thus their response to the working class was governed by middle class perceptions of what working class women's needs were. Never did they attempt to find out what it was that working girls wanted from the YWCA programmes. Rather, they sought to instil in their clientele middle class definitions of morality, of domesticity, and of Christian womanhood. Thus, for example, the YWCA encouraged young women to always serve in love, and with a cheerful disposition (See Chapter Five:185). This edict was to be practised regardless of the oppressive situations in which women might find themselves. Christian charity was to be practised, yet
the YWCA did little to attempt to alleviate the oppressive material conditions in which working class women lived.

Despite its desire to unite all women, and to foster Christian unity amongst all people, the YWCA perpetuated relations of authority, and existing divisions between women. For example, women were taught to respect the authority of employers and men. The institution of domestic service fostered by the YWCA, in fact divided women from one another in their respective positions as employers and servants (See Chapter Three:100). In its educational and recreational clubs, the YWCA also fostered division, rather than unity. For example, some clubs were designed to cater for 'business' girls (Guild of Helpers, Argonauts), whilst others were designed specifically for working class girls (Merry-go-Round) (See Chapter Five: 189).

The YWCA held contradictory views on the destiny of women. It prompted women to take advantage of changing work opportunities and provided job skills training, hostel accommodation, and employment agencies. However, the YWCA also steered women towards domesticity (Chapter One:13); domesticity was seen as the ultimate destiny of all women. In its education regarding domestic responsibilities, the YWCA became caught in the contradiction in which the Plunket Society had also been caught: it believed in the natural disposition of women (biological and psychological) to assume a domestic destiny, but endeavoured to teach women what it already considered was an innate behaviour.

This dualism in the approach of the YWCA to the needs of women arose from the fact that the YWCA attempted to
help young women, but in ways which were defined already by its framework of beliefs relating to the welfare of women, their position in society, and their relationship to men. This dualism was borne by women in wider society and not just those of the YWCA. Women not only served the interests of the State, employers, and men, but believed themselves to be acting in their own interests as well. Their jobs provided them with the money they needed to survive, despite the fact their labour was exploited by their employers. Women were not immune to patriotic fervour, nor to the positive sanctions afforded them if they pursued their natural domestic vocations. Thus they willingly embraced the cult of domesticity believing it to be in the interests of their children, their homes, and their country.

CONCLUSION

A multi-disciplinary approach has been taken in order to understand and explain the social history and development of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, drawing predominantly on sociology and history. The result has been a useful means by which to interpret the activities of this organisation in its first fifty years of existence.

This study has suggested the need for further documentation of women's involvement in both the public and private spheres of society. Although it is growing, literature relating to the public activity of women is not comprehensive, and is far less substantial than that relating to the public lives of men. Much of the literature addressed to the public involvement of women in
New Zealand society is housed in university libraries, and is therefore inaccessible to the majority of New Zealanders. Many of the lesser-known voluntary associations, such as the Victoria League, and the Girls' Friendly Society, have had little written about them. These two groups had quite a significant link to the hostel services of the YWCA, yet information on them is sparse. In my search for information, I found one small booklet on the history of the Victoria League (and therefore little information about it within the confines of this study), and small references to the Girls' Friendly Society in a book on the history of the Anglican Church (Managhan, 1957), or passing references in books on women's social history (Simpson, 1962; Burgin, 1967).

Perhaps if, from the present time forward, oral histories of women were to be gathered as a matter of course, some of the problems relating to the paucity of information, and under-representation of women's real life experiences might be overcome. The private and public lives of women could be documented utilising the life history technique; this would help dispel the myth that all women have the same experiences, particularly in relation to their domestic responsibilities.

Finally, studies of women in public activities can help to identify the restrictions that operate on attempts made to change women's life experiences. It is now common knowledge amongst feminists that many of the beliefs with which women are raised, effectively serve to undermine the realisation of their potential as human beings. This is something that the YWCA did not address, although some
feminists such as Emily Sideberg, Ettie Rout, Ada Wells, Kate Sheppard, did acknowledge (Olssen, 1980; Hughes, 1980; Bunkle, 1980, 1981; Newman, 1979; Sutch, 1973). This is where the influence of [male] religion was probably most influential: it impeded women from questioning their situation, by appealing to their love for God, and their desire to please Him [and men] in all they did. Some people did recognise this limitation of the YWCA at the time; for example, refer to Margaret Sanger's opinion of the influence and activities of the YWCA (See Chapter Two:52).

