

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

2

**FROM ROCKING THE CRADLE TO  
ROCKING THE SYSTEM: WOMEN,  
COMMUNITY WORK AND SOCIAL  
CHANGE IN AOTEAROA**

Wendy Craig  
1991

**Massey University Library  
Thesis Copyright Form**

From Rocking the Cradle to Rocking the System:  
Title of thesis: Women, Community Work and Social Change in Aotearoa

(1) (a) I give permission for my thesis to be made available to readers in Massey University Library under conditions determined by the Librarian.

~~(b) I do not wish my thesis to be made available to readers without my written consent for ... months.~~

(2) (a) I agree that my thesis, or a copy, may be sent to another institution under conditions determined by the Librarian.

~~(b) I do not wish my thesis, or a copy, to be sent to another institution without my written consent for ... months.~~

(3) (a) I agree that my thesis may be copied for Library use.

~~(b) I do not wish my thesis to be copied for Library use for ... months.~~

Signed *W. G. Craig*

Date 6.12.91

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author. Readers must sign their name in the space below to show that they recognise this. They are asked to add their permanent address.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

# Errata

PhD Thesis, Wendy Gay Craig

---

- P.84      Typographical error "or" instead of "of"  
paragraph 2, line 1.
- P.115     Typographical error "137" instead of "136"  
paragraph 1, line 7.
- P.137     Typographical error "let" instead of "led"  
paragraph 1, line 6.
- P.185     Typographical error "(1988b:116)" instead of "(1988a:116)"  
paragraph 3, line 7.
- P.195     Sentence 4, paragraph 2 incorrectly worded. Should read:  
"The detailed breakdown of these figures appeared in Chapter  
Five".
- P.197     Typographical error "(Waring 1988b)" instead of "(Waring  
1988a)"  
paragraph 1, line 5.
- P.267     Words omitted paragraph 1, line 3.  
Should read "the bosses focussed on "the structural stuff".
- P.296     Sentence 2, final paragraph incorrectly worded.  
Should read: "This final chapter highlighted the central theme  
of...."
- P.308     Typographical error "(1990)" instead of "(1989)"  
paragraph 2, line 3.
- P.318     Sentence 3, paragraph 1 incorrectly worded. Should read:  
"...outlined in Chapter Two".

FOR  
Reference Only

NOT TO BE REMOVED FROM THE LIBRARY

19/2/92

1092107740



---

**FROM ROCKING THE CRADLE TO ROCKING THE SYSTEM:  
WOMEN, COMMUNITY WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN  
AOTEAROA**

---

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

**Wendy Craig**

*Department of Social Policy and Social Work  
Massey University*

**December 1991**

## DEDICATION

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my granddaughter, Georgia May, in the hope that when she, and other women of her generation, make the transition from rocking the cradle to rocking the system, men will stand alongside and support them.

## Abstract

This dissertation explores women's involvement in community work in Aotearoa. It is argued that women's significant contributions to community work have been hidden, devalued or ignored in mainstream writing and teaching. This study documents women's experiences and their perceptions of these experiences; such stories which are very seldom told. It also focusses on an explanation of social change from the perspective of women community workers. These women view community work as a site of struggle for change, through the processes of empowerment, self-determination and working collectively.

Sixteen women, eight Maori and eight pakeha, participated in this study. These women have been identified as change agents and throughout their stories they constantly link their daily experiences to national, global and structural issues. All of the women have made a commitment to working towards change. This commitment has not always been without cost to themselves and to their families. Although the changes that the women have achieved can, at times, be seen as reformist in nature, it is argued that as women's community work challenges the practices of the state, it contributes to social change processes.

The approach taken is informed by my socialist feminist perspective. Issues pertaining to gender, race and, to some extent, class are considered in this thesis. The study concludes that future theorising about community work in Aotearoa, must, of necessity show, more effectively how gender, race and class are interrelated. The differences between the Maori and pakeha women's stories indicate that gender cannot be examined in isolation from race. The existence of gender, as a category, is shaped also by other relations such as race and class.

In articulating their struggles for change, the women reveal that there is much to be learned about the politics of caring. The women recognise that they have been trained to be the caregivers in society. For these women, however, caring plays an important role in the social change process. Their approach is based on an empowering model rather than a dependency one. Yet, whilst the women celebrate their own capacities related to caring, they are also concerned that men stand back from, and even devalue, this essential role which enables society to function. Thus community work is frequently conceptualised as women's work, and the women have to struggle to be recognised and paid for it.

This thesis also shows that, despite the differences between the Maori and pakeha women, their relationship is generally co-operative and the potential for them to learn from one another exists. Through their collective involvement in the Aotearoa Community Workers Association the women have found ways to work towards a partnership which is based on an understanding of the rights of Maori as the indigenous people of Aotearoa.

This research serves as a celebration of the women's experiences and knowledge of community work in Aotearoa. It is documented in a way that other women community workers can use to reflect on their own work. The challenge of any research and action is to not only record people's experiences, but also to use our knowledge, both written and oral, to provide an explanation of our current reality in order to , if necessary, change this reality. This dissertation, as part of a social process, has attempted to achieve this aim.



## Acknowledgements

Many people have inspired and assisted me in a variety of ways to get this thesis in its present form, and I would like to express my appreciation to them. Without their collective support, I doubt that I would have finished such a major undertaking.

I want to begin by thanking the women who shared their stories with me. Their commitment to community work and social change speaks for itself in this dissertation, and I hope that they think I have captured the essence of their work and their struggles. It is these women in particular, and other women involved in community work, who have provided me with the inspiration to tackle such a project.

My supervisors have been extremely supportive. Celia Briar as my chief supervisor, fresh out from England, probably did not know what she was going to encounter when she agreed to become my supervisor. She has been unendingly enthusiastic, however, and has encouraged me to persevere. I really appreciated that, Celia. Ephra Garrett, my mentor and the very first lecturer whom I encountered when I began studying as a mature student fourteen years ago, has offered boundless wisdom and inspiration. Tena koe Ephra. Ahakoa he mihi poto tenei hei aha ka nui tonu nga mihi.

Robyn Munford has given more than one can really expect of a supervisor. She has always been there when I have needed her and has provided both supervisory support and an ongoing amount of practical encouragement. I love your energy and enthusiasm Robyn. Not only are you such a special friend, but I appreciate the way you have taken on everything I left behind in Palmerston North, including Dorothy. I am going to miss the ongoing exchange. We will need to start another project.

Some of my friends and colleagues from the Department of Social Policy and Social Work have also played a supportive role in my studies. Rajen Prasad and Ian Shirley held the reins until I was able to find women supervisors, and then continued to offer significant encouragement and advice. Mike O'Brien was also exceedingly generous with his time. And to Janet Milne, one of the Golden Girls, I want to say how much I miss those eight o'clock sessions, both morning and night. Those informal 'supervision' sessions often sustained me.

Sharon Brook patiently transcribed all of the tapes and also assisted me in a number of other ways. Thank you very much Sharon. I know that it was not always an easy task. Mary Nash also helped me out by agreeing to read the thesis when it was in its first draft to see if it hung together. Mary, I not only appreciate the constructive comments, but I also want to say how supportive you have been to me throughout this entire project, both as a loving friend and a colleague.

My women friends have been particularly important. My dear friend Liz Gordon helped with the typing and formatting of this thesis, and read and critiqued the first draft while supposedly on holiday. She has given me many years of love, encouragement and support. Thank you Liz. I wish that you could have been with me when I handed this thesis in. We could have celebrated together. As well, my friends Adrienne Baird, Susan Grace, Dolly Larkins, Sally Marshall, Gail Munro, Mary Shirley and Julie Tait have always been there to help me in many diverse ways.

There are others who need to be acknowledged as well: people such as Graeme Fraser and Mervyn Hancock who encouraged me as a student every step of the way, Ken Milne who continually supported me and Mike Smith who talked me into becoming a community worker. Then there is Michael Elliott who inspired me in my early years of community work and who has always been one of my mentors. I am also indebted to Massey University for the Massey University Academic Women's Research Award

that was granted to me in 1990. This Award gave me a term's study leave to write up part of my research findings. I feel privileged for having received the Award, and it certainly came at an important time in my studies.

More recently, with my move to Hamilton, I have discovered new friends and colleagues. In particular, I have found a warm and supportive environment within the Student Services Section at the University of Waikato, and I want to thank all of them for not only tolerating the final throes of the completion of a thesis, but also for actively supporting me all of the time. This acknowledgement includes Sharon Pearson who has given me strong personal support, and Pat Gregory who has also provided some practical assistance which was much appreciated.

Although a number of people assisted with the proof-reading of this thesis, three of them did the lion's share. They were my sisters Dawn Fookes and Paddy Mouat, and a friend and colleague, Paul Goodson. Having done this task for a number of people, I know how time consuming and tedious it is, and I really appreciate their efforts, guidance and support.

Finally, but certainly by no means insignificantly, my family members need to be acknowledged and thanked for their ongoing assistance, support and love. I know the years of me as a student have not been easy for them. Kirsten and Hadley, my two youngest, have no recollection of me being anything other than a student, even during my years as a lecturer. And my oldest two, Michael and Kim, watched each year go by wondering when my student days would come to an end and the house would return to normal. They left home, set up their own homes, and still our house has not returned to normal, if there is such a thing. My husband Alan has patiently waited for this day, but he probably knows something else is sure to follow. Hang in there Alan! Really, I'm not too bad! Life would be boring without me.

## Table of Contents

	<i>Page number</i>
List of figures and tables	xiv
Maori glossary	xv
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Community work	2
Feminist research	5
Feminist theory	7
Format of this thesis	12
<b>PART ONE</b>	
<i>1</i> <b>Community Work and Social Change within Britain:</b>	
<b>Historical Origins</b>	<b>16</b>
The first phase: The Victorian era - reform and control	17
Feminist organising	21
The second phase: Between the wars - fostering a sense of community	22
The third phase: The 1960s - in search of a profession	23
The fourth phase: In search of radicalism	28
A fifth phase: Retrenchment	31

2	<b>Community Work and Social Change in Aotearoa</b>	<b>33</b>
	The origins of community work in Aotearoa	33
	Women in the community: working towards change	35
	Maori women	38
	Social work and community work: an ambivalent relationship	40
	Community work in the 70s and 80s	44
	Local authority involvement in community work	46
	Central government provision for community work	49
	Community work within the voluntary sector: women's work	56
	Community work as a site of struggle for change	64
3	<b>The Welfare State: Feminist Theorising</b>	<b>70</b>
	Malestream theories of the state	70
	Feminist theories of the state	78
	A socialist feminist approach to the state in Aotearoa	87
4	<b>The Politics of Caring</b>	<b>91</b>
	Women and family policy	91
	The 'family' in Aotearoa	93
	Caring for the family	97
	The politics of caring	99
	Women and employment	105
	Women and paid work	106
	Women and unpaid work in the community	111
	Women in the unpaid social services	115
	Women's unpaid work and the state	120

## PART TWO

<b>5</b>	<b>The Research Process: Methodological Considerations</b>	<b>124</b>
	Choosing the research topic	124
	The relationship between theory and research	126
	The fieldwork	127
	The group participants	129
	Selecting the women for the in-depth interviews	132
	The in-depth interviews	134
	Transcription and analysis	138
	The women's stories	140
	The women	141
	The Maori women	142
	The pakeha women	143
<b>6</b>	<b>What is Community Work?</b>	<b>146</b>
	Defining community work	146
	Self-determination	148
	Collectivity	149
	Power	151
	Social Change	153
	A day in the life of a community worker	154
	Early starts	155
	Morning work	157
	Afternoon work	160
	Evening work	162

	The key tasks in community work	163
	Identifying needs	163
	Networking	166
	Planning	168
	Action and reflection	171
	Changes in community work	172
	Biculturalism and community work	180
	Summary	185
<b>7</b>	<b>Women's Work: The Process of Becoming a Community Worker</b>	<b>187</b>
	Life circumstances	187
	Working class origins	187
	Childhood and adult experiences	189
	Entry points	195
	Why community work?	200
	Community work is women's work	205
	Choosing community work	210
	Surviving community work	215
	Commitment	215
	Support	218
	Training	221
	Summary	224
<b>8</b>	<b>The Context of Community Work</b>	<b>226</b>
	The community	226
	The organisation	235
	The state	250
	Summary	259

9	<b>Working Towards Social Change</b>	<b>261</b>
	Caring: a central theme for social change	261
	Community work and social change	267
	Changes for the women	275
	Organising for change	282
	Changes from within the system	287
	Other issues relating to change	292
	Summary	296
10	<b>The Way Forward: Reflecting On the Past</b>	<b>298</b>
	Weaving the stories together	298
	The context of community work	299
	The state	299
	The organisation	302
	The community	303
	Key issues and themes	304
	On feminism	304
	Gender, race and class	306
	Community work and social work	307
	Training	308
	The politics of caring	309
	Differences in the experiences of Maori and pakeha women	310
	Social change	313
	The future of community work and community work research	315
	<i>Appendix 1</i>	318
	The history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association	



<i>Appendix 2</i>	325
The Treaty of Waitangi	
<i>Appendix 3</i>	328
Community work training in Aotearoa	
<i>Appendix 4</i>	341
Community work survey and questionnaire	
<i>Appendix 5</i>	356
The interview schedule	
<i>Bibliography</i>	359

## List of Figures and Tables

*Page Number*

### **Figures**

2.1 Trends in the development of services by local authorities	48
4.1 Percentage of various 'family types' in Aotearoa, 1986	94
4.2 Labour force participation by gender, two-parent families, 1986	95
4.3 Work status by gender, single parents (1986)	96

### **Tables**

4.1 Worker type by gender	117
---------------------------	-----

### **Appendices**

Figure A1.1 Structure of the National Association	321
Figure A4.1 Female Maori, Income Status	345
Figure A4.2 Female Tauwiwi, Income Status	346
Figure A4.3 Male Maori, Income Status	347
Figure A4.4 Male Tauwiwi, Income Status	348

## Maori Glossary

<i>Aotearoa</i>	New Zealand
<i>Ariki</i>	Paramount chief
<i>Aroha</i>	Love
<i>Hapu</i>	Sub-tribe
<i>Hui</i>	Meeting, gathering
<i>Iwi</i>	People, tribe
<i>Kai</i>	Food
<i>Karakia</i>	Prayer
<i>Kaupapa</i>	Topic, rule
<i>Kawanatanga</i>	Governor, governance
<i>Kei te pai</i>	Fine, well
<i>Kete</i>	Basket
<i>Koha</i>	Gift
<i>Korero</i>	Talk, speak
<i>Mahi</i>	Work
<i>Matua whangai</i>	Foster parent
<i>Mihi</i>	Greeting
<i>Mokopuna</i>	Grandchild
<i>Pakeha</i>	White man, European
<i>Powhiri</i>	Welcome
<i>Take</i>	Topic of discussion, issue
<i>Taonga</i>	Treasure, possession
<i>Tangata whenua</i>	People of the land
<i>Tauwiwi</i>	Strange tribe, foreigner, non-Maori

<i>Te iwi Maori</i>	The Maori people
<i>Te kohanga reo</i>	The language nest
<i>Te Kupu</i>	The message
<i>Tino rangatiratanga</i>	Maori sovereignty
	Maori control over everything Maori
<i>Tipuna</i>	Ancestor, grandparents
<i>Tu Tangata</i>	Stand tall
<i>Wairua</i>	Spirit
<i>Whanau</i>	Family, extended family
<i>Whare hui</i>	Meeting house

## Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to explore women's involvement in community work in Aotearoa. From a socialist feminist perspective, I am interested in the tension between bringing about major social-structural change, and working on a day-to-day level to improve the lives of women and children. Community work is one site where this tension is particularly evident. This thesis examines the links between individual change and social change by focussing on women who have been identified as 'change agents' in the community work field over the past decade in Aotearoa.

There has been very little research carried out on community work in Aotearoa, and even less on women's specific involvement in community work. Contributions from Shirley (1979, 1982), the Community Forum Series (1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1982), Bloomfield (1982), Craig (1983), O'Regan (1986), O'Regan and O'Connor (1989) and Kilmister (1987) have provided us with some understanding of the development, style and the form of community work in Aotearoa. However, none of these publications is specifically women-oriented. As women writing about community work in Aotearoa, O'Regan, O'Connor and I have focussed primarily on working alongside and with other women, although we did not set out to write a text on women and their community work as such.

Similarly, there are a number of publications such as *Broadsheet* and *Te Kupu* which address aspects of women's involvement in community work. These are not sufficient, however, to provide us with an extensive understanding of the tensions between individual change and social change, which is a central focus of this thesis.

This research has a dual focus: to describe women's experiences of community work, and to examine community work as a site of struggle for change. The research topic originates from my long-time involvement in community work in Aotearoa, during which I have primarily worked with other women community workers and women in the community. My decision to go into community work was a conscious one and did not happen by chance. Community work appealed to me as a way in which I could participate with other people in society, to bring about individual and social change (Craig 1983). I believe, that given its very nature, community work must be viewed as a site of struggle for change.

My own views on community work are well documented in my text *A Community Work Perspective* (1983) and, as can be expected (Elliott, 1990), these views have influenced the direction of this research. During the course of this thesis I shall be arguing that women's involvement in community work has constantly been devalued, undermined or ignored, and that it has only been in recent years that feminists, in particular, have demanded that women's contributions should be recognised and acknowledged.

## **Community Work**

Community work evolved in Aotearoa in the 1970s as a distinct form of social intervention. It became an integral part of the community building initiatives sponsored by both central and local government, as well as by concerned citizens and disadvantaged groups (Dyce, 1979; Shirley, 1979; Craig, 1983; Kilmister, 1987). An idealist notion of 'the community' was widely seen as the panacea for all social problems, and a new language reiterated the notion of community participation and belonging (Craig, 1983). A diversity of community services became manifest "to give

new meaning and weight to the changing concept of 'community'" (Kilmister, 1987: 2) and the family was promoted as "the backbone of the community" (Craig, 1983:24).

Community work shares a close relationship with social work, especially within the academy, and a number of writers in Aotearoa such as Shirley (1979) and Shannon (1986) see it as part of the social work profession. Like social work, it has its origins in the social reform movements of the late nineteenth century, and, as with social work, its practice can be conservative and contain within it elements of social control. Together with some community work academics, however, I tend to see community work as allied to, but not part of, the social work profession (Matthews and Ward, 1978; Twelvetrees, 1982; Cree, 1985). Many social work educators would disagree with me and even suggest that it is a non-issue. Within community work in Aotearoa, however, it has become an issue. The relationship between community work and social work will be further explored in this thesis.

Definitions of community work also reflect a lack of consensus over the nature and the purpose of community work and the role of the community worker. In part, this reflects the fact that community work "is inextricably linked to the needs and demands of society at any particular time" (Lloyd 1978: 6), and thus definitions keep changing (Thomas, 1983). In my text (Craig, 1983) I promoted a definition of community work which was extracted from an address given by the Rev. Michael Elliott, who at that time was the Director of the Ecumenical Secretariat on Development:

Community work seeks to identify the needs and aspirations of those who are excluded, exploited or oppressed by the structures of society; to enable them to perceive and understand the causes of such oppression; and to empower them

either to change the present structures, or create counter-structures which fulfil human potential and establish justice and dignity (Elliott, 1978).

Although this definition is clearly somewhat idealistic, it nevertheless captures some key principles of community work which will be developed in this thesis. It is a definition which I have incorporated in my teaching to students and community workers since the publication of my text.

In their recent training proposal, the Canterbury Community Work Training Group defines community work as:

working with individuals and community groups to effect social change, promote community learning and development and to provide a greater sharing of resources, knowledge and power within the community (CWTG, 1990: 14).

This definition is limiting as it does not incorporate all of the key aspects that I believe are central to community work. The Training Group incorporates Elliott's definition of community work, however, by presenting it as the Group's philosophy.

Elsewhere, I have defined community work as a form of intervention that encourages, enables or empowers individuals, whanau or groups within a geographical or tribal area or community, to identify and articulate their needs for themselves (Craig, 1989). The community worker then works with these people to help them achieve their goals or needs. Whilst I do not think that there should be one single definition of community work, I believe there are some principles in common, and these principles will be illuminated in the next section and in the course of my research.



Another term that is frequently used in community work is community development. This is a particular process which implies the notion of self-determination, although it is often taken to mean self-help, especially by policy makers. Davey and Dwyer (1984:8) define community development as:

the process by which communities decide on their own needs and priorities, acquire knowledge, and develop and gain access to resources and support systems to meet those needs.

In Aotearoa this term is regularly interchanged with that of community work, and is quite popular with women community workers. In the past, Maori community workers were more inclined to use this term, but I have noticed that in recent years the term 'whanau development' has become more popular. Shirley (1979) points out that the term, community development, is somewhat ambiguous and that there are a number of perspectives from which it may be understood. He argues, however, that a recurrent theme in all perspectives is the notion of social change.

### **Feminist Research**

The potential of qualitative research has been explored by feminist researchers in Aotearoa (see for example, James, 1985; Middleton, 1985; Court, 1989; Munford, 1989). The relative virtues of qualitative versus quantitative research has long been a subject of debate, with each method clearly having its merits, especially if the one is carried out in conjunction with the other (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Jayaratne, 1983).

This study primarily uses a qualitative method in order to "tap an irreplaceable information source before it fades forever" (Matthews, 1988:20). Sixteen women,<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>A summary of the personal characteristics of the women is provided in Chapter Five, and Appendix Five contains the interview schedule which was used as a guide for the in-depth interviews.

eight Maori and eight pakeha, were selected to be interviewed. They were chosen primarily on the basis of the contributions they have made to community work and because of their involvement in the Aotearoa Community Workers Association.<sup>2</sup> This Association has as one of its primary objectives a recognition of the need to work towards social change. The majority of the women had had a minimum of eight years involvement in community work. At the time I interviewed them, thirteen of the women were being paid for their community work. Three of them worked for a statutory agency and three for a local authority. Nine of the women worked for voluntary agencies and one was not currently attached to any particular organisation. Their ages ranged from 27 to 57 (see Chapter Five).

The reclaiming of women's experiences has guided and informed my methodology. I began by conducting a pilot study which was used to lay the foundations for the development of a preliminary theory sketch. This pilot study involved my meeting with five groups of women involved in community work and with two women individually. These interviews were taped, and subsequently enabled me to develop an interview schedule.

Scientific knowledge seeking has been considered to be value neutral, objective and protected from political interests (Harding, 1987). Feminism helps us critique this assumption and is thus a political movement for social change. If women's authority in matters of knowledge was already recognised, we would no longer need a distinctly feminist social science. New feminist analyses unsettle traditional assumptions about knowledge, as they challenge familiar beliefs about men, women and social life. As Harding (1987:181) puts it:

---

<sup>2</sup>Appendix One explores the history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association which was established in 1988, after several years of extensive debate among community workers.

Once we undertake to use women's experiences as a resource to generate scientific problems, hypotheses, and evidence, to design research for women, and to place the researcher in the same critical plane as the research subject, traditional epistemological assumptions can no longer be made.

Feminist analyses and methodological criteria, then, have guided this thesis. Feminism can be described as "an active desire to change women's position in society" (Mitchell and Oakley, 1986: 13). Contemporary feminism has its roots in the women's movement which sought equality for women.

### **Feminist Theory**

Eisenstein (1984) suggests that feminist theory grew out of liberalism in that the essential ideas of feminism draw on at least three strands of thought: the "rights of man", the tradition of socialist theory, and the examination of sexuality and sexual behaviour in its social and political context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Eisenstein, 1984: xv). Thus feminist theory explores three areas of freedom: political, economic and sexual. Feminist attempts to analyse the causes of women's oppression are diverse, and thus feminist theories accommodate differing perspectives on how women's oppression can be exposed and challenged (Jaggar, 1983). In this thesis I refer only to the three main categories of feminist theorising: liberal, radical and socialist feminism (Ramazanoglu, 1989). Whilst acknowledging that there are other categories of feminism, and that there may be advantages in further subdividing these categories it is not my aim to provide an extensive overview and critique of feminist thought. The three main groupings identified are sufficient for the purposes of this research.

As will be shown in Chapter One, feminists have found community work to be compatible with their ways of organising and working together towards change (Dixon et al, 1982; Dominelli and McLeod, 1989). As a feminist and a community worker, I have identified four important notions that can be likened to principles. These, I believe, feminists and community workers share in common. The first principle is *self determination*. This concept embraces a belief that communities, and people within communities, have a good understanding of their needs and what has to be changed. Feminists and community workers actively try to empower people, so that they can take control over their own lives and determine their futures. The second concept relates to *collectivity*. Although both feminists and community workers at times work with individuals, our aim is to work collectively with groups of people to bring about change.

The third notion is that of *power*. Feminists and community workers have to confront power because it exists in our society. There are people who are always oppressed by that power, and there are people who may use their power in a negative way against others. Both feminists and community workers are concerned with developing an understanding of power relations in society and with seeking ultimately to minimise the inequalities of power. The final notion relates to *change*. Both feminism and community work actively seek social change.

Although feminists start from the basic premise that women are oppressed or discriminated against in society, there are differences in the ways they believe that change can be achieved. This diversity of opinion reflects their differing perspectives, although, at times, it is difficult to distinguish the boundaries. Of all the categories of feminism, liberal feminism is probably the best known and accepted. Liberal feminists do not seek structural change in society. They believe that women have been discriminated against because of their gender, and have thus been unable to enjoy the

same rights as men. They advocate that legal and institutional change in male attitudes will enable women to have equal opportunities, especially in the areas of employment, politics and education (James, 1982; Ramazanoglu, 1989; Tong, 1989). Liberal feminists promote change through reform, and they have been particularly active in campaigning and lobbying for equal rights, equal employment opportunities, equal access to education, health and welfare and improved child care facilities (Ramazanoglu, 1989; Nes and Iadicola, 1989). Examples of liberal feminist community work include the Family Planning Association, Women's Electoral Lobby, La Leche League, Citizen Advice Bureaux (CABs), Family Refuges, National Council of Women and Volunteer Bureaux.

Radical feminism begins with a recognition that women are oppressed because of their reproductive capacity. Women constitute a sex class and live in a male-dominated society in which women's interests are subordinate to those of men. Moreover, men have instituted patriarchal structures which serve to maintain women's oppression and to systematically control them. Radical feminists are not optimistic that men will change. Rather, they tend to concentrate on creating a women-centred environment, so they can celebrate women's culture and empower women through a process of personal and political action (Eisenstein, 1984). In their struggles for change, radical feminists focus on a number of activities, particularly in the areas of violence, sexuality, reproductive biology and reclaiming women's history. Examples of radical feminist initiatives in community work are rape crisis centres, women's refuges, women's health centres and women's collectives.

Socialist feminism integrates ideas from Marxism and radical feminism and takes into account both class oppression and male hegemony. Thus socialist feminists are not only concerned with the specific historical oppression of women under capitalism, but also with the relations between class and gender and how these relations shape and

influence one another (Wearing, 1986; Ramazanoglu, 1989). In recent times there has been a distinct lack of unity among socialist feminists, created, in part, by the debates surrounding the proper relationship between the social categories of primacy of gender, race and class (Segal, 1987).

Socialist feminist campaigns to bring about change reflect this diversity of views, and there is often a considerable overlap between these efforts and those of liberal and radical feminists (Bouchier, 1983; Wearing, 1986). Thus, socialist feminist strategies include working towards legislative and political reform and developing feminist alternative systems, as well as building alliances and coalitions within the trade union movement and with other oppressed groups. Socialist feminist community work initiatives range from work in the areas of environmental and peace issues, housing, health, abortion, women's position in the workplace and union issues, welfare and workers' rights centres, through to battered women's centres, rape crisis, women's self-help groups, child care and neighbourhood work.

Dann argues that liberal feminism is the dominant strand of feminism in Aotearoa (Dann, 1987: 39). Through organisations such as the National Organisation of Women (NOW), and the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), liberal feminists have made significant contributions to legislative and institutional reforms aimed at providing women with the same legal rights and freedoms as men. It will be argued throughout this thesis, however, that these changes are limited. Sex inequalities still exist in both the private and public spheres (Gillespie, 1980), and Maori, Pacific Island and working class women experience the full impact of these inequalities (Horsfield, 1988).

It is also difficult to separate the contribution of socialist and radical feminists from that of liberal feminists. In the early days of the 1970s women's movements in Aotearoa -

liberal, socialist and radical feminists - all marched together, protested together and aspired to change the world together. Each influenced the others. Liberal feminists alerted us to the need for legislative change and political inclusion, socialist feminists to the necessity for economic independence, and radical feminists reminded us that women had the right to determine their own sexuality and to live in a world where they were not controlled by violence. Moreover, the problem of categorisation is a difficult one (Duff, 1988). As Duff points out, theorists must take care when labelling people, as categories themselves can alienate people.

Throughout the western world feminism has increasingly come under scrutiny by black feminists and women of colour (Ramazanoglu, 1989). They claim that the 'white' feminist movement is inherently racist in that it prioritises gender oppression over racial oppression (Dominelli and McLeod, 1989), and that the goals of feminism reflect white middle-class values and privileges (Awatere, 1984). This critique is gradually forcing a reconceptualisation of feminism to incorporate racial oppression and anti-racist practices (Jaggar, 1983; Dominelli and McLeod, 1989; Ramazanoglu, 1989).

Feminists in Aotearoa have not been exempted from this criticism. Although initially many Maori women joined the women's movement, they, too, became steadily disillusioned with pakeha women's racism and apparent inability to recognise that oppression occurs on a number of levels. This disillusionment led to the formation of a Maori women's movement which focussed on racial oppression, the ramifications of colonisation and restoration of Maori sovereignty or Maori self-determination (Awatere, 1984; Dann, 1985; Walker, 1990). Pakeha feminists were still digesting the effects of Maori women's challenges to them during the latter part of the 1970s and early 1980s (Dann, 1985), when Awatere (1982, 1983) published four hard-hitting articles on Maori Sovereignty in *Broadsheet* which directly challenged feminists to

take up the anti-racist struggle. Since then, many pakeha feminists have heeded the challenge from Maori women, and, indeed, from Maori society. Feminist community workers have been particularly responsive to these challenges.

This thesis has been written in the context of renewed public debates over the role of the Treaty of Waitangi, brought to the forefront by the 1990 sesquicentennial. Article I of the Treaty acceded Kawanatanga (right to govern) to the Crown. Article II guaranteed tino rangatiratanga over taonga, and Article III guaranteed citizenship to the Maori equal to that of British subjects. Thus in Article III Maori were granted access to pakeha society, while Article II recognised the right of Maori control, authority, status and prestige over their own taonga. An English translation of the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi is presented in Appendix Two.<sup>3</sup>

Community work in Aotearoa has been affected by the renewed debates. In addition to focussing on the development of anti-racist practices, many pakeha community workers are now endeavouring to incorporate the partnership principles of the Treaty of Waitangi into their training programmes and daily practice.<sup>4</sup> The 1989 Aotearoa Community Workers' Hui took as its key theme, the Treaty of Waitangi, to empower both Maori and non-Maori to develop a better understanding of its relevance to community work in Aotearoa.

### **Format of This Thesis**

This thesis consists of two parts. The first part provides an overview of the historical developments of community work in the UK and in Aotearoa, and then considers the

---

<sup>3</sup>There are several English versions of the Treaty of Waitangi, and none of these matches the Maori version which was signed by the Maori chiefs (Walker, 1990:90). The version presented in Appendix Two was translated into English from the Maori version by Kawharu (1988:87-88).

<sup>4</sup>The Canterbury Community Work Training Group (1990) includes in their training proposal an outline of how these principles can be translated into training programmes and into community work practice.



theoretical, political and ideological influences that inform this thesis. The second part of the thesis presents the women's perceptions and experiences of community work in Aotearoa, including their struggles in working for social change.

The first part contains four chapters. *Chapter One* outlines a history of community work in the UK. Such an overview is necessary because there are many links and similarities between the UK and Aotearoa. *Chapter One* includes a discussion of the tensions between social control and social change in community work. It also considers women's long history in organising and working for social change; highlights community work's struggle to find its own identity; and briefly examines the retrenchment it is currently experiencing.

*Chapter Two* focusses on community work in Aotearoa. It suggests that as with the UK, community work in Aotearoa has its origins in the social reform movements of the last century. It argues, however, that these origins can also be found in the Maori resistance to colonialism. This chapter considers the relationship between community work and social work, which is described as an ambiguous one that has been influenced by social work models developed in the UK and USA. The chapter examines briefly the struggles of community work in the 1970s and 1980s to establish its identity and to resist co-option and control by the state.

*Chapter Three* considers both malestream and feminist theories of the welfare state. This chapter provides a socialist feminist framework, which brings together the social categories of class, race and gender, in order to examine women's caring and nurturing work in Aotearoa.

This work is investigated in *Chapter Four*, which identifies the policies, practices and ideologies that underpin women's caring and servicing work. The chapter considers

the contribution of women's unpaid or underpaid work and how the state benefits from this work.

Part two of this thesis considers the women's stories.<sup>5</sup> *Chapter Five* describes the methodology of the research project. It provides an account of the processes I used in choosing the research topic, the selection of women for the interviews, and the writing up of the material that I accumulated. This chapter also points out a few minor difficulties that I encountered. And most importantly, it introduces the women who I interviewed.

*Chapter Six* examines the women's perceptions of community work and identifies a number of principles that are central to their practice. The chapter describes routine aspects of women's daily work and also outlines the key tasks of community work. It considers the changes that have taken place in community work over the past two decades, including those pertaining to biculturalism.

*Chapter Seven* explores the processes that led the women to become community workers. It addresses the issue of community work as women's work and examines how personal experiences of oppression may result in developing a commitment to work for social change. This chapter also considers the mechanisms that the women have used to remain in community work.

*Chapter Eight* describes the context of community work, and examines a number of themes and tensions that influence the women's community work. This chapter focusses on the three key sites in which the women are working: the community, the

---

<sup>5</sup>Munford used this term in her thesis. She argues that "it captures the way in which women talk about their lived experiences" (Munford, 1989:1). Munford suggests that most of the women who she interviewed had not had the opportunity to tell their stories about the realities of their lives. In fact, the women who I interviewed had never spoken at length about their community work experiences and nor had they been interviewed about their work.

organisation and the state. It highlights the difficulties that the women experience, and addresses the issue of paid and unpaid work.

*Chapter Nine* discusses the women's views on working towards social change. It explains the importance of working towards change in caring ways and considers the effects of being a change agent on the women themselves. This chapter addresses the question of whether there are differences between Maori and pakeha community workers in their struggles for change.

*Chapter Ten* brings together the main arguments of this thesis and makes some predictions about the future directions of community work in Aotearoa. It considers the context of community work as introduced in *Chapter Eight* - the community, the organisation and the state - and discusses the dominant themes that emerged from the women's stories. The chapter places social change within this context and explores the tensions and contradictions that influence community work and those people working for social change. This exploration includes a discussion on the concept of partnership between Maori and non-Maori community workers. *Chapter Ten* concludes with an outline of the ways in which this thesis can contribute to further studies about women involved in community work.

---

Part One

---

## *Chapter One*

### **Community Work and Social Change Within Britain: Historical Origins**

Community work is essentially concerned with affecting the course of social change through the two processes of analysing social situations and forming relationships with different groups to bring about some desirable change (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1968).

In this chapter I will examine the origins of community work within Britain and the contribution which women have made in their work towards social change. Developments in Britain have influenced community work within Aotearoa. There are many links and similarities between community work in Britain and Aotearoa. Moreover, community work literature in Aotearoa reveals the extent of the British influence beyond that of any other nation including the USA. In the USA community work, or community organisation as it is known, has always been seen as a third method of social work (Twelvetrees, 1976), whilst in Britain and in Aotearoa it has struggled to retain its own identity (Thomas, 1983). For the purposes of this study, it is important to document some of the key developments in community work in Britain, as this documentation provides us with an understanding of the historical influences within the Aotearoa context (Shirley, 1979).

The chapter considers five phases of community work.<sup>1</sup> The first three phases outline the historical origins of community work, which include the role of the early feminists working for change, and community work's emergence as a profession within Britain. The fourth phase explores community work's trend towards radicalism, and in the fifth phase I briefly consider its retrenchment from radicalism.

### **The First Phase: The Victorian Era - Reform and Control**

According to Thomas (1983), community work in the UK is a recent phenomenon, hardly predating 1960. Here he is referring to community work as a professional, paid activity. In fact, community work, like social work, has its genesis in the social reform movements of the late nineteenth century (Shirley, 1979), the Charity Organization Society and in the settlement movement (Baldock, 1980). The social reform movements developed in response to the massive upheavals and pauperisation created by industrialism, and were aimed at achieving changes in legislation and in the provision of services for the poor.

The early social welfare pioneers were concerned about poverty, crime and ill-health and the appalling conditions under which many people lived (Parker, 1988). They tended to originate from the middle and upper classes and the greater majority of them were women (Parry and Parry, 1979). The organisations from which they worked frequently had the patronage of the aristocracy as well as successful industrialists. As Fraser observes, the Victorian response to needs perceived as urgent and immediate "was an over-liberal dose of charity" (Fraser, 1984: 124).

---

<sup>1</sup>I am utilising Baldock's (1974) typology - the four phases of community work - to which I have added a fifth phase.

Recent commentators on Victorian philanthropy advance a number of motives for nineteenth-century philanthropic and social welfare action (Parry and Parry, 1979; Fraser, 1984; Sullivan, 1987; Parker, 1988). Fraser sums up these motives as:

a fear of social revolution, a humanitarian concern for suffering, a satisfaction of some psychological or social need and a desire to improve the moral tone of the recipients (Fraser, 1984: 126).

Most certainly the underlying value system embraced the notions of benevolence, discipline and the deserving poor, reflecting the utilitarian and moralistic outlook prevalent in the Victorian era. The early social service pioneers encouraged thrift, self-help and individualism. Most did not challenge the prevailing conditions and the social injustices of the Victorian era. Instead there was an acceptance of the gross social inequalities that existed (Parker, 1988).

The movement from charity to that of casework was seen as a significant development when the Charity Organisation Society was formed in 1869. The brainchild of Charles Loch, this voluntary community agency "was undoubtedly the originator of casework" (Younghusband, 1981: 12) and has been heralded as the prototype of modern day social work (Jones, 1979; Parry and Parry, 1979). Yet although professionally pioneering, its social philosophy was rigidly traditional (Fraser, 1984). Emphasising self-help and individualism, the focus of the Society was on voluntary effort and the more rational use of charitable resources. It tackled the problems of the 'deserving poor', by co-ordinating existing charitable services, developing housing schemes and organising districts into visiting areas, in order to monitor and influence the moral development of families and individuals (Parry and Parry, 1979; Younghusband, 1981; McCreary and Shirley, 1982; Fraser, 1984).

Despite its essentially reactionary approach to societal problems and its focus on casework, individuals and families, a number of writers nevertheless claim that the Charity Organisation Society can be seen as a source of some forms of community work (Baldock, 1974; Woodroffe, 1974; Jones, 1981; Younghusband, 1981). Younghusband (1981), for instance, cites the tenancy work initiated by Octavia Hill, who was one of the first district organisers for the Charity Organisation Society, as an excellent example of community work. Moreover, she convincingly argues that these early pioneers (of social work), took community work for granted in their approach to the organisation, co-ordination and initiation of services within the community.

Younghusband (1981) also points to the work of the settlement movement, led by Canon Samuel Barnett, which sought to influence working class communities and to encourage and/or offer responsible community leadership. The settlements, themselves, were dwellings in which (mostly) university students and graduates resided and undertook voluntary work within the community (Baldock, 1974). The settlements were perceived as a means by which the more privileged could live among the poor, befriend them, provide recreational and educational activities for them, and in the process break down the division between the classes (Walton, 1975).

There was a strong "ecclesiastical ethos" (Parry and Parry, 1979: 24). Canon Barnett himself was a parish priest, and many of the universities were staffed by the clergy. Fraser (1984) identifies this phase of philanthropic action as being motivated by the evangelical Christian revival in the latter half of the nineteenth century, tempered with a growing social conscience. Both men and women became involved in the settlement movement. Barnett had initially envisaged the settlements as being led by men, but as women began to enter the universities, encouraged by Henrietta Barnett, Barnett's wife, women's settlements were also established (Walton, 1975).



The degree to which working class communities benefited from the settlement movement is debatable. It has been argued, however, that the settlements provided a base to broaden the life experiences and shape the thinking of many of its volunteers (Walton, 1975). Among these volunteers were future statesmen and civil servants, including men such as Clement Attlee and William Beveridge who had a profound influence on the formation of the welfare state in Britain (Wilson, 1977). Many of the women settlement workers were strong suffragists and became involved in a number of social reform movements (Banks, 1981). Moreover, women tended to use the settlements as a base for obtaining training in social work (Walton, 1975).

To an extent, the innovations of Canon Barnett were not too dissimilar to some of the more conservative neighbourhood work undertaken by community work agencies in Aotearoa nearly a century later. Indeed, Baldock claims that Toynbee Hall, the first settlement, was "the first community work agency" in Britain, and goes as far as to suggest that Barnett should be considered the first British community worker (Baldock, 1980: 30). Other writers such as Seed (1973), argue that the settlement movements were in many ways the forerunners of community development activities.

As Shirley (1979) observes, however, in the main these early proponents of community work tended to focus on individual change rather than social change. Several of these people went on to work for social reform as a result of their growing awareness of the effects of societal conditions on individuals (Walton, 1975; Parry and Parry, 1979; Baldock, 1980). It is impossible, however, to ignore the strong elements of social control that were prevalent in their social intervention. This tension between social control and social change still exists in community work today.