Another problem women faced was ready access to resources, and this had to be achieved through using men, as contacts for finance and as a front for respectability and status. Their presence gave the YWCA justification for their business activities in the public eye. The church was useful for advertising the needs of the YWCA, and employers were able to help the YWCA make headway in its hostel services. At every turn though, women had to rely on men to get what they wanted; to draw Cicely Hamilton's belief about marriage as a trade for status and security to its logical conclusion, women, in order to obtain what they wanted, had to have it first sanctioned by men, since they needed men to help them.

In the introductory chapter, questions concerning the value of this study were raised. The study of the Christchurch YWCA, 1883-1930, has shown how changes in society during this period resulted in profound changes in several aspects of women's lives. The Christchurch YWCA was seen to respond to some of the problems it perceived in this period, within a certain framework of beliefs, and social structural constraints.
This study has attempted to document, as accurately as possible, the activities of one group of women, those involved in the YWCA of Christchurch. In doing so, certain methods and theoretical approaches were found to be particularly helpful; the result was the utilisation of a synthesis of organisational and socialist feminist theory, within a historical framework. Utilisation of these approaches was made in the light of the inadequacies for analysis that traditional organisational and Marxist theories offer.

The study of the Christchurch YWCA in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has also demonstrated the need for a framework of analysis drawing on a number of approaches, in order to adequately explain the inequalities which were uncovered in terms of social stratification amongst women, and the dualism the YWCA exhibited in its response to the perceived changing needs of women and girls.

The Christchurch YWCA may well have been a 'Cinderella' amongst the charitable institutions of Christchurch, for it looked after the welfare of its sisterhood in Christchurch. Perhaps, though, the YWCA suits the title of 'Cinderella' also because it, like Cinderella, relied on the direction and support of a number of men who would assume the role of Prince Charming; and because it also had its 'ugly sisters', such as the State, the middle class, and capitalist employers to contend with, competing for her services.
APPENDIX I : THE STRUCTURE OF THE GIRL CITIZEN'S MOVEMENT

The Girls Citizen Movement of Australia and New Zealand has its Communities established in the various centres where the Young Women's Christian Association is found. The National Girls' Work Committee of the latter organisation is the Headquarters Committee for the Girl Citizen Movement.

A LOCAL COMMUNITY

A Community of Girl Citizens is made of

(1) All the Sections (or club groups) in one place with their Counsellors and Chief Counsellor.

(2) The Local Girls' Work Committee of the Y.W.C.A., which acts as the Governing Body of Girl Citizens.


SECTIONS :

A Section of Girl Citizens consists of from 8 to 15 girls and their Counsellor. They are a group of friends of about the same age who want to work and play together in the various activities of their Section. They elect their own president and secretary and try in all ways to co-operate as a good team.

CITIZENS' COUNCIL :

The Citizens' Council provides another means whereby Girl Citizens may share real responsibility for their Movement. It also makes it possible for all citizens in a Community to think and work together as a whole and to gain a loyalty which goes beyond the limits of their own Section.

The Council is composed of representatives from all Sections of the Community. Each Section appoints its own representative, and the President and Secretary are elected by the Council from its own members. The President of the Council is known as the Chief Citizen of the Community. Elections for the Council should take place at the beginning of the year's activities. The work of the Council, which should meet regularly each month, is to receive reports and
to discuss any problem of individual Sections and of the Community generally, to make plans for the general activities, to send recommendations regarding any phase of the work to the Governing Body of the Community. The Chief Counsellor acts as advisor to the Council.

GOVERNING BODY :

The Governing Body is composed of women in your town who believe in the Girl Citizen Movement and who wish to help it in any way possible. These older friends of yours meet each month and learn from your Chief Counsellor of the work done, receive suggestions from, and make others, to your Citizen Council. Some of the members act as god-mothers to Sections, others are your Counsellors. All of them help your Community in many ways.

OFFICERS :

Chief Counsellor: The Chief Counsellor of a Community is usually the Y.W.C.A. Secretary responsible for the work among younger girls in the Association. Always, whether secretary or a voluntary worker, she is the friend of Girl Citizens. She helps them to see the ways in which they may grow both as individuals and as a Community, and they give her their loyalty.

Counsellors: Girl Citizens are proud to be entrusted with responsibility for their Movement. The choice of programmes, the election of officers and the making of decisions affecting the organisation and conduct of the whole, rest with them. In order that they may learn to do this in the best ways, they have the assistance of Counsellors.

In our Movement there is a spirit of co-operation and glad sharing between Counsellors and girls. Counsellors welcome the contribution of Girl Citizens and believe in their ability to think and make choices and to bear responsibility. Girl Citizens for their part feel the need of the guidance and more mature judgment of their Counsellors. Each values the friendship of the other and believes that together they
can help our Movement to become stronger and finer than either could do alone. Girl Citizen leadership therefore is shared by Counsellors and girls. The positions filled by the latter are as follows:

**Chief Citizen:** The Chairwoman of the Citizens' Council has the honour of being the Chief Citizen. In some Communities the nominations for the position are sent to the Council from the Sections. As this office carries with it a considerable amount of responsibility it is well that it should not be held by a girl before her eighteenth or nineteenth year. She is the representative Citizen of the Community and its spokeswoman on various occasions, and in any way possible assists the Chief Counsellor in the Community.

**The President of a Section:** The President of a Section is the girl leader of her group. She presides at business meetings and discharges all the obligations attached to the office of President. She is elected by the members of the Section for a period varying from three months to a year. She, more than any other member, may help to secure the harmonious working of the Section. To her the Counsellor looks for help both in practical affairs and in securing a right spirit in the group.

**The Secretary of a Section** has an important place as the one upon whom the President can depend for help and support at all times. In addition to keeping the minutes and the roll, she should feel specially responsible for the friendliness of the Section, watching to see that no cliques develop and that every girl is included in the comradeship of the group.

**The Treasurer** takes charge of all the funds of the Section, collecting any fees due and paying accounts; she is responsible for securing the annual membership subscription; she keeps accurate accounts and submits a statement at regular intervals.

**MEMBERSHIP:**

Membership in the Girl Citizen Movement is open to girls
over 14 years and under 20. A girl may present herself for enrolment at a Community Gathering only after she has attended at least three meetings of the Section to which she wishes to belong, and after she has been given an understanding of the Movement, and is ready to promise to respect the Girl Citizen Code.

Any group of girls (minimum eight) may be declared a Section of Girl Citizens, provided that they are willing (1) to respect the Citizen Code, (2) that their Counsellor should be appointed by the Governing Body of the Community to which they wish to belong, (3) to attend Community Gatherings. It should be noted that a Basket Ball Team, for example, may become a Section of Girl Citizens; they need not necessarily hold the ordinary Sectional meeting.

FEE:

The fee for membership is 2/6 per annum. For Blue Triangle Girl Citizens such fee is also counted as a Y.W.C.A. membership fee.

OFFICIAL INSIGNIA (Obtainable at Headquarters):

The letters G.C. placed within a circle constitute the official insignia of the Movement. In addition to this the symbol of the organisation to which the Community is attached is worn. Blue Triangle Girl Citizens place a blue triangle outside the circle of the registered badge. Above the triangle may be placed a bar, one-quarter of an inch wide and three inches long, in the colour of the Section to which the girl belongs.

No girl may wear the Girl Citizen badge until she has been formally enrolled.

UNIFORM:

The uniform is a white middy, navy blue skirt and navy
tie. The middy is of white drill, straight hanging, length halfway between the waist and the knees, with a two-and-a-half inch hem. A patch pocket four inches square, pointed at base, is worn on the left side, and on this the Girl Citizen badge is handsewn, the back ground of the same being turned in round the circle or the triangle, as the case may be. The sailor collar is made with seam on the shoulder; sleeves are to be set in, length one-and-a-half inches above the bend of the elbow with one-and-a-half inch hem. Counsellors' middies have long sleeves.

The tie is navy blue, tied in a reef knot.

Gloves are not worn with the middy.

The skirt is of dark navy woollen material with pleats on hips; shoes worn are to be black leather (without colour) and with low heels; stockings plain black, not silk. Hat, a plain navy blue pull-on shape with medium-width brim. When in street uniform the Girl Citizen brooch is worn on the front of the hat.

Uniform is to be worn at all Sectional meetings, and at Community Gatherings, Girl Citizen Conferences and Camps, Church Parades and such other occasions as the Citizens' Council shall appoint. The white middy and full navy bloomers are worn for physical work and sports.

A navy blazer with G.C. monogram worked in white on the pocket may be worn with the uniform. Navy blue or black gloves may be worn with the blazer for street wear.