## **Feminist organising**

Women have a long history of organising around community issues (Mayo, 1977). This rich history has seldom been explored in relation to its contribution to the origins of community work. Rather, much of women's history has remained hidden or trivialised (Rowbotham, 1976; Spender, 1984; Grimshaw, 1986). Writers such as Dominelli and McLeod (1989) argue that feminist organising is fundamental to feminist community work. Other writers point to the impact of feminism and the women's movements on community work (Wilson, 1977b; Hanmer and Rose, 1980; Dixon et al, 1982; Hall and Shirley, 1982).

In her text *Hidden From History* (1976), Rowbotham captures some of the rich history of feminist organisation and resistance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain. She points out that women have played an extremely important role in their organising efforts to achieve sexual, social and political equality, take control over their bodies, form unions and generally struggle for social justice (Rowbotham, 1973).

Rowbotham does not trace the relationship between feminist organising and community work. Brandwein (1988) and Weil (1986), however, locate the history of American women's struggles for change within the origins of community organisation. Brandwein (1988) specifically points to the work of nineteenth-century women reformers, such as Jane Addams, as playing a central role in the inception of community work practice. She argues that, although men dominated in the administration of the emerging community organisation practice, women were more visible in the areas of advocacy and organising. Weil (1986) contends that community organisation practice came to be seen as a male preserve, with the push towards professionalism occurring in the 1920s. She draws very close parallels between the feminist movement and community work:

The entire history and development of feminism can be seen as a process of community organising - from the development of critical consciousness regarding the status of women and the oppression of minorities, to demystifying and reclaiming history, through the development of social and political action movements, including the creation of specialised organisations and programs to serve the needs of women (Weil, 1986: 188).

Weil (1986:191-92) provides a list of the names and work of the early American women pioneers in community organisation. She observes that despite this "rich and poor heritage" (Weil, 1986:192), it is rare to find recognition of these women in mainstream literature on community organisation, or of their contribution to general community work practice.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the work of these women pioneers in further depth, although in the next section I shall be exploring the contribution of the early women settlers in Aotearoa. My argument is that women's involvement in community work has constantly been devalued, undermined or ignored, and that only in recent years, as shown by the preponderance of women writers in the field, has their contribution begun to be acknowledged. Such neglect has had a profound influence on teaching and theorising about community work (Weil, 1986), in that these aspects have become male dominated.

### **The second phase: Between the wars - fostering a sense of community**

Baldock locates the second phase in the development of the community work approach, in the work undertaken by the National Council of Social Service and in the Community Association Movement (Baldock, 1974; 1980). The National Council of Social Service, which is now known as the National Council of Voluntary

Organisations, was formed in 1919. It was concerned with co-ordinating the activities of the various social service agencies to make these services more efficient. This aim, as Muncie, Fitzgerald and Read (1978) comment, closely reflects the modern approach to community organisation and community planning.

It was, however, the New Estates Committee of the National Council of Social Service that began to promote 'the sense of community' fostered initially by the settlement movement. This Committee, which was founded in 1928, sought to get people involved in their residential areas. Under the auspices of the National Federation of Community Associations, as it eventually became known, the Community Association movement still exists within Britain today (Twelvetrees, 1976). Primarily focussing on the problems of urban development within new housing estates, Community Associations served as umbrella type organisations, bringing residents together within a locality to encourage the provision of resources and self-help activities (Baldock, 1974).

The National Council of Social Service and the Community Association movement, then, stimulated community involvement by pioneering services, identifying gaps or creating more appropriate services and by co-ordinating existing services. In this phase of community work, change was promoted, but through the use of a consensual approach in which adjustments to the existing systems were seen as adequate, rather than by any efforts to transform those systems. This conservative phase of community work was to dominate for the next fifty years (Baldock, 1974).

### **The third phase: The 1960s - in search of a profession**

The idea of community work as an occupation and as part of the social work profession, first surfaced in the early 1960s (Baldock, 1974, 1980; Thomas, 1983). The rediscovery of community work and its emerging phase in search of a profession,

is captured by Thomas (1983) in his text *The Making of Community Work*. Thomas points out that initially it looked as if community work would be incorporated under the umbrella of education services. Indeed he argues that:

What happened in the 1960s was an attempt to establish proprietorship over community work between social work and education (Thomas, 1983: 19).

Local educational authorities were already responsible for community centres (Baldock, 1974), and, as Thomas (1983) observes, education was also attracting a number of key people, skilled in community development, who were returning to Britain from its former colonies. Although it was eventually social work that took community work on board, the tensions between education and social work were influential in shaping community work (Thomas, 1983).

Thomas (1983) asserts that community work in Britain was legitimised by the 1959 Younghusband Report.<sup>2</sup> The Report claimed community work as one of the three methods of social work, suggesting it had long been recognised as such (Thomas, 1983). There is no doubt that Eileen Younghusband, the architect of the Report, had a considerable vested interest in the conception of community work as a part of social work. A lifelong developer, trainer and scholar of social work, Younghusband was influenced by the developments of social work in America (Walton, 1975). She had already fought for a school of social work to train students in a variety of settings, and for the establishment of a single profession (in social work) in Britain (Jones, 1981). Younghusband (1981:32) was adamant that:

---

<sup>2</sup>According to Kathleen Jones (1981), Eileen Younghusband always insisted that this was not just her report. She was adamant that it always be referred to by its full title: *Report of the Working Party on Social Workers in the Local Authority Health and Welfare Services*.

The boundaries between casework, group work and community work became unreal when the aim was to use whatever methods and resources might be most effective in particular circumstances.

Her influence on a number of important government and local authority committees and private trusts concerned with social work and community work training and practice, placed her in a key position to determine their directions.

The Younghusband Report's insistence that community work was part of social work, was not challenged. Rather, as Thomas (1983) comments, there was a mounting advocacy for its acceptance, especially among social work academics and government committees. The Councils of Social Service supported the idea, further promoting it through publications and seminars. The processes which initially took place tying community work "intellectually to social work" did not, nevertheless, reflect what was "happening on the ground" (Thomas, 1983: 21). Community work continued to be developed within the education services rather than within social work departments. As Thomas (1983:36) succinctly puts it:

Community work is the thousands of people doing it, and we can make serious errors of judgement if we assume that the characteristics and views of those who write about the occupation in books and articles are also those of the unknown practitioners beavering away in the cities and the countryside.

It was, however, the report of the Seebohm Committee in 1968 which confirmed the adoption of community work by social work and helped to create it as an occupation (Thomas, 1983). The Seebohm Committee was appointed to review social services and to consider ways in which a more effective family service could be obtained (Bolger et al, 1981). The report argued for a more community-orientated family service which incorporated many aspects of community work and the use of

volunteers. It pressed for a unified social services department, in which community work would play an important function in developing communities (Thomas, 1983) and fostering a community identity (Baldock, 1974). A unified approach to generic social work training was seen as instrumental in the provision of efficient services. This aim led to the establishment of a single Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work in 1971 (Walton, 1975). It was this Report, in particular, which helped shape a new social work within Britain (Thomas, 1983).

Whereas the Seebohm Report promoted community work within the context of social work, it was the Gulbenkian Report which later in the same year further developed the notion of community work. Baldock (1980) claims that it was a study group of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation which actually coined the term 'community work'. As Thomas (1983) points out, however, this term was already in use, although he concludes that the Gulbenkian Study Group's usage of it popularised the term. The Gulbenkian Report elected to use the term 'community work' as this phrase was seen as more comprehensive than either 'community organisation' or 'community development', and was less associated as a third method of social work or with self-help activities (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation 1968).

The terms of reference for this study group, which was chaired by Eileen Younghusband, were: "To enquire into the meaning and extent of community work in the United Kingdom and to make recommendations on training" (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1968: 1). The Report was published in the form of a text: *Community Work and Social Change* (1968). Although it did not promote community work as part of social work, it argues that community work contains elements of adult education, social work and administration and that it covers a very broad range of activities. The report advances community work as a professional activity, requiring specialist training, but suggests that solutions to social problems are achieved through more effective communication. It was an essentially conservative report which as

Baldock (1980:35) comments, "rejected the explicit conservatism of the earlier activists" but, nevertheless, saw community work in terms of consensual politics and its contribution to democratic processes, within a professional framework.

The Association of Community Workers was also formed in 1968. Initially it was concerned with establishing itself as a professional Association and with promoting professional training in community work (Baldock, 1974). There was, and still is, considerable opposition to the Association, especially among community workers at the grass roots level, who could not see how it would benefit them or the people with whom they worked (Popplestone, 1971). As shown in Appendix One, the Aotearoa Community Workers Association also faced similar opposition. Unlike the association in Britain, from its inception, the Aotearoa Community Workers Association was more of a grass roots movement, intent on developing its own organisation for training and support, rather than being concerned about building a professional association.

The debates about professionalism will probably always plague community work (Cox and Derricourt, 1975). It is difficult to escape from these debates if an occupation group, paid or unpaid, is trying to forge its own identity and develop skills and knowledge to enhance its practice. These debates will be discussed more fully within the context of Aotearoa, in the next chapter. The British Association of Community Workers eventually decided not to pursue the development of a professional Association in 1973. It thus relaxed its stringent requirements for membership and adopted an open membership policy (Baldock, 1974; Thomas, 1983). Its membership remained extremely limited and the Association has continued to struggle to work out its role (Thomas, 1983).



### **The fourth phase: In search of radicalism**

Baldock considers a fourth phase in the development of community work, which he names the era of radicalism (Baldock, 1974). Community work became a boom industry (Mayo, 1975a), and as Baldock (1977) puts it, the growth in new community work positions in the early 1970s was phenomenal. A number of government reports played an instrumental role in this growth. In fact, Baldock attributes the growth in community work to the Seebohm and Gulbenkian Reports. The Gulbenkian Report paved the way for community work as an occupation. By contrast, the Seebohm Report highlighted the need for community based social services and argued for the use of voluntary labour (Bolger et al, 1981). Another government-sponsored report, the Skeffington Report (1969), recognising that feelings of anxiety and dislocation accompanied any large-scale redevelopment projects within communities, made recommendations as to how planning could become a public exercise, with residents encouraged to participate in the planning process (Mayo, 1975b).

These initiatives, together with the launching of the Community Development Projects in 1969, which Loney (1983:1) describes as "Britain's largest ever government funded social action experiment" led to a plethora of local community groups and agencies. Hence community work not only began to take its place alongside casework and group work in social work practice, but was also simultaneously promoted as the radical alternative to social work (Mayo, 1975a, 1975b; Craig, Derricourt and Loney 1982; Thorpe, 1985).

Baldock (1977) argues that the radical trend in community work in the early 1970s resulted from three factors: the emergence of community work as a profession; the ideological perspectives of the community workers themselves, and the positive response from the communities with which they worked. There is no doubt that these factors were influential. Community work did appeal as a radical alternative to social

work. Many people moving into community work had been influenced by events happening in places such as Vietnam and by the social unrest of the 1960s. Communities were open to the new consultative processes that community work appeared to offer.

The upsurge in interest in community work accompanied a general dissatisfaction with the failings of the welfare state (Bolger et al, 1981). The welfare state had promised the abolition of poverty and the reduction of social problems. With the rediscovery of poverty amidst affluence (Able-Smith and Townsend, 1965), it was evident that the promise had not been fulfilled. Both management and trade unions had failed to satisfy workers in terms of income and job enjoyment, and the increase of immigrants from Britain's former colonies focussed attention on racial tensions and on the continuing social deprivations of inner city areas (Loney, 1983). This factor, together with the large urban drift into over-spill areas, new estates and new towns, highlighted the need for community support and led to the fear of a loss of community (Bolger et al, 1981).

During this period of rapid social change, it was also realised that improved housing, schooling, employment opportunities and welfare benefits were not enough to abolish social problems, violence or apathy (Loney, 1983). There was also an increasing dissatisfaction with traditional democratic procedures. Many felt that the remoteness of the ballot box prevented local communities from exercising real power (Bolger et al, 1981). This disenchantment was also accompanied by a general concern over the way in which welfare services had been consolidated in the hands of professionals, with little or no consumer participation (Thomas, 1983).

Community work was seen as the answer, and the situation as outlined set up the conditions for an emerging radicalism. Although Thomas claims that government-sponsored programmes such as the Community Development Projects "remained

relatively self-contained and remote from general developments in community work" (Thomas, 1983:56), he then discusses the influences which the Community Development Projects had on both community work as an occupation and on community work practitioners and trainers. This conflicting message is clarified by Twelvetrees (1982), who points to two competing perspectives in British mainstream community work: the professional school and the socialist school. Workers from the professional school tend to adopt a consensual approach in their community work, emphasising self-help activities, whilst those from the socialist school take a more confrontational approach and tend to advocate pressure group type activities. He argues that these two schools of workers come from different starting points, and he locates both himself and David Thomas within the professional school. He does concede, however, that many of those from the professional school are now inclined to adopt a more political perspective in their work. In fact, Twelvetrees confesses that he is now considerably more sympathetic to the radical and feminist traditions in community work (Twelvetrees, 1991).

On the basis of experience gained in twelve government-sponsored community development projects, the Inter-Project Report of 1973 tried to be more specific than the Gulbenkian Report had been in identifying particular strands of community work, together with their underlying assumptions and appropriate activities and tactics. The Report tentatively concluded that there were three major models of social change in Britain: a consensus model, a pluralist model and a structural conflict model (Community Development Project, 1974).

Thorpe (1985) explains how many community workers make major ideological shifts in their thinking because of their disillusionment with their work and their involvement in people's day-to-day struggles in the community. Drawing upon, and further developing, the three models of social change advanced by the Inter-Project Report (1973) and by Hamner and Rose (1980), Thorpe (1985:16) provides a framework for

analysing community work and understanding the different approaches and ideological perspectives of community workers.

### **A fifth phase: Retrenchment**

As stated, the radical trend in community work also owed much to the way in which community work was perceived by the populace. Baldock (1977) points to the way in which both working class and the more affluent middle class communities, responded to community work intervention. Women, in particular, who have a long history in community action (Hanmer, 1977), began to organise around community issues affecting their lives (Baldock, 1977; Mayo, 1977). There was also a growing political awareness among minority groups, especially ethnic minorities, although, at first, community workers only played "a form of lip service" to their needs (Reenen and Pope, 1982: 18).

Those who funded community work, however, had difficulty coping with the increased consciousness and demands of community workers and their constituencies. This difficulty ultimately led to what Bolger et al (1981) describe as a retrenchment in community work. The retrenchment began first with the axing of the government funded Community Development Projects in 1977. It was rapidly followed by a number of changes in the nature and conditions of other forms of community work, including the narrowing of community work positions within state welfare departments and the promotion of self-help type activities and volunteer labour within communities.

Bolger et al (1981: 108-11) provide a succinct summary of this retrenchment within Britain. It is their thesis that the promotion of community work in Britain during the late 1960s and early 1970s, was a deliberate state-sponsored activity to improve the relationship between the government and the general populace, and also to present

problems occurring as a result of class exploitation in terms of a community problem (Bolger et al, 1981). Thomas does not quite accept this argument. He argues that community work was ideal for government administrators, in terms of it being "a low-cost and low-risk innovation". He thinks, however, that rather than this being a deliberate strategy, it "developed in a very piecemeal fashion" (Thomas 1983:23-24).

Community work, then, has its origins in the social reform movements associated with the Victorian era, yet contained within this ethos is the notion of social control and the "deserving poor". Women have played a key role in working in the community for social change, but have been excluded from much of the community work literature. And although community work has made progressive developments in search of its own identity, at times promoted by the state, it now faces a form of retrenchment.

As will be shown in the next chapter, the development of community work in Aotearoa parallels that of Britain. It is also impossible to ignore the links between the two countries. For instance, until very recently social work training in Aotearoa utilised British models. These models insist that community work is part of social work, whilst ignoring the realities of the experiences of the community workers actually doing the work (Thomas, 1983). Community work in Aotearoa has developed its own unique focus which seeks to incorporate the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and women community workers have played a significant role in this development, as part of their struggle for social change. In the next chapter I consider community work and social change in Aotearoa.

## *Chapter Two*

### **Community Work and Social Change in Aotearoa**

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section explores the origins of community work in Aotearoa and the second considers its relationship with social work. The focus of the third section is on community work in the 1970s and 1980s, as it increasingly gained prominence and its own identity. In the final section I investigate community work as a site of struggle for change, and the inherent tension between co-option and control and working for social change. Given the aim of this thesis, there will be a particular emphasis on the experiences of women in community work in Aotearoa. Such experiences have, to date, mostly remained hidden.

#### **The origins of community work in Aotearoa**

Community work in Aotearoa has its genesis in the Maori resistance to British colonisation (Walker, 1982) and in the social reform movements of the white settlers in the late nineteenth century (Shirley, 1979). Prior to invasion by the white colonisers, Maori people lived in well-organised tribal settings in which the iwi, hapu and whanau provided the basis of the economic and social well-being of its kinship. The young, the old and the handicapped were cared for within the context of tribal well-being as a whole (Walker, 1982), and special provisions were not seen as necessary (Hancock, 1977).

The Maori response to the pakeha invasion and colonisation<sup>1</sup> can be described as a process of transforming action (Walker, 1982), from oppression towards liberation and self-determination. The history of Maori responses includes "warfare, guerilla activity, passive resistance and political participation" (Walker, 1982: 87). These events are richly portrayed in Walker's (1990) recent text *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou / Struggle Without End*, which captures the past 150 years of Maori struggles for social justice, equality and self-determination. It is argued here, that the process of transformation is evident in much of Maori community work practices throughout Aotearoa.

The second source of community work can be found in the social reform movements initiated by the pakeha settlers, especially the women settlers. The early white settlers brought with them nineteenth-century British customs and traditions, most of which became embedded into the Aotearoa way of life. Economically they retained close ties with Britain. In a sense, Aotearoa was seen as a colonial farm supplying the British market (Shirley, 1982). The early white settlers also retained a particular values system, the roots of which can be located in the English Poor Laws; a values system which embraced the notions of benevolence, discipline and deserving poor (Oliver, 1977).

During this 'pioneer phase of welfare',<sup>2</sup> community responsibility was limited (Hancock, 1977). The principles of charity, Christianity and to a lesser extent philanthropy underpinned colonial welfare. Although welfare was associated with some reform types of activities, much of it contained strong elements of social control (Tennant, 1989). Because of the Poor Law of England, the white settlers were more favourably disposed to voluntary activity than to the local government social services

---

<sup>1</sup>Jane Kelsey (1984) provides an excellent account of the pakeha invasion and colonisation of Aotearoa and of the British 'rule of law' which was imposed to enforce this process.

<sup>2</sup>Hancock locates the pioneer phase of the welfare society between the years 1840 and 1890.

(Hancock, 1977), and in the main aid was administered within community settings. The state provided assistance to some of the voluntary services through subsidies, but its responses to social needs tended to be ad hoc and somewhat hesitant and limited (Oliver, 1977).

Tennant (1989) provides an excellent account of colonial welfare provision, which clearly demonstrates that destitution existed in the colonial society and that women were particularly vulnerable to poverty. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace the development of public welfare in Aotearoa, I will now focus on the work of some of the early women's organisations. As argued in the previous section, it is here that I believe we can locate the beginnings of women's contribution to community work in Aotearoa.

### **Women in the community: working towards change<sup>3</sup>**

What has been gained has been gained largely through the efforts of women. It has been women who have lobbied decision-makers; women who have raised public consciousness through their writings and speeches and protests; women who have strived to find the balancing point between family life and outside responsibilities. Women have confronted change. Men have been, on the whole, observers (Hercus, 1985:10).

In 1893 women of Aotearoa obtained the right to vote, thus becoming the first women in the world to have won the right to use the ballot box in a national election (Grimshaw, 1972). This outcome was achieved largely as a result of the struggle and political organisation of large groups of women throughout Aotearoa. Whilst the ability to vote was of the utmost significance to women, and was a right exercised by

---

<sup>3</sup>In this section I have drawn on material I developed in 1987 for a study guide on Women and Social Change for Palmerston North Teachers' College (now College of Education).



large numbers in the subsequent election, perhaps of even more significance was the fact that for the first time, women had got together in large numbers and organised around an issue of women's rights.

Histories of Aotearoa reinforce the idea that women have never been strongly involved in public and welfare affairs. In fact, women of Aotearoa have been extraordinarily active in all fields of social reform, and it has only been in recent years, when women began to explore their history, that much of the activism has been rediscovered. Accounts of some of this rich history are now presented in a number of publications (Grimshaw, 1972; Tennant, 1976, 1989; Brookes, MacDonald and Tennant, 1986; MacDonald, 1990).

The early women's organisations were primarily concerned about the social conditions women and children faced, the inequalities and injustices; it was through these organisations that women were able to voice their concerns and work towards social reform (Tennant, 1976). Although benevolence and the practical application of Christian principles were at the heart of many of these organisations, when placed within the context of that era they were quite radical and determined in their advocacy for change. The changes did not come easily (Tennant, 1976).

The activities of these organisations have many similarities to those of community work today. In her study on early women's organisations, Tennant (1976) points to the diversity of activities in which they were engaged in their quest for social reforms. These activities ranged from grass roots organising and direct social service provision, educative and pressure group type activities, through to petitioning, political lobbying, influencing social policy and working towards legislative reforms. The organisations focussed on economic and social well-being, organising both at the national and local levels. Links were made with other organisations, and different forms of media were used to get messages heard. For instance, the Women's Christian Temperance Union

published its own magazine *White Ribbon* in which the Union disseminated information, reports and articles about its activities from various women's societies on a wide range of subjects (Tennant, 1976: 43).

The women workers undertook a variety of roles such as leadership, administration, organisation and planning, and in the process developed a wide range of skills. As Grimshaw (1972) points out, at the practical level the experience the women gained went beyond that viewed as a 'woman's field'. In part, this experience was achieved by organising separately from men. It has been shown that organisations which include men frequently become male-dominated, with men taking over the policy, administrative and status positions, leaving the women to provide the service and day-to-day running of the organisation (Gallagher, 1977). The Women's Christian Temperance Union was the first national organisation in Aotearoa to develop independently of men (Grimshaw, 1972), and it undoubtedly laid the foundation for other women's organisations to follow suit.

Yet very few of these early women's organisations were hostile to men. Indeed, the sanctity of the home and marriage was seen as very important (Grimshaw, 1972; Tennant, 1976). It was recognised that women and children faced serious disadvantages in the colonial society, and it was primarily women who decided to do something about this. Through their organisations they focussed on issues such as childcare, family planning, education, health, housing, poverty, fair prices for household goods and food, peace, family policy, family violence, equal pay and employment opportunities.

Despite the fact that women had won the right to vote, they were still confronted with the realities of their lives, and with the injustices and inequalities which were very much a part of these realities. Striving to find "the balancing point between family and outside responsibilities" (Hercus, 1985:10), in addition to dealing with two world

wars and a depression, women continued to work in the community to organise and work towards change, and their ways of organising began to take on a number of different forms, as we shall see throughout this thesis.

### **Maori women**

With a few exceptions, Maori women were not involved in the early women's organisations. Confined primarily to rural areas, initially most Maori women kept a low profile. Princess Te Puia Herangi provided important examples of leadership in her struggles against conscription in 1917 and in her negotiations for compensation on the unjustly confiscated tribal lands of the Waikato (Walker, 1990). Granddaughter of Tawhiao, the second Maori King, Princess Te Puia was the ariki of the Waikato and Maniapoto tribes. Walker (1990:190) highlights the contribution Te Puia made to the cultural renaissance in "her pragmatic approach to community development", pointing to the pride she restored to her people in the process.

Te Puia was the first patroness of the Maori Women's Welfare League, which had its genesis in the 1945 Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act. The Act saw the formation of the welfare division of the Department of Maori Affairs which appointed women welfare officers to form women's welfare committees (Kirby, 1985). As Szaszy (1983) observes, these were the first Maori social workers.

The League was formed in 1951 to encourage Maori women to become more involved in the development of the Maori people as a whole. According to Szaszy, who was a foundation member of the League, it was felt that men on marae committees did not always deal with the problems of Maori women and children, and the League provided the forum for Maori women to articulate their concerns (Szaszy, 1983; Walker, 1990). Its first president was Dame Whinia Cooper, who inspired so many Maori women with her leadership.

The Maori Women's Welfare League emphasised Maori women's organisation and work at a number of levels:

No task was too small or too big. They raised money to educate and clothe children in need, undertook housing surveys demanding better houses, built roads, revived Maori arts and crafts, visited hospitals and prisons, and carried out a general programme of fundamental education. The League challenged government policies in every area of social need and justice (Kirby, 1985: 52).

Whilst the local branches were primarily involved in "small scale, day-to-day activities" (James 1977: 107), the Dominion Council, at the national level, was politically active in the areas of health, justice, housing, education, crime, women's rights and employment (James, 1977; Kirby, 1985; Walker, 1990). Their challenges to government policies were treated seriously by government departments (Walker, 1990).

For instance, the League organised a major survey of Maori housing in Auckland which led to more Maori people receiving houses. In the area of education it was involved in the formation of the Maori Education Foundation and in the establishment of the playcentre movement within Maori communities.

James (1977) claims that the League was respected by government because it was viewed as a moderate and acceptable organisation, with its aims compatible to those of the government on Maori advancement. This conception is illustrated in the statement made by the Minister of Maori Affairs, the Hon. Mr. Corbett, in 1961:

The greatest social advancement of the years was due to the efforts of Maori women themselves, under the Welfare League's inspiration (cited by James, 1977: 46).

Although the League has sometimes been viewed as a conservative organisation, it has clearly been important for Maori women, and it provided a platform from which they could voice their concerns for their people. Moreover, there can be no doubt that in its approach to the provision of welfare services and political advocacy for change, the Maori Women's Welfare League incorporates the principles and practices of community work. In fact, much of the work undertaken by the League can be seen as a forerunner to later initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo.

#### **Social work and community work: an ambivalent relationship**

Social work, like community work, has its origins in the social reform work undertaken by the early white settlers in Aotearoa. Both Hancock (1966) and Tennant (1976) attribute the Society for the Protection of Women and Children as a forerunner of a more professional approach to social service delivery. Founded in 1893, the Society directed its activities towards women and children in cruel and violent situations, by offering advice and aid to the victims and working towards prosecution of the perpetrators of violence and the promotion of legislative reforms (Tennant, 1976).

The Society, attracting support from socially prominent men and women, was considered a most respectable organisation (Tennant, 1976). Hancock (1966) likens the Society to an Aotearoa version of the Charity Organisation Society of the U.K., and there were a number of similarities. For instance, like the Charity Organisation Society, the Society took a more practical approach to the provision of charitable aid and was concerned with not duplicating the services of other organisations. It

instigated a visiting system with each branch, once firmly established, employing a woman visitor on a full-time salary (Tennant, 1976). As Tennant states:

Of all the voluntary societies in New Zealand at the time, the SPWC perhaps best illustrates in its women the development of the role of professional social worker as a viable occupational option for women (Tennant, 1976: 26-27).

Unlike its British counterpart, it did not promote a professional approach to training. Indeed, although both the statutory and voluntary agencies of that era were goal oriented, little consideration was given to the training needs of the workers endeavouring to attain such goals (The NZSW, 1965, vol 1, no. 1). In fact, the first professional training course for social workers was not set up until 1949, when the School of Social Sciences was established at Victoria University in Wellington. The first conference of social workers was held at Victoria University in 1950 (Hodder, 1969). Social workers were also slow in forming associations. The New Zealand Association of Social Workers was not established until 1964 with a beginning membership of 121. Within ten years this figure had risen to 650 (Daniels, 1974).

From its first movements towards professionalism social work experienced an ambiguous relationship with community work. Papps (1977:1) sums this up:

I have never seriously questioned whether community development and community organisation were appropriate activities for a social worker to be involved in until I came to New Zealand..... The fact that social work is still seen by the vast majority of professional social workers and the public as synonymous with case work is the major reason why community work has been and will inevitably be seen as quite distinct from it. This has been reinforced by the fact that the largest number of social workers in New Zealand

are employed in Government agencies where expedience of time and effort is a priority.

Community work was considered part of social work, in that the early training courses acknowledged community work as one of the methods of social work<sup>4</sup>. There was, however, resistance to its inclusion. Mason (1969), for example, questioned whether the policies and practices of community organisation models emanating from the U.S.A. were consistent with social work values, arguing that for her they were not. In the first six years of its publication only one article on community work was published in *The New Zealand Social Worker* journal. One has to question whether its inclusion as a method of social work was, at that time, purely tokenistic.

The formation of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers initially did little to help this confusion. From the outset, the Association was reluctant actually to define what social work was and who social workers were, preferring this classification to evolve "rather than being clarified by one legal stroke" (The NZSW 1965, Vol 1, No. 1: 33). It took the Association until July 1970 to come up with a definition of social work, which included community organisation (The NZSW, 1970, Vol 6 No. 3). Even then the issue of defining social work had resulted from agitation at the Waikato Conference in January 1970, when Darracott, among others, questioned the place of community work and social action within the boundaries of social work (The NZSW, 1970, Vol 6, No.3).

Darracott, an inaugural member of the NZASW and an early branch Chairman and member of the national legislative committee, was well placed to raise this question. From the outset of the Association, Darracott had worked to promote group and community work as aspects of social work (see The NZSW, 1965, Vol 1, No. 2). He

---

<sup>4</sup>The draft proposal for a certificate in social work undertaken by the National Council of the NZASW in December 1964 spells this out quite clearly (see NZSW, Vol 1, No. 1, 1965).

became involved in training issues almost as soon as the Association was established (NZSW, 1965, Vol 1, No. 2) and in January 1970 he was appointed a member of the Working Party on Social Work Training (see The NZSW, 1970, Vol 6, No. 2). As the Assistant General Secretary to the National Y.M.C.A., Darracott also promoted youth work and youth work training.

Possibly due to the American influence on the Y.M.C.A., Darracott clearly favoured the American concept of community organisation, as reflected in his publication in the NZSW Journal (Darracott, 1967). Given the adoption of this term, as opposed to community work, in the Association's definition of social work, it is interesting to reflect on the extent of Darracott's influence. The term 'community organisation', however, never really caught on in Aotearoa. It can be argued, then, that the relationship between social work and community work became increasingly ambivalent in the next two decades.

The issue of training is one example that reflects this ambivalence. The training needs of community workers have been a contentious issue, in that community workers have long argued that their training needs are different to those of social workers (Community Work Training National Working Party, 1983).

Many social workers and social work educators, however, claim that community work as the third method of social work can thus be accommodated within social work training programmes. This belief belies the fact that, until recently, very limited attention was given to community work, or community organisation as it was referred to, by those programmes offering a professional qualification in social work<sup>5</sup>. It is also questionable whether the more recent effort to include community work, provide

---

<sup>5</sup>An outline of the courses available in tertiary educational institutions leading to a qualification in social work as presented by the New Zealand Social Work Training Council (1978) shows how minimal the community work content was in the majority of programmes.



more than a basic level of introduction.<sup>6</sup> Community workers are mostly dissatisfied with the lack of training opportunities, and have struggled to find resources to fund more appropriate educational and training programmes. An account of the struggles to obtain relevant training in community work is extensively explored in Appendix Three.

### **Community work in the 70s and 80s**

Community work in Aotearoa made rapid progress in the 1970s (Shirley, 1979,1982; Craig, 1983; Kilmister, 1987). During the 1950s and 1960s Aotearoa experienced a period of consensus politics and full employment, and appeared to be isolated, unaffected and almost unaware of the unrest in much of the world. Policies created at this time neglected to take into account the global political and economic restructuring then taking place (Martin, 1981). The years 1935-1969 had represented consolidation for Aotearoa and at first it led the world in welfare policies (Martin, 1982). As Martin observes, Aotearoa did not continue its welfare spending at a level consistent with inflation and population growth. He argues that from 1949 to 1960 there was a gradual decline in welfare expenditure, and from 1960 to 1970 an even further decline (Martin, 1982).

Jack and Robb (1977) describe these decades as a time of "inertia and regression". They view this period as one in which state welfare policies and services:

remained basically static, not being reassessed in response to social change but rather being slightly modified in areas where pressure has been made uncomfortably felt (Jack and Robb, 1977:29).

---

<sup>6</sup>It was not until 1986, at Massey University, that an entire paper was allocated to the teaching of community work in the four-year BSW programme. This third-year paper provides only a taste of the potential of community work, rather than the specialisation required by community workers (Palmer, 1988).

For example, although Jack and Robb point to some important innovations that occurred, they argue that the state's inadequate response to social needs and the effects of social change, led to a resurgence in voluntary activity. In part this activity reflected a general concern about the breakdown of community life (Jack and Robb, 1977) and a growing awareness of the social and political upheavals within western society (Kilmister, 1987). It was also a response to the state's promotion of community care policies and the underlying assumption that natural caring networks existed in the community to attend to those less advantaged (Jack and Robb, 1977).

This period, described by Wilkes (1988:37), as the phase of Keynesian social democracy, was a time in which Aotearoa enjoyed reasonable prosperity and political stability. By 1968, however, this stability was coming under threat. Events overseas led to a term of trade deficits, which together with the oil shocks of 1973 and Britain's entry into the E.E.C. signalled a downturn in living standards and government revenue and a rise in unemployment (Social Advisory Council, 1986; Wilkes, 1988). The welfare state was in crisis (Davey and Dwyer, 1984). A period of political instability followed, Keynesian policies increasingly came under attack, and in 1984 Aotearoa began to adopt a monetarist reform programme (Wilkes, 1988).

Aotearoa entered the 1970s, then, to experience a climate of political, economic and social unrest and, in the process, was forced to recognise that it was part of an international community. Amidst a period of the development of a counter-culture movement (Dyce, 1979), the second wave of the women's movement (Dann, 1985), rapid urban growth (Davey and Dwyer, 1984), and a new wave of the Maori renaissance (Walker, 1990), community work became a 'boom industry'. It was promoted as a methodology for working towards change by both central and local government, as well as by people working at the grass-roots level (Craig, 1983). As Kilmister (1987:2) put it, "a whole new industry was formed surrounding the concept of 'community'. Full-time and part-time work, in various forms of community work

was available and community development became the catch phrase to solve society's problems (Craig, 1983).

### **Local authority involvement in community work**

The first paid community work positions originated in local government. During the late 1960s, a number of local authorities began setting up community services committees, and in 1970 the Auckland City Council appointed Aotearoa's first paid community advisor, Peter Harwood.<sup>7</sup>

Traditionally, local government in Aotearoa had primarily concerned itself with physical and recreational services, and unlike Britain, had very limited social service responsibilities (Davey and Dwyer, 1984). When local authorities began to take the initiative to promote community based services, central government was obliged to amend the Local Government Act in 1974, to give authority for this initiative (Driver, 1986), although it did not make it mandatory. By this time, as Driver (1986) points out, five local authorities had already established Community Services sections. By 1978, at least twenty-two local authorities employed community workers and/or community advisors (Robinson, 1978).

Not all of the local authorities embraced the notion of becoming more involved in the provision of community services. As Haigh (1986) indicates, there was resistance from depressed rural communities and even from the city of Dunedin. This resistance was further compounded by uncertainty as to where responsibility for such services lay, and by financial constraints. Driver (1986) argues, that to an extent, it has been

---

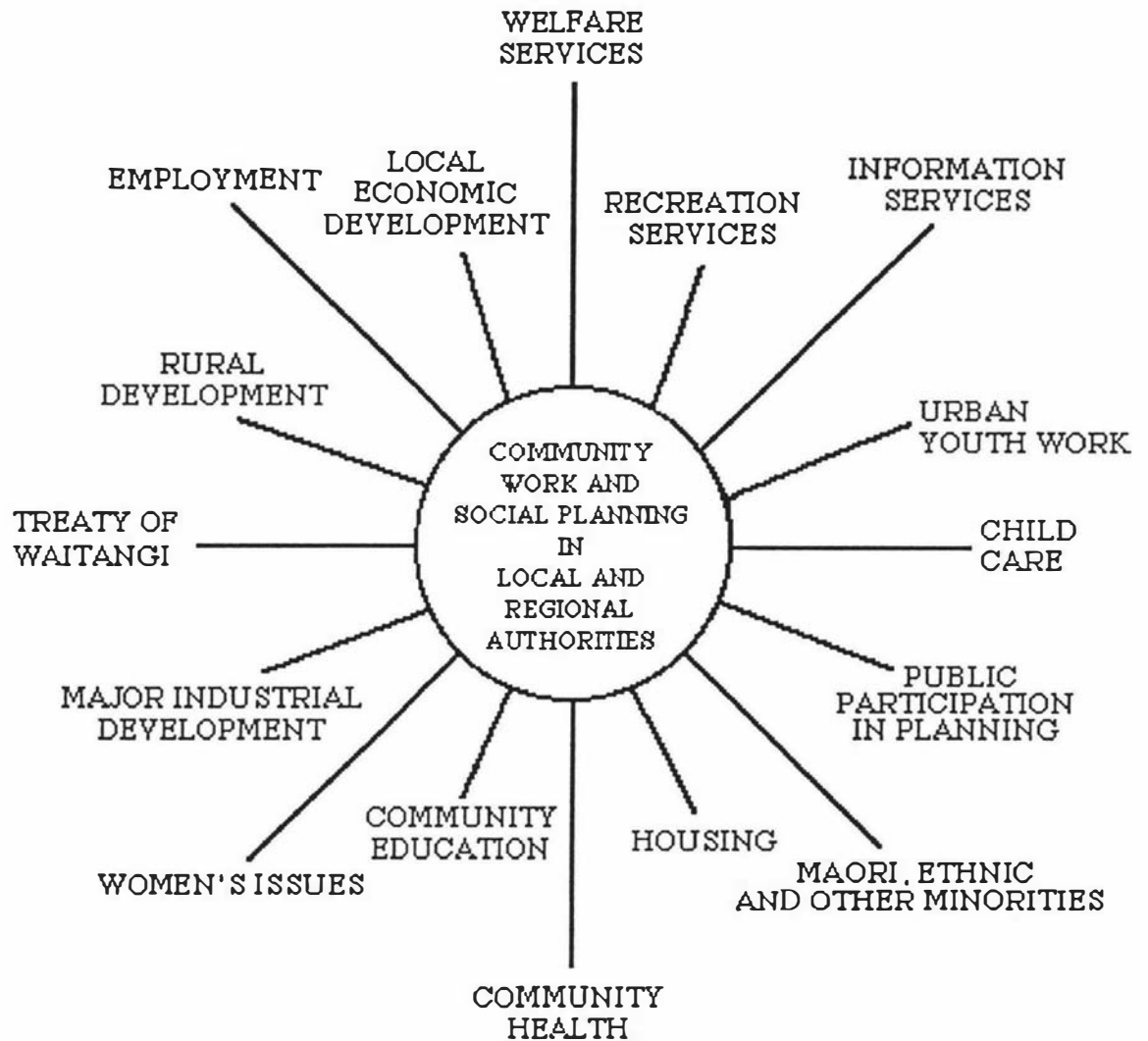
<sup>7</sup>Local authorities, in particular, vary the title given to their community workers, using terms such as social service worker, community activities officer, community officer etc (Harwood, 1975; NZCOSS, 1978).

easier to get assistance from central government than from local authorities. She believes this reflects:

the history of local authorities and their structure in terms of politicians and administrators. A local authority (is) unable to take a broader perspective (because) it reflected the vested interests of those involved in it. The reality (is) that most local authorities did not have a commitment to community services, but once community development was in the door there was a lot of potential for development (Driver, 1986:28).

The potential for development is clearly reflected in the way in which some local authorities have reordered their priorities and moved from a reactive approach in community work, to more of a developmental and proactive approach (Haigh, 1986). The first local authority community workers initially worked at providing better access to resources and set up CABs and community houses and centres. As the social and economic climate changed, a number of local authorities became more political in their responses to issues affecting their constituencies (Haigh, 1986). Haigh illustrates the extent of this involvement in the following diagram:

Figure 2.1: Trends in the development of services by local authorities



*Haigh, 1986:32*

The increased, although uneven, involvement of local authorities in welfare services has been attributed to a number of factors. These factors include rapid urbanisation and population mobility, a general dissatisfaction with central government's approach to the provision of welfare services, and the impact of community development theories from the U.K. and third world countries (Elworthy, 1976). As will be shown in the next section, central government has increasingly encouraged local authorities and voluntary agencies to promote, develop and deliver social services. Towards this

end, there have been some very exciting initiatives and innovations within community work under the auspices of local authorities.

The issue of training for community workers was raised at a Local Authorities Community Development Seminar held in November 1978, where it was recommended that local authorities recognise the need for this training, as well as taking responsibility for providing training opportunities for their workers (Robinson, 1978). After the seminar, local community officers held meetings in Auckland and Wellington to discuss the formation of a Local Authority Community Officers' Association to promote the interests of its workers; provide training opportunities; share information; represent its workers when necessary and respond to matters affecting their employment (Robinson, 1978). In 1980, the Local Authority Community Workers Association became an incorporated body, sharing its responsibilities between three regions: Northern, Central and Southern.

### **Central government provision for community work**

During the 1970s, central government became increasingly involved in the direct provision of welfare and also markedly increased its financial assistance. Whilst it employed a small number of community workers within government departments, its main initiatives were in the form of grants and subsidies to the voluntary sector and local authorities (Elworthy, 1986). Its initial indirect involvement in community work can perhaps be located in its sponsorship of Community Volunteers (CV).<sup>8</sup> Established in 1973, and funded through the Social Welfare Rehabilitation Programme Salary Subsidy expenditure, of the newly-formed Department of Social Welfare

---

<sup>8</sup>An historical account of the development, practices and politics of CV is provided by Terry Kilmister (1987).

(DSW), Community Volunteers placed volunteer workers in community settings with the aim of responding to the welfare needs of communities (Craig, 1981b).<sup>9</sup>

Community Volunteers was supported by both the government of the day and the alternative government, with whom the idea of such an organisation had initially been explored (Kilmister, 1987). From its onset Community Volunteers was dependent on central government funding for its national office and its branch co-ordinators, and when this (DSW) grant proved to be inadequate, additional financial assistance was provided by the (Golden Kiwi) Lottery Board. This dual funding arrangement was maintained until the mid-1980s (Kilmister, 1987).