Counsellors' Uniform:

This is the same as for Girl Citizen, with the
addition of the Counsellors' badge, a Roman lamp, worn above the Girl Citizen badge.

Chief Counsellors:

Chief Counsellors wear a white skirt and white shoes and stockings for ceremonial occasions.

APPENDIX II : THE WOMEN’S MIGRATION SOCIETIES, 1922-1962

FMGES
Female Middle Class Emigration Society (1862-1886)

CES
Colonial Emigration Society (1884-1892)

WES
Women's Emigration Society (1880-1884)

UESA
United Englishwomen's Emigration Association afterwards
UBWEA
United British Women's Emigration Association (1884-1919)

CIL
Colonial Intelligence League (1911-1919)

SACS
South African Colonisation Society (1902-1919)

BWEA
British Women's Emigration Association

SOSBW
Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women renamed 1962
WMOAS
Women's Migration and Oversea Appointments Society (1920-197)

SOURCE : Monk, 1963, pXI
APPENDIX III : CONSTRAINTS OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Historical sociology is an approach to historical data, a style of historiography, that seeks to explain and understand the past in terms of sociological models and theories. Sociological concepts and principles may be used to describe and analyse actual historical situations on a higher level of abstraction and generalisation. Alternatively, historical data may be used to illustrate and test the validity of sociological concepts, principles, and theory.

The rise of analytic historiographies contains important implications for sociological theory. The new historiography reduces the familiar gap between history and theory, and points to new directions in theoretical work.

The positivistic reduction of history to the history of events is still prevalent. This view is supported by a variety of "metatheoretical" distinctions based on notions of what practising historians and sociologists do - history dealing with the past, sociology dealing with the present; or history using primary sources and sociology, secondary ones.

As traditional historiography - concerned with chronologies of events - declines in relation to new analytic historiographies, disciplinary distinctions become increasingly superfluous. Analytic historiography obviates the ideographic/nomothetic rifts between history and sociology.

Despite this new optimism for the relationship between history and sociology the actual practicalities of conducting historical sociological research still encounter the same constraints as any other method. Often, because of a lack of skills and with the imposition of time restraints, one
allows methods to dictate the nature of research. Historiography is no exception; a basic tension still exists. There is the conflict between the type of knowledge one wants influencing the method employed, and the type of method used influencing the knowledge one gains. Additionally the role of the individual researcher affects the way the above tension is articulated.

There is also the danger of one's method taking over and becoming the driving force of one's research. This is Gouldner's concept of 'methodolatry', which is 'the pathology of method'. "...with method alone, reason easily sinks into ritualism. It sacrifices the venturesome but chancy insight for the security of controllable routine, the penetrating novelty for the shallow familiarity..." Reason then can reach a stage of being completely obsessed with a method of knowing.

I am inclined to agree with Bell and Newby (1977) that there is a need for "methodological pluralism". Therefore, social research needs to take an empathetic understanding of society's members and at the same time develop scientifically verifiable modes of observation. These comments apply in a very general way to issues in methodology. Having acknowledged them, the next consideration is to look at the specific issues involved in doing historical sociology, particularly with the YWCA project in mind.

It is very difficult to separate this type of study into clear-cut sections, since the elements of the research tend to operate simultaneously. Data gathering is not always distinct from the analytic process for example, as can be illustrated
However, in the interest of orderliness, I have divided the rest of this discussion into four parts. The first issue to be dealt with is that of using documentary material. Secondly, the problems of reaching and recording data will be discussed. The third part will look at the problems associated with the analysis of data, and the final section will attempt to tease out the YWCA specific issues. This arrangement and order of presentation is based on David Pitt's book, *Using historical sources in anthropology and sociology*, (1972).
1. DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

Generally, what is meant by documentary material is information which has been written about a subject, vis-à-vis oral presentation, artifacts, pictorial evidence etc. Documentary records provide important insights into the world which cannot be observed, but which is an integral part of the things which the researcher purports to understand. Unfortunately no historical record is a complete chronicle of past events or facts, the material having been selected by the author at the time of writing. Similarly the researcher exercises selectivity in looking at the data, so the type of information gleaned depends on the kinds of models or theories with which the researcher works.

The first step in examining documentary material is that of locating it. The library is a good place to start, going systematically through catalogues, bibliographies, guides to archival and manuscript sources, and other research aids. This gives a general indication of the available material. It would be useful at this stage to draw up a list of sources and a timetable for consultation.

Public and official archives usually house original and personal documents, files, census data, and local records. These are often very informative at a more microlevel, but there is a high incidence of missing data, biases, etc.

Literature, works written by people generally not professional social scientists and who present a subjective picture, occupies an important place in research. By balancing one's professional objectivity with other's subjective
accounts, a more realistic and humane picture of a period can emerge.

Documents such as newspapers cover a variety of topics. Major political and economic events are well covered; mundane accounts of births, deaths, marriages, announcements and reports of social and recreational activities or meetings, court reports, letters to the editor, and personal columns, are also invaluable in that they can provide the detailed facts that are so often missing or incorrect in other sources. Other periodical documents might include magazines, films, pamphlets, and brochures.

Local sources which are available directly from the subject of research are also interesting, though they must be treated with skepticism as they are not always a true representation.

Personal documents, in which the writers are not under the constraints of officialdom indicate movement, patterns, friendships and impressions. They reveal a participant's view of experiences in which s/he has been involved. Examples of such documents are: stenographic records, business papers, memoranda, diaries, personal letters, newspaper reports, autobiographies, government documents such as consular reports or testimony in public hearings, plus fiction, photographs, films, handbills, manifestos, and pamphlets.

Mariampolski (1978) suggests that personal documents be examined in the light of four criteria:

- (i) Representativeness
- (ii) Adequacy
- (iii) Reliability of the data
- (iv) Validity of the interpretations
(i) **Representativeness:** It is difficult in historical research to evaluate how adequately the body of available materials represents the universe of activities, attitudes, and feelings which characterised a particular historical instance. The major constraint in using primary resources is that there is no choice in the materials one can utilise; they are artifacts of what was recorded and what has survived over time. The historical researcher must account for gaps and biases in data that have survived, and must explain the extent to which the conclusions are affected by the deficiencies. Thus the researcher must remain sceptical and assume that enormous biases pervade the documents, because of the impossibility of testing the reliability of such data.

Several factors affect just what does survive over time. There are broad areas of both interior and exterior experience which escaped documentation, and the immediate experience is only occasionally put into writing and only then retrospectively. A wide variety of shameful and/or intimate experience escapes documentation if for no other reason than to guard the respectability of the author. Thus the researcher must be aware that experience is very selectively recorded. "The researcher should immediately question the representativeness of the materials written by an author who was fully aware that future evaluation of the experience would be based on the document".
(ii) Adequacy: There is no way to evaluate the depth or comprehensiveness of the material, but there are several means by which the historical sociologist can make educated guesses about adequacy. The researcher should critically examine the scope of material available to ascertain whether it reflects the full range of responses to the event; i.e. are the recollections balanced with respect to coverage. The gaps in data should also be evaluated, and areas that need further examination when additional data sources may be found, might be suggested.

(iii) Reliability: This involves assessing the credibility of the data source, and the accuracy of the transmission of the data recorder. It is impossible to eliminate distortions, but guidelines may be established for evaluation the degree of distortion and estimating the reliability of the historical record. There are several sources of distortion. The political or ideological orientation of the data source or recorder, and the original purpose of the data source, can colour the objective reality of the day. The transmission of the information, for example, via the selectivity process that operates in the recording and documenting of experience, likewise distorts the true reality.

Gottschalk (1947) argues that although the criteria for evaluating evidence are not as rigid as those in a court of law, four tests should help establish how dependable any body of personal documents may be:

- was the ultimate source of the details (primary witness) able to tell the truth?
- was the primary witness willing to tell the truth?
- is the primary witness accurately reported with regard to the detail under examination?
- is there any external corroboration of the detail under examination?
The general rule is to accept as historical only those parties which rest on the independent testimony of two or more witnesses. If it is impossible to locate two independent documents recording the same facts, the investigator must look for other kinds of corroboration. Examples of this might be the absence of contradiction within other contemporary resources, the general reliability of the document, the reputation of the author for candour, a lack of self-contradiction within the document, and the way the document conforms to known facts.

(iv) Validity: Mariampolski (1978) identifies three processes in the development of a sound reasoned argument:

- a sensitive commitment to a theoretical argument;
- a thorough familiarity with the documentary material and a sense of empathy for its contents;
- the ability to imaginatively, even artistically, interrelate evidence and theory.

Basically theoretical principles should be flexible rather than rigid. The researcher should become completely familiar with all of the remains of the historical context. As Mariampolski asserts, the reconstruction of history requires an imaginative reflexiveness between evidence and interpretation. Prior to formulating an analysis, the researcher is confronted with errors, unreliability, and inadequacy; at the final analysis it is the researcher's turn to present a valid historiography from this situation to the best of his/her ability.