It has been argued elsewhere that the state enthusiastically embraced community work and community-based services, in order to encourage community initiative and self-reliance, and that a key task for community workers was to stimulate self-help and volunteerism (Craig, 1983). Such an activity, however, is potentially subversive (Mayo, 1975a). As Davey and Dwyer (1984) point out, many newly formed self-help community groups are often less concerned with the agenda of policy makers. Rather, they are interested in increased participation in society and in obtaining a more equitable share of societal resources. This trend was particularly evident in the 1970s and early 1980s, and was perhaps a contributing factor to central government's more recent promotion of cost-effectiveness; its emphasis on compensatory savings with grant allocations; and its insistence that community groups be financially accountable to the government departments from which they receive grants (Davey and Dwyer, 1984).

---

<sup>9</sup>Although the term 'volunteer' has traditionally implied unpaid work, in the original CV context it rather indicated an attitude expressing the choice that the volunteer made in working with CV - i.e. a clarity of purpose. In fact, CV was initially set up in a similar way to VSA (Volunteer Services Abroad).

In the 1970s, however, the funding assistance provided by central government, enabled a large number of self-help and community initiatives to develop. By the mid-1970s several government departments were actively promoting and/or facilitating a community approach to social welfare provision (Elworthy, 1986). There was, however, an expectation that the work undertaken should be ameliorative or preventative. Of all the government departments, only the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Maori Affairs encouraged a developmental approach to service delivery (Davey and Dwyer, 1984) which is more consistent with community work principles.

The Department of Maori Affairs was the first government department to employ community workers directly. Following a major review undertaken in 1977, the Department was extensively restructured, and under the Tu Tangata programmes its district offices became more closely involved with local Maori communities in an attempt to unite them (Butterworth, 1989).

This restructuring led to a change in focus from casework to community development, and the Department's Maori Welfare Officers were redesignated as community officers or community workers (Elworthy, 1986). Kokiri Centres were established so that at the local level Maori people could become involved in community administration and determine their own priorities for community action. Probably the best known programme to emerge from this is the language recovery programme, Kohanga Reo, which is based on community development principles (Walker, 1990).

The Department of Internal Affairs had long been involved in programmes with a community focus, as a consequence of the passing of the 1937 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act (Church, 1990). During the 1970s the Department began to expand its role and became actively involved in community development. To some extent, this was made possible because it did not have a statutory obligation to work at the



individual level; rather it focussed on the development and encouragement of community initiatives (Church, 1990).

In 1973 the Department of Internal Affairs established the Ministry of Recreation and Sport. This Ministry set up a funding scheme for recreational needs, with an allocation of 50 cents per head of population per year, distributed through local authorities. In 1978 this scheme was extended to include a community development aspect and the allocation was raised to 75 cents per head. The following year it was further raised to one dollar per head.

As Church (1990) points out, this scheme signalled the beginnings of the Department's more concerted involvement in community development, initially through local authorities and then by targeting "disadvantaged groups". Schemes and programmes developed by the Department facilitated and/ or provided the impetus for a number of local authorities to implement community development initiatives. Many community workers were employed through schemes fully funded or subsidised by the Department. Some of this funding came from the Lottery Board which the Department largely administered.

During the 1980s the Department increasingly decentralised its activities and, with the assistance of its regional advisory officers, played a significant role in promoting community development and community work within regions. This activity often had the effect of raising expectations among community groups, yet was not followed through with adequate financial resources or on-going funding arrangements (Driver and Robinson, 1986). The Department also played a leading role in publishing guidelines and resource material on community development.

A recent publication by Church (1990) documents the history of the Department of Internal Affairs' involvement in the field of community development and the

programmes and funding schemes it initiated with local authorities and community groups. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this involvement in further detail, although various aspects of the Department's work will be addressed where relevant.

The Department of Social Welfare also encouraged the development of community based services and was the key funding source for voluntary agencies. Following its establishment in 1972, the Department became responsible for the development and co-ordination of social welfare activities, including some from which other government departments originally took responsibility, as well as those in the voluntary sector (Elworthy, 1986). It was thus concerned with both the direct and indirect provision of welfare services.

During the 1970s, the Department's involvement with community work was primarily through its funding of the voluntary sector, in particular organisations such as Community Volunteers and Women's Refuges. Moreover, many enterprising community workers and community groups were initially able to capitalise on the Department's resources, available for those engaged in a 'self-help approach' to meeting their own needs. Direct service provision, however, was characterised by the Department's essentially casework approach, tempered occasionally by the work of social welfare volunteers.

Despite the fact that some government departments had become more involved in community development, it was not until 1982 that the Department of Social Welfare established a Community Development Unit in its Head Office. Even then, as Barretta-Herman (1990) points out, many people were of the opinion that the Department should not engage in such activities, as it was not seen to have the resources or mandate to do so.

Towards the end of the 1970s two other government departments incorporated a community based approach to some areas of their service delivery and provided some funding for this. These were the Departments of Health and Justice, although the latter's provision was so minimal it will not be explored further.

The Department of Health, on the other hand, made a more positive contribution. In 1977 an additional levy was placed on alcohol and tobacco, more commonly known as the "beer and baccy tax". The money derived from this levy was administered by the hospital boards (Driver and Robinson, 1986) and was used to fund community care and community health projects (Elworthy, 1986). Community groups and community workers were quick to take advantage of this funding and used it for a variety of projects, such as women's refuges and community health centres (Craig, 1983). Although most of the Department of Health's budget was dispersed to hospital boards, the Department also allocated some funding to community based health projects, focussing on preventative health care and health promotion. The Department established the discretionary Community Health Initiatives Funding Scheme in 1984 to assist such programmes.

It could be argued, however, that the most significant provision for community work and community based agencies in the 1970s came via the Department of Labour's employment and training programmes, which were first established in 1977. The Department of Labour was, as Driver and Robinson (1986) point out, certainly the major source of funding for voluntary organisations from the late 1970s through to the mid-1980s. Its contribution was particularly significant, as it enabled many voluntary agencies, which had previously been totally dependent on unpaid labour, to employ workers to provide essential services as well as to engage in developmental work.

The Department of Labour's programmes were set up in response to a growing concern about the rising levels of unemployment. It is doubtful that they were

intended to become a major source of funding for voluntary organisations. The goals of these schemes were based on the belief that rising unemployment was a temporary phenomenon, and that the state had a role in filling the gap until such time as the economy recovered, thus ensuring that unemployed workers retained the 'work ethic' (Shirley et al, 1990). Unemployment, however, did not disappear, and for a variety of reasons the schemes were abolished in the mid-1980s.

Whilst they existed, the voluntary sector was very quick to utilise these programmes, and by 1985 the Department's estimated contribution to the voluntary community and welfare sector was \$30 million (Driver and Robinson, 1986).

The dependency of the voluntary welfare sector on the Department of Labour's programmes was highlighted by Darby et al (1983), who argued that voluntary agencies must begin to address this dependency because of the likelihood of these programmes being axed or severely curtailed. They cited, as an example of this dependency, their 1982 research of 109 voluntary welfare agencies in Palmerston North, which showed how important the Department of Labour schemes were. This research also revealed that grants constituted 44.26% of the income for these agencies and, of this amount, 56.32% was provided by central government (Wheeler et al , 1982).

To conclude, central government provision during the 1970s heavily subsidised many of the community based developmental initiatives of the voluntary sector, as well becoming a major source of revenue for those voluntary agencies which were already filling gaps in central and local government social service delivery.<sup>10</sup> Much of this provision became increasingly restricted in the 1980s, and the voluntary sector,

---

<sup>10</sup>In their research of the 109 voluntary agencies in Palmerston North, Wheeler et al found that 38 agencies had existed for more than 10 years, 40 had been in existence between 4 and 10 years and 31 were less than 4 years old. This research was conducted during the summer of 1981-82. Of these agencies, 41 believed their service was one which should have been provided by the statutory sector, and 42 believed they were filling in the gaps.

especially those organisations engaged in developmental programmes more closely associated with community work, found it more and more difficult to obtain funding for their projects without compromising their work. It was, however, the community initiatives within the voluntary sector that provided community work with a site of struggle for change in the 1970s.

### **Community work within the voluntary sector: women's work**

The voluntary sector includes a myriad of non-statutory, non-profit service, welfare and support oriented organisations, as well as those people engaged in self-help or community care type activities, on which society is dependent for its functioning. As Elworthy (1986) notes, voluntary organisations emerged in Aotearoa in the late 1870s in response to problems created by changing social situations which individual efforts could no longer solve. A century later, as it entered the 1970s, Aotearoa experienced a rapid increase in the numbers of voluntary organisations, again in response to the changing social conditions (Elworthy, 1986).

There is a considerable variation in the types of voluntary organisations. They span the whole spectrum of social services, and although many employ professional and/or paid workers, most are very dependent on the unpaid labour of people in the community, especially women (Baldock, 1983). From the late 1970s they have also become increasingly dependent on government funding (NZCOSS, 1978). Some voluntary organisations, such as the IHC, could be categorised as quasi-government agencies in that their government funding is virtually guaranteed (Davey and Dwyer, 1984). Others, especially women's organisations, are "economically and politically vulnerable" (Baldock, 1983: 26).

Although people have always worked in the community, many in fact working towards social change, it was not until the 1970s that community work, and in

particular community development, gained in prominence. It can be argued that at first community work contained many aspects of a social movement, in that people came together to struggle for change (Smith, 1980). This impetus was particularly evident with the second wave of the women's movement which dominated much of the 1970s. Out of that movement and others, community work emerged as a distinct form of social intervention.

In the early part of the 1970s most people involved in community work, particularly those from within the voluntary sector, were unpaid, . As local authority community workers/advisors set up CABs and community centres, people (women) in the community were encouraged to participate in these initiatives and some of them ultimately became involved in community work (Craig, 1983).

The extent to which their contribution was acknowledged as a valuable one, was questionable. Evidence of such marginalisation can be seen in Smith's explanation about those workers attending a community work seminar:

We made it clear that all who wished to come were welcome, but that the seminar was designed specifically for those who were engaged in community work as a full-time occupation. At the previous community workers gathering in Auckland in 1974, and at other similar meetings, questions of the role of the community worker and the status of the volunteer tended to swamp discussions of substantive issues (Smith, 1976: 1).

Women's unpaid contributions to community work was clearly not seen as a 'substantive issue'. This seminar was dominated by men primarily employed by local authorities, universities or community colleges. Although they all spoke about community work processes, not one addressed the significant contribution women made, and still make, largely unpaid, to ensure the effectiveness of these processes.

Further evidence of this neglect can be found in Shirley's (1979) most valuable contribution to community work in Aotearoa. He provides us with a critical account of his experiences as a "community work practitioner" whilst employed as a local authority community advisor in Glen Innes between May 1973 and March 1977. Using a number of case studies, he identifies four phases of a developmental model of community work practice in Aotearoa (Shirley, 1979). Yet, although he alludes to the presence of others with whom he was working, as for example, his reference to the members of his 'follow-up' team,<sup>11</sup> their substantial, mostly unpaid contribution gets engulfed amidst the struggles of 'a community' working towards change. Subsequently, because such work becomes hidden, it is devalued or ignored (Munford, 1989).

All community workers know, however, that community work is totally dependent on the unpaid labour of others, if their projects and initiatives are to be successful. These 'others' tend to be women. Moreover, as I will argue throughout this thesis, community work in the 1970s, and particularly in the 1980s, has primarily become the domain of women (Dixon et al, 1982).

Two quite separate community work initiatives that began in 1973 exemplify my argument. Each has made a major contribution to community work in Aotearoa, yet each would not have survived without the ongoing commitment and labour (mostly unpaid) of women. One was a small local community work project; the other became a national organisation.

---

<sup>11</sup>In the first stage of developing an interview schedule for this research I met with several small groups of women who had been involved in community work for some time. Two of them had worked with Ian Shirley, as members of his follow-up team.

The first of these initiatives can be located in the work of a small group of Sisters of Mercy,<sup>12</sup> who, in February 1973, elected to live in a state housing area in Aranui in Christchurch, so that they could work among people in need. These Sisters of Mercy had originally intended to be "good neighbours", however they quickly learned that their neighbours' sense of powerlessness was a consequence of the injustice and exploitation they experienced. Thus, as O'Regan and O'Connor (1989:18) put it, by living among those people who have been alienated or marginalised in society they "began to absorb the reality of people's lives".

Consequently, together with their neighbours, they began to engage in a process of transformation (Freire, 1972). That is, people shared their stories about their situations, and as they began to develop an understanding of the injustice and exploitation they experienced, in a process that can be likened to consciousness-raising they engaged in a number of activities to transform their situation.

O'Regan and O'Connor (1989) provide an illuminating account of their activities in their publication. It is important to point out here that they were not paid for their work. Rather, they were supported by another Sister who took on paid work to provide for them. Funding obtained from the McKenzie Trust allowed for "nominal" payments for their "co-workers", in recognition of the expenses people incur when they are working towards change (O'Regan and O'Connor, 1989). These Sisters of Mercy have continued with their community work activities to the present day. Yet their work has largely remained ignored by the social work academy and in mainstream teaching. It has taken 15 years for their work to be acknowledged, and this was only after they used their own resources to publish material about their work.

---

<sup>12</sup>Two of the Sisters of Mercy were also in one of my discussion groups (see previous footnote).



The second example of women's involvement and commitment to community work can be seen in the work of Community Volunteers. Between 1973 and 1980,<sup>13</sup> Community Volunteers initiated projects, as well as responded to requests from local communities and organisations to place a worker with them. The workers were involved in a diversity of projects ranging from working in schools, CABs and neighbourhood centres, through to youth work, neighbourhood work and social action programmes. Some workers were clearly providing a community service, some were more involved in community development and others were actively working towards social change. A total of 543 CV workers were employed during this period (Kilmister, 1987).

In the first two years of its development the male-female ratio of CV workers was almost equal. This was not surprising. Community Volunteers had been promoted as an alternative to compulsory military training and it was also founded on the youthful idealism arising from the protest movements of the 1960s and early 1970s (Craig, 1981a). By 1975, the ratio of female to male had almost doubled, and between 1976 and 1980 there were more than three female workers to every male.

Initially CV workers were given a weekly volunteer allowance which was raised progressively over the years (from \$20 in 1973 to \$100 by 1980). The funding for this allowance came from a diversity of sources including local authorities. As branch co-ordinators<sup>14</sup> became increasingly concerned about the possible exploitation of their workers, a number resorted to making use of government funding, somehow maintaining their social and political campaigning in the process (Craig, 1983; Kilmister, 1987).

---

<sup>13</sup>This was the period extensively explored by Kilmister (1987). The 1981-1986 figures were more limited, in that during this period, few statistics were provided by the branches.

<sup>14</sup>I was the first branch co-ordinator to express my concerns about the exploitation of women's work, and the first to utilise government schemes to fund projects, including some quite political ones.

Although Community Volunteers has now almost gone out of existence, it is impossible to ignore the contribution it has made to community work. It promoted idealism, yet was firmly rooted in the needs of people at the grass roots. It was at the forefront of social change, yet was always mindful of the welfare needs of communities. It also became increasingly dependent on women, including a growing number of Maori women, yet was historically seen as a white male organisation (Kilmister, 1987). To suggest that women's significant contribution to Community Volunteers has been devalued would be incorrect. Rather, it has been embedded in the organisation's history and will remain hidden unless it is retrieved. If so, no doubt it will be by women.

These two examples only touch upon the extensive contributions women made to community work in the 1970s and 1980s. Possibly the substantive contributions have their origins in the second wave of the women's movement and in the new wave of the Maori renaissance. From these movements have emerged a proliferation of community work initiatives and social action programmes aimed at promoting change. Issues such as land and housing, education, employment, health, racism, disability, sexism, childcare and self-determination were seen as central concerns in community work and in whanau and iwi development.

At first much of women's involvement in community work centred around the six demands of the women's liberation movement (Wilson 1977b; James, 1982),<sup>15</sup> with women organising collectively to tackle these demands. Their methods were diverse, but most typically embodied consciousness-raising groups, self-help approaches, community action and political campaigning. In making the private world public, however, (James, 1982), the realities of everyday life for women were increasingly

---

<sup>15</sup>Wilson (1977a:41) identifies these six demands as: "free abortion and contraception on demand; twenty-four hour nursery care; equality of education and job opportunity; legal and financial independence; a demand for the authenticity of lesbianism and the autonomy of women's sexuality; and equal pay".

exposed (Wilson, 1977b), and their "emotional misery and material deprivation" (Dominelli and McLeod, 1989: 46) required immediate direct action. Thus whilst some women primarily focussed on the political arena, others chose to become involved in community issues and addressed women's position within the family and the community.

A proliferation of community work activities ensued. Much of this activity could be defined as neighbourhood work, in that the focus was on the development of essential community services and facilities such as child care, playgroups, care and craft programmes, community centres, appropriate bus services and information centres. Not all of the women involved in these community work activities considered themselves to be feminists, although some clearly were (Craig, 1983). Feminist community workers, however, were more attracted to self-help alternatives rather than traditional services, which encouraged women's participation whilst simultaneously providing them with a service. Other groups of women community workers chose to focus on specific issues, such as health, employment, housing, poverty, peace and violence against women. Again, although some of these women were sympathetic to feminism, many of them would not define themselves as feminists.

Maori women, for example, were somewhat cautious about the women's movement, which many of them saw as white and middle class. Although some Maori women initially joined the women's movement, in the latter part of the 1970s Maori women formed their own movement which focussed more on racial oppression than on sexual oppression, and also on reclaiming cultural identity. Some Maori women were particularly responsive to the new wave of the Maori renaissance which emerged in the 1970s. This response demonstrated their strong leadership skills and also signalled their intention to stand alongside Maori men in an effort to move their people forward together (Awatere, 1984; Walker, 1990).

Community work provided Maori women with an important site of struggle for change. Much of this work took place at the grass roots level and was located within whanau and iwi networks. The transformation (decentralisation) of the Department of Maori Affairs facilitated this community development approach (Walker, 1982), and many Maori women subsequently became involved in Matua Whangai, Tu Tangata and Kohanga Reo programmes which were government sponsored initiatives. These programmes were totally dependent on the unpaid labour of Maori women (Ministry of Women's Affairs / Te Minitatanga Mō Ngā Wāhine, 1990). Maori women also became increasingly involved in the issues affecting Maori people's survival and well-being, such as work, language, health, housing and the transmission of cultural values.

Although community work was, and still is, primarily dependent on women's unpaid efforts, towards the latter part of the 1970s women began to take advantage of a growing number of government programmes and funding initiatives, which enabled many women to be wholly or partially paid for their work. As suggested in the previous section, this funding was allocated both on account of the extensive lobbying of community groups for more financial assistance for the voluntary sector, and also out of a growing concern about the rising level of unemployment and its social effects (Davey and Dwyer, 1984; Driver and Robinson, 1986).

The New Zealand Planning Council report reveals a number of the inherent problems that have arisen out of the government's often unco-ordinated and unplanned approaches to funding assistance for the voluntary social service sector. These problems include: the piecemeal approach to funding assistance; the lack of guarantee for long-term support; the centralised funding control of national organisations and the community's demands for assistance exceeding government provision (Driver and Robinson, 1986). Yet, as Davey and Dwyer (1984) point out, government policies

and practices have increasingly placed greater emphasis on the role of the voluntary sector in social service provision. This factor is explored in the next section.

### **Community work as a site of struggle for change**

There can be no doubt that community work's struggles for change in the 1970s coincided with the state's sponsorship of community work as a legitimate activity to encourage participation and to facilitate community initiative and self-reliance. The extent to which each influenced the other is debatable (Bolger et al 1981; Craig, 1983; Thomas, 1983), and determining this influence is beyond the scope of this present research project. The state needed the community to take a greater responsibility for the community policies it was promoting, and many community groups were initially encouraged by the apparent trend towards devolution (NZCOSS, 1978; Davey and Dwyer, 1984).

As Cynthia Cockburn suggests, although community work brought new opportunities for people who have traditionally been marginalised in society, it also brought new dangers, in that it provided the state with the means to incorporate the activities of these people, and thus further contribute to their impotence. Such incorporation is a two-edged sword, as it brings these people into greater proximity to the state and creates the potential for subversion and resistance (Cockburn, 1978). Community work thus provides a site of struggle for change.

The struggle for change, then, can be located in the state's efforts to co-opt or control community work and in community work's efforts to resist, or subvert such action. It is important to point out that not all community workers and community groups have seen it as necessary to resist incorporation by the state. People are involved in community work for a diversity of reasons and these, in turn, are based on the way in which they view community work and society (Craig, 1983). As Tomlinson (1985:

146) points out, progressive community work frequently has its origins in conservative beginnings. This phenomenon has been evidenced in Aotearoa (Shirley, 1979; 1982; Elliott, 1982; Craig, 1983).

During the 1970s, the state was relatively responsive to many of community work's demands, arguably because it benefitted from its significant contribution (Cockburn, 1978). Central government funding of community work initiatives was reasonably forthcoming, and this was sometimes accompanied by physical resources such as housing for women's refuges. The state also tolerated the political protest inherent in community work's demands, and many community groups secured ongoing funding whilst still retaining their political focus (Craig, 1983; Kilmister, 1987).

Some writers, for instance Cockburn (1978:117), claim that in reality the state was effectively managing community work, in that the potential for further conflict by some community work initiatives was "moderated and converted" by the state "wherever possible, into a style of governance".

Fraser (1989) has a similar argument. She suggests that the Women's Refuge Movement provides an example of "the tendency for the politics of need interpretation to devolve into the administration of need satisfaction" (Fraser 1989: 177). She points out that feminists identified wife-beating, renamed it as wife-battering, politicised it and located it within a male domination/female subordination category. They reinterpreted wife battery within the context of male violence against women, and coined a new language, which also saw women no longer as victims but rather as activists and survivors. They identified other related needs, such as economic independence, child care and housing. Feminists thus succeeded in establishing male violence against women as a political issue, which legitimately required the support of local and central government. Refuge houses and workers were funded and new policies were developed (Fraser, 1989).

Fraser claims that this victory came at some cost. Funding brought new administrative requirements, greater demands for accountability and gradually new demands for the training of refuge workers. The struggle over the interpretation of needs, she argues, now moves towards a struggle for needs satisfaction; that is, to make secure the provision already obtained. This struggle can also lose sight of earlier struggles such as the need for housing, childcare and economic independence. It can even lead to a more narrow focus, for example on battered women as clients, needing to deal with problems such as low self-esteem and budgeting and parenting issues (Fraser 1989: 175 to 177).

This example is particularly relevant to Aotearoa, in that Fraser locates funding as a central mechanism by which the state is able to co-opt, control or repress community work initiatives. This trend became particularly evident in the 1980s. Community groups were increasingly expected to be more accountable and were required to evaluate their services. Yet such demands were seen to satisfy the needs of Treasury rather than the recipients of the services, and inherent in this ethos was the suggestion that the state was more concerned about cost-saving programmes than the provision of services (Driver and Robinson, 1986).

Many community groups were required to formulate a legal constitution in order to obtain funding. This exercise can be a difficult one and it is questionable who has benefited from it. As Driver and Robinson (1986) indicate, this requirement and the nature of application forms are designed to meet the needs of bureaucracy rather than community groups. Devolution of funding has not made a significant difference to small community groups. Much of government funding is already pre-allocated to the larger national organisations or iwi authorities, which are often reluctant to share their resources.

Fraser (1989) also points to the way in which the state has reinterpreted community work's demands. For example, whereas feminists used the language 'male violence against women', subsequent policies used the gender neutral, or gender-hiding, terms 'domestic violence' and 'spouse abuse'. The Maori people's struggle for self-determination and recognition of their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi, which was acknowledged in the first draft of the Bill of Rights has more recently been reinterpreted, for example as seen in *Ka Awatea*, to Maori people having 'special needs' (Nga Kaiwhakamarama I Nga Ture, 1991). The issue of their 'rights' can thus be ignored.

The state has incorporated community work through its policies, which are based on the use of community groups and volunteers, to provide an unpaid, or poorly resourced, service. Deinstitutionalisation, for example, has put more pressure on community workers to provide for the gaps in services for people who were traditionally cared for by the state (Munford, 1989). The state has promoted the community-oriented patch-based approach to social work within the Department of Social Welfare (Barretta-Herman, 1990). As Barretta-Herman (1990:6) points out, this approach "represents an application of monetarist economic policies to a social service delivery". This approach is also totally reliant on community carers (women), to provide low-paid and unpaid caring (labour), for a myriad of social service activities (Croft, 1986).

The shift, from Keynesian to monetarist policies, was reflected in three distinct phases in the state's relationship with community work and community groups in general. Phase one can be likened to a consultation stage. Here the government sponsored a number of reviews,<sup>16</sup> to establish its relationship and responsibilities with the

---

<sup>16</sup>These include: The New Zealand Planning Council's *Meeting Needs in the Community*, 1984, and *Voluntary Social Services: a review of funding*, 1986. *Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council*, Department of Social Welfare, 1985. *Partnership: The delivery of social and community services*, Social Advisory Committee, 1986. *Review and assessment of refugees in New Zealand*, 1986, and *Review of Community Volunteers*, 1986, Department of Social Welfare.



voluntary sector. Phase two followed with the state contracting out its social services to national organisations such as Barnados. It also included the development of the Community Organisation Grants (COGs), whereby \$8.5 million was made available for "essential social services", and the responsibility for choosing between competing claims was placed on local community people (Driver and Robinson, 1986). Phase three alternates between privatisation or a re-emphasis on self-help activities.

The state has thus begun a shift from demand-side to supply-side policies (Codd, Gordon and Harker, 1990) in the social services, in line with the move to monetarism. This move is reflected in The Minister of Social Welfare's view that the welfare state must operate more efficiently and effectively in the 1990s. Despite the growing rate of unemployment, the government is expecting those on benefits to look for work and become active members of the workforce and, as she intimated, the government decided to adjust the welfare benefit rates to encourage people to obtain their income from within the workforce.

The growing numbers in the dole queues and the increasing dependency on foodbanks have, however, put additional strain on the voluntary social service sector. In other words, government policies have not solved social problems, but have increasingly shifted the burden to community groups, at the same time limiting the amount of central resources allocated to these groups.

In community work, the increasing accountability required of community organisations, and the overall reduction in funding for these services, demonstrates the increasing control over expenditure that the state has prescribed (Shirley, 1990). Funding for the social services, including community work, has become independent of the demand for such services, even though social problems such as unemployment have been increasing for fifteen years. Instead, the focus is on the supply of resources; these being determined by the extent to which the goals of the organisation

being funded fall into line with the goals of the state, and by how much funding is made available on a priority basis.

It will be shown in Part Two that community workers have endeavoured to resist the state's co-option and control of its work. Training, for instance, has been viewed as a means by which community workers can develop more effective strategies for change. Community workers have resisted the state's efforts to incorporate their training within the parameters of social work and have argued that community work training does, of necessity, include different elements and processes for the provision and location of this training. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association has provided a platform to articulate these debates and has, in fact, ensured that these issues have remained current. Women community workers have been at the forefront of the Association and have formed a strong lobby group.

Given the discussion outlined in this chapter, one must have an understanding of the role of the welfare state and its impact on both women and community work. In the next chapter I will present an overview of the state and provide a framework for consideration in this thesis.

## *Chapter Three*

### **The Welfare State: Feminist Theorising**

Most community workers tend to adopt somewhat simplistic attitudes towards the state, readily accepting it as a monolith (Blagg and Derricourt, 1982). It has only been recently that feminists have begun to analyse the relationship between the state and the position of women (Walby, 1986). It is this institutional structure alone, however, which has "the mandate to govern our society and to set its social and economic direction" (Saville-Smith, 1987: 193). It regulates public and private life (Eisenstein, 1981) and makes a fundamental assumption that the family/women will provide many essential social services (Sassoon, 1987). This chapter considers malestream and feminist theories of the state, and, also provides a framework to investigate the caring and nurturing work of women.

#### **Malestream theories of the state**

A theory of the state is also a theory of society and of the distribution of power in that society (Miliband, 1973:4).

In this section, I will briefly examine the two major traditions in theorising about the welfare state, these being the functionalist and the Marxist approaches (Wilkes, 1982). The account given here is of a somewhat rudimentary character. I have concentrated on those aspects which most directly concern my research.

**The functionalist position** has its origins in the works of the sociologists Emile

Durkheim and Max Weber. Although there are variants within this tradition (Shirley 1987), the emphasis is on integration, stability and functional relations, with the preservation of the unity of society being paramount (Mishra, 1977). Functionalist theorists give priority to individual autonomy and freedom from state control (Shirley, 1987), although some theorists have reluctantly recognised the need for limited state intervention, in order that capitalism be made "morally acceptable" (George and Wilding, 1976). The economic theories of Adam Smith have been a powerful influence on the proponents of this tradition, and so has the liberal individualism of the utilitarian philosopher, John Stuart Mill (Shirley, 1987).

Proponents of this perspective see the development of the welfare state as ranging from an "unfortunate occurrence" (Sullivan, 1987) through to a "necessary evil" (Wilkes and Shirley, 1984). Those from the radical right (Sullivan, 1987), believe that state activity should be extremely limited and confined purely to those areas in which the market place cannot necessarily "do for itself; that is determine, arbitrate and enforce the rules of the game" (Waylen 1986: 89). Monetarists such as Hayek (1960) and Friedman (1962), argue that the welfare state has acted to enslave its citizens (Shirley and Wilkes, 1984: 15), removed individual freedom and responsibility (Sullivan, 1987: 95), and undermined the workings of the spontaneous (i e. market) order (Waylen, 1986: 90).

The writers who take a more 'middle-ground' approach than those on the functionalist right, tend to promote state intervention, in so far as it modifies the market place to resolve any residual problems of capitalism. As Wilkes and Shirley (1984: 17) put it:

The political commitment to freedom and individualism is modified by an old-fashioned humanism and a sensitivity to human suffering which is almost completely lacking among the monetarists.

Writers such as Keynes (1936), Beveridge (1945) and Galbraith (1972) claim the state's role is to act in the public interest (George and Wilding, 1976). The state is the instrument or machinery of government (Sullivan, 1987) and the hand-maiden of industry and technology (Wilkes, 1982). Through rational thought and planning, the state can regulate and increase the efficiency of capitalism, thus facilitating the social cohesion of society and serving as a stimulus to private enterprise (George and Wilding, 1976).

The economic system, however, remains the primary concern of this group, and the underlying values of individualism, free enterprise and self-help are constant. Together with the monetarists, they accept "the social and political order as given" (George and Wilding, 1976: 45). Nor are they particularly concerned with the inequalities of the market place and the ordering of society. No consideration is given to the way in which gender inequalities support the market place and are maintained by state policies. Indeed, this individualistic school of thought has seemingly precluded women as individuals in their own right.

The philosophy emanating from the functionalist tradition is dependent on the notion of the traditional family as the basic unit of society (Pascall, 1986). Women are subsumed within the family and the private sphere, and the family is to be left within this 'protected' domain and outside of the control of government, unless women challenge patriarchal legislation, for instance, the right to abortion (Waylen, 1986). Individuals (men) are to fill the market place, whereas women have the task of nurturing society's dependents. This doctrine speaks of liberty for all, but the free market will only function if women are not considered as individuals (Waylen, 1986).

Women, then, are to "bear the costs of individualism" (Pascall, 1986: 7) and as will be shown next, the state plays an important role in legitimating these costs.

Whereas functionalist interpretations of the state focus on the way it acts in the public interest, Marxist interpretations are more concerned with the way in which it advances the interests of capitalism. The state, then, for Marxists is not a neutral entity acting in the interests of all. Rather, it is viewed as being actively involved in the social processes, sustaining a system of inequality and playing a central role in furthering the interests of the capitalist class. Gold, Lo and Wright (1975) have identified three distinct approaches in analysing the role of the state from a Marxist perspective: the instrumentalist, the structuralist and the Hegelian/Marxist. These approaches do not cover all of the typologies from the extensive range of neo-Marxist theories of the capitalist state, but for the purposes of this thesis, they are adequate.

Instrumentalist theories portray the state as the simple instrument of the capitalist class serving its class interests. This is very much the orthodox Marxist position and in the instrumentalist tradition Miliband (1969:146) argues that capitalists are able to enjoy political advantages because they control the state. Miliband (1969:34) claims capitalists occupy strategic positions both "inside" and "outside" the state, and are able to exploit these positions in the pursuit and achievement of "the highest possible" profits. Instrumental interpretations have been criticised for the way they neglect the ideological role of the state, and for their failure to account for the autonomous action of the capitalist class from within the state (Block, 1977:8). Recent conceptualisations of the state now largely dismissed these instrumental interpretations (Wilkes, 1982; Martin 1981).

Structuralist theories emphasise the way in which state activity is influenced by the economic structure, which neutralises its power (Gold, Lo and Wright, 1975: 36). This tradition places emphasis on the structures of society and their inter-relationships, rather than on key people who occupy strategic positions. This position is clearly articulated by Poulantzas (1977: 245) who maintains:

the direct participation of members of the capitalist class in the state apparatus and in the government, even where it exists, is not the important side of the matter.

Poulantzas (1973), regarded as a principle theorist of the structuralist position,<sup>1</sup> believes that complex relationships exist between the three structures of society - the political, ideological and economic structures - and that all three of these structures make up the mode of production. Poulantzas argues that the state should be seen as a relation, or more precisely, the condensation of power, between struggling classes. Power, he suggests, is a feature of class practices only. If the state is seen to exercise power, it is only through certain indirect avenues which enable the dominant class to realise specific objectives. It is his premise that the state functions to preserve and ensure the unity of the social formation as a whole. Such unity is deemed essential, because working-class unity poses a threat to the advanced capitalist economy in which the "individualised interests of specific capitalists" enhance capitalist class disunity (Gold, Lo and Wright, 1975:38). This unity is achieved by the state retaining a relative autonomy from the politically dominant class fractions and the economic structure.

For Poulantzas, the state serves as a site for compromise to offset the contradictions of capitalism. It becomes an arena for the class struggle and plays a crucial role "balancing out, reconciling and organising the different social forces of a given formation" (Abercrombie et al, 1978:514). Its autonomy ultimately works in the interests of the dominant classes, as it enables the state surreptitiously to disorganise the dominated classes, in that they are lulled into believing that a popular class state acts in the interests of all citizens.

---

<sup>1</sup> Although Poulantzas's early works were very definitely structuralist, he gradually moved away from this position to one that was more historical and specific, and which gave recognition to the way in which the class struggle shaped the state.

Poulantzas's theory of the advanced capitalist state,<sup>2</sup> then, emphasises both the autonomy of the political structure and the functions it fulfills for the economic structure. In the last instance this autonomy and functioning is determined by the economic structure (Martin, 1981).

The structuralist position, and in particular the writings of Poulantzas, has clearly furthered the development of Marxist political thought. The state, far from being a mere instrument of capitalism, has a dual function of both individualising and unifying its citizens. The state is a complex social relation placed in an inherently contradictory role, in that it becomes shaped by the class struggle, yet functions to modify and even determine, the class struggle.

Elsewhere (Craig, 1983), I have found Poulantzas's writing extremely useful in my explorations of the role of the welfare state in conjunction with community work in New Zealand. Structural interpretations have been extensively criticised especially on account of their seemingly ahistorical and deterministic views and their anti-humanistic stance (Carnoy, 1984).

The last group, the Hegelian-Marxists, by comparison are more concerned with the shaping power of ideology. These theorists place their emphasis on the role the state plays in perpetuating the ideology and the processes of legitimation necessary for the continuance of a capitalist society. The importance of the ideological over the political and economic dimensions becomes paramount. Indeed, one of the dominant theorists of this tradition, Habermas (1975), maintains the crisis of capitalism is not economic but ideological (Wilkes, 1982; Wilkes and Shirley, 1984).

It is Habermas's (1975) view that in advanced capitalism the process of capital

---

<sup>2</sup> Poulantzas never specifically wrote about the welfare state although his theory can be seen as functionally constituting the concept (Martin, 1981).



accumulation falters and the state has to intervene to keep it going. Thus the economic system relinquishes some of its autonomy to the state. Wilby (1979:667) explains:

In advanced capitalism the state goes beyond intervention: it all but replaces the market as the steering mechanism of capitalism. Its own consumption and its own investment assume ever greater proportions. It determines wages, repairs ecological damage, protects endangered industries, improves productivity through education and training, directs research.

There is an increasing interdependence of the different dimensions of the system; the purely economic matters that the state once left alone are now seen to have political/economic overtones and the state requires 'legitimation' for its interventions (Wilkes and Shirley, 1984; Walklate, 1984; Wilby, 1979). The state's ideological role now becomes very important. Accordingly, 'politics' becomes transformed into technical competence and the state sells itself as "the instrument of reason", as a planning authority for the public good (Wilkes, 1982:122; Wilkes and Shirley, 1984).

For Habermas the state must maintain a continued 'legitimation', or acceptance of the social order, as it comes under increasing pressure for its failure to serve the public interest (Shirley and Wilkes, 1984). This poses a difficulty, and thus attention is focussed on:

how motivations and rewards are produced for the maintenance and reproduction of the existing society; that is how the 'communicative behaviour' of individuals is created in the shared symbols of society (Walklate, 1984:97).

It is here that Habermas completely reorganises Marx's thinking. Individual and class consciousness, it appears, can be shaped by the ideological dimension as well as by the economic, and it is this "shaping power of ideologies" which provides the

legitimation modern capitalism requires (Walklate, 1984; Habermas, 1975).

As O'Brien (1983:74) points out, concepts such as "ideology, hegemony and consciousness" have been influential to neo-Marxists, views on the political economy. It is here, too, that the influence of Gramsci (1971) can be found. His concept 'hegemony' - control by 'spontaneous' consent -<sup>3</sup> is central to understanding capitalist domination as mediated through the state. In fact, Gramsci (1971) actually uses the term 'hegemony' to develop a non-reductionist approach, exploring the relationship between political power and the economic structure, which removes the determinancy of the economic from the political sphere. As will be elaborated in the next section, much of this theorising remains outside the realms of this thesis. The notion of hegemony, however, particularly as interpreted by Poulantzas (1973:141-42), is helpful in aiding our understanding of the ways in which the state maintains its position:

the hegemonic class is the one which concentrates in itself, at the political level, the double function of representing the general interests of the people/nation and of maintaining a specific dominance among the dominant classes and factions.

Community work theorists have tended to draw on theories of the state, in both the structuralist and Hegelian-Marxist traditions (Shirley, 1979, 1982; Bolger et al, 1981; Blagg and Derricourt, 1982; Craig, 1983). It is quite evident that these accounts of the state are gender-blind,<sup>4</sup> in that they do not consider gender relations at all. Rather, the focus is on class inequalities, the relationship between political power and the class struggle, and the extent to which the state facilitates capital accumulation and serves the interests of capitalism (Walby, 1986; Bryson, 1991). It is Walby's (1986:57)

---

<sup>3</sup> The concept of hegemony is now widely used primarily because of Poulantzas's extensive use of it (Wilkes and Shirley, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> This point will be substantially argued in the next section.

contention that such:

accounts of the state are inadequate in that they fail to take into account either the impact of gender inequality and women's political struggles on the state, or the significance of state actions on gender relations.

These omissions are a central concern in this thesis, and, in order to develop an understanding of how women experience the state, I will now turn to the increasing number of feminist accounts.

### **Feminist theories of the state<sup>5</sup>**

Contemporary feminist writers on the welfare state are generally in agreement that the dominant (male) theories are gender-blind and have seemingly ignored the role women have played in the development of the welfare state (Dale and Foster, 1986; Bryson, 1991). Feminist debates about the welfare state reflect some of the contradictions inherent in feminist theorising. On the one hand, equality of opportunity for women is seen to be best achieved through the state's welfare provisions and its education and employment policies (Friedman, 1963; Deckard, 1975; Banks, 1981; Eisenstein, 1981; Jaggar, 1983; Waylen, 1986; Bryson, 1991). On the other hand, feminists point out the way in which the state maintains women's dependency within the family, and reinforces their marginal position as paid workers, whilst simultaneously enforcing their role as unpaid workers and providers of the welfare services in the family and the community (Wilson, 1977a; McIntosh, 1978; Barrett, 1980; Baldock, 1983; Pascall, 1986; Williams, 1989). In this section I will briefly examine the three major strands of feminist theorising about the welfare state (Dale and Foster, 1986). I will then outline a socialist feminist account of the state in Aotearoa.

---

<sup>5</sup>Much of this section and Chapter Four was presented at the Women's Studies Conference in 1989.

Dale and Foster (1986:49) identify three main strands of feminist theorising about welfare activity: liberal feminism, radical feminism and socialist feminism. Although they are not hesitant in pointing out some of the difficulties and dangers in using such "water-tight categories", Dale and Foster nevertheless underline the necessity of using categories in order to make more sense out of current feminist analyses of the welfare state.

**Liberal feminists** characteristically view the state as a neutral arbiter of conflicting interest groups, whose task is to ensure that all its citizens have equal opportunity and freedom to participate in civil and political society (Charvet, 1982; Jaggar, 1983). Although it is expected to refrain from intervening in some aspects of individual (private) life, liberal feminists claim:

the state is the proper and indeed the only legitimate authority for enforcing justice in general and women's rights in particular (Jaggar, 1983:200).