2. REACHING AND RECORDING DATA

Gaining access to documents is not much of a problem when they are housed as public archives, but non-public archives may require credentials. The mere fact that I have been asked by the YWCA to write their centennial booklet has meant that I have access to almost any documents they have in their
possession. It also means I have access to other YWCA's and by using the names of the Christchurch Executive Director and the National Executive Director, I may have a credential which is more effective than just a written testimony.

General aids to research are important as they short cut a lot of time and effort. In relation to larger archives there are usually published catalogues, guides, bibliographies, as well as general works of reference such as almanacs, calendars, yearbooks, directories, who's who, biographies, etc. In the initial stages of gathering data, such sources should be consulted on the topic area in order to set up clear directions of enquiry from the start.

An important aim is to secure a fast, accurate, economical record of data that is easily retrievable. A record should be flexible enough to permit rearrangement when material is being written up. Pitt (1972) recommends some kind of simple, written card index system. This could include biographical subject cards. Photocopying if overdone, defeats one's purpose, but is good for data which is concentrated and not easily summarised; it is no substitute for careful selection from records though.

Annotating and indexing is another important aspect of data gathering and storing. Sources of information should be noted precisely. Therefore in addition to files of content notes, it is necessary to keep a classified card index of sources. This makes the task of cross-checking easier. Source cards should record the full title of the source, relevant dates, file numbers, the form of script, size of the collection, and its present location. Sources may be
classified chronologically, alphabetically, geographically or by subject or source. Many historians separate out primary from secondary sources, and classify further under headings such as manuscripts, pamphlets, public documents, and newspapers. Probably the most useful method, especially initially, is alphabetically by author’s name. An additional aid might be an annotated subject catalogue indexed, usually, by names, places, and important occurrences. These cards are especially useful for personal unsorted papers for which has not been an adequate filing or indexing system.

3. **ANALYSIS**

The first step in an analysis is to determine the priority in which one will view the data. Because knowledge of an historical nature is not gained via direct observation, and thus is second-hand, one needs to rely on one’s ability to evaluate the statements made. An assessment must be made of how far the document represents an accurate description of the situation; i.e. the degree to which the statement about the facts agrees with the facts as they probably happened. Therefore one needs to know about the document’s authorship, the date and place of the events described, the historical context in which the document was written and so on.

Inevitably the historical record contains certain gaps and deficiencies. Sometimes gaps are imposed in the public archives on the time availability of documents, or their confidentiality. Gaps are also created by accidental or deliberate destruction of papers, through the unconscious
or conscious selection of documents looked at by the researcher, and through the selectivity of those reporting the information in the first place.

Accidental error and falsification are common occurrences. But more often, the problem is not so much deciding whether a statement is true or false, but of ascertaining the degree of bias. Since there is always a viewpoint, observer bias can originate from the original author, or the interpretational bias of the researcher's own analysis. Observer bias is heightened by the physical and social distance of the observer from the observation, and in particular, from the lack of knowledge of the local language and cultural context. Another factor likely to increase observer bias is expediency; most observers live or work not only in a general cultural context, but also within a specific institution. Within these institutions there are numerous demands and pressures for particular kinds of attitudes in reporting.

To arrange data in chronological order, or even to collect it chronologically does not necessarily imply that there are any further links between the events or situations described. Causality nevertheless will form a major part of the process of analysis in writing up once the documentary evidence has been sifted. Even when collecting and sorting the documents, some idea of the causal element has to be appreciated. Thus one must be very cautious about establishing causal relationships on the basis of chronological sequence.

Interpretation of the data poses many problems, requiring exhaustive deliberation. Historical documents are often summaries after the events, and not detailed records of events as they occur. There is a danger of being inattentive
to boring but important details; this applies both to the researcher, and also to those who wrote the records historians are now using. By further extending interpretation through inferential methods, relationships between, or consequences of, known facts or events can be assessed. In order to do this effectively and validly, one needs to steep oneself in the literature of the period and the culture. Assessment of the accuracy of a document can be achieved by looking critically at the subject matter of the document and at its author's intended circulation, its purpose, its confidentiality and what the author stood to gain by writing the report.

Habenstein (1970)4 neatly summarises the main points of the preceding discussion and Table One is an adaption of this.

CONCLUSION

History is informative to the degree that things are not instances of general categories, but are instead a product of causally connected sequences of events that produce unique shapes in each thing. The process of looking at society over time is then not to be relegated to a simplistic listing of events in chronological order. Rather, by employing a variety of methods, by being aware of the impending methodological complications and by acknowledging the importance of the historical element, the familiar gap between history, sociology, and theory can be narrowed. The result is the emergence of a new way of looking at change over time which includes aspects of both objective and subjective understanding and historical context, blending existant demarcations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Problem</th>
<th>Specifically</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access</td>
<td>How does one obtain access? Who are the most important people to contact or clear with? The order of contacts. Sponsored and unsponsored initiation of contacts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>What kind of question, in general, are asked? How are they phrased? The problem of idiom in question asking.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>What kinds of typical or recurring events should be watched for and observed (e.g., YWCA conventions)? What kinds of things can be learned from them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subgroupings</td>
<td>What divisions, status hierarchies, polarizations, schismatic groups, informal, quasi, and formal subgroupings exist? What ecological niches and physical characteristics of the environment make for subgroupings? Sampling these groups.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Related Groups</td>
<td>Who, outside of members of the group, will know something about it and should be talked to?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Records Kept</td>
<td>What kinds of records does the organization or group keep, and how can they be used? What likely records or data would be found in special places? What cautions must be taken in using them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Information About</td>
<td>What kinds of records do others (welfare services, government, newspapers, opposition groups, fact-gathering agencies) keep about them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature From</td>
<td>What professional, trade, public relations, human interest, memoirs, diaries and other biographical or descriptive literature - are likely to exist and be found?</td>
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<td>Investigatory Materials</td>
<td>Are they subject to study or investigation by others so that there is a literature available on them in some file?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strategies</td>
<td>Specialities of the field, area, or subject. Flexibility.</td>
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</table>

Table One
REFERENCES

1. Historiography: the reconstruction of the past from data from records.

2. Gouldner (1971:174)


4. Habenstein (1970: 3 & 4)
Miss Ella MacNeil, M.A., arrived in Christchurch in 1911, to become the General Secretary for the Association. She had been trained for the position at the Training School in Adelaide. Her personality, enthusiasm, and energy gave great impetus to the work of the Christchurch YWCA. She was instrumental, with Mrs Kaye (President) in raising money for the YWCA Hostel in Latimer Square, which was opened in 1914. Although only working for the Christchurch YWCA for a few years, she left a great impact on the Association. In 1915, she was selected for Missionary work in China by the Australasian Board of the YWCA. Ella MacNeil continued as a Foreign Worker in China for twelve years, and in 1927, married a Dr Anderson, and left the services of the YWCA.
Mrs Albert Kaye was the President of the Christchurch YWCA from 1901-1919. She then became President of the New Zealand Field Committee of the YWCA, from 1920 until her death in 1923. President of the Christchurch YWCA for nineteen years, she was considered a woman of great vision, earnestness, and strong conviction. It was Mrs Kaye who gave the impetus for the separation of the YWCA of New Zealand from the YWCA of Australia; this was not actually realised until 1926.

While she was President of the New Zealand Field Committee of the YWCA, she left her long-established home in Christchurch to live in Wellington. In her new position there, she endeavoured to travel to as many local YWCAs as she could - for example, Palmerston North, New Plymouth, Whangarei, and Gisborne - an admirable feat for a woman of advanced years.
APPENDIX V : PAST PRESIDENTS AND GENERAL SECRETARIES OF
THE CHRISTCHURCHYWCA, 1883-1930

PRESIDENTS

1888     Mrs Fanny Newton
1902     Mrs Albert Kaye
1920     Mrs C. Bowron
1927     Mrs C.J. Blackmore
1928     Mrs A.H. Turnbull
1931     Mrs W. Machin

GENERAL SECRETARIES

1905     Miss Clara Waterston
1910     Miss Ella MacNeil, M.A.
1915     Miss Gertrude Owen
1920     Miss Ethel Law, M.A.
1926     Miss A.M. Bentham, M.A.
1929     Miss Isobel Howlett
1930     Miss Ethel Batt
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HOUSEHOLD HINTS.

ON FIRE-PLACES AND FIRE-LIGHTING.

By Mrs. H. W.