Liberal feminists make extensive use of the state in their pursuit of legal reforms aimed at abolishing discrimination against women. In their view the state has a legitimate role in encouraging the development of affirmative action programmes and compensating for "biologically and socially caused handicaps" (Jaggar, 1983:183). If the state is to enforce equality of rights, then equality of opportunity is paramount. When opportunities become truly equal, then all women will be able to pursue self-fulfilment in both the economic and political spheres, as well as in their private lives. Clearly liberal feminists have adopted a somewhat different conception of the state from that of traditional liberalism, which views the state as a potential infringement on one's freedom. Although the principles of liberalism still underlie liberal feminist thinking, it is evident that in their quest for women to have the same rights and opportunities of citizenship as men, contemporary feminists place considerable reliance on state intervention to bring about their liberation (Jaggar, 1983).

But one asks whether genuine equality for women can be achieved through reliance on state instituted reforms? How is equal opportunity created? In Aotearoa a number of legal reforms have taken place aimed at eliminating legal discrimination against women, but these have not equalised the position between men and women. For example, the 1972 Equal Pay Act was intended to bring about equal pay between men and women but has proven only partially effective. The Employment Equity Act 1990 was aimed at remedying shortcomings in the previous Act. It was repealed because it proved to be an unacceptable intervention in the 'market' notion of industrial relations promoted by the new National government which was elected in late 1990.

The liberal feminist commitment to bring women into the mainstream, disregards the structural basis of women's oppression and does not allow for the possibility that reliance on state intervention may well lead to (some) women being co-opted rather than liberated (Eisenstein, 1981). The liberal feminist view of the state does not give any consideration to the state's relationship with capital and patriarchy. It ignores how the state continues to reinforce and legitimate the systems of capitalism and male dominance (Eisenstein, 1981; Jaggar, 1983).

**Radical feminists** view the state as a patriarchal structure with the power to legitimise its authority (Firestone, 1971; Millett, 1971). As Millett (1971:25) puts it, "our society is a patriarchy", and the state functions to reinforce and reproduce patriarchal privilege. Eisenstein (1981:224) elaborates:

The state is actively involved in protecting the hierarchical sexual structuring of society through its laws and ideology. In other words there is nothing natural about the way life is structured sexually; it is an historical and political phenomenon. It reflects conscious organization and protection.

In the radical feminist sense, then, the state is male. It frames its policies and practices from a male point of view and primarily in the interests of men. Thus, for example, it is a male perspective which will determine what constitutes equality, and male thinking and laws which will control access to things such as contraception, abortion and child care (Eisenstein, 1981; Mackinnon, 1987).

It is Mackinnon's (1987) thesis that the state, through its laws, institutionalises male power. Mackinnon argues the state rules in a male way, reflecting the society it is part of and the way in which individual men control individual women. Its legitimation is derived through its apparent "objectivity" and "practical rationality". In her view:

the state will appear most relentless in imposing the male point of view when it comes closest to achieving its highest formal criterion of distanced aperspectivity. When it is most ruthlessly neutral, it will be most male; when it is most sex blind, it will be most blind to the sex of the standard being applied. When it most closely conforms to precedent, to "facts", to legislative intent, it will most closely enforce socially male norms and most thoroughly preclude their content as having a point of view at all. Abstract rights will authorize the male experience of the world (Mackinnon, 1987:149).

Millett (1971) adopts an even harsher perspective of the state. For Millett not only is the state an agency for society's economic hold over women, but it also has at its control the coercive forces of the police, military, technology and other male controlled institutions. "Women", she claims, "have so rarely held power within modern democracies"; token representation does not invalidate this claim (Millett, 1971:25).

For radical feminists the state, in effect, contributes to the subordination and oppression of women through the use of coercion, social policy, ideology and

legislative measures. It functions to maintain a gender hierarchy and ensures male control over women's sexuality (Mackinnon, 1987; Millett, 1971)

Radical feminists tend to have a very pessimistic view of the state. Because they are intent upon replacing hierarchical, authoritarian systems, radical feminists have a considerable affinity with anarchism and clearly visualise "an ultimate abolition of the state" (Jaggar, 1977:14). Radical feminists, however, have pursued legal reforms especially in the areas of sexual discrimination, reproductive control and male violence against women, alerting feminists to many wrongs. They have also made a significant contribution in their attacks on the splits between the public and private realms, highlighting the political connections between the two. As Evans (1986:112) observes, "where liberal angels and Marxist cadres have hesitated to tread, radical feminists have marched".

In more recent years radical feminists have placed fewer demands on the state. Initially early radical feminist writers urged women to become more involved in the public spheres. The intent was, as Wearing (1986:45) comments, to "become like men and usurp male power". When the feminist revolution did not take place, and disillusioned with (liberal) reformist efforts and the subsequent co-option of some feminist demands, many radical feminists turned their back on patriarchy and the patriarchal state. Retreating from confrontation and political struggle, they have instead embarked upon "a metaphysical or spiritual journey" (Eisenstein, 1984:135); a journey into self-discovery, separatism and an alternative woman-centred culture.

Eisenstein (1984) argues that we should not dismiss the achievements of radical feminists because despite any apparent neutralizing setbacks, many of their demands have influenced legislation and the judiciary to the benefit of women. She also points out that radical feminists have tended to minimise the effects of class, racism and imperialism, resulting in a "false universalism" which has generalised women's

experiences of the patriarchy and the patriarchal state (Eisenstein, 1984:132; Jaggar, 1983). Socialist feminists, on the other hand, attempt to overcome this situation.

**Socialist feminists** embrace a diversity of views on the welfare state, such diversity reflecting the debates within Marxist and socialist feminism. All socialist feminists agree that the state contributes to the subordination of women by supporting and intervening in the family household (McIntosh, 1978; Wilson, 1977a), and in effect controls women through policy, ideology and legislative measures (James, 1982).

Wilson (1977a) claims that the state supports a specific type of family household; one that assumes that man is the breadwinner and woman is dependent on him; her responsibilities being housework, childminding and childrearing. She argues that the state regulates the family to ensure the reproduction of labour, thus benefiting capitalism, and that its policies help maintain women's dependent role. "Woman is above all Mother" and the state defines her femininity and its appropriate roles (Wilson, 1977a:7). For Wilson (1977a:9):

the welfare state is not just a set of services, it is also a set of ideas about society and the family, and - not least important - about women, who have a centrally important role within the family as its linchpin.

From this perspective, then, the welfare state functions ideologically to maintain and reinforce the nuclear family, and it legitimates the exploitation and oppression of women within families (Sullivan, 1987).

McIntosh lends support to this view, although she slightly modifies it (Randall, 1982), arguing that the family is not always ideal for its function within capitalism. McIntosh (1978:267) claims the family is "structured and constrained by state policies". The



state thus endorses policies which ensure that women's labour is regarded as little more than a reserve army of labour, promotes an ideology which sees women's financial dependence on men as healthy and natural, and backs this up with an income maintenance system, which typically assumes that this dependence exists. For McIntosh, then, the state plays a role in sustaining women's oppression not so much directly, but by establishing and maintaining wage labour and family household systems which support a particular exploitative relationship between men and women, and which attend to the needs of capitalism.

The economic determinism or functionalist accounts by feminists such as Wilson<sup>6</sup> and McIntosh have been criticised by a number of writers (see Dahlerup, 1987; Weir, 1987; Dale and Foster, 1986; Pascall, 1986; Walby, 1986; Burton, 1985; Randall, 1982; Barrett, 1980). As Walby (1986) suggests, those accounts which insist on the primacy of class ignore patriarchal interests in sustaining women in a subordinate position, and do not consider how these interests can be mobilised, not necessarily in the interests of capitalism. They tend to disregard the state's potential as a site of feminist struggle and deny the successes women have made in "making the state work" for them, as state employees and providers and receivers of state welfare services (Weir, 1987; Barrett, 1980).

Other socialist feminist analyses attempt to combine radical feminist and Marxist feminist views of the state (see Hernes, 1987; Sassoon, 1987; Saville-Smith, 1987; Walby, 1986; Dale and Foster, 1986; Jaggar, 1983; Eisenstein, 1981). Saville-Smith (1987:208-10) argues that:

the state is situated between antagonistic demands from capitalist and male elites and its own imperatives.

---

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Wilson (1986) argues against such interpretations of the Marxist feminist analysis of the welfare state.

The state, she contends, is in "the business of ruling" and maintaining social order. Because the interests of dominant elites are not always compatible, the state has to mediate between these, at times ignoring its immediate interests. The feminist task is to exploit the state's contradictory position and force the state to pursue various issues in the interest of women.

Eisenstein (1981:225) asserts that the contemporary state is a capitalist patriarchal state, in which capitalism and patriarchy are mutually reinforcing and interlocking systems. She writes:

Until feminists are aware of the state's involvement in protecting patriarchy as a system of power in the same way as it protects capitalism and racism as systems, feminists will be unable to see why a reform politics, though necessary, is insufficient. A feminist theory of the state is necessary to understand why this is so.

Eisenstein's feminist theory of the state recognises that the state is a site of struggle. She utilises ideas advanced by Poulantzas (1973) and argues that the state is not a neutral arbiter between conflicting interest groups, but rather a site of political struggle. The state's role is to represent different power interests. She claims that theorists such as Poulantzas have "yet to define patriarchy as one of the major sources the state must reinforce and mediate" (Eisenstein, 1981:226). Eisenstein believes that although patriarchy preceded capitalism, the two are now very much intertwined: that is, "capitalism uses patriarchy and patriarchy is defined by the needs of capital" (Eisenstein, 1979:28). When conflicts arise, as they invariably do "within capitalism, within patriarchy and between the two systems", as well as within other systems, the capitalist patriarchal state has relative autonomy in "creating political cohesion" (Eisenstein, 1981:226). As Dahlerup (1987:116) puts it:

Zillah Eisenstein twists the old discussion of the relative autonomy of the state *vis-a-vis* the economy into one of the relative autonomy of the state *vis-a-vis* patriarchy.

Walby (1986) points to a number of ambiguities in Eisenstein's approach. These primarily pertain to the way she treats capitalism and patriarchy as analytically distinct, yet argues that they have become one system. In Walby's view, Eisenstein "underestimates the conflict between patriarchy and capitalism" (Walby, 1986:32). She concedes, however, that Eisenstein has made an important contribution in her treatment of capitalism and patriarchy as dual forces in determining gender inequalities and in examining the state's role in sustaining these inequalities.

Walby (1986) claims that the state, when in collusion with capitalism, is both patriarchal and capitalist. Her dualist conception of the state recognises that it is a site of political struggles and that its actions are influenced by these struggles. Although she argues that the state plays a significant role in shaping and maintaining patriarchal relations in society, Walby (1986:59) is nevertheless adamant that the state "is not the basis of patriarchal power". Rather, the state mediates between the tensions and conflicts that she believes exist between patriarchy and capitalism. Indeed, Walby argues that the state has considerable autonomy from competing interests, which is why it is subject to influence. She points out that because women have limited access in the various political processes, their interests are frequently effectively suppressed or modified.

Clearly Walby is to some extent influenced by Hartmann's (1981) 'dual systems theory' approach, which recognises that capitalism and patriarchy co-exist in harmony, although Walby herself believes they exist together in conflict. In her more recent text, Walby (1990) cites the state as one of the six main structures of the patriarchal system.

She argues that there have been some major changes in the way in which the state represents patriarchal interests, but its actions have only had a marginal impact for women and still tend to favour men's interests rather than women's. Of significance to this thesis, she contends that welfare restructuring and cutbacks have disadvantaged women disproportionately.

Walby, like an increasing number of socialist feminists appears to give primacy to patriarchy (Wilson, 1986). Further, although she claims the state is racist as well as patriarchal and capitalist, she, again like many feminists, provides a somewhat tokenistic account of this. Like Walby I believe patriarchy has a material base, but I also take the view that racism does as well, and, for me, a feminist theory of the state must adequately account for the dynamic relation between capitalism, patriarchy and race. Although feminist writers have paid less attention to this possibility, in that they have been more concerned to have women included in analyses on the welfare state (Bryson, 1991), recently James and Saville-Smith (1989) and Williams (1989) provide us with frameworks to consider the interrelationship between race, gender and class in the welfare state. Because I am particularly concerned with the specificity of Aotearoa, in the last section I examine a socialist feminist approach to the state in Aotearoa, as outlined in recent work by James and Saville-Smith (1989).

### **A socialist feminist approach to the state in Aotearoa**

James and Saville-Smith (1989) claim that historical and social conditions in Aotearoa have given rise to a gendered culture, which embodies class and race inequalities, as well as inequalities, between men and women. A gendered culture is "a culture in which the intimate and structural expressions of social life are divided according to gender" (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 7). The existence of the gendered culture enables hierarchies of sex, race and class to be maintained. Although the interaction between sex, race and class inequalities perpetuates and maintains the structures of

these inequalities, at the same time the tensions that exist between them can be harnessed to bring about change:

Polynesians,<sup>7</sup> working class men and women have, despite the exploitation, inequalities, and exclusions which occur among them, a real interest in building an equal society for they all bear the burden of inequality (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 88).

For James and Saville-Smith (1989: 87), then, the gendered culture "provides not only a material *connection* between the dispossessed but a common material *interest*".

The state, they argue, has played a significant role in the development and maintenance of the gendered culture, yet the state is a key site of struggle, in that its laws, policies and administrative practices can be subjected to issue-specific action. The state, they point out, has not been particularly concerned with the redistribution of wealth in Aotearoa. Rather it has perpetuated women's impoverishment by reinforcing women's economic dependence on men, and it has used specific institutions to protect capitalist interests. It has also actively participated in the dispossession of Maori from their land, and has mobilised resources against the unpropertied. The state maintains its legitimation by ensuring that "social inequalities do not threaten social order" through the promotion of the gendered culture (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 96-97).

James and Saville-Smith argue that not all societies are characterised as a gendered culture. The gendered culture is thus socially constructed, and its origins in Aotearoa can be located in "the particular exigencies of British colonisation in Aotearoa" (James and Saville-Smith 1989: 46). Central to the concept of the gendered culture, is the

---

<sup>7</sup> The term "Polynesian" is used by James and Saville-Smith to include both Pacific Island Polynesian and Maori as they argue that these two ethnic groups share common experiences of racism (see Authors' note, p. 88). I personally prefer not to use the term.

separation of the roles of women and men, and assimilation of the Maori into pakeha society. This progression facilitated the development of the "cult of domesticity", which is dependent on "a strict sexual division of labour" (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 31) and emphasises women's caring and servicing capacities. This concept will be more fully explored in the next chapter.

Despite its social costs, there remains a vested interest in vigorously upholding the gendered culture in Aotearoa. James and Saville-Smith argue that the state reinforces gender inequalities, with policies which promote the use of women's unpaid labour in the community and in the home. The state also refuses to develop adequate public and private child care structures and continues to foster women's economic dependence on men, or on welfare. This does little to enhance women's employment prospects in the paid workforce. Rather, as James and Saville-Smith (1989) observe, it makes women vulnerable to further exploitation. It is, however, the "emphasis on difference rather than exclusion" which maintains sex inequalities (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 85).

James and Saville-Smith (1989), then, offer a socialist feminist approach to understanding specific properties and functions of the state in Aotearoa. They avoid the primacy debate, which is often prevalent in socialist feminist theorising and instead argue that:

inequalities of race, sex and class emerge out of the very material conditions of people's lives... (and these are) the major lines of exclusion and exploitation in this (Aotearoa) society (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 6).

James and Saville-Smith suggest that it is possible to oppose a gendered culture and work towards creating a more just and equitable society. For them, strategies for change encompass work with individuals, building alliances and contesting the state's policies and practices (James and Saville-Smith, 1989). These are consistent with

strategies employed by community workers (Craig, 1983) and are of relevance to this research.

Also of relevance to this research, and critical to socialist feminism, is the way in which women's caring and servicing capacities have been manipulated, to maintain women's oppression. In the next chapter these forces are subjected to scrutiny utilising the framework provided by James and Saville-Smith.

## *Chapter Four*

### **The Politics of Caring**

Feminists are generally in agreement that the institutions and practices of the welfare state are organised around a fundamental assumption, that women will provide most of the caring and servicing work necessary for society's overall functioning (Balbo 1987). This work, much of which is unpaid or underpaid, contributes to women's oppression and further restricts their opportunities for participating in other areas of work and social life. Women community workers experience the contradiction of the state, in that it controls women by demanding caring and servicing work, yet it gives some financial support to community workers seeking to bring about change. The state also provides a site of women's struggle for change. It is where women community workers meet and where their consciousness is shaped. In this chapter, then, I will investigate the policies and ideological and material conditions which underpin women's caring and servicing work in Aotearoa.

#### **Women and family policy**

A number of writers argue that family policy has been the mainstay of the state's contribution to the subordination of women (James, 1986). Aotearoa, like many countries, does not have an explicit family policy (Koopman-Boyden and Scott, 1984). Indeed, Easton (1980: 103) claims that in New Zealand "family policy is economic policy directed towards a two-parent family". Koopman-Boyden and Scott (1984:20) define family policy as:



The set of government programmes, laws and institutional arrangements which determine how responsibilities for the economic support and nurture of dependants are shared among the family, the community and the state, including the assignment of caring roles within the family.

They argue that implicit in numerous government policies is an assumption that women are economically dependent on men, and that they live out most of their lives as wives and mothers within their families and the community. Evidently, in order to understand government thinking about the family, it is necessary to examine legislation and welfare services which impinge upon the family (Graham, 1985).

The use of the word 'family' is in itself controversial. Elizabeth Wilson, a feminist writer and social worker, has argued for a number of years that when we talk about the 'community', especially in relation to welfare provision, we should substitute the word 'family', and when we see the word 'family', we should read the word 'women' (Wilson 1982:40). Wilson claims that social policy is "a set of structures created by men to shape the lives of women" (1983:33). She argues, most persuasively, that women's primary role is viewed by policy makers, as caring for all the other members of the 'family', as well as dependent people in the community, and that family and community care policies reflect this view.

Implicit in family policy, is the traditional notion of the 'typical' nuclear family unit comprising a sexually cohabiting (married) couple, with the father the breadwinner and the mother caring full time for her spouse and their dependent children (Koopman-Boyden and Scott, 1984). Yet, although "88 percent of New Zealanders still live within a family unit" (Department of Statistics, 1989:7), the traditional notion of the nuclear family no longer constitutes a 'typical' family. This fact is aptly demonstrated by examining the 1986 Census of Populations and Dwellings (Department of Statistics, 1989).

## The 'family' in Aotearoa

The 1986 census uses three major definitions of family types (Department of Statistics 1989: 39):

- Two parent family - "consisting of a couple (de facto or legally married) with one or more children, usually living in the dwelling". It is also used, however, to describe a childless family (see below).
- One parent (or solo) family - "consisting of only one parent (never married, separated, divorced or widowed) with one or more children usually living in the dwelling".
- Childless family - "consisting of a couple (de facto or legally married) with no children living in the dwelling. They include families whose children have left home, as well as those which never contained children". This category, in practice, is rarely used separately.

The census also uses a broader definition, "households", which encompasses all of the above plus: people living alone, people living with non-family members, or two or more families living together. The proportion of each category living in permanent private dwellings is as follows:

*Figure 4.1 : Percentage of various 'family types, in Aotearoa, 1986*

<i>One person</i>	19 percent
<i>Two or more persons, not family</i>	6 percent
<i>Two or more families</i>	1 percent
<i>Solo parent (with children)</i>	10 percent
<i>Husband and wife (no children)</i>	24 percent
<i>Husband and wife (with children)</i>	40 percent

*Source: 1989 Department of Statistics (1989:9).*

Although unmarried cohabiting heterosexual couples and solo parents are now included in the state's definitions of 'family', same sex cohabittees are not. Whilst the married couples with children make up 40 percent of the total family forms in Aotearoa, only a third of these can be considered the 'traditional nuclear family':

The traditional two-parent family - consisting of a father in full employment, a mother not in paid work, and one or more children, is now true of only 35.3 percent of two-parent families (Department of Statistics 1989: 25).

Census figures show that in 1986 there were 707,430 two-parent families. 51.1 percent of these included dependent children, 11.0 percent contained adult children only and 37.8 percent couples (heterosexual) only. Maori two-parent families constituted 6.4 percent of all two-parent families.

The following table shows that 55.4 percent of women from two-parent families are employed in the labour force either full time or part time. This figure is increased to 60.2 percent with the addition of two-parent families in temporary private dwellings (Department of Statistics, 1989:24).

*Figure 4.2: Labour force participation by gender, two-parent families 1986*

Mother working full time...	
<i>and father not working</i>	1.3 percent
<i>and father working part time</i>	1.0 percent
<i>and father working full time</i>	31.3 percent
Mother working part-time...	
<i>and father not working</i>	0.8 percent
<i>and father working part time</i>	0.9 percent
<i>and father working full time</i>	19.1 percent
Mother not working...	
<i>and father not working</i>	15.7 percent
<i>and father working part time</i>	1.6 percent
<i>and father working full time</i>	24.3 percent

*Source: New Zealand Census of Populations and Dwellings, Series C. Report 13, Table 1, 1986*

With the dominant form being both parents from a two-parent family working full time, the traditional model of the male breadwinner/dependent wife implicit in family policy becomes less realistic, as it does "not represent very accurately the lifestyle of a large proportion of New Zealand women" (Horsfield, 1988: 6). This lifestyle has, in fact, been changing for some time. Nevertheless, if we add together the non-employed and part-time employed wives, we see that a high proportion of women are still in at least partial economic dependence.

Horsfield (1988:16) makes this quite clear:

The available evidence suggests this (traditional) model is becoming less and less appropriate as we move towards 1990. More women are choosing paid, work, part-time or full-time, on a continuous basis or perhaps in short bursts while their children are young.

To compound this situation, more women are now raising their children alone. In 1986 there were 117,957 one-parent families in Aotearoa. Of these it was shown that 69.5 percent had dependent children, whilst 30.5 percent had adult children only (1986 Census, C.13, Table 1). However, 99,045 (84 percent) one-parent families were headed up by females, as against 18,909 (16 percent) by males (1986 Census, C.13, Table 7). Moreover, although almost half of single parents (46.1 percent) participated in the labour force, as can be seen in Figure 4.3, a gender breakdown of the 1986 census shows that single mothers constituted the greatest percentage without paid employment:

*Figure 4.3: Work status by gender, single parents , 1986*

Work status	Males	Females
<i>Full time</i>	11,589	26,064
<i>Part time</i>	1,116	14,664
<i>Not working</i>	5,718	56,628
<i>Not available</i>	486	1689

*Source: 1986 Census, c. 13, Table 9: 22-23, Dept. of Statistics, 1988*

This situation, in itself, is a major contributing factor to the growing feminisation of poverty (Burden, 1987). In 1986, the median income for single mothers was

\$11,900, compared with \$20,800 for single fathers. As the Department of Statistics (1989: 29) points out:

On average, families maintained by sole women are more than twice as likely to be living on incomes below \$10,001. The relatively large percentage of sole fathers who are employed - nearly 64 percent compared with 33 percent of sole mothers - is an important factor in explaining this variation.

In fact, single-parent families tend to be seriously disadvantaged economically. The median income for one-parent families in 1986 was \$12,500 which is only 41 percent of the two-parent median income (\$30,400). The median income of all families was \$26,500. However, eight out of ten two-parent families earn more than \$20,000 and seven out of ten one-parent families earn less than \$20,000, (Department of Statistics 1988: 28). Poverty is particularly a problem for Maori families who make up 17 percent of all one-parent families but only 6.4 percent of two-parent families (1986 Census, c.16, Table 1). The state, then, both promotes a model of the patriarchal family as it 'ought' to be, and through impoverishment it punishes' single mothers for not conforming to this model.

### **Caring for the family**

I have argued that, within the family, it is primarily women who are responsible for maintaining the household routine and looking after dependents, even when they are undertaking paid work. This circumstance is well illustrated in two recent surveys (Bell and Adair, 1985; Briar, 1991). The first survey, which was commissioned by the National Council of Women of New Zealand, was a postal one, and 613 of the 1260 women who received the questionnaire responded (Bell and Adair, 1985: 12). Women were randomly selected from three population groups: delegates to the National Council of Women, non-office holding members of women's organisations

affiliated to the Council, and members of the public randomly chosen from the 1984 electoral rolls from each of the 95 electorates. Bell and Adair (1985:49) found that 80 percent of the women respondents stated that they did all or most of the household chores, and a further 14 percent did half of the household chores. Moreover, thirty-nine percent of the women worked full time and another 8 percent part time. Approximately 70 percent of the women lived with a partner.

Briar (1991) obtained similar results in her study, which involved interviewing 90 women and 78 men chosen at random from Palmerston North suburbs. Although the main focus of the study was to examine patterns of paid employment, Briar also explored people's participation in unpaid work, in the home and in the community. She points out that all of the married women or those in de facto relationships claimed to take the major responsibility for the housework, or shared responsibility. Those who were in part-time employment or not in the labour force, were more likely to say that they took major responsibility. Young single women in flatting situations also claimed to take more responsibility for housework than their male flatmates.

These studies are well supported by another study cited by Horsfield (1988:32-33). In this study, conducted with 50 two-parent families in Aotearoa, Fletcher (1978) found that the majority of men carried out only a limited range of chores around the home, and that they spent considerably less time attending to children and doing housework. The 25 working wives, on average, worked the greatest number of hours of all survey groups in total when hours spent on paid employment, childcare and housework were combined.

This may not be the situation with Maori families. Very little research examining household task allocation has been specifically conducted among Maori families (Horsfield, 1988). The Rapuora study, which was undertaken by the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1982, established that 55.5 percent of Rapuora women specified

home care as their main activity, and 49 percent did indoor chores only (Murchie, 1984), although it did not collect detailed information on household routines. In Briar's (1991) study, three women and one man were Maori. She observed that they each claimed they shared the responsibility for housework, rather than being mainly responsible for it. This is an extremely small sample although overseas studies, suggest that there tends to be a more egalitarian division in household task allocation among black families (Briar, Hooper, Marie and Seck, 1987).

The Ministry of Women's Affairs' current "national time-use survey", which aims to measure women's and men's household, caring and voluntary work, will no doubt provide further information on household task allocation among Maori families, as well as further information on non-Maori families. This study is being undertaken in order "to put a value on unpaid work" (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1989: 4) with the purpose of giving it social, political and economic recognition. Preliminary results show that women, on average, provide five hours unpaid work per day, and that men contribute three hours (Waikato Times, 1991).

### **The politics of caring**

The social and economic factors which underlie a situation in which there is a division between "women-who-care" and "men-who-do", are complex and deep rooted and have intensified with the rise of capitalism and the advent of the nuclear family (Graham, 1983:23). They have produced a social structure in which women's caring work is often exploited and restrictive (Williams, 1989). Many women caring full-time for dependents have either had to give up paid work, work reduced hours, forgo promotion, or change to a poorer paid, but less demanding job (Rimmer, 1983; Ungerson, 1983). Caring full time for dependents, is clearly only possible for women who themselves are dependent on a breadwinner, or the state.



Women pay a high cost for caring (Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). It needs to be acknowledged, however, that many women are committed to the caring and servicing work that they carry out, mostly unpaid, in the home and in the community (Graham, 1983; Lewis and Meredith, 1988; James and Saville-Smith, 1989; Munford, 1989). Indeed, as James and Saville-Smith (1989:85) explain, women have a great deal invested in this work:

As providers of services for loved ones, they obtain a sense of personal worth, social esteem, a certain financial and emotional security, and some interpersonal power.

Munford (1989) found in her study on women caring for people with intellectual disabilities, that the women felt it was their role to make sacrifices to ensure that things ran smoothly. Although most of the women acknowledged the intrusion of caring on their social lives, "They generally did not question why their husbands did not take more responsibility" in this domain (Munford, 1989:106). Lewis and Meredith (1988) also point to the element of self-sacrifice apparent in their sensitive research on daughters caring for their mothers at home. They argue, however, that the women did not necessarily experience caring in this way. They conclude that caring contributes to a sense of self worth and emotional security and plays an important role in the construction of the feminine identity. Graham (1983) takes this further. She argues that it is the experience of caring which enables women to feel they belong to the social world and to claim their place in society:

It (caring) defines what it feels like to be a woman in a male-dominated and capitalist social order ..... it marks the point at which the relations of capital and gender intersect (Graham, 1983:30).

In recent years, a number of New Zealand theorists have explored the impact of 'the cult of domesticity' on society in Aotearoa (Olssen and Levesque, 1978; Novitz, 1978; Olssen, 1980; Phillips, 1987; James and Saville-Smith, 1989). James and Saville-Smith (1989:31) describe the cult of domesticity as:

a particular construction of femininity which emphasizes almost exclusively women's alleged nurturant and maternal capacities .... In this construction of femininity, women's lives are structured as dependent and privatized. This is opposed to a masculinity which situates men as actors in the public sphere where they are providers for, and protectors of, women.

The cult of domesticity emerged in Aotearoa in the 1880s, forty years after colonisation. Its emergence corresponded with widespread concerns about the ongoing disruptions to the social order brought about by violence, prostitution and destitution. Domesticity and motherhood offered pakeha women "a sense of dignity and purpose". The home became seen as the woman's sphere, an emotional refuge from the outside world where women could find self-fulfilment (Olssen and Levesque, 1978:6-8).

James and Saville-Smith (1989:23-27) contend that the state played a key role in fostering the cult of domesticity. In the early colonial period, the state invested much of its responsibility of maintaining social order in patriarchal family heads. This investment was supported by a number of Acts and laws, which gave men rights of citizenship denied to women, and husbands total control over their wives. With the breakdown in the social order, the state was placed in a position of both having to care for the victims of this breakdown, and of maintaining social order. In promoting the cult of domesticity, the state was able to impose domestic and social order through ideologies which fostered distinct gender roles and a rigid sexual division of labour within the home and workplace. This ideology was supported with appropriate Acts

which both 'protected' women and 'encouraged' men to take more responsibility for their 'dependents', and organisations such as the Women's Temperance Movement, did their best to restore men to responsibility and good behaviour.

Urbanisation and industrialisation led to work becoming more specialised (Olssen, 1980). Olssen (1980:159) points out that income, social status and lifestyle were primarily identified by a person's occupation in the workplace. In bringing up children and 'running the home', women were predominantly entrenched into the 'housewife' gender role with their status derived from their husbands. These gender roles were strongly reinforced by the Plunket Society which was founded by Sir Truby King in 1907 (Olssen, 1980:178). Even as women gained wider occupational opportunities due to modern industrialisation, gaining the franchise and education, at the same time the roles of women as 'wife' and 'mother' were being clearly defined, and the cult of domesticity rapidly emerged. Women were encouraged to pursue employment that closely resembled the caring and servicing work associated with the private sphere. Domestic science - "scientific domesticity and scientific motherhood" - was promoted as the appropriate and legitimate training for women pursuing both a career and/or marriage (Novitz, 1978:72). That men could also learn these skills was never considered as a viable option (James, 1986).

For many years the cult of domesticity had little impact on Maori society. James and Saville-Smith (1989:25-26) maintain that although colonial rule saw Maori women governed by the same laws as pakeha women, the Maori social structure was initially sustained by an arrangement which cannot easily be compared with that of pakeha society. They point to a number of writings which suggest that although in traditional Maori society Maori women did much of the domestic work, stratification related more to age and genealogy than to biology. Men and women were seen to have autonomous but complementary roles, jointly sharing "responsibilities for the well-being of the *whanau, hapu and iwi*" (Kupenga, Rata and Nepe, 1989:123).

Furthermore, many Maori women enjoyed a special status in terms of their personal mana and power, to which few of their pakeha counterparts could aspire (James and Saville-Smith, 1989).

Kupenga, Rata and Nepe (1989:126) maintain that the individualistic and sexist attitudes inherent in the pakeha economic system, eventually began to have "a dramatic effect on the *whanau*" and Maori society. As they go on to state:

Pakeha did not accept women's autonomy. Maori women's herstory reflects the attitudes of *Pakeha* society. The *Pakeha* demand for land, together with the assimilationist policies, personal and institutional racism, cultural genocide and urbanisation had an adverse impact on Maori women. The nett result was that *te mana me te tapu o te wahine* was eroded. Maori women were relegated to the position of fourth-class citizens in every arena (their italics).

The cult of domesticity is now fully incorporated into Aotearoa, and welfare and employment policies reinforce the sexist attitudes and gender division which exist in the home and in the workplace. James (1986:177) asserts that despite legislative reforms, which have been achieved primarily as a result of women's struggles:

(these) have not altered the fundamental structures which maintain women in a subordinate position and the traditional view of gender roles still persists, tending to dominate in family policy.

In her extensive account of the state's role in family policy, James (1986) argues that state policies legitimise women's dependency on men and promote a sexual division of labour. Moreover, she maintains that the use of gender-neutral language actually masks gender-inequalities that underpin state policies.

She provides, by way of example, the situation with the Domestic Purposes Benefit (D.P.B.). When a woman, through 'choice' or 'fault' goes on the D.P.B., the state automatically takes on a breadwinner role, that is, it adopts the authority, husband-like role and total control of the woman's behaviour (James, 1986; Saville-Smith, 1987). Her sexual activity is monitored, and if she associates with a male, it is assumed that she is entering into a sexual relationship; losing the benefit remains a constant threat (James, 1986). Women are given little encouragement to enter the workforce, partially or fully (Easton, 1980). Tax concessions are not made, and the state's 'no-policy child-care policy' reflects the belief that women should remain at home caring for children and other dependents (James, 1986:167). Its women-alone provision reinforces the assumption that once women have finished caring for their children they will continue to remain in a situation of dependency (James, 1986).

Although many beneficiaries are subjected to some degree of stigmatisation, the stigma attached to the D.P.B. (Bryant, 1979) can be contrasted with the respect accorded to women on the Widow's Benefit, because the latter are not held to 'blame' for their predicament and are thus seen as 'deserving' (James, 1986; Saville-Smith 1987). The state does little to allay this stigma; at times it even exacerbates it (Saville-Smith, 1987). Yet until recently a woman was, on average, only on the D.P.B. for two years (Easton, 1980) with 42 percent moving off it within the first eleven months (Horsfield 1988). This benefit comprises only 4.8 percent of total social welfare payments (New Zealand Yearbook 1989: 271).

Nevertheless, the state remains silent about the considerable hardships which most D.P.B. beneficiaries experience. The 1986 census figures show that 63,995 single-parent families receive the D.P.B., with female recipients overwhelmingly outnumbering males. 59,561 families are headed by women, compared with 4,434 by men (New Zealand Yearbook 1989: 271). The children, about whom the state is supposedly concerned, and their mothers, mostly live in dire poverty.

The most recent cuts in amounts paid to beneficiaries (since 1 April, 1991) have further exacerbated the hardship that women experience while on the D.P.B. The state, in the process of cost cutting and maximising efficiency, has reconsidered its 'breadwinner' role in supporting women and children living alone. Women are now directed to find employment as soon as their youngest child turns seven, assuming that there is employment to be found. Fathers, including de-facto and step fathers, are now forced to contribute financially to their children's support. This situation illustrates the way in which the patriarchal state pushes women into greater dependence on individual men when there is less demand for women in the paid workforce. Cuts in the D.P.B. and guaranteed retirement income at times of economic recession, force women into dependence on men, and into the role of servicing and caring for men. Indeed the Minister of Social Welfare has claimed a certain amount of 'success' in driving women into reconciliations with former partners, following the recent benefit cuts.

### **Women and employment**

We live in a society that values paid work, recognises it as economically productive and considers it 'real work'. Paid work counts as something. Unpaid work, on the other hand, tends to be devalued or undervalued, is not considered an economic activity and is frequently viewed as a 'leisure-time pursuit'. Unpaid work 'counts as nothing' in the national accounting system (Baldock, 1983; Moir, 1984; Waring, 1987, 1988a).

There is, however, a close relationship between paid and unpaid work (Baldock, 1983). As the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988: 205) points out, much unpaid work "is not an optional extra", but is "essential for all other human activities to take place". As I have already shown, many women not only combine their unpaid

work in the home with unpaid work in the community, but also combine both with their paid work in the labour force (Horsfield, 1988). Indeed, this point is taken up in three recent publications in Aotearoa (Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988; Novitz, 1987; Waring, 1988a).

The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) claims that women, who have always participated in the paid labour force, juggle their paid work arrangements to accommodate the demands of their unpaid work in the home and the community. As Novitz (1987: 23) puts it, each of these activities "interpenetrate, feed on one another, are mutually influential and exist at times in tension". Waring (1988a: 116) explains that much of the difficulty in collecting accurate statistics on women's work, paid and unpaid, arises because "*too many women did too much work*" (her emphasis). It is evident, then, that the relationship between paid and unpaid work needs to be acknowledged and its implications closely considered.

#### Women and paid work

Women's participation in the paid labour force has steadily increased. The 1986 census revealed that 53 percent of all women in Aotearoa aged 15 years and over were employed in the paid workforce. For Maori women this figure was 56 percent. In 1936, 21.2 percent of women were engaged in full-time employment rising to 27.3 percent in 1966 and 34.2 percent in 1981. At the 1986 census 37 percent of all women in Aotearoa were engaged in the full-time labour force and 16 percent were employed on a part-time basis. Compared to the average for all women, Maori women have a higher rate of full-time employment (almost 41 percent) and a slightly lower rate of part-time employment - about 15 percent (Horsfield, 1988; Horsfield and Evans, 1988). 'Participation' includes women seeking full-time paid work, however, and Maori women have the higher rates of unemployment; up to 50% in some localities.

Because the 1986 census changed the definition of what constituted full-time and part-time employment, it is difficult to compare it with the outcomes from earlier censuses (Horsfield, 1988). Prior to the 1986 census, people working 20 hours or more were counted as full-time workers. In 1986 this classification was changed to 30 hours or more per week. Women continue to dominate in part-time work, making up 77 percent of the part-time labour force in the 1986 census. Two thirds (67 percent) of them were employed in the sales and social service industries (Department of Statistics, 1989).

It can be argued that part-time work allows women, particularly those with dependent children, 'flexibility' in participating in the paid work force (The Treasury, 1989). Married women, in fact, comprise 72 percent of all female part-time workers (National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women, 1990). Part-time employment has considerable potential for exploitation, however, due to a number of factors. These factors include low rates of pay, narrow range of occupational choice, low levels of job security, lack of access to benefits generally enjoyed by full-time workers and the intensity of work (NACEW, 1990). Some of these factors, of course, mirror the discrimination women experience in the labour market in general (NACEW, 1990). This discrimination will be examined shortly.

Employers also make use of a 'flexible' part-time labour force "through the use of part-time workers, whom they can employ or make redundant according to the highs and lows of business activity" (NACEW, 1990: 82). Figures collected from the Department of Statistics, *Household Labour Force Survey* show that from 1986, full-time employment has steadily declined for males and females, whilst the part-time participation rate, although fluctuating, has increased (NACEW, 1990: 39). Briar contends that this changing employment pattern tends to segregate further the occupational gap between men and women, as the expansion in the part-time labour



force is concentrated primarily in the traditionally female dominated occupations (Briar, 1990).

Women, in fact, experience two forms of occupational segregation (Briar, 1990; NACEW, 1990). *Horizontal segregation* is the concentration of women in a limited range of occupations and industries. *Vertical segregation*, on the other hand, is the concentration of women at lower levels of particular industries and organisations. This situation can occur even when these industries are female dominated. Hyman (1985) argues that occupational segregation contributes significantly to women's lower rates of pay compared to those of men.

The legacy of occupational segregation is generally seen to lie in discriminatory employment policies and practices of the past. Despite a series of legislative measures over a number of years aimed at removing such discrimination, there has been a continuation of employment structures and practices which marginalise women (Briar, 1990). This trend calls into question societal commitments to eliminating sexual discrimination in the workforce. Indeed, as Blakers (1990: 211) notes:

the sexual division of labour is not a remnant of the feudal past that is gradually being eliminated, but is a fundamental structural feature of the society.

Thus the failure of policies and practices to eliminate sex discrimination in the workforce, can be explained more effectively in terms of social structures, rather than by inadequate legislative and regulatory intervention.

The effects of horizontal segregation are clearly visible in the structure of the labour market. Most occupations and industries can be categorised as either 'male' or 'female'. Male or female dominated occupations and industries are those where 60% or more of their workers are of the same gender (NACEW, 1990). The National

Advisory Council on the Employment of Women point out the extent to which horizontal segregation is experienced in Aotearoa:

The 1986 census lists 35 industries. Of these, 29 were segregated by gender. Twenty-seven of these were "male" industries and 2 were "female": textile weaving, apparel and leather goods; and social and related community services. Those industrial divisions not segregated by gender were finance, insurance and real estate (which has undergone rapid expansion recently); retail trade, restaurants and hotels; and communications (NACEW, 1990:77).

A similar pattern emerges with occupational groupings. By contrast, documentation of vertical segregation is less accessible. The teaching profession is one area where statistics are readily available. In the primary teaching service, approximately 65 percent of teachers are women, whereas women make up less than 20 percent of all primary school principals (Norman, 1989). The teaching profession becomes increasingly male the higher up one looks in the system, and reaches its apogee in the universities (Loveridge and O'Neill, 1989).

Of particular relevance to this study is the concentration of women in one particular industry area: social and related community services. The 1986 census shows that women constitute 57.3 percent of workers, full time and part time, in this industry. The social and community services is the largest employment area for both part-time women and Maori women. 38 percent of all women working part time were employed in this industry area, and 30% of all Maori women working full.time were likewise concentrated into this one industry area.

The social and related community services is broken down into five subdivisions: public administration and defence; sanitary services etc; community services; recreational and cultural services; and personal and household services. It is in the

areas of community services and recreational and cultural services that community workers are most commonly categorised. In 1988, a total of 88,196 women were employed full time in these two sub-categories (NACEW, 1990: 108). February, 1980 statistics provided by Hyman (1981) reveal that women comprised 60.79% of the community services sub-category and received 72.05% of the male average ordinary time earnings. Within the recreational and cultural services sub-category, women constituted 32.2% of the workers and earned 81.26% of their male counterparts (Horsfield, 1988). At that time the average ordinary hourly earning for females was 78.2% of the male rate (NACEW, 1990:85). Women thus clearly benefit financially from being employed in a male dominated sub-category industry within a female dominated industry.

By 1990 women were earning 80.87% of the male average hourly earning rate (NACEW, 1990). As Briar (1990) observes, the average weekly earnings women receive is 63% of the male rate, as women spend fewer hours in the paid workforce and are less likely to receive overtime or shift work. Although these figures have improved over the past 20 years (women earned 69% of the male hourly rate prior to the introduction of the Equal Pay Act, 1972) they are still not satisfactory (Briar, 1990). The Employment Equity Act (1990)<sup>1</sup> was intended to provide a formula (pay equity), by which 'women's work' could be more justly valued and thus women would receive equal pay for work of equal value. In concert with this legislation was a planned programme (EEO), aimed at improving and eventually eliminating the discriminatory practices women experience in the workplace.

Although it was conceivable that the Employment Equity legislation had a number of drawbacks (Briar, 1990) it clearly had considerable potential. Unfortunately the Act was repealed and was never given an opportunity to be tested, because the present

---

<sup>1</sup>See National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (1990) for an extensive overview of legislative measures aimed at removing the discrimination women experience in the workforce.

National Government claimed its disadvantages outweighed its advantages. This view was endorsed by the NZ Employers' Federation which maintains that women's discrimination in the workforce occurs as a result of their participation rate rather than through patriarchal discrimination. Some six months after the Employment Equity Act was repealed, the government passed the Employment Contracts Act. This legislation, as Bryson (1991) suggests, will further disadvantage women workers.

Women also rate disproportionately in the unemployment figures. The 1986 Census showed a higher proportion of women were seeking work in the full-time workforce compared with males. A similar trend was found with those seeking part-time work (Department of Statistics, 1989). Young women and Maori women are the most disadvantaged.

#### Women and unpaid work in the community

This section extends beyond women's unpaid work in the family and focusses on women's unpaid work in the community. Horsfield (1988: 31) defines this work as a:

productive activity carried out for the benefit of someone else, outside of the home; wages are not paid, although the work could be done for pay by somebody else. It can be provided on an informal, neighbourly basis or undertaken through formal agencies which rely on unwaged labour to deliver the services they provide.

For the first time ever, in 1986, the national census included a question on the number of hours spent per week in 'unpaid voluntary work'. The impetus for this question came very clearly from a liberal feminist imperative to identify and map areas of women's lives (Waring, 1987). The philosophy that underpinned this move was that the identification of some areas of women's work would lead to increased recognition

of women's role in society which, in time, could bring about an increase in women's status. Unfortunately the census failed to show that the voluntary sector was upheld by women's unpaid work. In broad terms it showed that 204,699 men and 203,739 women undertook one hour or more of unpaid voluntary work per week and that, overall, men tended to do more hours in such work than women.<sup>2</sup> As I will demonstrate, this result contradicted a number of other reports on unpaid participation in the social services.

Horsfield (1988: 39) argues, that the census responses appear severely to underestimate the numbers of women involved in unpaid voluntary work. One possible reason that she gives for this result, is that the question asked for the number of hours spent undertaking such activity, and that such hours are very difficult to estimate. She cites the high percentage of non-respondents as evidence of this suggestion (Horsfield, 1988: 37). This analysis, however, can be taken further. The question specifically excluded time spent doing housework in their own homes, and work that benefited the women's households or families. If we look at the pattern of women's participation in unpaid community work, it becomes fairly clear that much of that work takes place in tandem with their household or domestic duties, a point which was highlighted by Waring (1988: 6). Household duties may well be seen to include Playcentre or Te Kohanga Reo participation, negotiation with schools, participation in community projects that involve children, and a host of other community work tasks that cannot be separated from household and childcare duties. Given the diverse nature of women's roles in the home, it is impossible to separate household duties from community work. The division is, on the whole, much clearer for men and for those women without household or childcare duties.

---

<sup>2</sup>1986 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, C2, Table 17, Dept of Statistics, 1988.

Further, there is some evidence that much unpaid community work which women do does benefit their family in broad terms. Many women, for example, care for elderly relatives either in their own homes or elsewhere. This work is of direct benefit to the state which would, in the absence of women's labour, have to provide the resources for this care. The census question, however, specifically excluded this kind of care from its definition of unpaid community work. In the light of the move towards community care for the elderly and disabled, much of the burden of which is likely to fall on to female relatives, this definition of unpaid community work is of particular concern.

The confusion between household and community tasks can be seen clearly in the figures for non-working women in the 20-39 age groups, presumably the group most likely to be in the child-raising category. Overall, well under 20 percent of this group reported doing any unpaid voluntary work at all. Did the respondents view going on school trips, acting as parent teachers in primary schools, supporting friends through family crises, taking care of the neighbours' children or driving the old lady across the road to hospital as unpaid voluntary work?

The findings of the 1986 census probably reflect the patriarchal ideology that surrounds women's work rather than the objective reality of women's unpaid work in the community. Just as women's unpaid work in the home is invisible, so is much of their work in the community. The exception to this is where a woman has ties with a voluntary organisation. The hours of work a knowledgeable local woman does on the phone in her home, advising friends and neighbours, does not count. The same work, done at the CAB, can be put in the census return as 'real' unpaid voluntary work. Women undertake far more of this kind of informal work than do men, but it is not counted by either women or men as 'real' work. It is 'gossiping', or 'child-minding' or 'being a good neighbour'. This is why, more broadly, any liberal feminist attempt to document women's social or economic contribution to society is doomed to failure.

Women still see such contributions through the eyes of the dominant group, and they, as Waring (1988a) notes, regard unpaid work as counting for nothing.

Horsfield and Evans (1988: 43) reviewed the evidence about Maori women's participation in unpaid work, although they note that "very little specific work has been carried out" in this field. They see the whanau and the iwi as the central foci of Maori women's unpaid work. They identify a number of factors that differ between the Maori and pakeha populations. Maori women are more likely to have children younger, have more children and fewer household amenities than pakeha women.

The 1986 census figures show that Maori women are less likely than their pakeha counterparts to be involved in unpaid work. Only 15.5 percent of Maori women stated that they undertook such work, compared with 21 percent of pakeha women. Problems of interpretation of what constitutes voluntary work, however, are even more apparent for Maori than for other women. The census question on unpaid voluntary work, as noted above, specifically excluded work relating to family life. Not only would this exclude, for Maori women, all work relating to the whanau, but it would also exclude much iwi work and marae activity. It would further exclude all kohanga reo activity, when such activity involved the children (or other whanau) of the women attending. It does seem likely, although this is an unexplored area, that Maori women as a whole undertake more unpaid work than pakeha women, but that this work is more inclined to involve members of the whanau or iwi. Their contribution, from the census point of view, remains invisible, because their unpaid work tends to be closely tied up with whanau activities.

## Women in the unpaid social services

Due to the nature of my research, for most of this section I will deliberately narrow my focus to unpaid social service work.<sup>3</sup> I would have preferred to narrow this focus even further to unpaid community work, but there is a dearth of material on women's unwaged work in New Zealand generally (Horsfield, 1988) and even less on unpaid community work. In 1989 I conducted a survey on some key aspects about community work at the Aotearoa Community Workers Associations's annual hui. A full summary of this survey is presented in Appendix Four. Of the 137 eligible community workers who completed the questionnaire, 55 of these workers were unpaid, of whom 40 were women. Moreover, the majority of the women who were currently paid were predominantly employed through government sponsored schemes or funded by C.O.G.S. A large number considered that their wages were not secure and most had been involved in community work on an unpaid basis for several years.

Baldock (1983: 279) provides a useful definition of an unpaid social service worker.<sup>4</sup> For her, such a worker is:

a person who, on a regular basis, contributes services without receiving remuneration commensurate with the economic value of the services rendered, and as a part of a voluntary agency concerned with the provision of social care and for the development of social policy.

---

<sup>3</sup>"The Social Services may be defined as those formal and informal systems which provide developmental, remedial and rehabilitation services to individuals, families, groups and tribes within a particular geographical unit, tribal area or community. The form of service is usually provided by means of a face-to-face relationship and the major resource at the disposal of the social service agency or organisation is the practitioner or agent providing the services" (Ian Shirley, Chairman of the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services, 1989).

<sup>4</sup>Rochford & Robb (1981:7-8) identify 10 types of social service worker classifications. Of interest is that some of the paid worker classifications received a different name from that of their unpaid counterpart even though they carried out similar tasks.



Baldock actually uses the word 'volunteer', rather than 'unpaid', as she maintains the majority of women involved define their work as such. I, however, prefer to use the word 'unpaid', as most unwaged community workers with whom I am acquainted identify more clearly with this term.

Social service workers engage in a diversity of work activities,<sup>5</sup> and a survey on 'People in the Social Services' found similar patterns of work undertaken by paid and unpaid workers, although most unpaid workers spent less time doing administrative tasks (Rochford and Robb, 1981). This finding reflects other significant differences between the two groups. On average, unpaid workers have lower status and less access to the power and decision-making structures than paid workers. Yet it can also justifiably be argued that unpaid workers possess similar skills and knowledge to that of their paid worker counterparts.

This survey provides us with some useful statistics on unpaid social service work. The survey was a postal one, and the response rate was approximately 40 percent. From an estimated 13,348 social service work positions, 5794 valid questionnaires were returned, of which 3254 were from unpaid workers, 2501 from paid workers and 39 unclassifiable (Rochford and Robb, 1981:5). Moreover, as Table 4.1 on the next page shows, females outnumbered males in both paid and unpaid positions, with the exception of paid community workers and paid administrators. Furthermore, whereas males comprised 46 percent of paid worker positions, they made up only 28 percent of the unpaid positions (Rochford and Robb, 1981).

---

<sup>5</sup>Rochford and Robb (1981:15) provide a number of examples of these activities. They include: befriending, providing practical support, informing, resource person, liaising with other agencies, providing day-to-day care, community education, supervising staff, publicity, administration etc.

Table 4.1: Worker type by gender

Worker Type	Number	Female (%)	Male (%)
<i>Paid</i>			
Social worker	1162	60	40
Residential Worker	293	53	47
Community Worker	137	39	61
Welfare Worker	536	50	50
Administrator	355	44	56
<i>All paid positions</i>	<i>2483</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Unpaid</i>			
Advisor	1568	78	22
Phone Counsellor	394	79	21
Community Worker	205	73	27
Welfare Worker	686	62	38
Organiser	373	63	37
<i>All unpaid positions</i>	<i>3226</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>28</i>
<b>Total positions</b>	<b>5709</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>36</b>

Source: Rochford and Robb 1981:11)

Similar results were obtained from research carried out by the Manawatu Community Service Council in 1982 (Wheeler et al, 1982). Data was collected from 109 welfare

organisations in the city; with only one agency refusing to participate. The results revealed that these organisations had 2053 unpaid workers, of whom 1491 were female and 562 were male.

Research on Maori women's unpaid participation in the social services is limited primarily to the Rapuora study, which was undertaken by the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1982. This research was concerned with finding out how Maori women viewed their health and dealt with ill-health (Murchie, 1984). Involvement with whanau, hapu and iwi was considered important to Maori women's social and economic well being.

The Rapuora study sub-divided the 1177 Maori women interviewed into three categories (Young Women, Middle-Years Women and Mature Women) of seven sub-populations (Single Young, Urban Young, Young Mother, Lone Mother, Partnered Mother, Whaea O Te Marae and Whaea O Waho). It was found that 'Mature Women' were much more likely to be involved in community and tribal affairs. 'Young Women' and 'Middle-Years Women' spent more of their time in part-time work and in the home. Horsfield and Evans (1988) point out that Maori women are very much involved in service delivery through their participation in Kohanga Reo activities, the Maori Women's Welfare League and as unpaid Maori Wardens and unpaid workers in government organisations. Maori women have lower part-time participation rates than pakeha women. Maori women are less likely to be in paid work, but of those who are, a higher proportion are employed full time (Ministry of Women's Affairs/Department of Statistics, 1990).

It is evident that women, be they paid or unpaid, predominate as workers in the social services. Such work has typically been viewed as a continuation of woman's position within the home (Baldock, 1983). The low status, lower paid positions in the social service, such as providing practical assistance, caregiving and befriending, are largely

undertaken by women, whereas men tend to fill the high ranked, well-paid, professional and administrative positions (Waerness, 1984).

Women are expected to offer their 'welfare'<sup>6</sup> services for free, although in the nineteenth century this 'charitable' work was played out by middle class women who were economically locked out of a social sphere. Thus their activities were confined to 'feminine fulfilment' through an unpaid service to others. The new unpaid volunteer class, however, is not confined to the leisured or the elderly. In the recent past, women have been increasing their involvement in the social and political spheres, and many of these women are working class and Maori. Again, many have been shut out of the paid workforce, although more and more women have been organising around their needs, aware that the state will never be to the fore in recognising women as a priority (Craig, 1988).

Unpaid work is a poor substitute for women's opportunities for paid employment. Despite suggestions that unpaid volunteer work may enhance women's opportunities for future employment (Barron and Hancock, 1983), very little research has been undertaken in Aotearoa to substantiate this claim (Horsfield 1988). In fact, in my own documentation of a community work agency from 1977 to 1981, I found that very few unpaid women workers went on to paid employment as a result of the skills that they had learned (Craig, 1981b). Although my more recent research suggests that some women have used their unpaid community work experiences to obtain paid work, this work has tended to be government sponsored and temporary in nature.

---

<sup>6</sup>Waring (1988b:16) suggests that "the patriarchy calls such services "welfare" to ensure the term is perjorative".

## **Women's unpaid work and the state**

The state relies on women in the community to undertake numerous unpaid tasks, which, in the absence of such unpaid work, the state would have to fund. When the state does provide funding for an area which was previously confined to the unpaid sector, for example the funding of Women's Refuges, the amount provided is never enough to meet the whole costs of salaries involved in running the organisation. In other words, unpaid or underpaid community work is still essential to this sector. The provision of such funding results in the state holding some propriety rights over the community work enterprise, and even when full funding may not be provided, the state frequently claims oversight of the whole operation (Baldock, 1983).

State intervention in the social services occurs at both the ideological and the material levels (Ungerson, 1983). The movement towards deinstitutionalisation or 'care by the community' assumes that there is a network of formal or informal systems available in the community (Waerness, 1984). The state's approach to the provision of social services is founded on a number of implicit assumptions about the continuing availability of women to provide unpaid or underpaid labour. Consider, for example, Treasury's 'Definition of Essential Social Services':<sup>7</sup>

Services which, if no state funding were available, would be likely to be reduced to the extent that a significant proportion of clients would become a charge on state services at greater cost or with less efficiency, or new more expensive government services would be required.

---

<sup>7</sup>Treasury (1984) Memorandum to Social Equity Committee: Social consequences of changes to employment subsidy schemes: proposed local disbursement mechanism (unpublished).

If 'efficiency' means obtaining the best services for the least cost, then clearly women help constitute an efficient state by working for nothing. As Barron and Hancock (1983: 11) point out in their Report on Social Services in Napier:

Taking the previously estimated figure of 1400 volunteers, and assuming that each averages two hours work per week at a cost of \$10 per hour, the work undertaken in Napier on a volunteer basis in social services costs out at \$28,000 per week.

Clearly the unpaid social service work which women undertake is productive for the state. The state, however, cannot acknowledge this situation as it cannot justify providing some, but not all, social services. Policy measures are often in opposition to the state's claimed goal of equity between the sexes, because they presuppose women's marginal position in the labour market (Finch and Groves, 1980). The work that women do in the community, then, has to be seen as non-productive and women's lack of status has to be maintained in order for the state to increase its efficiency. In this way the state appears to be a 'liberal' state, working in the interests of the community, but in doing so it necessarily acts as a capitalist patriarchal state, relying on women's unpaid and underpaid work and their position as the 'reserve army of labour'.

The state, then, in funding work in the community, can be viewed on one level as a liberal state. At another level it is clear that such state funding relies on existing capitalist and patriarchal relations, and on the maintenance of women's existing positions in the social structure. This places the state in a contradictory position; on the one hand needing women's unpaid work in the community, and on the other being unable to recognise the status and productivity of this work alongside other statutory work in the social services.

These contributions do not remain at the level of the state, but are filtered down into women's daily lives. So, for example, women are expected to be both nurturers and workers, often at the same time. Their work, in the home and in the labour market, is of low status, but it is essential for the functioning of society (Balbo, 1987). All of these contradictions are embedded in women's work in the community, whether it be paid or unpaid. The themes of this chapter will be explored in depth in Part Two of this thesis.

---

Part Two

---



## *Chapter Five*

### **The Research Process: Methodological Considerations**

This chapter explores the methods used in this research project together with a number of methodological considerations which need to be addressed. It examines the processes involved in choosing the research topic, and considers the relationship between feminist theory and research. It describes and provides a brief analysis of the methods used in the study and in selecting the women I interviewed. The processes involved in the in-depth interviews are then discussed, together with the transcription and analysis of these interviews. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the women I interviewed.

#### **Choosing the research topic**

This research was very much influenced by my experiences as a woman, a community worker, a social scientist and a feminist, each in turn informing and influencing the others. I was unable to escape from these influences, and nor would I want to. They have provided me with an understanding of the social world and with a passion to try and change aspects of that world. Without that sense of 'passionate scholarship' (Du Bois, 1983), which has its origins in these influences, I doubt that I would have persevered with this project.

The idea of investigating women's involvement in community work emerged out of a previous research project in which I had been engaged.<sup>1</sup> I had made contact with a small group of rural women community workers,<sup>2</sup> predominantly Maori, who themselves were struggling with the tension between providing care on a day-to-day basis whilst they simultaneously endeavoured to work towards social change. When the women suggested that a change in the direction of my research could be more beneficial to women engaged in community work, I listened carefully to what they had to say, and subsequently became involved in the present study.

In choosing the research topic, I was also influenced by my considerable involvement in, and knowledge of, community work in Aotearoa. From my twenty years experience as a community worker, I was only too aware that women predominated in community work, yet this fact was not readily acknowledged in community work literature. Even my own publications, while alluding to women's extensive involvement in community work, failed to address the significance of women's contribution (Craig, 1983).

The group of women who encouraged me to do this research thought that it should have the dual focus both of describing women's experiences of community work and of providing an understanding of how women community workers aspired towards social change. I thought this aim could best be achieved by in-depth interviews with a small number of women. I decided to hold a small number of unstructured discussions with other women community workers, however, to seek their ideas on my proposed research. These groups lent further support to the research project, as well as contributing a wealth of ideas.

---

<sup>1</sup>In 1985, I enrolled in a Ph.D programme investigating community workers' responses to child abuse. I formally withdrew from this programme and re-enrolled in the present course of study in July 1988. I gave the material I had gathered to the group of women (community workers) whom I was interviewing at that time. I am aware that they have made use of it in their work since then.

<sup>2</sup>One of these women was subsequently included in my in-depth interviews. The group of women, of course, contributed to the informal discussions I held with women community workers.

## **The relationship between theory and research**

Feminist theory and research are inextricably linked (Duelli Klein, 1983). As Shipley (1983) suggests, their objectives are the same, in that both are concerned with social and political advancement of women and with ending women's oppression. Feminists are particularly concerned with the way in which women's lived experiences have been hidden from history (Rowbotham, 1976). They have also focussed their attention on the way in which knowledge is socially constructed and predominantly under the control of men (James, 1985). Men have been the source of public knowledge about women. They have formulated theories about women and their lived experiences. And, as Firestone (1971) notes, their authority does much to reinforce their privileged position.

The feminist social science response has been, to reclaim women's experiences and, to interpret women's worlds so as to this reflect women's realities rather than a male-constructed reality (Stanley and Wise, 1983). Feminist research thus aims to make women's experiences and concerns visible, and generally has social change in mind (Cummerton, 1986). Unlike traditional research, feminist research does not purport to be value-free; rather, feminism informs the research project from the outset and the resulting research process from start to finish (Shipley, 1983).

It can be said that, as a woman who was interviewing women, I was "both inside the culture and participating in that which (I was) observing" (Oakley, 1981:57). In addressing this issue, Oakley has drawn attention to the methodological problems which can be encountered in research, when the interviewer identifies with the respondent, and/or the respondent wants to hear the opinions of the interviewer.

As stated, my feminism and my experience as a community worker have definitely influenced this research project. The relationship I shared with the women I interviewed was an important factor in the research process. I was unable to stand back from the research and remain emotionally uninvolved. I was, throughout, a participant observer (Court, 1989) and the women expected this of me. Feminists, in fact, have questioned the myth of 'hygienic research' (Oakley, 1981) and have argued that there is no such thing as neutral objectivity (Du Bois, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983; James, 1985).

This research thus recognised the common concerns and experiences I shared with the women, as women, mothers and community workers. It also recognised that there were class and race differences. As McRobbie (1982:52) suggests, feminists must not be lulled into a "false notion of oneness". Maori and pakeha differences, in particular, were acknowledged as being important in this research.

### **The fieldwork**

There has been a tendency to associate feminist research with qualitative methods, and traditional research with quantitative methods. This tendency, as Cummerton (1986) argues, is a false dichotomy; feminist researchers use both methods. Rather, it is the way in which these methods are informed by feminist principles and values, that take into account matters such as subjective experiences, power relations and strategising for change, that renders them appropriate within the overall design of feminist research (Harding, 1987). Moreover, as Jayaratne (1983) points out, if used appropriately and in conjunction with each other, these methods can assist the feminist community to achieve its goals more effectively.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in this research. In order to collect some up-to-date information about some key aspects of being a community

worker, I distributed a questionnaire to 196 community workers (male and female) attending the 1989 Aotearoa Community Workers' Hui in Gisborne. One hundred and forty-three were completed and handed back to me, of which six were ineligible. The questionnaire and a summary of the findings are contained in Appendix Four. This questionnaire was based primarily on a quantitative method, in that it enabled me to collect data that could be analysed numerically. Provision was made for respondents to comment on anything they wished, and over half of the respondents elected to do so.

The group discussions and the in-depth interviews can most definitely be located within a qualitative method. The group discussions were unstructured, and ideas about community work research were extensively explored. No set patterns were followed, and as Hay (1986:15) suggests, this often resulted in "anecdotal gossip", although it enabled me to establish important areas of investigation. These concerns were incorporated into the interview schedule.

The in-depth interviews were intended to be strictly qualitative. I used an open-ended interview schedule that encouraged the women to explore their life experiences, their community work and their interpretations of the changing social world. My approach thus incorporated aspects of the life-history method which has recently caught the attention of researchers (Sedgwick, 1988; Plummer, 1983; Middleton, 1985; Court, 1989). The life-history method is particularly significant to this research in that it "provides an understanding of the strategies people develop in dealing with contradictions they experience as a consequence of their involvement" (Middleton, 1985:156).

In conducting the interviews, however, I clearly did not obtain the full potential that can be gained by the life-history method. I undertook only one interview with each of the women, whereas the life-history method generally takes a number of years to

gather people's accounts of their experiences (Plummer, 1983). Within Aotearoa, both Middleton (1985) and Court (1989), conducted a series of interviews with their participants. My decision to conduct only one interview was based on a number of factors, the most important of which was the imposition it would have been on the women, who as community workers, women and mothers were extremely busy.

I was fortunate, however, in that I had already established a relationship with the women I interviewed, based on egalitarian and collaborative principles. The women's stories about their lived experiences were listened to carefully and sensitively, and the questions I asked were aimed at generating ideas and action.

#### The group participants

As explained, this research project has its origins in a discussion I had with a small group of women community workers whilst engaged in another research project. My decision to hold a small number of unstructured discussions, with other women community workers, emanated, in part, from the support I was given by the first group.

James (1985) suggests that small group discussions are invaluable, and a means by which a researcher can clarify his or her ideas on a proposed project and identify important issues. The group discussions which I held certainly fulfilled this purpose and also assisted me to explore the ways in which I could go about my research. These discussions were tape-recorded and transcribed, after which I identified key themes and ideas.

Altogether, I had discussions with five groups of women community workers ranging in number from two to eight, the latter being the original group I had worked with. Two of the groups were located within the Manawatu region; the other three came

from outside of the region. In total, twenty-two women were involved, and with the exception of the first group, all of the group participants were selected by me. All of the women I approached willingly agreed to participate. Three of the women subsequently participated in the in-depth interviews.

The groups tended to be opportunistic (Court, 1989) in that I was already working with most of the participants in a variety of ways.<sup>3</sup> Two of the groups were Maori, or predominantly Maori, and the other three had pakeha participants. There was considerable diversity between and among the groups. They included experienced community workers with formal training, and inexperienced and mainly unpaid community workers, with most of the women somewhere in the middle of this range. Their ages were varied and the majority of them had children. Some of them were in relationships and the rest were managing on their own.

I found the group discussions extremely encouraging. The women had a lot to contribute and had no hesitation in expressing their views, which was probably to be expected, given that they were community workers. Moreover, my own experience in working with groups no doubt facilitated the group process. In fact, the only difficulty I experienced was when I tried to transcribe the tapes. The laughter interspersed with the sounds of eating, often blotted out the direction of the conversations, although I was nevertheless able to identify key themes.

Most of the group discussions lasted at least two hours, although not all of the time was spent talking about my proposed research. In one of the groups, for example, one of the women arrived late and was obviously very distressed. We talked at length about what was happening to her, and there was a general agreement that dealing with

---

<sup>3</sup>I was engaged in research with the first group, involved in social action with the second group, supervising the third group, and writing a funding submission with the fourth group. The last group (of two participants) I approached so that I could get a Christian perspective.

crises such as hers, was "part and parcel of being a community worker". All of the groups celebrated the occasion of being together by consuming vast quantities of food.

The group participants were less concerned about the tape recorder than were the women engaged in the in-depth interviews. Most appeared to ignore it altogether and a few actually spoke into it when they wanted to highlight a significant theme. The women were clearly quite prepared to talk about almost anything and when I listened to the tapes I was amazed at the diversity of issues we covered.

Without exception, all of the women thought it was "time (I) provided an account of women's community work experiences in Aotearoa". There was, however, some reservation about the format in which it might be presented. While none of the women was opposed to me writing up my doctoral studies, many were concerned that it would be inaccessible to most women community workers. All of the women were familiar with my text on community work, and several suggested it was important that I produced another one based on my doctoral studies, which I fully intend to do now that this project is completed.

A few of the women thought that I should take a case-history approach to my research. Essentially this would have involved the documentation of a number of community work projects in which women had been involved, including providing an analysis of how these projects have contributed towards social change. However, I was somewhat reluctant to take this approach, primarily I suspect, because I have already documented twenty-one case studies of specific community work projects that I had been involved in while working for Community Volunteers.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>This documentation is yet to be published, although I utilised four of the case studies in text on community work (Craig, 1983). The documentation is presently gathering dust on the shelves in my office, although, I intend to do something about it in the near future.



A number of the women were insistent that I provided an historical overview of community work training and the formation of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. There was a general belief that much of this history resided in my head, and as one woman jokingly said, "if you develop Alzheimers, it will be lost". This study has attempted to incorporate this historical overview, although I believe it requires further analysis.

By the completion of my group discussions, it was evident that the women had provided me with enough ideas to engage in several research projects. This point was particularly evident when I drew up the guidelines for my interview schedule. Moreover, because I was actively involved with four of the five groups, each time I met with them they continued to contribute their views and ideas about the research. This also happened with the individual women who I interviewed.

I was able to identify six central themes that the group participants believed I should focus my research study on. Under each of these themes, I identified a number of issues that the women thought were relevant to community work. A copy of the guidelines for the interview schedule is provided in Appendix Five.

#### Selecting the women for the in-depth interviews

Selection of the women was not done at random. I knew all of the women personally and had worked alongside all of them in varying capacities, as a community worker and/or community work trainer. Although I was not dogmatic about the selection process, I was nevertheless guided by three considerations which emanated from my personal and theoretical interests as well as from the group discussions. Firstly, the women had to be involved in community work for a minimum of five years. Secondly, I had to recognise them as change agents, that is, community workers who clearly believed that social change was one of the primary objectives of their work.

Thirdly, I believed that in addition to having equal numbers of Maori and pakeha women, I should also try to match these groups in terms of age, urban and rural community work, and also North and South Island locations.

The selection of the women did not end up as a difficult task. I began by listing a number of women who fulfilled the first two of the criteria. This list included two women who had participated in the group's discussions and who had indicated that they would like to be involved in the in-depth interviews. Trying to match the women was a little more difficult, especially when age was introduced. The Maori women tended to be older than the pakeha women. I believed it was important to include them, however, as they were seen by many community workers as their kuia. I was also unable to achieve a North Island/South Island match, and ended up interviewing only one Maori woman and two pakeha women from the South Island. However, two of the groups were from the South Island, which proved to be most helpful.

I approached all but two of the women I had selected while I was at the first Annual General Meeting of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, which was held in conjunction with the 1988 National Hui in Nelson. None of them showed any reluctance to be interviewed, although several of them questioned my decision to choose them. This questioning did not come in the form of a challenge; rather it was evident that the women were either curious or surprised that I had chosen them. As a pakeha woman, I had given some thought as to whether it was appropriate for me to select Maori women to interview. When I discussed this with the group participants who were Maori, however, and also with one of the kuia who I wanted to interview, it was not seen as a difficulty for the purposes of this research.

I contacted the other two women after I returned home from the hui. One of them was unable to participate as she had decided to go overseas, and I substituted her with another woman who had been involved in the group discussions. The other woman

was not actively involved in the Aotearoa Community Volunteers Association, however, her contribution to community work was most significant and I believed that her stories should not be overlooked. She was most agreeable to becoming involved.

Clearly the study is limited in that I only interviewed sixteen women. In recent years, however, a number of feminist researchers in Aotearoa have demonstrated the contribution that can be obtained by the selection of a small sample of women for in-depth interviews (James, 1985; Middleton, 1985; Court, 1989; Munford, 1989). Their research manages to convey the complexities of human situations, whilst simultaneously validating the experiences of women. I do not claim that these women represent the views of women community workers in general, nor were they chosen to do so. Rather, they were chosen because of their extensive experiences as women community workers and on account of their incorporation of social change within those experiences.

### **The in-depth interviews**

The in-depth interviews took place over a fifteen-month period between December 1988 and February 1990. I had not intended to take this long to complete them, but, I found them to be quite exhausting and I sometimes had to travel for a considerable time to reach the women I interviewed. To add to this difficulty, in the latter half of 1989 I suffered from ill-health, which placed further constraints on my energy.

When I contacted the women to arrange to interview them, most of them elected to be interviewed at their place of work. In contrast with Munford (1989), I found that privacy was not an issue for most of these women. Other community workers, in particular, kept coming and going and we were constantly interrupted. Possibly this took away some of the intensity that other researchers have experienced (Middleton,

1985; James, 1985; Lewis and Meredith, 1988; Ungerson, 1987; Court, 1989; Munford, 1989), although it undoubtedly existed.

I also got caught up in some of the women's ongoing community work commitments. For example, I got led off to meetings, assisted with a funding submission, became involved with a piece of social action that one of the women was involved in and met with a group of community workers to plan a training day. I can only describe my in-depth interviews as a shared experience, that is, we shared our knowledge and skills with one another.

The interviews themselves lasted anywhere between two and four hours. Because of the constant stream of interruptions, however, in one case it took two days to complete the interviews, although, most were confined to one day. There was no set pattern as to what I could expect. It differed from woman to woman, Maori to pakeha, and across ages and experiences. Whereas Munford (1989) comments that she suggested the women put aside approximately four hours for her visits, I found the women themselves tended to suggest that I allow ample time for my visit and that I "shouldn't be in a hurry to book (my) ticket home".

Despite these assurances, it was evident that some of the women approached the interview with a degree of anxiety. Several of them asked me how I intended to proceed with the interview and some were quite alarmed with my suggesting that it be as unstructured as possible. I sent a number of them the questionnaire schedule so that they could reflect on the issues that they would focus on. I was aware, however, that this could possibly deflect from the benefits to be gained by an unstructured approach.

I was also constantly reminded that even research "for" women was imposing, in that the approach I took actually *used* women who would not, necessarily, directly benefit from the research project. I did discuss this with the women without resolving the

issue, although one of the women quipped back to me "Yeah, that's why I'm making use of you too". It was not only me who found the process exhausting. Several of the women made mention of this, and I finally decided to put myself through the same process. One of the women who had participated in the group discussions agreed to conduct an interview with me using my interview schedule. Two tapes and four hours later, we both emerged from the room "totally drained and unable to think clearly" (as noted in the last lines of the transcription of this interview).

Although the interview schedule provided some structure, the interviews tended to proceed in an unstructured manner, which, together with the interruptions and the non-verbal communications, made the transcriptions a little difficult. I usually began the interview by thanking the women for agreeing to participate. Several of the Maori women at this point responded with a mihi. I then explained the present status of my research and provided the women with an assurance that I would respect confidentiality.<sup>5</sup> Following this procedure, I usually tested the tape recorder, which always provided "light relief" and then I asked the women to explain how they first became involved in community work. This approach generally got the women going to such an extent that at times I was pleased to have an interview schedule to provide some focus to the women's stories.

I knew, from my own experiences as a community worker, just how giving women can be, but this experience never fails to overwhelm me. The women shared so much of their lived experiences with me that I was touched by the pain and suffering many of them had experienced, but also exhilarated by their capacity to respond to this pain. It was, as I stated, a two-way sharing process, however, in that we talked about the similarities and differences between our worlds and I certainly was not the only one asking questions.

---

<sup>5</sup>It was interesting that given the constant interruptions and the general lack of privacy whilst I was conducting the interviews, together with the way in which I was included in other events taking place, the majority of the women elected to remain anonymous for publication purposes.

In community work, process is very important. The welcome, the laughter, the silence, the sounds of eating and the constant sharing, highlighted some of the ways in which this process was observed. Community workers can also be task-oriented, however, and as I listened to the tapes, I found evidence of each of us nudging the other along. The interviews concluded where they had begun - with clarification of issues or concerns - and generally led to a formal ending which was sometimes accompanied by a blessing for a safe journey home.

I believe that the method I used allowed for the flexibility which this group of women required, and yet it enabled me to obtain most of the detail that I had hoped for (Oakley, 1981; James, 1985). A few of the transcription difficulties were of my own making; others were possibly unavoidable.

There were only three problems throughout the interviewing process. The first related to a lost tape, which I suspect was taped over. This was the first of the two tapes we had completed. Fortunately, the woman concerned lived locally, although we were aware that the second attempt at the interview lacked the spontaneity of the first. The second problem occurred through one of the women that I was interviewing being called out to attend a crisis. The interview was subsequently never completed, although I was able to clarify by telephone and at the next community workers' hui, a number of details that I was missing. Fortunately I had spent the previous day with the woman concerned, which probably resulted in my 'reading between the lines'. The third difficulty arose as a result of a misunderstanding. I arrived to interview the woman and found that she was concerned that I had diminished the mana of her people at an event earlier in the year. It turned out that I had not even been there, but this incident reminded me of how small Aotearoa really is, and of the obligation researchers have continually to respect all people whose lives they touch upon and

intervene in. I feel it is important to discuss these difficulties as they provide realism to the research process (Oakley, 1981).

The relationship and experiences that I shared with all of the women really assisted the approach that I used. The women would not have allowed me to interview them if they thought that they could not trust me, and I was careful not to abuse that trust. We also shared a common language and passion for community work. They knew of my involvement in community work and of my commitment to social change. I was sensitive to issues that the women clearly did not want to explore, and I was mindful of the fact that I could be seen as a social scientist gathering material for her work. I was equally willing to share myself and my experiences. Nevertheless, I remain with the belief that I was honoured and privileged to share the women's lived experiences and to become more involved in their lives.

### **Transcription and analysis**

A woman (Sharon) transcribed the interview tapes. I had spoken to the women about this process and none appeared to mind. In fact, a few of them joked with Sharon, via the tape, about some of our comments and the general noisiness, and Sharon told me that she often felt included in the research project. From time to time, Sharon also made an important observation about a particular interview or issue which I was able to follow up. When each interview was transcribed, I listened to the tapes myself to check for accuracy and to record significant silences, laughter, nuances in language and any other related detail that I needed to be aware of.

This procedure aside, I made no attempt to analyse any of the data until I had completed the interviews. I became aware that occasionally, in subsequent interviews, I inadvertently made reference to a comment or issue that had arisen in a previous

interview. This was often quite productive for the women concerned and I was sometimes able to pass on useful ideas as a consequence.

Initially, the mass of data collected from the sixteen interviews looked daunting. Moreover, as Plummer (1983) suggests, to describe how one proceeds to analyse such data is, in fact, quite difficult. I began by re-reading all of the transcriptions, and then I examined the central themes and ideas which had emerged from my theoretical material, the group interviews and my reflections on each in-depth interview, all of which I had recorded in a diary. Such a process was not uncommon to me, as in community work it assists in the development of clear, precise objectives and in the attainment of these (Craig, 1983). This experience helped me to clarify the key themes and central issues that eventually formed the basis of my work as presented in the next four chapters.

I discussed these themes and the issues relating to them with my supervisors and also with two of the women whom I had interviewed who lived locally. This follow-up enabled me to clarify the direction of my analysis. Using the method employed by Middleton (1985) and Court (1989), I cut up one copy of each interview and located the material under each of the themes. I then colour-coded a number of significant categories within these themes.

I went back to my theoretical material to conceptualise how the material could best come together. My own experiences as a community worker clearly assisted with this process. I was able to make a tentative outline of the women's experiences as presented in their final form in this part of the thesis. I also wrote a paper on one of the themes, which I gave at a conference in New York and later published in *Te Kupu Kaimahi-A-Iwi* as well (Craig, 1990)<sup>6</sup> Shortly after this event, I briefly attended the

---

<sup>6</sup>This is the official publication of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. It serves as a means of networking amongst community workers, has a circulation of 1700 and an estimated readership of 5,000-7,000.



1990 National Community Workers' Hui and received feedback both on my paper and the proposed outline of the women's experiences. The feedback proved to be extremely positive, and modifications to my chapter outlines were minimal.

The women's experiences are organised into four chapters, each with a major theme and a number of sub-themes. Chapter Six begins with a consideration of how the women saw community work in their daily lives. This is followed, in Chapter Seven, by an analysis of community work and its conceptualisation as women's work. In Chapter Eight, three contexts of community work - the community, the organisation and the state - are discussed in terms of the women's experiences. Chapter Nine takes up an important key theme of this thesis - social change - and considers how the women work towards their goals of transforming society.

Two women, one Maori and one pakeha, agreed to read the first draft of each chapter as I wrote it. This proved to be an excellent means to get further feedback, although once again it did not result in any major overhaul of the way in which I was writing up the material. The Maori woman said that she looked "forward to seeing it published in a book". The other woman told me she was fascinated with the way I weaved, what she assumed was theoretical knowledge ("what you learnt at university"), with the women's experiences of community work.

### **The women's stories**

In writing about the women's experiences, I was mindful of my commitment to the women, that this thesis would be accessible to women in community work. I have presented their stories (Munford, 1989), in their own language and have only edited their quotes to eliminate personal references to people such as family, friends and other community workers, and to localities. As several of the women did not want to be identified, the women were also given other names. I believe that the women's

stories provide a valuable source of information about community work in Aotearoa, and, as will be shown throughout the next four chapters, these 16 women community workers have made a significant contribution to this work.

It is also important to point out that at times, the women felt powerless and overwhelmed by their daily experiences, and in reading about these the reader may experience this feeling as well. Community work can, at times, be mundane and time consuming. The women put a lot of effort into working towards social change and yet they have had to maintain their daily routines to keep society functioning (Balbo, 1987). Thus in order to walk the reader through the women's stories I have added, at the end of each chapter, a brief summary of the key points of the women's perceptions of community work. Of course, these summaries are directed by my own experiences in community work. The dynamic interplay between action and reflection is an integral component in community work and highlights the importance of process. Hence, the interweaving of the women's stories, and my interpretations of these stories reflect the very essence of this process in community work.

### **The women**

Before I conclude this chapter, and prior to presenting their stories, I want to introduce the women. This introduction will be brief, as in the process of telling their stories the women shared substantive details about themselves. In the first draft of this thesis I had, in fact, placed this introduction in an appendix. However, I believe such action serves to reinforce the way in which women have remained hidden from history, and I have thus placed their introduction within the body of the research project.

The following commentary on the personal characteristics of the women relates to that period during which I interviewed them. Although all of the women are still working as community workers, the employment situation for several of them has altered since

they told their stories. With the exception of Pania, all of the women have children. Their community work, in fact, emerged out of their involvement in their children's lives, hence the title theme - *from rocking the cradle to rocking the system*. Only three of the women have formal qualifications in community work or social work, although another two have begun to work towards gaining formal qualifications.

#### The Maori women

*Rangi* is in her late fifties and has been involved in community work for 26 years. For the last six years she has been paid for her community work, although even now she is only paid on a part-time basis. She still puts in nearly full-time hours. The hourly payment rate she receives can only be described as "moderate". *Rangi* is currently working out from a community centre.

*Evelyn* is in her mid fifties and works full-time for a church based agency. *Evelyn* has worked as a community worker for 20 years, 14 of which she was not paid for her work. She believes that she is now reasonably well paid for her community work.

*Katarina* also works for a church-based agency which primarily focusses on the needs of Maori people. *Katarina* is in her early fifties and has been involved in community work for 20 years. She considers that she is fortunate, in that she has been paid for her work for half of the time that she has been involved.

*Harata* has worked as a community worker for 23 years and has only been paid for three of these. She has worked mostly on a part-time basis although it was her task to find the funding for her wage. *Harata* is in her late forties and has just started working for a government agency\ for which she receives "reasonable pay".