We have all studied the subject of fire-lighting with a few thoughts of improving our daily habits. It is not a difficult thing, but a very important one, to see that the fire is well lighted and that the smoke is not allowed to escape. It is well to remember that the fire should be large enough to warm the room, but not so large as to waste too much heat.

When starting a fire, it is well to use a light and a piece of newspaper. This will set the fire going, and then it is only necessary to add the wood as it burns. It is well to have a small bellows or a piece of cloth to fanning the fire, as it will not burn as quickly as if it was left alone.

When the fire is burning well, it should be kept going, and not allowed to die down. It is well to keep a small can of water near by, in case the fire should become too large.

In closing the fire, it is well to put a small amount of water on the embers, to prevent them from burning too hot.

APPENDIX VII: GIRLS' FLOCK HOUSE SCHEME

The following was proposed by representatives of the Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Debt to British Seamen Fund, in 1925:

"That in addition to bringing out to New Zealand the sons of British Seamen of the Naval and Mercantile marine who had been killed or disabled in the war, the Trust was now prepared to bring out to New Zealand the daughters of such British Seaman, who had been killed or disabled in the war, many of these girls being sisters of boys who were already at the Boys' Flock House."

This scheme was approved by the Government Fund intended to acquire a hostel and farm property near to Palmerston North.

Girls eligible for the scheme:

(1) Had to be daughters of British Seamen;
(2) Must be of excellent moral character;
(3) Be strong and healthy and keen for country life;
(4) Be aged between 15 and 18 years.
APPENDIX VII: THE VICTORIA LEAGUE

In April, 1901, a number of prominent women met at Number Ten Downing Street at the request of Lady Edward Cecil and Miss Alice Balfour, "to consider a request from the Guild of Loyal Women in South Africa that an organisation be set up in London to promote closer union between the different parts of the Empire by the interchange of information, the giving of hospitality to visitors, and co-operation in any practical scheme to foster friendly understanding and good fellowship within the British Empire" (p1).

The Victoria League came to Otago in 1905. Its aim was to support and assist any scheme leading to ultimate understanding between great Colonies and Dependencies.

In 1919 the New Zealand Government, in association with the British Government, announced a policy of bringing women to New Zealand for domestic work. At the 1920 Victoria League Dominion Conference a resolution was passed to help the YWCA and other existing organisations to establish general committees at various shipping ports, to receive and welcome all women workers arriving in the Dominion, and arrange for their accommodation.

The Victoria League continued an association with the SOSBW and was specially thanked by the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London, and the Immigration Office in Wellington for their support.

The League formed New Settlers Committees, which became recognised from community to Government level. In the post war period, "the League found a new direction and turned to
the problems of immigration and the original aims of the League in addition to assisting with the social needs of those less fortunate during the depression of the 1930s" (ibid., piv).
APPENDIX IX: THE GIRL GUIDES AND THE GIRL RESERVES

1. GIRL GUIDES

GUIDE LAW

1 Trustworthiness 6 Kindness
2 Loyalty 7 Obedience
3 Usefulness 8 Cheerfulness
4 Friendliness 9 Thriftiness
5 Courtesy 10 Purity

GUIDE PROMISE
- To do her duty to God and the King (or country)
- To help other people at all times
- To obey the Guide Law

(Source: Unity in Diversity, p99)

2. GIRL RESERVES

GIRL RESERVE CODE

As a Girl Reserve I will be gracious in manner, Impartial in judgement, Ready for service, Loyal to friends, Reaching toward the best. Eager in Purpose, Seeing the beautiful, Eager for Knowledge, Reverent to God, Victorious over self, Ever Dependable, Sincere at all times.

(Source: Unity in Diversity, p101)
APPENDIX X: THE HEARTH FIRE GIRLS

LAW OF THE HEARTH

I promise on my honour that I will do my best to be contented, to give service, to be trustworthy, and to reverence God wherever I may be.

Heath Fire Clubs took a Maori name. Some of the names Clubs used were:

- Haeremai
- Waka-maru
- Hinemoa
- Koa
- Kla Ora
- Manawanui

- Kooralí
- Ropu-Walata
- Noorla
- Te Reka
- Aroha
- Waireka
## APPENDIX XI: FOUNDATION DATES OF YWCAS IN NEW ZEALAND, 1878-1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUNEDIN</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTCHURCH</td>
<td>1883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUCKLAND</td>
<td>1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELLINGTON</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INVERCARGILL</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARLMERSTON NORTH</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GISBORNE</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW PLYMOUTH</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIMARU</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* No longer in existence
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