*Hira* is in her late forties. She has never been paid during her 28 years of community work, although, more recently, she has been paid "heaps" for attending a government committee that she is now on. Hira has worked for many voluntary agencies, and is currently working at a Maori women's centre which she helped set up.

*Pare* has worked as a community worker for nine years, five of these on a paid basis. She is in her late thirties and has recently enrolled at University as an extramural student "to get some training". Pare is working for a voluntary agency, which she regards as "whanau", and is paid "a good hourly rate" for her work.

*Keri* is in her early thirties and works on a part-time basis for a community centre in a predominantly Maori locality. She has been involved in community work for nine years, although when she was 18 she worked as a volunteer at a girls' home. For the last four years Keri has been paid for her community work.

*Pania* is the only woman who has been paid for her work from the time that she first became involved in community work. Pania is in her late twenties and she works for a government agency receiving a "good salary". Although she has always been paid in her seven years of involvement in community work, for much of this time, however, the funding was precarious and it was Pania's responsibility to obtain it.

#### The pakeha women

*Megan* is in her late forties and has been involved in community work for 25 years. For 17 years she was not paid for her work although she believes that she is now well paid. Megan works for a church-based agency which is involved in a number of out-reach community projects.

*Diana* is working as a grass roots community worker, although she is currently not working for a particular agency. She is able to keep doing her work because she is on a welfare benefit. In her 23 years of community work involvement, Diana has only been paid for a total of three years. She is in her early forties and has worked for a large number of voluntary agencies doing grass roots, neighbourhood and marae-based community work. Diana has a Certificate in Community Work Practice.

*Ruth* is in her early forties and has worked as a community worker for 15 years. For the last seven years Ruth has been paid for her work, and because she now works for a local authority she considers that she is "extremely well paid".

*Elizabeth* also works for a local authority and has done so for the last seven years. She is in her late thirties and has been involved in community work for 15 years, eight of which were unpaid. She describes her job as "well paid and reasonably secure".

*Shannon* is in her middle thirties and has been involved in community work for 16 years. She has only been paid for three of these and even then the remuneration can be described as minimal. Shannon has worked for a diversity of neighbourhood groups, primarily as a grass roots community worker, and also for a number of voluntary agencies. Shannon is currently working for a whanau-based organisation that she helped to establish. She is on a welfare benefit and has two papers towards a qualification in social and community work.

*Robyn* has worked as a community worker for eight years and has been paid for five of these. She is in her middle thirties and at the time of her interview she was on leave from the local authority for which she had worked for eighteen months. Robyn believes that she is now well paid for her work. She has a degree in social work.

*Alice* is in her mid thirties and has been involved as a community worker for 14 years. For the past four years, Alice has been paid "on and off" for her work although she supplements this payment with the welfare benefit that she has been receiving for many years. She is currently doing contract work for a government department.

*Rose* is in her late twenties, and at the time I interviewed her she was on "time out"<sup>7</sup> from her work. Rose had worked as a community worker for the least amount of time of all of the women I interviewed, although as with most of the women, the majority of this time had been on an unpaid basis. For the six years of her community work, she has only been paid for one year. Rose also has a degree in social work.

These, then, are the women who share their experiences with us. Let us now turn to the women's stories about these experiences.

---

<sup>7</sup>'Time out' is a survival strategy and is a term often used in community work and social work. Generally, workers are able to take leave from their job, paid or unpaid, to recharge their energy. Some women go on to a welfare benefit during this time, if they are eligible for one.

## *Chapter Six*

### **What is Community Work?**

In this chapter I focus on the women's general perceptions of community work. I begin with their definitions of community work and then provide an account of a typical working day for the women. This leads on to the range of tasks that they performed in their work. The changes which have taken place in community work are then examined, and the chapter concludes with a consideration of the influence of biculturalism on community work .

#### **Defining community work**

Initially many of the women found it difficult to define community work, or even to respond to the question I more frequently posed: "What does community work mean to you?" It was not uncommon to receive an immediate reactive response, such as "that's a hard question" or "it means so much - where do I start?". This response was often accompanied by a long pause or a lot of joking and laughter. Possibly, because community work was so central to their lives, asking the women to define it may have been alienating. It was evident that for most of the women, community work had become "a way of life" and therefore it could not be considered objectively. Megan articulated this thesis:

It is so dependent upon the perspective of the worker that I can't sort of separate the two really, in a lot of ways.

The ambiguity in talking about community work was equally apparent. Robyn provided an example of this when she responded "Gee, words like frustration, pain, happiness and fun just come buzzing around my head".

Once the women began to define community work, it was evident that there were marked similarities between their views. To some extent their collective involvement in the Aotearoa Community Workers' Association influenced this similarity. As Diana commented:

Over those two days we had to define it (community work), we came out with a statement which very clearly put into words things that I had inherently felt. The constitution - it's very precious to me because it's been searched out by other people searching as well.

There were, then, close parallels between the principles underlying the women's definitions of community work, those of the Association, and those which I discussed in the Introduction. These include: self-determination; collectivity; power and social change. These principles dominated as central themes in the women's definitions of community work. Robyn summarised a common response from these women:

Community work is about social change and if it's not ultimately geared towards change, I think that's where the frustration comes in.... It's about empowering people so that they can create changes for themselves, as well.... I think it has to be a collective thing where groups of people do it (create change)... And it's about power: questioning power - who's got it, who's benefiting from it and the decisions that they make to uphold it.

In this section I present the women's definitions of community work, utilising these principles as thematic headings.



## Self-determination

As discussed in the Introduction, self-determination embodies the concept of empowerment, a term which has dominated in more recent social work and community work literature. All of the women emphasised that community work was not only about working for people, it was also about empowering them to take control of their own lives, or, as Hira put it:

getting people up, getting them going, getting them motivated, getting them to feel good about doing it themselves and taking charge.

The community worker's role is important in the empowerment process. Pania illustrated this point in her understanding of community work:

It's a lot of things, but to me it's being able to work with people, to help people make their own decisions and take responsibility for their own lives and just be part of what's going on, and not being a person that stands up and says 'here I am helping you'. It's showing them what can be done and also for me, if I am any good at it, it's making me redundant in all the areas that I am working in. It's not about propping people up. It's about empowering them.

The new language of self-determination which has emerged in particular out of the struggles of the Maori people, has also become an integral element of community work. Empowerment, for some of the women, was seen as a process towards a goal of self-determination. Several of the women either directly referred to self-determination or alluded to it. Elizabeth, for example, stated:

Well, it's (community work) giving groups of people tools - empowering them, eh - so that they can achieve their own aspirations.

Megan, on the other hand, was more adamant:

Community work is about working with people with very little access to power; umm very little money and choices, so they can decide for themselves what needs to be changed. It's self-determination and it's our job to empower people so they can make these changes together.

Self-determination, and within it the concept of empowerment, surfaced as a recurring theme throughout the interview process. So, too, did the notion that community work involved collective action, which was inextricably linked to empowerment and self-determination.

### Collectivity

Most writers on community work stress the value of working collectively, and in the women's accounts, the notion of collectivity was constantly highlighted as a key aspect of community work. Diana illustrated this point:

It's (community work) working with the collective energy of a group to make some changes either for themselves personally, or with some situation they're with. I've always been able to see a bright side. They're always - together we can always make things better - so there's that whole thing about quality of life, about human potential being realised, about the group being a medium for that to happen. That's community work to me.

This is where some of the women located the difference between social work and community work. Social work was perceived as working more with people on "an individual basis" and "in crisis situations". Community work, on the other hand, as Alice put it:

is more inclined to work with people on a collective basis and is geared towards effecting social and structural change.

Whilst none of the women denied the need to work with individual people, it was generally recognised that this was only one aspect of their work. Evelyn explained:

Of course, we need to work with individuals. They're suffering, they're in pain and I want a better life for them. But I wanted a better life (for) -I'm not going to say Maori people - people in general.... So I've learnt we have to be political and we have to work with groups of people. I think it's only that way we can really make changes.

Evelyn went on to point out that, for her, collective action took place on a number of levels, sometimes simultaneously:

I work with lots of different groups. The ones who are suffering themselves, other community workers and let me tell you many of them are also suffering, and also other groups of people who want to make changes.... (such as ) union people, church people. This often goes on at the same time, you know. You've got to do it that way.

Elizabeth took this idea further. She argued that community work demanded that one became "almost schizophrenic" in her work, especially if the agency had a different agenda to that of the worker:

It's just that I feel like I live with two or three different agendas you know. I know what needs to be done to keep the job viable with the Council - maintenance stuff.... but I've become more interested in the collective stuff, the political work and I've got to look around to see who's got the energy, the strength and the vision to push through the changes which are not just cosmetic.

Elizabeth, like the rest of the women, suggested that networking formed the basis of collective action as well as providing essential avenues for support. This aspect is further explored in the third section of this chapter.

#### Power

Although I specifically addressed the issue of power at a later stage of the interviewing process, its importance became apparent when the women began to define community work. As Hira contended:

Understanding power and the way we've become puppets in the system is really essential if we are to get our people to really participate in society.

For some of the women the issue of power provided them with the motivation to work towards social change. This was illustrated by Robyn:

I suppose what it comes down to is that I believe that there are people who have power and those who don't and I don't believe it's right eh. It's like a passionate belief that it's bloody wrong eh. I think it's so arrogant eh that people who have power think that they have the right to have it over other people - I think that's arrogant eh.

The issue of power featured in three key ways. First there was a common concern that all people involved in community work must engage in some form of structural analysis so that they can develop an understanding of how power functions in society. As Robyn went on to suggest, through "questioning power" community workers are able to pose the questions of "who has the power, who benefits from it and who loses out"?

Second, there was an acceptance that community workers empowered those people with whom they worked, to become more aware of how and why they were 'disadvantaged', 'marginalised' or 'oppressed'. Several workers made direct reference to Michael Elliott's definition of community work which was presented in the Introduction. Hira, for example, commented:

When I read that (Elliott's) definition in your book it made a lot of sense to me. Coming on to when I met you, there came a turn again into really looking at myself as a Maori woman and that was to look really deeply inside. I think really the type of development of the political me began then.... I would love to empower all my people so they can understand - many don't.

Third, there was the recognition that although community work provided a site to mobilise people to act against conditions that oppress and dehumanise them, some of the women nevertheless encountered constraints. Diana suggested women find it difficult to maximise power:

I think we know collectively the potential power we have, but I think because we are mostly women, that we haven't quite got to the point of taking that power and using it really well. Probably (Women's) Refuge is the only model that's got their act together. But that's only one brand of community work.

Reclaiming power in all areas of people's lives was seen as a necessary step towards change, which is the fourth theme informing the women's definitions of community work.

### Social change

The dominant theme in all of the women's definitions of community work was social change. The women were very definite that community work was change-oriented and had the potential to bring about social change. Shannon elaborated:

Community work is on the cutting edge of social change and that's its potential. I think though we've become bogged down in a lot of things we shouldn't be doing and perhaps we're not as change-oriented as we used to be.

Robyn agreed with this opinion and indicated how frustrating it could be:

Community work is about change and if it's not ultimately geared towards change I think that's where the frustration comes in, because we spend so much time and energy with people, and doing things. And when it's not really going to eventuate into anything - even little changes such as not being constantly humiliated for being on a benefit - I question the hours of work and the time that goes into doing things.

Megan also talked about how frustrating community work could be, especially when change did not take place. Pulling together the four key themes in this section, she nevertheless argued:

Community work is about social change. If the issues are about power, which I believe they are, and the system creates some haves and some have-nots - if we are trying to empower people to determine their own futures, then community work must focus on social change.

Despite this assurance, many of the women questioned the nature and extent of the social change process. The contradictions between bringing about major social-structural change and working on a day-to-day level to alleviate and reform the lives of women and children, is a central investigation of this thesis. It is interesting to note that the women interviewed, defined community work in similar ways to those women involved in the early social reform movements in Aotearoa (Tennant, 1976), namely in that the work had elements of both social change and caring for women and children. As social change is subjected to scrutiny in Chapter Nine, it is not considered more extensively in this section.

The four themes or principles: self-determination; collectivity; power and social change, provided the women with purpose and direction in their community work. Throughout my interviews, the women presented these principles as recurring themes, providing an overall picture of each woman's community work. Consequently, these principles surface throughout Part Two of this thesis.

### **A day in the life of a community worker**

I asked the women to describe a typical working day. Several of them had already involved me in their working day by insisting that I interviewed them in their workplaces. As noted in Chapter Five, this process often entailed being with them for a substantive part of their day and, with one woman, for two days. In this section I weave a typical working day for the women. The account is based on the women's stories generally and provides an overall view of their working day. Although at times

I identify specific women, in each instance I could be naming several. A familiar pattern emerged by the time I completed my interviews, and there were very few differences between them other than those which I identify.

### Early starts

Most of the women started their days early, many being routinely woken by the sound of a phone. The phone could not be ignored even if it ended up making a woman "late for work because of it". Rose explained the importance of the phone calls:

I've never been an early riser so I found it hard when I got into community work to be constantly on the phone so early. But it's really important because although sometimes it's just to set up a meeting, quite often you find that someone who's only just really gotten into one of your groups has hit on an idea and probably sat on it all night, and can't wait to tell you about it.

Quite a few women suggested they rose early in order to attend to work they had not been able to do the previous day. Robyn said she regularly did this:

When I was a paid worker at Council I would often get up round about six to do written work because I can't do written work in my working day... I find it difficult when people are coming and the phone goes to actually put some of those things off and say "no, I'm in the middle of doing a report" and shut myself off.

Robyn went on to discuss the rest of a 'typical day' for her and then came back to the early morning starts:



If I don't get up to do written work invariably the phone would go anyway and somebody would want to know if I was going to be somewhere or they couldn't get me at work so they just thought they'd catch me at home - you know, those sort of telephone calls - someone wanting to have their say or network with you, and they happen before I go to work and when I get home at night. Since I've not been working (as a paid worker) I still get those calls.

The phone, then, was not only an important source of communication, but also persistently invaded the women's lives. The women were constantly on call and expected to respond accordingly. Yet as with much of women's unpaid work in the home, this early work remained largely invisible. Harata commented:

I doubt if the bosses know I get all these phone calls. Anyway even if they did, they'd probably say "well it's part of your job". Sometimes though I feel as if I've done a full day's work even before I get to work.

Harata, like the majority of the women, also had whanau to organise in the morning. For these women, who found that the gaps between their public and private worlds were even more blurred than Novitz (1987) suggests, the task of balancing their early morning routines was a difficult one. In describing a typical working day, Alice highlighted this dilemma:

It would often start straight off in the morning - seven to seven-thirty - a call from someone who was in a state and needed time and then working out how soon I would get round there without neglecting my children.

Although the balancing act between caring for the family and caring for the community was at times problematic, it was generally considered by these women that this task was not a conflicting one. This was particularly apparent with the Maori women and

reflects the experience of women involved with the Maori Women's Welfare League in its early days. For these women, "no task was too small or too big" (Kirby, 1985).

### Morning work

Some of the women were employed by organisations that more or less expected them to "clock in"; others found their organisations more accepting of "late starts". This feature directly influenced the morning work routine. Robyn, who was expected to "clock in" by 8.30 a.m. said:

I would often go into Council and be in there by seven or half seven and do written stuff and then I would just get on with it; responding to phone calls or making appointments, going to Council meetings with Councillors or usually dashing to community group things like Community Workers' Association, or meetings organised for a number of community groups to look at, for example, that survey *blank* was going to do on community groups and social welfare.

For Rose there was less expectation to be at work on time. This meant:

Often I'd have to do several things before I hit work. Maybe deliver something somewhere or post letters or drop a key somewhere and all that sort of stuff that takes up time but is so important because it helps you keep in touch.

Rose continued:

I'd get into work and I found that when I was really at my peak in busyness and things before I had to cut down, I'd maybe have half an hour at work, answering phones or sorting through my mail and stuff like that and then I'd

be off somewhere at a meeting. I found I was off all the time - there's an endless amount of meetings to attend. I was always going from one thing to the other, there was never time in between. I did lots of good networking during the day (but)... you had to switch all the time from one thing to the other and I found that really hard. I was doing one thing at 10.30 and then at 11.30 I was doing something different and it was just like that through the whole day.

The "endless amount of meetings", which all of the women attended, were, however, generally referred to positively. It was apparent that the majority were seen as an integral part of the networking process, and a mechanism by which the women could find more about what was happening in the community. The meetings were presented as extremely action-oriented and those described to me included: dealing with a crisis that originated overnight; organising a picket; doing a funding submission; planning next week's workload; organising a training day and meeting with a group of young people who wanted to set up a youth group.

Abiding by the principles of community work meant that the meetings themselves were often quite time-consuming. Ruth illustrated this point with an example of a meeting she had attended the day before:

I spent four hours at a *blank* meeting, sorting out such things as policy stuff for the group because it is a really new group and looking at the new workers we are going to take on and the type of jobs that we're going to get and how we're going to marry them together and all these type of issues - huge issues of starting up a *blank* and looking at what our philosophy is and keeping that in mind all the time. You know? We talk about empowering people! So that took us quite a long time because if we're going to take on workers, what is the criteria? We talk about working collectively; can you work collectively and

turn around to someone and say: "no we don't want you to be part of us"? All those issues of working with a group of women collectively.

The three women who were not working for a specific organisation on a paid basis, when I interviewed them, had slightly more freedom to negotiate their morning work. Diana observed that she had more time to meditate, have a bath, answer calls, plan her week, and occasionally get to her spinning wheel. Like the other two women, Diana, however, continued to be very busy despite her unpaid work status, and this required planning in how she would spend her time. She commented:

I plan my week every Monday morning. I make a list of things that I have to do - look at my diary and check with the appointments that I have to keep, have to make and look at things that I have to do. And interspersed with that is a whole lot of other things that I do if I feel like it. So there's a lot of things, but there's also a lot of other sort of things that if I've got the energy for I do and if I haven't I don't. Some days can be really intensely busy and other days I can find that I've got quite a bit of time to myself, but I've learnt to work out a time management plan so that I can try very hard not to actually do specifically, sort of hands-on, minds-on sort of work with people more than 40 hours per week.

There was very little variation with the morning routine between the Maori and pakeha women, although the Maori women were more inclined to attend hui and tangihanga, which sometimes cut right across the morning work routine. They also tended to be even less concerned about interruptions and accommodated these "in the Maori way". Hira, for example, observed that she had planned to put a lot of time aside for our interview:

I started this morning with phone counselling. Then I ring up and inform everyone that Wendy's coming today and I want some time with her. We start

to plan with coming down here, opening the doors and then I have young people coming in with children (requiring attention), and my Aunty comes in and all that korero goes on and then the phone rings and it's Maori Affairs saying things about "what about this koha that has to go to Wellington?" So you are administrating. You're so busy all the time. Wendy comes and you're not ready for her. But, never mind we korero while we eat kai and we see to the kaupapa. We do it all in the Maori way and that's kei te pai.

A number of the women talked about their "missed lunches". Robyn, for example, said:

I never have lunch. I do eat lunch but it's always on the go. I would never take a lunch hour and go into town shopping; very rarely, I can count those times on my hand because when people come up and see you sitting eating - it means you are free for them and it (the community work) goes on.

Several of the women said that they had lunch while networking with other community workers. Maori women, in particular, observed that "sharing kai" often provided an opportunity "to korero about the take".

#### Afternoon work

I found it more difficult to encourage the women to discuss their afternoon activities, as by this time, most had digressed on to another topic and I did not want to stop their flow. Moreover, many of them conveyed a feeling that they had run out of steam in providing a narrative account of a typical working day. To some extent it was apparent that their more routine morning work dictated the direction of the afternoon events. In fact, many of them indicated that they were often quite exhausted by the time the afternoon arrived. It was also evident that afternoons were generally less

structured. Several of the women suggested it was during this time, that they were more likely to initiate or get involved in a new project.

Two activities that were consistently raised centred around childcare responsibilities and the preparation of the evening meal. Most of the women tended to assume the primary responsibility for caring for the family, although with some of the Maori women, this task was more evenly shared. Child care posed a number of problems, even for the women who worked part-time and planned to end their day at 3 p.m. It was not always easy, as Rose explained:

So it was always on the go really and maybe at 2.30 frantically making childcare arrangements because I knew I wasn't going to make it home and getting someone else to pick up (my child) from school.

Community work is generally reasonably tolerant to the needs of working mothers and their children. There was less of an expectation for the women to keep their children hidden and thus, having arranged to collect them from school, it was not uncommon for some of the children to join their mothers at work. This did create some tension in that the women were often concerned that their children would get bored and would "want to go home Mummy".

Some of the women suggested that there was no typical working day. Ruth concluded that:

My day is working with people at all different levels and doing all different types of jobs and having to switch hats and switch on and off, but I enjoy that. I'd be bored if it was all door knocking and I'd be bored if it was all just sitting at Council meetings.

Trying to decide what to have for dinner was generally "done on the run". Even those women who suggested that the preparation of the evening meal was not their responsibility, or was shared equitably, intimated they still had the primary responsibility for deciding what would actually be eaten. Hira provided an excellent example of this while narrating her day to me:

(Her husband) comes in and says "what do you want for tea?" I said, "for once you suggest what you want for tea". He goes home and cooks tea - he prepares tea and does the garden.

Hira, like all of the women who received support from their partners, went on at great length, to tell me how appreciative she was of this assistance. I doubt that many male community workers would have taken the time to express their appreciation of their partners.

#### Evening work

The evening work appeared remarkably similar to the early morning work, and again the women juggled the demands of caring for the family and caring for the community. Meal time, even if the women were not preparing the food, was presented as a chaotic event. The women's accounts were invariably dispersed with remarks about telephones that continued to ring, overcooked food, children who demanded attention and partners who paid no attention. Very few suggested that it was a joyful time of the day for them.

The evening work included more meetings to attend, although some of the women attempted to put limits on these. It was not a dislike of working at night as such, but rather as Rose observed, going out to the meetings could be stressful:

For the first eighteen months at work I did go out to meetings at night and all that sort of stuff as well, but then I found that it was just a wee bit much. I'd much rather do things from home like actually ring people and talk to people on the phone than attend a meeting. I tried to have my meetings during the day.

The telephone, then, continued to dominate the women's lives during the evening, and many of the women ended their working day, as they had begun, communicating with people on the telephone.

Although this account of a day's work for community workers shows clearly the patterns and rhythms of their days, it says little about how they decide what their key tasks are. Beyond the phone calls and numerous interruptions, the women indicated there were a number of key tasks which they saw as essential to community work.

### **The key tasks in community work**

When I asked the women to define community work, or what community work meant to them, they frequently focussed on what they actually did. Because each of the interviews invariably took on a life of its own, I found that most of the women frequently referred to the tasks they performed in their day-to-day work. In this section I present some of these tasks. These can be summed up under the following headings: identifying needs; networking; planning; action and reflection.

#### **Identifying needs**

Providing the space for people to express their needs, listening and encouraging others to listen, is in itself a demanding task and all of the women identified this as a crucial skill in community work. Quite often this communication happened via the telephone,



or at an organised meeting or event. Some women, however, went out of their way to meet with people in their neighbourhoods. Shannon, for example, regularly went door knocking so that she could meet with people in their neighbourhood:

You've got to get out and meet with people in their neighbourhood. You can't call yourself a community worker if you don't. I'm not saying you have to spend all your life door knocking, you have to also get involved in other bits of action. But you have to know how to reach out to people within their own communities and meet them and listen to their needs.

Listening to people does not take place in a vacuum. As Diana put it: "you have to know what you're listening for". Diana was adamant that community workers could not separate what they did from why they did it:

We need that understanding of why and we get that through talking and listening, and out of that comes "maybe we should do something?" And that's based on our values, of course, because let's not kid ourselves, we don't pick up on everything, just the people who are really hurting.

In order to establish needs, then, the women believed that community workers had to have listening skills, a good grasp of the local situation and an awareness of one's own values.

Identifying needs was seen as a time-consuming task "that's never completed". Keri commented that every day she became aware of different needs within her own locality, even though she had lived and worked in it for a considerable time:

You can't afford to take anything for granted, different things come up all the time and I've been working here for zons now. Once I start seeing what's

happening, I natter to them, get buddy-buddies with heaps of cups of teas and bickies and you just keep on listening - you get surprised what new things you find out. I'm still with my old lot because I grew up with them, but I don't always know what's happening, and it can take a long time to find out.

Keri went on to state that she was fortunate, that her organisation did not put a lot of pressure on her to justify the time she spent "just sitting and listening" to people. She was aware that "not all community workers get off so lightly". In fact, several organisations which lacked an understanding of community work, often put pressure on the women to quantify their working day. As Ruth pointed out, this requirement generally resulted in "gathering statistics about something you already knew".

As the identification of needs invariably involved spending a considerable amount of time with "people who are really hurting", the women found that they worked a lot with individuals counselling them, helping build up their confidence and empowering them to function more effectively. Katarina explained this process:

I responded to a call yesterday Wendy, and there were some very unhappy parents on the phone. We're talking about unhappy parents who were youths when they got pregnant and now they see themselves in their children, they can't cope. I guess here I'm the equivalent of a family therapist. I have them come in here, and I'm also teaching the Maori mums that come in here to be more confident. We have all sorts of mums for all sorts of reasons, and I try to chatter with them in Maori, and they get to learn that and start feeling more confident. I will not push Maori things beyond the comfort zones until they're ready for it. They love singing Maori songs and what the Maori staff do is encourage them to become comfortable with being Maori in this way. But we also keep looking at being unhappy parents.

Elizabeth suggested that the purpose of assessing needs was two fold: "to understand what's happened and to work out what needs to be done". Like all of the women, she argued that this process was time consuming and required "heaps of listening and talking". She believed that assessing needs was not the difficulty; rather "deciding what to do about it really is the nuts and bolts of community work". Elizabeth claimed that she established needs "mostly through just being there - I do a lot of networking and those sorts of things".

### Networking

All of the women spoke about the importance of networking, which included attending "endless amounts of meetings", "going to hui", and as Rose put it, "being alert to any situation where you can find out what's going on". Rose argued that networking provided the key to finding out what was happening in small communities. With reference to a new area with which she would like to get involved, she commented:

What it needs is someone to actually go and do that networking, but it would be a full-time job to just network and get people involved, it's so time consuming. I think that why I find it so stressful is that there's so much legwork really and that puts an awful lot of pressure on the other work that you're doing. Maybe that's why social workers don't try to get into it more?

For Rose, then, networking was essential, but demanding. In fact, she went through a week in her diary and showed me the endless appointments she had made, which she considered were primarily for networking purposes. Several of the women suggested that it was through their networking that they found others to work alongside. Shannon, for example, told me about how she met up with a few public health nurses while she was trying to find out what she could do for the parents of young solvent abusers:

I didn't expect to get much out of them (the public health nurses) and I was really surprised with how good some of them were, especially *blank* and now she has been freed up for six months to work full-time with the kids. She's a hard case and the kids really respect her. We're going to see what we can set up for them.

The Maori women also indicated that networking gave them a chance to spend time with Maori men, which was important to them. As Pania said, "there are people around me all of the time, but they tend to be women". Through networking she was able to keep the links and find out "what our men are up to".

Networking, then, was seen as an important source of information sharing, and played a key role in the provision of informal training. Hira maintained that it was through networking that she was able to pass on the information she acquired from a government committee that she had been appointed to:

I do question why I am on the committee, but I find out a lot that I can pass on about where the resources are and who you send people to for this and that. When it comes to funding, I'm hopeless but I know where you can go for the help now. I'm aware of all of those things now and I let everyone know when we get together.

Clearly networking was seen as a valuable means, by which the women could establish a working knowledge of available resources, including people resources. It also provided the women with an opportunity to learn more about their communities, and to make links and maintain communications with other community workers and key people within these communities. Through networking the women were able to

plan their work, using the collective support of other people working for social change.

## Planning

Planning was seen as a necessity by the women, in order to survive "the daily demands of community work". Ruth intimated that many of community work's tasks were mundane and "at times you have to push yourself to get some of it done". This was particularly true if an organisation expected regular reports. As Ruth put it, "I have to plan my week around these".

Planning was highlighted by most of the women as a task that needed to be undertaken in conjunction with others, especially when planning a course of action. Friere (1972) lends support to this point, in that he stresses the importance of working together with the oppressed when planning for social change (Craig, 1983). Robyn claimed that she never planned a project on her own:

I think you have to be with people, working with them and doing things together all the time. I wouldn't think of planning a project on my own. I would want to be talking about the things as I was doing them and also having a flexibility to change.

Although Robyn acknowledged that she usually wrote reports on her own, she nevertheless maintained that she even checked these out with others before "Council gets hold of them". Like most of the women, Robyn believed that it was important to plan each working day, and also to develop short and long-term plans. As Pare pointed out, however, if the day began with a crisis "this often throws your planning".

All of the women kept a diary, not only to ensure they kept appointments, but also to keep an account of their daily routine. Shannon intimated that her diary guided her through her day:

I open my diary at 7 and look at the appointments and see where the gaps are and where I can fit anyone else in. I need to do that by 7, before the phone starts ringing, as I like to make the most efficient use of my time.

Shannon emphasised the reality that in community work planning was not always systematic. Rather, much of it had to be carried out on an ad hoc basis, due to the nature of the work. She maintained that "plans get changed or amended and so should always be flexible".

Several of the women had been on training courses to assist them in the areas of administration and planning, as some of them found that these skills did not come naturally. Pare considered that her community work had improved considerably, because through training she had learned how to plan her work:

When I came back to the field and discovered the ways that I was able to combat those tedious, negative things and deal with them positively and now the words such as "strategic planning", which never entered my head before, are part of my vocabulary and to see those things which are working for the good. I value what I've gotten out of it (the training course).

Most of the women regularly applied for funds and suggested that writing the submissions for these took up a lot of time. Again, this was seen as a task that had to be well planned. Some of the women were particularly skilled in applying for resources, and were often called on to assist other community workers. Robyn had

recently held a training day on funding for community workers. She was overwhelmed when nearly 300 workers enrolled:

They were desperate to learn eh. They came from everywhere. I don't know how they all found out about it. Yeah, it was a good day, and lots of them brought along funding applications they were working on.

To follow up on this success, Robyn had developed a funding calendar, which she claimed "took heaps of planning, but it's going to be worth it". Robyn also pointed out that community workers, such as herself, who were employed by agencies that were "into developing corporate plans", were expected to spend time on developing policy documents and a statement of objectives for their own section. She argued that "we (community workers) are into the new age Wendy of incorporatisation eh - planning by objectives". She believed that this language was beginning to infiltrate community work and this concerned her.

These women, however, were clearly resisting its infiltration. When I asked Pania what were her views on the purpose of planning in community work, she suggested it was to facilitate action:

I ask myself "what is the task - what has to be done and how do I have to organise myself to get it done?" Then I plan for that. It might mean phoning, or organising a meeting - or facilitating one. Could be visiting for discussion or lobbying. All those things - it leads to action or assists with it.

This key task in community work, then, was considered by the women to be a purposeful activity in the social change process. Action leading towards change required careful planning if it was to succeed, and although at times the women found some of aspects of this task "tedious", there was an acceptance of its necessity.

## Action and reflection

The women were unanimous in their view that the main task of community work was undoubtedly social action. In Chapter Nine, I focus on the women's experiences in working for social change; consequently it is not necessary to examine their views about this matter here. It is important to note, however, that the women emphasised that all action must incorporate community work principles and processes. Diana summed up the women's views on this:

I think when you plan your action you must follow community work processes carefully. You make sure that you incorporate community work principles - will this action empower people, will it make changes and how - you know that stuff about who benefits, who makes the decisions? Then you follow community work methods. You consult, you listen, you decide what the key tasks are, you organise resources and then there's that whole thing about group energy and collective action - that's important too.

Implicit in the women's stories was the need to reflect on one's actions and, in part, the sharing of their experiences exemplifies their commitment to this essential task. Most of the women gave examples of the way in which their action, followed by reflection, facilitated further action. For instance, Robyn's decision to produce a funding calendar, which she has continued to update, resulted from a reflection session that she had to consider the workshop and possible outcomes. In reality, however, the women appeared as if they were more influenced by the pressure to act, and reflection was fitted in if there was time. This was particularly apparent with the pakeha women.



It is evident, then, that although community work cannot claim a monopoly on these tasks, the women's community work was directed by them. While some of the tasks were seen as "time consuming" and at times "mundane", they were considered by the women to be central to community work practice. These tasks provided the direction for working towards social change.

### **Changes in community work**

I have argued elsewhere in this thesis and in Craig (1983) that community work had undergone considerable changes since the early 1970s. In Chapter Two I suggested that these changes had occurred because of the effects of the growing awareness of the social, racial and gender inequalities in Aotearoa, together with the new wave of the Maori renaissance. In my interview schedule I included a 'prompt' question, asking the women to consider whether they thought community work had changed from when they first became involved. In this section I examine their responses.

All of the women believed that community work had changed. The changes that they focussed on varied considerably, however, and there were notable differences between the Maori women and the pakeha women. The majority of the Maori women were positive about the changes they had observed and most commented that, for them, community work had become more responsive to the needs of Maori people. Rangī, who had been involved in community work for thirty years, expressed this point:

Well things have improved. I don't know about the government agencies - you know the departments - I don't know, they chop and change so many times, but in the work that I've just mentioned to you, it's become much more political and has improved for Maori as far as I am concerned as a community worker.

Katarina reflected on her fifteen years involvement in community work and reinforced this view:

Look, I'd say now for 1989, especially 1989, I think the changes within community work is just massive, for the better. They're much more aware that the system (in the past) was supposed to be for one people and we are now not all pakeha, all Maori, but I've been recognised as a Maori, I have my own needs as opposed to my pakeha counterpart. The sensitivity is becoming more and more obvious and I like that. Is that the change you were talking about? It's one change I like.

Rangi and Katarina were clearly suggesting that community work had become more political. Hira, for example, indicated that her community work had changed because of a growing awareness among Maori community workers of the need to empower their people, rather than to spend their time reacting to the system. She said:

I would like to change my role if I possibly can and become more of a person who can empower my people. I do look at them and at their development now and see that they take charge of themselves as being Maori people. I spend more time working with the decision makers to make sure they don't make the wrong decisions.

Hira was supported in this view by Pare, who claimed her involvement in community work had made her recognise that she needed to be more political:

Coming into the political arena is another new experience for me. These people (on various boards and committees) - they make my legs shake, but my experience comes from understanding that if we're to change things for people at grass roots we have to change the policies to make it happen down here and

it's sort of one half of me is a bit sort of "oh wow" - a bit scary - and the other half is motivating me to say "if you want to change things, then you have to be there".

Evelyn also thought that community work had become more political, but argued that this shift had been in response to the "traumatic" political changes taking place "daily":

It's become very political. The way I see it, you have to be aware of the changes very much. If you are not aware of those changes, then the people you are working with are going to miss out. I've been asked about the sort of work I do and I do a lot of political work - I challenged the Housing Corporation, I'm challenging Social Welfare and I've challenged the Probation office - you know, we need good challenges all the time.

The changes which these women had observed reflected, in part, their own increasing political awareness of how they could best respond to the struggles of their people. Pania, on the other hand, approached her response to the same question from a different direction. For her, the changes in community work could be seen through the various projects community workers had been involved in:

When I was involved first of all at the community centres, we were involved in holiday programmes, after school programmes, working with supporting groups that were getting together and joining in things, but because of the unemployment situation a lot of the centres that were community based and had lots of family focus changed to Access, and that's not the only thing they're offering but that's the main emphasis and I think that's because of a real need to do it. I think it also highlighted (other things) e.g. women's refuge - it was always there but we didn't think about it.

In effect Pania described the change in focus in community work which I presented in Chapter Two. Community work in the late 1970s became increasingly more political, and in the 1980s became more responsive to Maori demands.

Both Keri and Harata also suggested that community work had become more political, but they argued that it was being dictated to by the state. Keri questioned the degree to which community work was being made accountable:

It's political you know. I think it's because most of the community places now have to be incorporated (to get funding) and that's getting political stuff because that means now that you've got to be accountable for everything. We've just become incorporated...

Harata believed community work was being taken over and was now even more dependent on state funding. She argued:

It takes the humanity out of the work and again it's looking at people as being a number. I don't like that attitude actually and you're categorising, you're putting people in little shells.

Harata went on to point out that people were less inclined to share resources and information, and that people, especially Maori people such as herself, had "to work harder to seek the information". As well, she claimed that government departments were far less helpful than they had been in the past.

Several of the pakeha women had similar concerns to those of Keri and Harata. Robyn argued that community work was losing its grass roots control:

Like when I started off doing that women's refuge training, women like you and *blank* used to talk about the things you had done. It would have been in the late 70s probably and then it seemed like the struggle was to get funding and resources... whereas now, those government departments actually will hand over that money, not a lot of it, just enough to get you hot, but at the same time they've got the fish-hooks that go with it. Like, for example, the contracting now, eh? Like they're going to use people's constitutions and rules and use them against the groups. I think that government departments run community groups now, don't they?

Shannon endorsed this view. She thought community work had become more political, but was particularly concerned that community workers had appeared to give in to government pressure:

I think now we are once again in the grip of politics, but we are certainly not in control, we are just responding to what's going on at a level outside of our control. I think devolution means that we are just puppets, that we're just doing what we are told - there's no fighting back, there's no people refusing to do it, we're falling into line quite nicely.

In Chapter Two I referred to the ways in which community work has been subjected to increasing accountability, and that one of the effects of this change has led to community workers becoming preoccupied with satisfying the demands of bureaucrats. The reality is that it is difficult to be change-oriented if one is struggling for survival. This issue is explored in Chapters Nine and Ten.

Elizabeth believed community work had become more institutionalised and that this shift influenced its direction:

Well, it has become institutionalised - departments, there's all sorts of methods of working that is required of community workers and there's a lot more jobs. You know - in the early days (it) was very detached from an institutional base, statutory base. We've been carved up by the restructuring - monetarist economy - and it's scattered us. People are allowing themselves (to be) individualistic, capitalist.

This trend must be viewed in the context of the changing role of the state in community work and will be explored more fully in Chapter Eight.

Two of the pakeha women, however, took the issue of community as being more institutionalised, in a slightly different direction. Megan argued that community work had not only become bureaucratic but that it had lost a lot of its creativity:

It's become bureaucraticised - and I now don't see a hell of a lot of innovative or creative kind of work... and some of the projects that I've been involved in over the years - I remember when I worked with a community workshop for a number of years - (recently) when we got to people demanding that we wrote down a one, two, three step guide on how to do it, we folded up the group. We organised about that, but that's the ultimate decision that we made - that we were buying in to the conservatism of what we believed to be a creative and empowering process. What they wanted us to do was making it redundant.

For Rose this type of situation was more likely to occur, because an increasing number of people were becoming involved in community work, without really understanding that community work was about social change. She elaborated on this point:

I think that a lot of people (are) coming into community work because that's what their job descriptions are saying and they don't understand what

community work is. They don't understand that community work has a particular set of values. They don't understand that community work has its own knowledge base and all that sort of stuff, they just think its working in the community. I think there's a hell of a lot that's happening. I think that a lot of agencies are changing their social work positions into community work positions just like that and not actually changing anything that's real.

Rose went on to argue that "there was a lot happening in community work that wasn't like that". She, together with a number of the pakeha women, believed that there were a lot more people not at the grass roots working towards change:

They mightn't call themselves community workers and they mightn't have contact with the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, or that sort of thing, but it's certainly happening and they're working towards change.

Ruth also subscribed to this view. She suggested:

I don't think it's so much the class thing that it was, e.g. working class people fighting for changes.. It's more people from all walks of life fighting for different levels of change.

Of all the women I interviewed, only Diana believed community work had remained much the same. She conceded, however, that people who had in the past been "frightened by the system" had become a "whole lot more competent" in their community work.

It is evident, then, that the Maori women and the pakeha women tended to approach this question from very different perspectives. These differing approaches can perhaps be explained by a comment Ruth made in passing:

I think that what is happening with Maoridom, is that it's going through the same phases as what the women's movement went through and I love it. You have to take a really radical stand before you get to the middle and that's what is happening. The same things as the 70s was for women, the 80s is for Maoridom.

Or, alternatively, as suggested by Elizabeth:

Umm, maybe the thrust of it (community work) has really shifted and maybe people have got the bit between their teeth - the Maori and Pacific Island community - because development means something to them, and they feel like a group - they feel it's a group and it's going to benefit all of them and they're supportive of each other's efforts; and they're hungry for new resources and access to funding and know-how resources.

Elizabeth went on to argue that, over the past ten years, community work had undergone a noticeable cultural shift, which had added another dimension to community work:

There's been a huge shift in community work - umm the whole cultural shift. The assertiveness of Maori and Pacific Island groups and those organising at the grass roots has really changed community work.

That all the women believed community work had undergone this shift, although very few of the pakeha women addressed this whilst discussing changes in community work, is significant. In the next section I shall explore the issue of biculturalism and community work.



## **Biculturalism and community work**

The majority of the women were a little reticent in discussing the issue of biculturalism and community work. Most of them believed that the Aotearoa Community Workers Association had worked very hard to incorporate the principles of biculturalism in its constitution, and in the main had put many of these principles into its day-to-day practices. It was not until I transcribed the tapes, however, that I realised most of the women had approached the issue of biculturalism somewhat cautiously, and it became evident that even for these women the issue was still a sensitive one.

There was a common agreement among the women, that more Maori people were becoming directly involved in community work. Megan, for example, pointed out that in her agency, which employed fifteen workers, only four were pakeha. The rest were either Maori or Pacific Island workers. She commented that:

There are a lot more Maori and Pacific Island workers working in communities now - certainly in our agency...and from what I understand (other agencies) in a sense are fairly even (in cultural balance), if not **more** Maori.

The Maori women indicated that they thought this to be a positive change, and one that demonstrated that community work was becoming more responsive to the needs of Maori people. Harata articulated this view:

What I am enjoying seeing is more Maori getting involved and wanting to do it and getting the respect too of pakeha people to do it their way.

Pania took this further. She argued that community work was not necessarily becoming more bicultural. Rather she believed that people involved in community

work were generally becoming more culturally aware, and were thus more supportive of the concept of biculturalism:

People are becoming more aware (of) whatever it (biculturalism) might mean. I think that biculturalism (in community work) has to happen, like I have to look at Maori people and you have to look at pakeha people because it's the only way. All I can say is that people are more aware.

Pania was referring to a growing cultural awareness among both Maori people and pakeha people. She, together with several of the other Maori women, pointed out that pakeha domination of the Maori people and their culture had created considerable divisions among Maori people, many of which were yet to be overcome. Moreover, the divisions were often "further exploited by pakeha for their own ends". This did not make their community work any easier. Yet as Evelyn put it:

I think it's important that we move with the changes - to be able to keep on developing because if we don't move with the changes then we're going to end up in a predicament - us as Maori people.

Hira reiterated this point. She gently suggested that pakeha community workers needed to totally support Maori community workers in their work, if they were committed to biculturalism. For Hira, biculturalism was a goal she constantly worked towards:

but it's bloody hard down here when you're working towards and want that. It had always been our aim as Maori women and Maori people - the sharing of a partnership. What we need to have is our tauiwi brothers and sisters working in the same light - we need to have that if we want true biculturalism. Then it has to be a sharing and a commitment.

The pakeha women were in agreement that the past decade had seen pakeha society, and community work in particular, more sensitive to the needs of Maori people. Robyn, in fact, thought that perhaps pakeha community workers had become so sensitive it almost paralysed them:

Now everyone's aware that we can offend just by doing the things that we've done for years and never thought about it and so we're constantly worrying about where we sit and what we say and things like that.

Notwithstanding their involvement with the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, most of the pakeha women still did not think community work had become more bicultural. Rose clarified this thought:

Well, I do when I go away to hui and when I'm part of the Community Workers Association and stuff like that. Down here - there's quite a strong group and they're starting to make inroads, but I also see things...A lot of pakeha community workers I see are just really on the fringes of it (biculturalism). They don't live it, they're just starting to learn about it. Like what happened with *blank*. They just didn't make any efforts. It wasn't the first thing they thought of. It was way down the track. Other things were more important and I don't think there's been the ground work done by pakeha community workers to even really start being bicultural.

Ruth supported these views. Although she thought community work was becoming increasingly bicultural, she found it a painfully slow process and was frustrated with what she perceived as the constant intellectualisation as opposed to positive action:

I think it's become more bicultural because after going to the Hui it has really confirmed the Association's commitment for me. Then I find it quite frustrating that people talk about it and don't do anything and I go and listen to people talk over it over head level and I feel like screaming at them and I say "but while you're working this through, things are happening to Maori people out there".

This frustration was also acknowledged by Elizabeth, who went on to point out that pakeha community workers had started to redefine themselves as tauiwi and perhaps, now, looked at biculturalism in a different way than in they might have five or ten years ago:

You know five or ten years ago biculturalism for most pakeha community workers and I'm sure for me, was making sure you had a few Maori people working with you, or whatever, now it's a totally different thing.

Diana took this point even further. She suggested that issues to do with biculturalism and other issues emanating from the Treaty of Waitangi had forced pakeha community workers to look beyond what was happening in their "own little communities":

Now we have to face the whole issue of the Treaty which is a national issue and in touching on that, on the oppression of indigenous people all around the world, and in knowing that we are all part of a global thing. Ten years (ago) I don't think we thought about it. I may be wrong, but I don't think so. So I guess biculturalism, or our views on it, has changed as well.

All of the pakeha women I interviewed would have agreed with this statement. As Robyn commented, however, it was nevertheless still difficult to empower some of the

pakeha people with whom pakeha community workers worked, to fully understand biculturalism. She suggested that:

it's difficult for women who haven't had a lot of power in their lives to actually appreciate that they have power as pakeha that the Maori don't have.

She referred, by way of example, to a woman running a youth group in a low income area:

(she) finds it really difficult to accept social welfare policy that has a focus on Maori kids and that they will take precedence in getting funding. Like, I'll talk to her about that and she'll say "yeah, but these kids up here". You know, as a pakeha woman she's never worked, been on D.P.B. all her life, her mother lived in that Housing Corporation house, and like she's got nothing much to show materially for her 35 odd years of life. So she finds it difficult to appreciate an affirmative policy that focussed on Maori kids.

Robyn believed it was issues such as these which pakeha community workers were grappling with. She also wondered if, in recent years, community work had focussed so much on Maori issues that:

there's been lots of no areas (sic) that we haven't talked about and we haven't even amongst ourselves talked about why we're not talking about it.

I believe that all of the pakeha women I interviewed were totally committed to a vision of Aotearoa as a truly biculturally functioning society, but it was evident that they, like me, at times found the struggle daunting.

I was also aware that the Maori women were wary in the way they approached this issue with me. Whilst they clearly did not wish to dismiss the efforts of those pakeha community workers involved in setting up the Aotearoa Community Workers Association and the subsequent work in ensuring it retains its commitment to, and practice of, biculturalism, nevertheless it was what was left unsaid that is of central concern.

Clearly a growing number of community workers are committed to biculturalism. However, the reality is that until Maori people are granted the contractual rights and status emanating from the Treaty of Waitangi and from their position as tangata whenua, they remain subjugated to the pakeha and, as Vasil (1990) argues, dependent on pakeha gestures of goodwill.

### **Summary**

In this chapter I have suggested that it is possible to define community work in accordance with the four key principles: self-determination; collectivity; power and social change, which I identified in the Introduction. As will be shown in the next chapter, it is difficult to ascertain at what point these principles became an integral component of the women's community work, although they now clearly inform their practice. The women's accounts of their daily routines made it possible to understand Waring's (1988b:116) argument, as noted in Chapter Four, that it is difficult to collect accurate statistics on women's paid and unpaid work, because too many women appear to do too much work in a particular day, in that they often accomplish a number of tasks at the same time. In fact, the women found it difficult to define community work, because it had become part of their daily lived experiences, and much of their daily routine was intertwined with that expected of a woman, a mother and a homemaker. The women were able, however, to identify a number of key tasks of

their work, which also incorporated the four principles of community work as outlined.

These women, with their extensive involvement in community work, intimated that it had undergone considerable changes since they had first become involved. The Maori women tended to be more positive than the pakeha women about the changes, in that they believed community work validated the way in which they worked with their people and that their people had become more political in the process. The pakeha women, on the other hand, were concerned that community work was becoming more institutionalised. Several of them believed that community work had lost much of its political impetus for change. These concerns are further explored in Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine. Finally, the women's perceptions of biculturalism and community work illustrated that it was an issue which was fraught with numerous difficulties, and clearly required further attention in order to produce equal standing between Maori and pakeha community workers.

## *Chapter Seven*

### **Women's Work: The Process of Becoming a Community Worker**

In Chapter Four I suggested that much of the caring and servicing work that takes place in society is considered women's work and, for this reason, the social services are generally numerically dominated by women, although not usually in terms of pay, power and status. In this chapter I elucidate the social processes that led these women to become community workers. I identify why this form of caring for others appeared to have a greater appeal than other forms, and I examine the mechanisms that this group of women have used to survive community work, given the demands it placed on them.

#### **Life circumstances**

In this section I provide some background detail to answer the question 'why did this group of women become community workers?' None of the women had consciously chosen community work as a career, rather many "had just gotten into it" and "it felt right". After listening to the women's stories and reading the transcriptions of their interviews it became evident that the women shared a number of experiences that contributed to them becoming community workers.

#### **Working class origins**

With the exception of two pakeha women and one Maori woman, all the women alluded to their working class origins. Very few of them specifically used the phrase



'working class'. Rather they spoke of it in terms of "whether you have it or whether you haven't", "growing up poor", or "growing up in a state housing area", or having parents or family "who worked in factories". With reference to a completely different issue Alice, for instance, said:

Sometimes I do use the term 'my people' which is working class people - You know, people like my dad (a factory worker) and like me who know what it's like being poor and can get more in touch with the rawness of their emotions.

This statement indicates that Alice viewed 'working class' in terms of a common identity, that is, those who were employed in manual or industrial work and, in association with this, those who engaged in certain behaviours. Alice also identified 'working class' as people more likely to be impoverished than other people. In fact, the term 'working class' was more commonly referred to in this way. Katarina illustrated this point and claimed it was only recently that she discovered what 'middle class' actually meant:

I recognised the rich and poor well ahead of time but I never had a label on middle class until 88 through chatting and checking up with other people in community work.

Very few of the women suggested that life had been easy for them in their early years and most, even now, lived in what could be described as working class localities. A number of them indicated that it was through their experiences of class oppression, or more particularly their parents' experience, that they gained an understanding of issues surrounding politics and unions and the need to organise to bring about change. Ruth explained the effect of her father's involvement in the union on her:

I was working class, married to a Maori. I had Maori children and I was a woman developing into a feminist, so these things all went alongside with me. It was like you were working class - you would never ever move out of that. You would always be there and when I worked in factories when I was a kid I worked in the clothing industry - there was always an interest for me in union issues because I felt that we really needed trade unions because they were the only people who ever did anything for the working class. It was something that was always in me, and I think that came especially from my Dad.... He wasn't what you would call a hard-line union person, but he always worked in factories and he was always really into workers' rights. He was interested in politics and what was going on and I think that's where I got that interest from because I was always interested in politics and what was happening in the world.

Ruth, then, highlighted how her working class origins provided her with a rich history of the struggles of working class people, seeking social justice and the right truly to participate in society.

#### Childhood and adult experiences

The contradictory experiences in their childhood and as adults also played an important role in influencing these women to become community workers. Most of the women described both positive and negative situations that had profoundly affected them. Three of the Maori women suggested that their early marae and Maori living experience meant community work had been part of their lives from birth. Hira highlighted this point:

I think I was born into it (community work) as being a woman, as being a Maori. I think that I was born into a community of people who didn't actually

view it as being community work, but as a normal process of how we lived, how we slept, how we ate and how we worked. Mind you, that's changed now in 1989. I can remember a lot of things as being a child that I suppose you can term as community work, and that is the involvement of our old people, and being taught to share..... there were other people in our maraes just up the road who didn't have the land base. So community work began there for me.

On the other hand being Maori also meant that all of the Maori women had experienced racial oppression and had grown up in a society in which, as Katarina put it:

we learnt what it meant to be white... like a classic of that is that we grew up to believe God is white, Jesus Christ is white, other than the fact that it was pounded virtually in the scripture - all the paintings we saw of Jesus was white so we grew up to believe - to feel the pain of being Maori.

The older Maori women, in particular, observed that it was "the cultural abuse" which they experienced, that was a prime motivator for their involvement in community work. Hira intimated this when she spoke about a hui she had attended for Maori women community workers in 1984:

We talked about the struggles of Maori women. We talked about the survivors - the survivors of being Maori. In a sense we are survivors. When you look back into the history of our country and our people, and coming through the stages from the 1800s through to even before. At the end of it when I first went through the time frame it was very painful. The cultural abuse, that's why we were there and why we won't take it much longer, Wendy.

The pakeha women, on the other hand, tended to identify the gender oppression they experienced as a motivating factor in their involvement in community work. Ruth, for example, was introduced to community work:

mainly through the women's movement in 1975. In 1975 I was living in *blank* and it was just when me and (her husband) were separating, and I went to a workshop with a friend - a women's seminar and lots of things that I had actually (been) thinking about, people there were talking about; the whole thing of feminism; of this goal for equality; the whole thing of solo parenting. So I guess that was my first introduction (to community work).

Ruth went on to suggest that she believed women were oppressed because they were "the childbearers and the nurturers". It was her experience of this oppression that led to her becoming involved in community work, and several of the women made similar statements. Ruth suggested that the demands made by the women's liberation movement, were also being made by many women community workers and dominated much of their work.

There was, in fact, a common agreement among the Maori and the pakeha that generally all women in Aotearoa were oppressed, "whether they chose to acknowledge it or not, or whether they even accept it exists". Most of them intimated that women's oppression was structural and if it was to be overcome, what was needed was a combination of attitudinal and structural changes.

The Maori women, however, tended to suggest that Maori women had not necessarily experienced oppression prior to colonisation. Harata explained:

I attribute a lot of it to colonialism; colonial thinking and the damage that Christianity did, because if I go back in our history Maori men and Maori

women depended on each other for survival and they were side by side.... each knew their place and each got on with it. There was no dominance; that's a pakeha thing.

Katarina took this further:

A (Maori) man had standing in the valley, so did the women though, and it's not a sexist thing like "only the men can speak on the marae". A man cannot do a powhiri or karanga. You try, women will fair take to you. Each had their role in the marae or the valley and they were both important.

The Maori women believed that because the Maori people were "subjected to the teachings of the pakeha", Maori men learned the role of oppressors and Maori women became the victims of both pakeha and Maori oppressors. Overcoming women's oppression, then, was seen as something that all of the women were struggling towards in their community work.

Several of the women, both Maori and pakeha, alluded to the strong women in their lives who gave them "a sense of purpose and directions". Hira pointed out that :

the predominant people in my life were really Maori women - very strong Maori women.... I have to fall back on experience and say that I saw things; the struggle of Maori women amongst their own people and, the struggle of community development and work they engaged in. So I learnt at a very young age the sections where there were problems. So my involvement I think of becoming aware of Maori women was in a very early stage of my life.

Diana supported this. She believed she gained her strength and commitment to work towards social change through her mother's side:

I find myself constantly thinking, especially in these times, about the very strong women in my family. The strength and commitment - motivation for community work if you like actually goes back through to the women - myself, my mother, her mother and so on - it's a women's matriarchal line. So yeah, there's some quite special things there for me.

It is interesting to note that these women explored their history in ways that helped them to rediscover the activism of their forebears and older women (Grimshaw, 1972). Ruth, for example, described the way in which she felt inspired by another working class woman and how this gave her hope when she lacked confidence in herself:

I was an observer (at a submission hearing). I understood what we had put in, but I couldn't understand the words that they were using, and Sonja Davies was behind me, and when she came back she put her arm on my shoulder and I knew I had her support. I didn't even really know who she was, but had heard this woman and then watched her present her submission and it was absolutely brilliant. I kind of identified her as this working class woman who had made it and thought "if she can do this then I can do this" and I can remember talking to her afterwards and being absolutely blown away by her.

She went on:

A couple of years later, we organised a seminar in *blank* and Sonja Davies came as one of the speakers and I spent a lot of the time talking to her about things and really saw how it was for her and how I came to understand a lot of things about my own background and where I came from and how it fitted into

why I had this fight inside of me. It was always there, the fight was never tired, it was endless energy for people's rights.

A few of the women indicated that it was through the pain and suffering they had experienced, or had seen others experience, that they had been led to community work. Evelyn, for example, observed that the driving force for her:

has been some of the traumatic things that have happened in my own family and when I think of those things and others such as my own children when they split up, when they went on to social welfare at the time because I didn't have a home and because I didn't have the money. When you look back into the 50s, 60s, you didn't get supported the way you do now. So when I think of what happened to them...umm and that perhaps has been the driving force for me. It's too late to give them back the years they missed out but it's my driving force to make a better life for some others.

Robyn, on the other hand, went to a women's refuge training course which she thought "sounded interesting" and found out about:

the depth of women's suffering and I felt sick about it (which contrasted) I suppose with the way I grew up which was quite comfortable and middle class and safe.

For most of the women, however, it was the combination of childhood and adult experiences that directed them into community work. Shannon summed up a common experience for this group of women and suggested her commitment to community work had arisen because:

I was born into a working class family and the way that things went in that family were dictated by my father's occupation which is what shapes the notion of class in our capitalist society, and the school that I went to was dictated by his religion so it's sort of class and religion, and the man I married was dictated by the class that I lived in.... The other thing that influenced me (becoming a community worker), of course, was the domestic violence in our house. I married early to escape that, yet experienced it again in marriage. In the back of my mind somewhere I always felt really desperate to change all of that and other things too.

It was life experiences such as these, then, that provided this group of women with a sense of commitment and the motivation to become involved in community work.

#### Entry points

With the exception of one of the Maori women, all the women entered community work in an unpaid capacity. On average the Maori women had worked 17.75 years with all but five of these years being unpaid. The pakeha women had worked on average for 14.75 years and 5.75 of these were paid. A detailed breakdown of these figures appears in Appendix One. Issues surrounding paid and unpaid work are more fully explored in the next chapter. The one woman, who was paid for her community work from the beginning, was employed through the V.O.T.P. scheme and spent considerable time fighting to retain it before she was employed on a permanent basis by another organisation.

It became apparent that the women most commonly entered community work through their participation in activities involving their children, and/or because they reached out to fledgling organisations that were seeking to provide women with a platform from



which they could be heard. Not all of the women, at first, recognised they were becoming involved in community work. Keri maintained:

I didn't think of it as unpaid (community) work because, I mean, I just wanted to go around and see what other mothers were doing anyway and we started nattering about what's been going on from there and that went through to like Playcentre and then we did Motherhelp through the school - doing lunches and stuff - and then we needed to raise money and the other mothers would come up and say "oh, what are you doing?" and then I got into holiday programme time - I still know what's happening to those kids, you know.

Diana, on the other hand, recognised that her involvement with her children in Playcentre was "more than being a motherhelp". Rather it was:

an opportunity to have some control over my kids pre-school education and I found that really empowering for me as a mother because I really didn't know what to do - and being able to share that with women, and being involved in my kids as well... then I got involved in P.T.A. (Parent Teachers' Association). So my community work (initially) I guess was mostly centred around my children when they were young and things I encountered because of that.

Katarina told a similar story:

I think originally I got involved in community work with the kids at school and finding that there were other women who needed help and didn't know where to go... I had to help them, I had to be curious, it's natural, that's me and I think that's where I started from - being a supportive parent at school.

For the majority of these women, then, their community work evolved out of their unpaid work with their children. Yet, as I observed in Chapter Four, it is the unpaid community work of women such as Keri, Diana and Katarina, which has remained invisible, because it cannot be separated from household and childcare duties. In statistical terms this work counts for nothing (Waring, 1988a).

As noted in Chapter Four, women who become involved in working for a voluntary agency, find it easy to identify their unpaid work as community work, because it has a certain recognition as 'work' (albeit unpaid). Several of the women specifically pointed to their involvement in a voluntary agency as their entry into community work, although it was clear to me that their earlier activities, frequently related to their children, could also be seen as community work. Rangi provided an excellent example of this point. She explained that she had first become involved in community work some 25 years earlier through the Maori Women's Welfare League. When I asked her why she joined the League she replied:

I'd come to live in a new community and had got involved with the schools, on the school committees, and there was a new housing area here and I kept to the Maori people of the area and in helping people with their needs, and helping them, you know, the Electric Power Board used to switch their power off because they were late with their payments for power... and so I got involved with the Maori Women's Welfare League so we could do something about their (Maori people's) needs.

Alice described her entry into community work in a similar way. She began by stating that her initial involvement in community work was through her work in setting up a women's refuge:

I think I was 20 when a group of us women in *blank* got together and decided to set up a women's refuge. We were going to a women's support group then and a group of us from it decided we might do something like setting up a refuge.

When I asked her why she was going to a support group, she replied:

We were all single mothers - solo mothers - and we'd come together to explore our isolation and how we could deal with being parents and being isolated from our parents and families.

I asked her whether she thought that was community work and she intimated that, until I had brought it up, it had not occurred to her that it had been community work:

We were all pretty individualistic in those days... I guess it was (community work), wasn't it? We certainly used it as a forum for change.

Balbo claims that much of women's work is "unseen and unsung". She argues that, although this work that women carry out is essential for society to function, it is constantly devalued and its importance diminished even by the women themselves:

Not only are women exploited, but their work is devalued, by men, by society at large, and not least by women themselves (Balbo, 1987: 55).

This was certainly evident among the women I interviewed. I frequently had to probe in order to encourage the women to acknowledge their contributions. Yet some of these contributions had come at a considerable cost to themselves. Rangi explained that after being a Maori Warden for nine years she had to give it up for economic reasons:

I stayed a Maori Warden for about nine years and I came out of it because I found it hard to pay for, to get around because I had no car. When I did get a car nobody would pay the petrol and I found it a bit hard myself at the time (as) my children were growing up.

Many of the women shared similar stories about how much their unpaid community work had cost them. Several of the women resorted to balancing their unpaid community work with paid employment, so that their families would not suffer, an issue which is explored in the next chapter.

For a few of the women, involvement in resident or community action provided their entry into community work. Shannon, for example, said:

I first got involved in community work when I moved into the neighbourhood that I now live in, and began to wonder about suburban life and how you actually survived in suburbia, and I looked about and saw a new suburb that had very few facilities and just began to ask some questions about the environment that I lived in, and I guess part of that was how I was going to survive in it... So I made contact with one of the local recreation officers... and we began to do some neighbourhood work.

Shannon went on to explain how this led to her becoming involved in a number of neighbourhood issues to do with her area, and how she was able to work with residents to bring about change.

In contrast, Elizabeth initially focussed on environmental issues and became involved in a series of campaigns in her city to oppose potential environmental hazards. Although she ended up becoming a community worker, as she put it:

I didn't start out being a community worker. I dropped into local campaigning (over environmental issues) and got involved with women's groups, and what I learnt when I was campaigning just made me - I just suddenly got a whole different picture of society (than) I got studying at the University.

It can be argued that the "picture of society" which the women gained through their initial community work experiences became their motivating force to stay in community work. This idea is examined more fully in the next section.

### **Why community work?**

From their definitions of community work, it was evident that all of the women viewed community work as a catalyst for social change. As I pointed out in the previous section, none of the women had consciously chosen to become community workers, rather it appeared to happen "as part of a natural process". Most of the women initially became involved in community work because they "wanted to help people", as opposed to seeking a way to actively bring about change in society. In this section, I examine the processes involved in becoming a community worker, and I attempt to answer the question why this group of women chose community work rather than other forms of helping people.

In Chapters Three and Four I argued that the sexual division of labour which predominates in Aotearoa persists because it benefits both capitalist and patriarchal interests. Women are portrayed as having innate, or natural, qualities of femininity associated with caring, nurturing and servicing work and this portrayal is reinforced by ideologies and policies which foster distinct gender roles and a rigid sexual division of labour (James and Saville-Smith, 1989).

All of the women I interviewed emphasised women's caring and nurturing capacities. Several of them indicated that they had learned, often at an early age, to care for and nurture others. For instance Harata assumed that her subsequent involvement in community work was a "natural progression" from her initial childhood observations of her mother:

I suppose it's the way I've been brought up. Because my mother, although she was a widow, she was always helping people. I can remember as a girl watching her.... Now I am a grandmother myself, I even wonder how on earth she did so much; she was magic.

Here Harata is suggesting that she had undergone a gender socialisation process during her childhood, whereby caring and nurturing capacities were transmitted to her (Barrett and McIntosh, 1982). Katarina reinforced this suggestion. She pointed out that as a child she had learned to listen and watch and "learned how to give":

I've got so much to give. I think that's why I'm in this sort of work. I learned about it as a child - we always met (to discuss things), but children were never allowed to talk. So we learnt from a very early age to listen and we all heard, we always saw direct how our mothers dealt with the problems and helped out. That's how we were brought up. We learnt how to give.

Learning to care and nurture was not without cost. Whilst none of the women wished to denigrate women's caring and nurturing capacities, a few of them spoke with a degree of ambivalence about their observations of their childhood socialisation. Pania highlighted this point:

It seems that women have been given a role and so through all the generations they have accepted that this is their place and that's the way they'll be - but you

have to look at what they've sacrificed. They may not call it a sacrifice but I certainly do. When you look at my mother, who is very much a family oriented person and all the lovely things she does for others. I think that's a frustration for me that people are so happy to live like it is. Yet I learned so much (as a child) from watching, keeping quiet and just picking out things.

The contradictions inherent in the women's work cannot be ignored. It is often difficult for women working for change to challenge the social cost of women's perpetual sacrifices, because women have been so conditioned to see their role as a carer, that they frequently feel affronted if other women appear to be undermining this role (Dalley, 1988).

The majority of the women believed that women developed caring and nurturing capacities because they were responsible for the rearing of children. Alice explained:

I think it's a lot to do with the fact that we have children - that's got a lot to do with it and I think it's because we have children and because we understand the level of nurturing that children need. There's a lot of things that we cannot abandon even if we want to, but men can very freely abandon a lot of things, whereas women can't because what we do will affect our children and they (men) know that. So we're left to do the nurturing.

Ruth lent support to this statement and claimed that because women have and care for children, they have learned to feel on a different level from men, and have thus "become the nurturers". She argued that:

Just because women give birth, that doesn't mean to say that women are the only caregivers. I'm looking for attitudinal change alongside structural change. I think that education, living and feeling are the ways that change

comes about and that any man who's taken a couple of years out to look after their kids and the women goes out to work will never actually forget what it feels like.

Hira took this idea further and suggested that men had "lost the art of nurturing", although a few were trying to reclaim it:

the thing is that men don't nurture. I think that they've lost the art of nurturing. The only thing the male can't be is a mother. I think a lot of males in society have been conditioned (to not care) and it's to do with power and control. I don't think our Maori males inherited this - it's a learned thing, but they've been quite comfortable to live in that situation. Still a lot of young males are changing. I see it with my son-in-law - he's nurturing his son and he's allowed to do it - being allowed to do it. This thing about society who looks at men and if you're anything other than being macho and strong, you're considered a wimp.

There was a recognition, then, that the women had learned to care and nurture either through their own socialisation, or through their experiences gained in rearing their children, or perhaps a combination of both these factors. Most of the women themselves recognised that they played a key role in reproducing women's caring role (Chodorow, 1978). It was, in fact, not the capacity of women to care and nurture that concerned these women. Rather, any ambivalence they experienced could, perhaps, be summed up by Pare who pointed out that men either ignored or even devalued women's caring roles:

(men) don't really see the value and worth in women's ability to care for others and I think it comes back to their personal experiences of not knowing the personal and financial contributions and value of a woman's skills. Some



women even come to put down their contributions because they begin to see it through men's eyes.

Several of the women suggested that they were, in fact, caught in a double-bind. They recognised the way in which they were exploited, but were reluctant to retaliate, because the people they worked with would ultimately suffer. Shannon explained:

We continue to do the caring because that's the way our society is structured and that's the way men like it and it's designed that way - deliberately designed. And the design is obviously paying off because we are being thrust back into that role once again just as we thought we were getting recognition for our work. We're now being told that we're going to have to do even more of it for less and so these men are pretty smart and we're pretty dumb because we aren't resisting and we're not fighting back and we're not organising and we're not educating.

Women's capacity to care and nurture, then, was not seen as an innate part of their nature. Rather, it was considered that women socially acquired this capacity and for some of them there was also "quiet optimism" that given major societal changes, men would similarly acquire it.

The women did not see themselves as passive recipients of socialisation and gender role processes (Barrett and McIntosh, 1982; Graham, 1983). It has been suggested that the capacity to care and nurture has become "the defining characteristic of (women's) self identity and their life's work (Graham, 1983:18). For the women I interviewed, this capacity has indeed become a defining characteristic. They have openly embraced it, however, and actively utilised it in their efforts to work towards change. As Harata said:

I love my mokopunas and I suppose that's one of the reasons that I am in community work, because I want a better tomorrow for them. I'm very concerned about the future for my mokopunas.

Elsewhere I have argued that caring and nurturing is considered by the women I interviewed to be an essential, practical dimension of community work and integral to the social change process (Craig, 1990). Although all of the women recognised that they went into community work from a position of basic inequality, they have chosen to remain in it, because they see community work as an important part of women's work in bringing about social change. This point is explored in the next section.

#### Community work is women's work

In Chapter Four I pointed out that men and women in the paid workforce tend to be concentrated in male or female dominated occupations and industries, and that the allocation of work, on the basis of sex, closely resembled the sexual division of labour in the home. Just as women's unpaid work in the home and the community "counts for nothing", their paid work in the labour market is not considered "real" work (Kiel, 1983), and is undervalued and afforded low status because it is seen as "women's work". Community work, as was shown in Chapter Four, clearly falls within the category of "women's work". The social and related community services industry and, in particular, the community services sub-category, is dominated by women. In this section, I investigate the women's views on community work as women's work.

The women were not hesitant in suggesting that community work was women's work. Most of them tended to see community work, in part, as an extension of the caring and nurturing work in which they engaged to keep their families going. As Graham (1983: 25) puts it, this is work that "women do for others, to keep them alive". Community work, however, provided another dimension to women's caring work. It

enabled women to work alongside other women and engage in a caring profession concerned with bringing about change. Elizabeth summed this up when I asked her why she thought women predominated in community work:

It's women's role isn't it? It's women's role to do the rearing of children, the socialisation, the looking after dependents - all the taking care, looking after roles. They seem to be more assigned to women and they (women) are housebound and so they do have the time. Because they lack the structures and power that men have in their work - the infrastructure of work - the forums in which to meet, to plan projects, to get resources, community work presents as an ideal way to actually get involved with people - with women - to do something more about things - to take care of wider things.

The women were also quite adamant that caring and nurturing were central to the social change process engaged in by women community workers. This belief counteracts Adams' (1971: 556) claim that women fall into a "compassion trap" when they transfer their caring and nurturing functions into their professional work, because it prevents them from working towards structural change, in that they get caught up in "self-defeating trivialities". The relationship between the women's caring and nurturing role and social change surfaced as a dominant theme in the women's stories, and, because I believe it epitomises the difference between men's and women's approaches to community work, Chapter Nine examines this very important theme.

In fact, the women also believed that men and women care in different ways. In her recent study, which focusses on 'why people care', Ungerson found that men and women talked about caring in differing ways, with the men utilising language and concepts drawn from their (previous) occupational world. She claims that women were far more likely to talk about their feelings about caring, whereas the men focussed on the technicalities of caring (Ungerson, 1987: 103-110).

Robyn suggested that differences such as these could account for men making different choices from those of women even when confronted with the same situation:

We get involved in community work because we are. I think that we care in a way that guys don't. Like (her husband) can understand with his head why I do things, but when it comes down to making choices, he wouldn't make the same choices as me. He just wouldn't do it because his head rules him. He'd be able to feel very sad about something or feel very moved or whatever, but he wouldn't do the things that I do. He'll move in his mind through all the possible consequences of assisting at the beginning, whereas I don't. I may think of those things, but I'll think "Oh yeah, but we'll handle that when I get to it", or "We'll find a way around that", or "We'll sort it out". But (her husband) won't. I don't know if he's typical of men? I would think he is.

Dalley (1988: 12) also suggests that men and women care in different ways. It is her thesis that women both care *about* and care *for*, whereas men are more inclined just to care *about*. Dalley argues that public policies reinforce, and are based on, this premise. The women tended to support this idea. There was most certainly a belief that women predominated in community work because of such differences. This belief was encapsulated by Megan who, when asked by me why she thought it was mostly women who were involved in community work, responded: "Wendy, what a *silly question*". She went on to suggest that women got involved in community work because they knew what was going on in the environment and cared enough to do something about it:

women know what's going on in their own area because if you are living at home and your kids are going to the local school and you're getting the bus to go to wherever you've got to go everyday, you know what happens if the bus

service disappears and you know what happens if the bloody dairy closes down, down the road, and you know that if the multi-national companies bought that block and all your little services suddenly disappeared and you're taking your kids to the doctor all the time and you know what kind of health services are in your area regardless of whether the public or the public health nurses tells you something different. So women know all these things because they take the responsibility I suppose - they take the responsibility not only for their family, the men in their lives, their children, but often their parents and their ageing population in the community as well.

Rose agreed with Megan. Like all of the women, she believed that women had been brought up to care for others, and that community work was about caring for others. She suggested, however, that community workers tended to focus on caring at a wider level than that of the individual:

women are carers in a different sort of way than we are when we parent our children, or we look after a depressed friend... (rather) it's on a different level really, community work. Women as carers in community work are working at a - it's not just their individual level of caring, it's more at the wider level of caring. So it's looking at groups perhaps, or just moving out of one to one stuff and looking at the little changes that are happening and building these up into bigger changes.

Yet, as I pointed out in Chapter Four, the work women provide in the community is seldom recognised, although society clearly benefits from it. Rather, women are expected to carry out such work "for love". They are frequently exploited, and their knowledge and skills are devalued in the process. An exchange with Keri demonstrated this point. Having asked her why she thought women, rather than men, did community work, she argued:

Because we start it all. Because the men are out in their stupid labour force aren't they, trying to do all this other stuff, the *real* stuff so they reckon (my emphasis).

I then asked her if she believed that men were more likely to get involved in community work now that many of them were unemployed, but she maintained that this was unlikely:

because that's, you know, below men. It's just nothing that a man would do, it's not what they would call macho. That's how I feel.

Keri was not the only woman to think this way. Rose, for example, argued that because there was not a lot of status in community work and because men sought security and structure in their work, "community work was not attractive to them". She concluded:

I think women are more courageous than men. I think women understand things differently and better, and feel things and can see things and open their eyes to what's happening a lot more than men do. I think women actually look more outward to what's happening around them. They take a lot of flak for it, though.

Several of the women were also quick to point out that when men did become involved in community work, it wasn't long before the men's work took on a new language. Elizabeth explained:

Well, it's (men's community work) given another name, isn't it? It's called Personnel or Human Resource Management. Men don't like to call themselves

community workers - mind you look how quickly they become the administrators or managers anyway. And look how quickly they've (men) taken on board Access work.<sup>1</sup>

The women, then, experienced ambiguous feelings about their work. It was work that they were expected to do to keep society functioning (Balbo, 1987), yet because it was seen as women's work, it was undervalued and seldom recognised. The work, however, whilst giving the women a sense of identity, also gave them a sense of purpose and it was this satisfaction that provided the motivation to remain in community work.

#### Choosing community work

A number of writers suggest that women are more inclined to take on work in the public world which most closely resembles their work in the private world (Adams, 1971; Oakley, 1981; Graham, 1983). This premise was evident with most of the women I interviewed. Initially, community work appealed to them because it enabled them to combine the tasks of caring for the family with caring for the community. In Chapter Four and in the previous section, I suggested a number of reasons why it is women who take on the responsibility of caring for and about others. This does not explain, however, why some women choose certain forms of helping or caring above others. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse or even theorise about this point, it is possible to present the reasons this group of women gave for remaining in community work. This section explores these reasons.

---

<sup>1</sup>This is a reference to the Access training scheme which began in 1987, and which utilised training providers from the community. Elizabeth here is stating a common perception that men had taken up most of the management positions within the new training structures.

Firstly, all of the women suggested that community work presented them with a "picture of society" that they were "pushed to confront and respond to". Elizabeth, for instance, explained that the more she became involved in community work the more she wanted:

answers to questions about the system, issues of justice and well "what should society look like anyway?"

The women quickly learned that if their work was to be effective, it had to extend beyond simply "caring for or helping people". As Hira said:

I think that's important but I found out that I didn't just want to be a nurse or a social worker... I think before it (her work) was purely a reactionary thing and now it's become far more developmental. I feel really good about it - it's a choice that I've made.

For Hira, and the other women as well, the developmental approach was at times frustrating in that the worker must always start where the people are at. This, in itself, "can be awfully time-consuming". Keri pointed out that:

sometimes it's much easier to just go ahead and do it yourself. But I guess I've learnt that I have to stand back and let them do it. That's what empowering people comes down to. Even if they take zonks of time.

Questioning society also forced the women into articulating their vision about the type of society they would rather live in and how they could achieve this aim. This questioning was seen as part of an ongoing process, and most of the women found that at times this process became difficult. Rose illustrated this point:



Sometimes I think I've actually lost sight of my vision - No, that's not true! Community work made me see society differently.... I know that society is complex and full of contradictions. I do believe in social justice and I really don't believe that some people should have lots of money and some people should be bloody poor. However, I don't think I've nussed out in detail what I think is important and all of that sort of stuff. It's still happening (her vision) and it's a lot more complicated now.

For the women, then, it was primarily their initial involvement in community work that stimulated their interest in social change. None of them claimed to have gone into community work recognising its potential for social change. Rather, this had opened up for them as they became immersed in people's day-to-day struggles. This issue is explored in depth in Chapter Nine.

Secondly, and not insignificantly, community work provided a model of practice that was compatible with women's more co-operative approach to work (Rowbotham, 1973). For the Maori women in particular, working collectively was seen as less alienating and more supportive of how Maori people prefer to work. Katarina encapsulated this point:

You know us Maori, we do things in different ways. We like to stay together, to cry together, to work together. I suppose that's why so many of us go into community work? We can make changes together, in the Maori way, according to the kaupapa.

In fact, most of the pakeha women also talked of the advantages in working collectively. None of the women suggested it was an easier process, rather many pointed to how demanding it could be. As Pania said:

Every community worker who has been part of a group (that) can't make up its mind about what it should do, knows how worn out you get. You get really insulted by people using other people to get what they want and there's lots of "nice" people that really bug you, but you have to sit back and let the collective process have its way and sometimes you wonder if it's worth it.

Quite a few of the women contrasted community work with social work, which most considered very individualistic and controlling. Ruth, for example, believed that:

social workers are counselling people to sit within the systems that are already there and I believe that community work is working collectively with people and working to change the structures that oppress them - and that's how I see the difference. Some people that are doing social work are doing both, but there are too many that aren't.

There was, then, some ambivalence about social work, because all of the women knew of some "good social workers". Such people, however, were often considered to be the "odd ones out". There was the suggestion that "the system" restricted most social workers. This idea was summed up by Alice. She believed social workers were "dictated to" by the systems which employed them:

Social workers close people off. No matter how good they are, there's some good social workers in *blank* and I have a lot of respect for them, it's all to do with the fact that they keep notes, they keep a tally of what's going on - spend half their time doing that, too - they have to respond immediately to such and such situation, it's freaky. We work quite differently.

None of the women believed social work embodied community work, including the two women who had social work qualifications. Rather, community work was seen

to encompass some of social work's relationship skills, but was considered to have different tasks to accomplish and different methods by which these could be achieved. As Shannon said:

If we thought they (social work and community work) were one and the same thing, we wouldn't have gone to the bother of setting up the (Aotearoa Community Workers) Association and we wouldn't be working so damned hard to get the training we know we need for community work. It would be all laid on for us. If you ask me, social work needs us now. We certainly don't need them - and never did.

In addition to working collectively, another key aspect of community work as a model of practice was its focus on working with people at the grass roots, listening to people and empowering them to bring about change. For Keri that was "the nuts and bolts of community work". She argued that:

people who give away the neighbourhood stuff, forget how to talk with women about what's up - if they ever did - and really they miss out. I'm just thinking of a bloke, *blank*, up north. *Blank* isn't into community work; he's into Access work, so that's a totally sort of macho sort of thing. But if he was to come down and work with my lot, with the neighbourhood you know, get buddy-buddy with some of the women - I'm not putting him down, but I think he'd find a whole new world exists here.

Community work's focus on participation and empowerment was seen in contrast to the approach frequently used by "other helping professions". For Diana, who had tried several approaches to helping people, including nursing and social work:

community work (by contrast) was totally empowering because it brought together the personal and the political. Unlike other helping professions which set themselves up as experts and makes people even more powerless, I think community work attempts to restore people's humanity, or at least recognise it.

The ways in which community work provided a model of practice which was potentially subversive and contained the seeds of social change, will be examined in Chapter Nine. Community work, for this group of women, became much more than just a means by which they could care for or help others. Rather, it embodied a commitment to effect change and a process for this.

### **Surviving community work**

Most community workers do not last long in their jobs. They either get worn out by the excessive demands placed on them, or give up in disillusionment with their work (Craig, 1983). Given that this group of women have 'survived' community work for a considerable number of years, in the final section of this chapter I examine the mechanisms they have used to keep going. I have located these mechanisms under three categories: commitment, support and training.

#### **Commitment**

Collectively these sixteen women had been working as community workers for at least 266 years, with 184 of these years on an unpaid basis. It was thus clearly evident that they were all totally committed to their work and, most importantly, the outcome of this work. As alluded to in the previous section, all of the women had a vision of the ideal society that they were working towards. To some extent, it was this vision that gave them the commitment for their work and provided them with a sense of purpose and direction. This point was illustrated by Pare:

I would like a society like we have here in our whanau where we all work - we work together and support one another and care for one another. Where the value is the people and the caring and the honesty. The first priority is the people. So my vision really is fulfilling the role of advocacy for people so there can be justice for all and that keeps me doing this work. It's the people that counts.

Harata's vision took the theme of social justice even further. She felt that she was committed to her work, because she was "motivated for the sake of future generations" and this gave added impetus to her work:

I'm there because I want to see real social justice - more equality for my mokopuna, and their mokopuna, more sharing of the resources, power sharing, decision making, all that sort of thing that goes with it - real justice. But again I go back to that - for Maori it can only happen with our own Maori structure and that's to say a Maori Parliament. I don't really see it as being separate and making segregation, I don't, I really don't.

All of the pakeha women intimated that their vision incorporated biculturalism. A few of them thought that perhaps they did not spend enough time talking about their vision and their views on biculturalism; rather, the focus had tended to be on racism. This viewpoint was encapsulated by Ruth:

I think my main dream for New Zealand is biculturalism and I know that that is really important to me and I think that we all have a place to play in that and that we have to work together on it because people are going off in all directions, in different ways and some of that's not useful. We need to look at racism, but we also need to understand what we mean by biculturalism and see

how that matches up to Maori views on that. I think it's good that we talk about that because from that we can make our vision clearer and that really helps us in our community work.

The women also felt more committed to their work on a daily level, if they thought they were achieving some measure of success. It was clearly the successes that provided the added motivation to keep going. This concept was evident when I interviewed Ruth who claimed:

I think that I've come to a real turning point in my life and in my work. This year I've seen a lot of projects that I'm involved in actually come to being and a lot of the dreams that I've had are starting to be fulfilled and that's been a real highlight in my year. It's like everything is just clicking into place.

The importance of feeling good about one's work was particularly evident when the women spoke about working for change. This point will be examined more closely in Chapter Nine.

Several of the women alluded to the encouragement they derived from seeing small changes taking place among the people with whom they worked. In reality, it was often change at this level that provided the women with the commitment to keep going. Robyn provided an example of this idea:

Look I believe in change otherwise I don't think I'd do community work, because it's that that provides the inspirations, but it's like some bloody rainbow; a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow eh, where you hope that you'll get there one day or that your children will, but I can't actually grasp it eh. I don't know what it feels like so I need those small changes to sustain and nourish me.

Megan also believed that she retained her commitment to community work through the changes that she had achieved:

What makes me hang in is that I suppose there is rewards and I don't ever feel blocked in - like as I change and as I learn new things and as my horizons go over there as against over there and I simply become aware of this aspect of the world or that aspect, this actually helps me change direction or gives me a different kind of commitment.

The commitment which these women have to their community work is shown very clearly throughout their stories and it was also evident that they remained committed because they "actually really love(d) it".

### Support

Most of the women, however, indicated that commitment alone was insufficient to sustain them in their work. In order to survive, both personal and professional support was seen as essential. In fact, developing support and building networks are essential tasks of community work.

Several of the Maori women talked at length about their work with their whanau. This work involved both supporting the whanau and, in turn, receiving support from their whanau. Indeed, as Hira remarked, "the korero is that if the woman is well, the whanau is well, the hapu is well and the iwi is well". Hira went on to point out just how important the whanau was to her:

my wairua can only be replenished when I go back to the nurturing and support provided by the whanau."

Whereas the Maori women talked about their supportive roles associated with their whanau, the pakeha women often found that their support was derived from women independently of their families. Rose summed up a common response from the pakeha women:

Well I get it (support) from my friends, my women friends mostly. I get support by being challenged, but I also get it by being listened to and nurtured and given things. I get support from sitting down and having a good argument in a safe environment, it's not fun just to be nurtured, you have to actually always be growing and changing and that's support for me too.

The support gained by working collectively was also seen to be of paramount importance, especially when working for social change. Pania made this clear:

I can't make the changes by myself - I'd like to. That would mean that I'm pretty amazing, but I need the support of the other women, and I need to do my bit in that in working together.

Shannon told a similar story. She argued that support was very important in community work and that it had to come from people, who were struggling for change in similar ways and for similar ideals:

You can't do it on your own - it's impossible to do it on your own. You have to have at least one or two other people who understand a bit about what you're doing, are a part of what you're doing, or believe in what you're doing and can challenge and criticise, and offer some support and offer some direction and help look at strategies and that sort of thing.



Some of the women spoke about the support they received from their religion and/or spiritual guidance. Evelyn, for example, said that when everything got too much for her, *karakia* was really important:

I'll be very honest with you, I take it back to the Lord and I tell you what, that sounds totally ridiculous, but that's my support.

In fact, all of the Maori women spoke of the significance of *karakia* and spiritual guidance for their work. Rangi contended that in her community work spirituality was "the first thing as far as I'm concerned". Pare took it further:

Spirituality, if it means to believe in Jesus and God, yes. My whole life has evolved around praying in my way of prayer and when I come unstuck I ask Jesus "why me", and I look to him for direction. I didn't have formal learning, I didn't get the opportunity for that and Jesus often helps.

Diana also maintained that she survived, not only because she knew her limitations very well, but because she used her spiritual energy to nurture herself. Like many of the pakeha women, Diana recognised a spiritual side to her work, although she had perhaps taken this a little further than some of the other women:

I cope because of the - I call it my *wairua* - I can't actually think of an English word that explains it as well in understanding as what *wairua* does, and so it's a feeling thing. I feel energised by my own spiritual belief in myself and the fact that I've learned how to meditate, I've learned to give myself good strokes. I use my tarot cards as a guide to self-awareness and I also use astrology. I don't know a lot about astrology, but there's something about that map at that point in time when my soul decided to manifest on this earth and

there's a lot to be learned from choosing that point in time. I do a lot of spiritual searching and that supports me.

The spiritual dimension in community work, especially that which relates to Christianity, has been explored by three writers from Aotearoa in recent years (O'Regan and O'Connor, 1989; Elliott, 1990). Although it will not be developed further in this thesis, it is evident that this theme is relevant to community work in Aotearoa, particularly because religion is very important to Maori people.

Most of the women intimated that support was also gained through supervision. Several of them had peer supervision, which they had arranged voluntarily. Very few of them were "obliged" to have supervision. In fact, some of them had to "fight for it", and even then there was considerable confusion as to what it actually entailed. Only one of the women, Pare, indicated that she had regular supervision on an ongoing contractual basis. Yet, she then went on to state that her supervision was "an unwritten law in her contract", rather than compulsory. Elsewhere I have suggested that community workers have not developed a clear understanding of the benefits of supervision (Craig, 1983), and I was left with the impression that this was still the situation several years later. Clearly, however, they found a form of supervision through their informal networks and support groups.

## Training

These women were chosen to participate in this research because of their commitment to training and their relationship with the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. It was hardly surprising to find out, then, that they all believed that training was essential for community workers to survive in their community work. Moreover, some of them had literally put hundreds of hours into fighting for the right for community workers to have ongoing training. The history of the struggle for

community work training is presented in Appendix Five in this thesis, and will not be examined here.

Training tended to be defined in terms of: "a way of improving the way you work with people and work for change"; "learning by doing"; "taking in new concepts"; "extending oneself"; and "learning from one another". By the very way in which the women defined training, it was evident that it was also seen as another form of support. The majority of the women indicated that they had very little formal training, which was why most of them had put energy into fighting for recognised community work training. In fact, only half of them had remained at school beyond form five, and training was seen as a way furthering their understanding about society in a formalised way.

The Aotearoa Community Workers Association's submission for training very clearly identifies the parallel model for training which was proposed for Maori and pakeha community workers. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine this point any further, it is important to emphasise that community workers were seeking particular forms of training. These forms include an "apprenticeship approach" to training, "marae based training" and also a modular series of "workshop type" training.

In addition, the women were supportive of training which enabled Maori and pakeha to proceed along separate, but parallel paths. Interestingly enough, however, a number of the Maori women commented that they wanted also to remain involved with the pakeha model. Harata explained:

Hands-on stuff is really important for us, and we (Maori) need to spend a lot of time with marae based training, of course. But I'd like to think that we can

keep on having the benefits of your (pakeha) expertise, because I've gotten a lot out of that.

She pointed to a number of workshops that she had been to which had been run by pakeha community workers and said that she "relished the knowledge and support I gained from those". Harata claimed that training also needed to include factors such as how not to personalise conflicts:

One time if anyone talked about this and that, I'd jump over the moon. Now I can understand why, I'm a better listener, I've learned to analyse it better and to understand how things really work. Anyway the bottom line is that I find it (getting upset) all a waste of time and I don't waste my energy any more. So I kind of preserve a lot of what I've got left using it positively for real work.

Rangi suggested, that in addition to the training proposal which was then currently being introduced to government, she would like to see regular workshops focussing on current legislation. She proposed this idea, with a view to discovering how community workers could make sense of the constant changes in this legislation:

I find it hard to always understand the new rules and regulations of the (statutory) departments. Going through the latest Act on children and their families (The Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989) I could talk about what it means for us in community work and what we have to do.

A few of the pakeha women spoke about attending structural analysis workshops and suggested that they should be compulsory for all community workers. Elizabeth believed that for her this workshop had provided:

a process that wasn't individual, and that was incredibly valuable because to hear very different groups of community workers in practice say what their perspective on New Zealand society was and what their hopes were. I learned heaps from the sessions and just being able to actually sit down with people and talk about your work and your dreams. You don't normally take that time, yet I got so much energy from it and felt less alone.

The right to have community work training will continue to dominate throughout the 1990s. It is evident that more and more community workers will be demanding it, not only to assist them to continue to survive in their work, but also so that they can make more meaning about the world around them and develop even more effective strategies for change. Community workers want to control their own training in order to link it to the change process, rather than to institutional requirements.

### **Summary**

The women's stories in this chapter have illustrated my claims in Chapter Four that women tend to become involved in community work through their participation in activities to do with the rearing and nurturing of their children. Yet the 1986 Census did not consider this type of work as unpaid voluntary work because it benefited the women's family. Moreover, although some of the women pointed to their own experiences of oppression as a contributing factor in their involvement in community work, most of them recognised that they were socialised to be the carers and nurturers in society. The women were somewhat ambivalent about this point, because while they celebrated their own capacities to care and nurture, they also were concerned that men stood back from, and even devalued, this essential role that enabled society to keep functioning.

The majority of the women had worked on an unpaid basis in community work for a number of years and often at considerable cost to themselves and their families. They had chosen to remain in community work, however, because they believed it contained both a commitment to, and process for, social change. For several of them, herein lay the difference between social work and community work. The former was seen as encouraging people to adapt to the present system, and the latter was seen in terms of its potential to empower people to work for change. The women had also developed a number of important mechanisms in order to keep going. It was evident that the Maori women gained strength from their whanau and from their culture, whereas the pakeha women were more inclined to find support from their women friends. All of the women also highlighted the importance of ongoing training. Clearly, however, it was the optimistic vision of a more socially just society that sustained the women, and these visions were shared with one another in the process of working collectively.

## *Chapter Eight*

### **The Context of Community Work**

In this chapter I explore the context of the women's community work in Aotearoa. I begin with the women's experiences of the community and their interpretation of these experiences. Next, I examine their views on the organisations they worked for and the dominant organisational issues affecting their work. Finally, I focus on the women's perceptions of the state and the demands it places on community work and women in the community.

#### **The community**

In Chapter Seven, I suggested that most of the women I interviewed, became involved in community work because of their experiences as women in the community. Megan, for instance, argued that from the onset she saw community work in terms of:

living in a community where people had very little access to power umm that was the neighbourhood I grew up in and that was the neighbourhood I still worked in and that was where I lived as an adult, so predominantly people were living in housing corporation houses and felt very dependent on the state in terms of their shelter. They had very little money, umm, and choices in terms of what kind of schools they sent their kids to. What kind of education their kids got was limited, and I saw it as a process of involving people to take more for themselves I suppose.

The community was seen as the 'women's world'. As Harata intimated, women have to deal with the anger, the pain and the poverty. They stood in the frontline of the battlefield:

because its affected them most of all, through what happens to them each day, and through their families and bringing up their children; through economics; through the whole welfare of their people and their communities. Women have had to put up with so much. It's a hard battle to survive out there.

Robyn agreed with this statement. Her introduction to community work had been through her work at a women's refuge, and she was now working with a local authority as a community advisor. She argued that the community was:

about our lives isn't it? It's things that we have to work through everyday. How we live on limited incomes; for a lot of women predominantly you know. Where are you going to live, the sorts of access to services, the sorts of things that women have to put up with; the bloody shit, the violence, the hassles. The community is about women's lives eh, and we know that, but I doubt the Council does, or gives it a second thought.

Like women before them, these women focussed on issues such as child care, education, housing, poverty and family violence. For most of the women, community work had evolved out of the pain and anger that they, and other women around them, experienced. Ruth, for example, pointed out that when she first became a community worker, she was able to collect information very differently to other "better educated community workers" whom she worked alongside:

I had another way of collecting information and it wasn't through reading and it wasn't through statistics; it was through what was happening to my friends



and their lives and how if they became solo parents knowing what would happen to them; the whole human rights issue as being part of a Maori family - those types of things.

The same could be said for all of the women. The majority of them lived in working class areas, or as Keri said of her neighbourhood:

It's state, mainly state housing. People just can't afford anything you know, like everyone works if they can find a job because they try to cater for their kids or go without, and they go without often enough. And the mothers work 24 hours a day. It's true when they say "a mother's work is never done, waking up to see the sun". Sometimes they come in here and just sob their heart out cos they're so down. The poverty really gets them down you know. If there's no money, well it creates all sorts of things, all sorts of problems.

All of the women believed there was no such thing as objectivity in community work, rather there were choices that had to be made, and these were influenced by the worker's perception of the community. Megan suggested that:

The word 'community' is romanticised, anything that is community is good, anything that is 'state' is bad - there is a real confusion of morals...but at the same time you know, some of this romanticism gets to you.

It was evident that all of the women were committed to working alongside those sections in the community that were disenfranchised and had limited access to power. And yet, even amongst these groups, it was often impossible to reach a consensus about need, or the issues to be dealt with. This ambivalence often created considerable conflict. Robyn referred to a situation that developed for her when she was working in a relatively impoverished community:

We were constantly having complaints. The residents' association that ran the hall didn't want the youth group there and the neighbours didn't want the youth group there, but it was the only place we could find for them and they really needed it. There was a committee of eight kids, but they weren't interested in doing any of the sanctioning and the policing role which we were being forced to take on. We used to try and be very idealistic and get them to do it and they wouldn't. They gave back this power to us.

For all of the women, community work very definitely began at the grass roots. It was not institutionally based, rather it was work carried out in response to people's needs and concerns about issues affecting their lives. Getting started as a community worker was not seen as a difficult task. Katarina explained:

You listen, you look and then maybe you talk, maybe! That's my baseline, and when they talk you listen, and you not only listen with your ears, with your eyes, with your smell, with your touch, with your taste, which isn't foreign to me. So if you've grown up in the area, it's less of a problem to get started, a bonus, but that's how you find out what's happening.

Robyn endorsed this statement. She pointed out that when she began her present employment, she spent a few months out and about in the community, identifying what the central issues were and "just being noseey really". She also used the time to get to know existing community work groups to find out "how they were going". Robyn was adamant that in community work:

you have to be with people, working with them, beside them, listening to them and doing things with them all of the time. ...It's through talking, it's through challenging that we get the change, eh!

Working towards change, however, was seen as a gradual process. Rose highlighted the necessity to do a considerable amount of groundwork before setting up community work initiatives, otherwise they could be "doomed for failure". Like most of the women, Rose was mindful of her own experience and believed that she should sometimes stand back before taking any direct action:

I think lots of time needs to be taken to do that and I do have a problem with jumping to problem-solving too quick before the women get a chance to share their ideas, because I can see lots of ideas, but now I always try to make sure that...I think ground work is really really important.

There was a growing concern that community workers were not being given the space to begin where people were at. Shannon claimed that community work was slowly being taken over by government policies and that community workers were being directed by these policies. Whilst she agreed that government policies and events occurring both nationally and internationally affected all communities, she nevertheless argued that communities should have some say about the focus of community work:

I just think that there are a whole lot of questions that need to be asked among community workers about community work and need to be asked in large groups or whatever, because I just see at the moment we are in the grips of responding to what - say government and multinationals, and people like that, want rather than the community.

Ruth believed that community work was in a confused state and that some community workers were struggling to retain their grass roots base. She argued, that in part, community workers had been ill prepared for the way in which the state had harnessed their energy, and had, in fact, been lulled into believing that they had "won some hard-

fought-for gains". She cited as an example, the way in which many community workers and key people in the community were being co-opted on to community-based, government departmental committees:

On the one hand we're being given and on the other hand we're being taken away from and the role of the community worker is being really abused by the government. We're being told to do more and more with less and less resources and it's really hard for community workers to survive out there. They are saying that we need people like you on C.O.G.S., we need people like you on REAC and we need people like you on DECS. We have spent all this time on doing submissions and structural change, which hasn't been to the advantage of the people of New Zealand and then they turn around and say to us "you wanted the community to have more control - here you are - we'll give you half the resources that we used to put in here", and yet people are not having the time to work at the grass roots level the way they did before.

This concern was expressed by a number of the women I interviewed. Hira, for example, was suspicious about the involvement of Maori people on government committees. Having recently being appointed to one herself she wondered if some of her people were being "hi-jacked away from the real work". This possibility particularly concerned her:

There would have been a time when you wouldn't have been seen to be acceptable on these sorts of committees or councils and when you are starting to be seen not only acceptable, but wanted, you wonder why they are trying to get you there - and that is something I'm going to have to deal with - I get very suspicious.

Shannon was of the opinion that in general there had been a movement away from a grass roots approach to community work. She put this movement down to a trend towards "community based social work", which she saw was located within institutions rather than in the community. In her view the community had again become "a community care haven where women volunteer their services to do good," as opposed to working towards social change. She believed that it would eventually move back to its grass roots base, however, not necessarily as part of a counter struggle response to the effects of devolution:

I think we're going to see a return to grass roots work, particularly when devolution has its full effects because they're going to want women in neighbourhoods to do it and do it well. So the next Telethon will probably be for neighbourhood groups. And I suppose we will have to get in there and start plugging away all over again. It's an on-going struggle, but one we are familiar with.

Shannon's opinion was not shared by all of the women. Although there was a general consensus that grass roots community work had lost some of the impetus it had experienced in the mid 1970s through to the mid 1980s, a number of the women nevertheless believed that there was substantive restructuring taking place, especially among some sectors of the community. Megan, for example, believed that people were learning new strategies and building an infra-structure within their local communities to deal with changes that were being thrust upon them. She pointed to the work being carried out by Maori women and also by people with disabilities. For Megan there was "a quiet revolution on the ground", and it was the task of community workers such as herself to "set up appropriate resources for these groups".

As I discussed in the previous chapter, there was a general belief that much of community work was undervalued. A few of the women were really concerned about

the largely unpaid status of community work, which in Alice's words, was "a lot of hard work for no pay". Many of the women pointed out that community work was frequently carried out by women on benefits who were given no recognition for their contribution to society, but rather were often dismissed as dole bludgers. Alice, who had done much of her community work whilst on the D.P.B., said:

That really hurts, to be called a dole bludger, and yet I see a lot of women who are on benefits in community work who feel that in doing that work then they're earning their benefit so they feel less guilty for getting paid by the government and I don't like that. I think it's really wrong.

Rose suggested that community work was put into "a catch 22 situation" when permanent funding was found for community workers. She argued that men "suddenly appear on the scene and it's jobs for the boys". The issue of paid/unpaid, is more fully explored in the final section of this chapter and I will not dwell on it here, although it clearly affects women involved in grass roots community work.

Another issue which was seen as important was that of accountability, which has traditionally being viewed by community workers as being accountable to the community group they are working with (Henderson and Thomas, 1980). Robyn summed up a common experience for the women:

In the past I've argued like crazy that to get any credibility within community groups that accountability has to be back to those groups if our positions are going to work. Maybe my organisation has come to accept that, but look what's happening now. We're too busy now trying to get the funding, trying to be accountable for the funding rather than accountable to the community groups or the community people that we originally set those groups up for....And when government departments employ community workers for

community development, it's debatable as to who benefits I think, and where the accountability really is.

Ruth even wondered if it was issues such as these that were robbing community work of the creativity it had demonstrated in the past. She pointed out how much energy was being "used up by government demands":

I think that part of what government's done is that it's killed the creativity in community work, and one of the key things I think for being a community worker is being creative; it has an immediate effect on the people out there.

Shannon was equally concerned that women were not lasting as long in community work as they had in the past. Although this is also closely related to the paid/unpaid issue, several of the women spoke about how frustrating this could be as "the same old ground is constantly dug over". Elizabeth did point out that even this had potential, in that a new worker often brings insight about how a "stubborn situation can best be approached".

Despite all that I have alluded to, there was an amazing optimism from all of the women about community work's potential. Alice encapsulated this optimism:

In my better moments I actually see that community work can be so small and yet it can be so intense as well and I think we actually do the kind of work that professional groups can't provide because we provide time and life and energy in a kind of a way that's just not able to be given at this stage in professional work. We focus on justice and basic living things that some people sort of think that's the ordinary stuff, but it's not. It's the life blood of our whole society and that's the main thing people forget; that community workers keep the blood vessels clear and going.

## **The organisation**

The women had mixed views about the organisations for which they worked. All of them, even Diana who was not currently working for a particular agency, had worked for several organisations. It was evident that they experienced considerable ambiguity about these organisations. Whilst most recognised the advantages of being attached to an organisation, especially one which paid them reasonably well, they constantly had to balance such advantages against the constraints that could arise. Elizabeth summed this situation up with reference to the local authority that she worked for:

They like you doing nice community projects and there is a whole lot of stuff going on which they just don't compute, like they don't see it at all. It's hard though because you have to work with the conflicting demands from the community and you have to work with the contradictions of your work place as well.

Robyn shared a similar view. Like Elizabeth she suggested that her local authority was itself somewhat confused about why it got involved in community work:

In a way I think the Council benefits from the work that we do to a certain degree because it gives them credibility for actually being involved in some of these areas like community development. (However), Council doesn't want to look at the reasons that we're involved in community work. It's more a way of just umm I think because they have a focus on community workers having a community facility, a hall or something somewhere, they think it is community work, they give a suburb, a hall or a facility and say "you make it work, be happy with it".



This view was shared by the majority of the women. Pania argued that her agency had no understanding of community work when she first came to work there. She contended that community work was initially seen in terms of "linking people to services and occasionally identifying appropriate resources". For her, one of the most difficult struggles had been to encourage her agency "to think wider than the job description", which proved to be a demanding task:

they couldn't understand for a long time why I would even go to an employment group or a housing meeting, and they would question "this thing about holistic health and the body, the mind and the spirit", but I said to them "you know it goes that way, and it also goes your health, your housing, your education etc. It goes that way as well". It was very hard for public servants to think like that.

Pania was fortunate, because she worked together with other Maori women in her organisation, and was not left feeling isolated in her struggles. Evelyn, on the other hand, pointed out that she often felt totally unsupported, in that she was the only Maori woman employed by her agency:

I felt very lonely as a Maori woman within that structure because I was the only Maori woman employed. I felt as if I was responsible for all things Maori and I was often forced to defend my stance. That wasn't right. I got involved in Maori concerns outside of the work, but really I ended up with one role there and one role here, but I never combined the two together. They were kept as two separate roles. I think there were some painful times for me.

The struggle for these women is to resist the co-option and control of community work by those who allocate the resources. This attempt was reflected in the way the organisations developed their structures. For example, some of the women were

concerned about the way in which the organisation was quite unbending with rules and regulations. Pania commented that when she was first employed she constantly received memos on her desk suggesting that she should start at a certain time, take an hour off for lunch and that she wasn't to work at nights. Pania was employed by a statutory agency. Rangi, who was employed by a voluntary organisation, faced similar constraints. When her organisation changed its committee meeting to the afternoon, she was expected to attend these, even though she wasn't employed to work during afternoons.

It also appeared that there was a close correlation between being poorly paid and being dependent on one's own transport. Robyn recalled that in her earlier work at Women's Refuge she had been reliant on her own transport, "a Billy Bunter Hillman Hunter and they towed it away". She acknowledged that Council provided transport for her to get around, providing she booked it through the appropriate mechanisms. For her it was an uphill battle to persuade the Council to provide transport for community groups to use:

I've argued about transport for community groups at Council and I always say "look, when I worked at Women's Refuge I had to use my own vehicle, pay for my own petrol, and I got nothing out of it in the end, in fact I owed whatever money it was worth". They don't believe it eh, that people do all this work for nothing, because they wouldn't do it.

Several of the women spoke of their concerns about the way in which women were treated by the organisation, but were often relatively powerless to retaliate. Robyn, for instance, suggested she had to weigh up the pros and cons of reacting to situations she felt unhappy about:

Just struggling to survive in our city council organisation is enough in itself - the shit women have to put up with there. Like what I was saying to you about *blank*, I can't give him bloody strokes eh and yet the reality is that it was in my mind there's some things that I'm going to need him for eh, so it's in my mind; learning to live with principles because he's a prime example of guys who want to be liberal, be stroked and hog the power.

Megan was concerned that Councillors made decisions which were based on the assumption that women should provide their services to the community for free, without recognising the sexism inherent in their decision making. Although she had never been employed as a local authority community worker Megan recalled:

Going to a Council meeting and hearing the way Councillors would make a decision about whether the women down at whatever group got \$250 to run a holiday programme and they were taking care of kids on a daily basis everyday for that period of time, and were told "oh well, these women should be able to raise money through cake stalls and stuff". That for me is a political issue and it was never an issue of goodwill.

Nevertheless, all of the women believed that it was important for community workers "to get their feet in the door" of local authority, statutory agencies and even those larger voluntary organisations which yielded considerable power and resources. As Pania claimed, "you can fuel the system from inside". Ruth, in particular, agreed with this idea:

Because we need people from within to pass information out, to pass the resources out, to continually tell us - because the system changes so much as to confuse us on where those resources are and how to get them out - we need people inside to pass on the information to us.

Ruth, then, was adamant that it was her role to get any resources out to the community. She felt that she had been reasonably successful at this task:

Over the three and a half years that I've been involved in neighbourhood projects, it's been really what resources I can get out of that institution into the community and how I can change the ways in which Council works so that they can be more accountable to the community. In the things like employment, I'm working mainly on alternative employment, looking at ways that I see that we're going to look at for the future - that there is not ever going to be full employment again in a 9 - 5 job or 9 - 3 job with school holidays off - that's gone, and so we have to find alternative ways for women to make use of their time.

Ruth explained that in many ways she was able to take advantage of her local authority's lack of understanding about community work in order to get the much needed resources out to the community. Thus she claimed:

So in one way we're working for this organisation, but we're actually working for the people outside of it and so the role is quite confusing for people within the institution that we're working with to understand.

It is important to note, then, that while the organisation may be conservative and attempt to restrain these women, it can also be a site for the development of progressive community work (Tomlinson, 1985). As was suggested in Chapter Two, there have been some exciting initiatives and innovations under the auspices of organisations such as local authorities.

Megan, who worked for a large church-based organisation, intimated that her organisation also had considerable resources to offer and as a result, had acted as an umbrella organisation for a number of small community groups and agencies. Like a few of the women I interviewed, Megan saw herself now slightly removed from the grass roots. Yet for her:

All the agencies that I spoke of (under the umbrella of her organisation) are set up primarily as grass roots work - that is, working in an area of solvent abuse, sexual abuse, Pacific Island issues such as immigration, injustice issues around immigration, housing, we've got women's issues -so predominantly it's still grass roots on those issues. How to marry those needs, the skills that I've accumulated in a traditional organisation such as this with the frontline work I've described and so umm sometimes I have to be absolutely silent which is very hard for me.

Megan believed there were considerable benefits to be gained for some community groups, by having herself and other "like-minded community workers", working in her organisation, although, as she hastened to point out:

I think community services of this agency has always been slightly outside the mainstream - a bit of an irritant, which of course it should be or it wouldn't be doing its job otherwise. So that means you carry quite a bit of weight, and I think that tends to be difficult for us at times.

Clearly, then, there were advantages to be gained through having people who were committed to supporting community work employed in some of the larger voluntary organisations and local authority and statutory based agencies. Several of the women intimated that they would personally find it difficult to be employed by these agencies, mostly on account of their fear of being co-opted by their systems. This fear is

explored in the next section. Even those who were in the system believed this came at some cost. This belief was exemplified by Ruth who stated:

I find it's a very difficult job being part of an institution - working for an institution and being seen to be part of it - when your heart isn't part of it; your heart is out in the community. You are having to continually compromise both with the institution and with the community and even though in one way you get a lot of kudos from working within an institution, people become suspicious of you and so you're really in no-man's land and it's really difficult to survive in that no-man's land without the support. I've been lucky because I've had lots of support.

Yet the women also experienced contradictory situations in their work with voluntary agencies, even the smaller locally based ones. There was, for example, a general belief that voluntary organisations had become increasingly competitive in recent years. Harata observed that:

When I started in community work, everybody got involved and everybody wanted to share; not anymore. I'm finding groups are holding on to their little resources and also information - holding on to information. It's part of our work that I'm not covering. It means that people like me and the women here have to work harder to seek the information. Certainly in the earlier days, even working with (government) departments in my experience they shared information, or they came to you with information. I don't see the same quite today.

Evelyn agreed with her. In her view the "little packages" that government kept offering certain community groups were destructive for community work:

The packages are being offered for political reasons and it's like everybody is trying to jump on the bandwagon and say they're doing community work and they grab this cake before it disappears and in so doing it's a matter of dog eat dog. It's that kind of thing I'm seeing and I'm not talking about community people on the whole, I'm talking about organisations. I guess in this time of change you have to learn about where you're going to get the funding from to be able to keep you going and if you're not on board with all this you've missed the boat and you have to promote yourself. But it's not the way I thought we'd go.

The piecemeal approach to funding assistance for voluntary agencies made it difficult at times for community workers to maintain new projects (Driver and Robinson, 1986). Concern was also registered about whose interests some voluntary agencies really did represent. Alice, for instance, spoke about the way in which certain voluntary organisations appeared to get the blessing, and on going funding from the government, and that made her question the political motives behind this policy. With reference to Parentline she said:

It seems to be heading towards this whole fixing of the family and in some ways I'm not too sure about that....At the same time too I question whose values it is going into these families. Whose ideas is it that says that it should be this way and that way. There's always a question that I've always had about Parentline. Because it was very much a middle class group, very much women who were horrified at physical, sexual and emotional abuse happening in families. There was something about that. There's an edge to that - an edge of hysteria which is quite frightening.

There was no doubt that even those women working with voluntary organisations continually questioned their agency's politics and at times they faced considerable

resistance. Many of these organisations had set up with the best of intentions, but were often quite conservative in their approach to community work. As Shannon said, with reference to one that she had worked for:

I think that there were other forces at work in the organisation that didn't recognise the politics of community work, and didn't even have an understanding of what community is, particularly a geographical urban community like this.

The women tended to believe that there was less of an accountability problem with voluntary organisations, than with those from the local authority or statutory sector, juxtaposed with this situation, however, was the expectation of many voluntary organisations that their community workers "would be available 24 hours a day if necessary". Robyn illustrated this point:

People who work in community work do long hours because there is a commitment to the people and yet the Council is not prepared to accept the sorts of working that go with community work. They still want us to work 9 - 5 and they want us to justify if we do time in lieu and they are not prepared to look at the reasons why we want a Council van or a car to transport people around. The factors that come together in making people's lives bloody hell or good....Mind you voluntary agencies don't push the same line of accountability but, especially if you are paid, they do expect you to be on deck 24 hours a day, well some of them anyway.

Related to this point voluntary organisations were also viewed as more likely to be the site of "mini power struggles", in that the lines of accountability were less clearly defined. A few of the women commented that at times there were benefits to be gained out of hierarchical decision making, as often this created less conflict. There was also



a belief that a number of the larger voluntary organisations were becoming more concerned about retaining their structure, rather than focussing on the needs of the people whom they were meant to be serving. Rose expressed her views about this belief:

So many are so busy looking at their own restructuring and all the funding stuff and decentralisation and that, they don't have any time for community work and so I see community workers with a lot of the big organisations, even the big voluntary organisations are really concerned with where they are going and stuff like that, rather than the people that they are actually working with or working alongside. So I think that it can be a disadvantage to come from a big organisation, certainly a government department, or even a big church agency because it seems it's hard sometimes to look past that structure to what actual work is being done.

It must be pointed out, however, that despite the criticism, a few of the women maintained that they felt extremely positive about their organisations and had nothing but praise for them. Pare's commentary on her agency highlighted this high regard:

It's just the tops - the best anyone could ever have. I have no hesitation in recommending this whanau to anyone and the principles they apply to their workers and their communities. I get training, I get support and I get listened to and what more do you ask for? Oh, and I get good wages. Yes, and they give me money and pay for me to go to workshops, and to hui - they always pay for that.

For many of the women, issues surrounding paid and unpaid work were integral to their stories. Some of them had made considerable sacrifices to carry on with their community work and there was a point when they began to resent this sacrifice. This

point was undeniably illustrated by Shannon, while we were discussing whether there were advantages in being an unpaid community worker, in that one retained some power to determine one's directions. Shannon, however, claimed that for working class people:

after 10 or 15 years it (unpaid community work) becomes just about financially impossible. When you've stood by and you've seen your own family deprived because of your lust for community work and you've seen your family go without, and you've had children asking for rides up town and you've refused them because you've needed the petrol to take battered women somewhere or to do something for somebody else, then I think for me there has to be some serious questions about how long and how often you can do it for nothing and about whether that's a powerful thing (being an unpaid worker) or a powerless thing.

Shannon maintained that nowadays many people started out in community work expecting to be paid from the outset, and that to some extent this was an unreal expectation, "because community work doesn't have a status that affords it any salaries". Together with all of the women, she believed that community work was "not recognised as being work of any value still", and Shannon was particularly concerned that in the last few years women were being "expected to do it for absolutely nothing once again". She suggested that women such as herself who constantly challenged the system, were unlikely to get the paid employment available because "They don't want to employ people like me in those sorts of jobs".

Megan acknowledged this state, and pointed out that you had to learn "how to play the system". With reference to her present employment she said:

The secretary came to me and she said "the whole Board were unanimous that they wanted you for this position, but some of them did express how they wouldn't have thought that a couple of years ago - but as they've got to know you" and I laughed because I thought that's just about me being clever about what I tell them and what I don't.

Whilst a number of the women, especially the Maori women, believed that there were advantages to be gained by not being "paid for something that's called aroha" because as Hira put it, by being paid "it (community work) takes on a new meaning", most of them had, in fact, come to see that the cost of their unpaid work was beyond reason. Ruth, for example, said she only discovered the cost after she gained full employment:

It never really worried me and then all of a sudden I got this job, and then I realised I had felt really down-trodden and discovered the difference between being on a benefit and working and then being decently paid and working, and the different status in life that you get and how much easier it is. I mean you even get reimbursed if you use your own transport.

Ruth went on to point out the contradiction inherent in doing community work while on a benefit, especially the domestic purposes benefit:

When you're on the D.P.B. or even unemployment, you're answerable for everything in your life. Whether you have a relationship with somebody. What are your children doing? How you and your children interact? Your whole family is controlled by it - you are answerable for your whole social life and that doesn't stop if you happen to be spending a good part of your time doing unpaid community work. Not at all, you're still controlled and government doesn't even acknowledge what you're doing as being important.

This situation caused a considerable amount of resentment among the women that I interviewed, even those women who, themselves, had never been on a benefit but were aware of other community workers who were. This resentment was also expressed by many of the women who took part in the survey conducted at the 1989 Community Workers Hui (see Appendix Four). Moving from a benefit to paid work, however, could be risky, especially if there was not permanent funding available. Robyn made reference to this aspect when she spoke about a work trust that she had set up. I asked if the co-ordinator was paid a wage and Robyn replied:

No, she doesn't get paid, but I've talked to her about a salary through C.O.G.S. or Detached Youth Worker funding or something like that. She's scared about going off the D.P.B. and getting a salary and being stuck with only one year's funding and having a hassle with benefit. It's quite real eh? She's in a Housing Corporation house. She'll probably get tossed out.

Such contradictions became even more evident when part-time paid work was available and a woman was on a benefit. Referring to the work trust, Robyn said that a problem that they immediately encountered was that there was some part-time work available for most of the women, but not full-time work. They found to their dismay that:

Women on the D.P.B. couldn't earn anything to speak of without their benefit, and accommodation benefit, being stuffed up and that was the bottom line and if you can't work, I mean what was the point of us trying to find work. As soon as women found out their benefit was being stuffed up, they didn't really want to know.

She went on to point out, however, that one of the positive aspects that had emerged from the women's experiences was that they all went into the Labour Department and registered for work:

Because we used to talk about how unemployment figures were obtained and how women were lost on the D.P.B. because they were on a different benefit, and so they used to register. It was great eh.

A number of the issues surrounding paid and unpaid community work have already been addressed in Chapters Six and Seven. These issues included the fact that a number of the women had to find their own funding, that this funding was precarious, and that on average the women worked for 11.6 years before they were paid for their community work. Some of the women suggested that they had tried for many years to find paid employment in their community work, yet had constantly been rejected even though their unpaid work was taken for granted. Shannon thought this situation was unacceptable:

I don't know whether I want to continue the rest of my life doing stuff for nothing. We never had holidays, we have never done things that other families do, everything has been sacrificed to community work and I guess it started to be really brought home to me when I really wanted paid employment and just didn't get it, and others did whom I had trained.

A considerable number of them were not reimbursed for many of the expenses that they incurred in their unpaid community work. As Hira explained, "eventually this gets to you":

I've been told time and time again "you people do it for nothing" and I don't want to go out there and say "I do this and I do that". But I get really pissed off

when I see a so-called community social worker in *blank* earning \$49,000 for frig all. I don't mind doing the work, but the point is she's acting like she's doing it all. All I want to do is work for my people and I'm getting to the stage where I can't afford to.

Hira, however, like several of the women, was quick to point out that there were drawbacks in being paid for doing community work. In addition to the tension between trying to put a price on something that she really believed was "aroha", Hira suggested that once you get the dollars you are expected to perform, and:

you're looking at yourself and saying to yourself, am I performing enough for the X amount of dollars I'm getting every week - I may not be performing enough. So you overdo things and that's no help.

Several women took this point further. Robyn, for example, believed that all community workers working in voluntary agencies were so exhausted anyway, that "the idea of a paid worker is someone who's going to be available on demand". Ruth, on the other hand, argued that you became "answerable to your paymaster", but at least you were financially rewarded for the work you provided. It was Shannon, however, who had never received a wage for her community work who reminded us that:

The work that we do is only recognised as being useful when it supports the work of somebody else in paid employment and they simply just don't want to employ people like us. Not only because we threaten them, but because it's more convenient for them to have us out in the community stoking up their paid positions and their paid jobs and their paid structures, and I think that that's really been evident for me lately when I see what's happening at D.S.W.

and who their latest social workers are. They really know how to get it for free from the community.

Pania suggested that most of these appointments tended to be men and this situation, as reported in the 1986 Census, seemed to be continuing. As Horsfield (1988) points out, women also carry out the bulk of unpaid work in the family and in the community.

Pania argued that once community work moved into the state arena, "the salaries became acceptable and the men applied for the positions". Yet, as she contended, community work primarily involved working with women, and for her, Maori women:

Maori communities really. A lot of work with women because they are the ones that are holding up all the families. We only tend to deal with males after the work is done - they are the decision-makers. If the voluntary organisations were taken away and the community workers were taken away - the state wouldn't know what happened and I think a lot of people pay lip-service to all of that.

This is a timely point to consider the third context of community work - the state.

### **The state**

As was argued in Chapter Three, the state plays a key role in community work in that it provides the context within which community work takes place. In this study the state was seen by all of the women to have tremendous influence on community work. Several of the women were concerned about how they could bring about change given the way in which the state was seen to have begun to control and manipulate

community work in the more recent years. Although a few of the women tended to lack a succinct analysis of the state and were inclined to see it in terms of the government of the day, (which makes this section a difficult task to address), it was evident that all of the women had first-hand experience of the impact of the state on community work. As James and Saville-Smith (1989) argue, the state has a key role in fostering the cult of domesticity. The women described the impact of this capacity of the state on their work.

There was a general agreement that community work was dependent on the state. It was also recognised that the state needed community work. Several of the women claimed that it was this inter-dependency, that created the tensions which community work was experiencing. Robyn illustrated this point in her response to my suggestion that the state influenced community work's present direction:

There's probably lots of contradictions there eh? Inter-relationships between them. On the one hand the state needs community workers for community work and community work needs the state in terms of funding, or it has got into a position where it perceives itself as needing the state - hooked into funding to provide cars, the offices, the telephones, the typewriters and things like that. I suppose what we try to do is establish those needs and build on the contradictions and find loopholes to slip in through.

Pare believed that the state needed community workers to implement its policies at the grass-roots, because of its lack of ready access to the grass-roots:

They need us in those places - we need them too, so we've got a balance - but they need us to make a space for them to get to the grass-roots because they can't readily get there. I know I'm being general in that statement, but you



know what I mean. The grass-roots and the whanau can take on a direction of its own.

Implicit in Pare's suggestion was that community workers, in fact, at times fulfilled the task of implementing policies for the state, because they themselves had a vulnerable relationship with the state. Such vulnerability had its origins in the state's control of the resources that community work needed to carry out its primary objectives. As Evelyn said quite bluntly:

It doesn't matter where we go, what we do, it still ends back up to the state whether we're under subsidies or whatever. Even if it's through church organisations. I know the financiers are the ones who dictate just where that money goes to, but the state decides who gets it.

This view was shared by most of the women and they spoke about it at length. Harata, for instance, believed that the state exerted its control over community work, "because they hold the purse strings and so we're dependent on them". She was concerned that this control enabled the state to "dictate what we should do". Ruth took this statement a little further:

The state tries to have a lot of influence on community work in that it tries to determine what the issues are and what the structures are and how the structures should be in place. And community workers are in some way the people who try to change those structures. So it depends on the politics or the politicians of the day and who's in power about what the changes to the rules are going to be, so I guess in lots of ways even though no matter who is in power, we carry on doing the same type of work.

There was definitely a feeling of despair among the women about the monetarist policies that the government was seen to be putting into place. These women were predominantly working class and most of them had supported the Labour Government when it was swept into power. Yet it was seen to have betrayed its own people. Alice described how she felt:

The thing that I find the most frustrating and the hardest at the moment in my work life, are the changes happening within our government and that the Labour government says that it is a government for the people and yet daily there is more and more unemployed people and more and more oppressed people, and more and more powerless people in our society and I can't understand how people like Phil Goff who once upon a time was a community worker can actually sit there and allow that to happen. How can these people have no conscience?.....What is happening that these people have to accept this? That's the part that I find hard. We thought that if we had a Labour Government we would change the whole thing of New Zealand and look what's happened - we've got monetarism and we have more oppressed people than ever.

Katarina endorsed this despair. For her the despondency among her people was "painful", and she sometimes found it extremely difficult to focus on "self-determination and social change" when people needed "medicine". As she said, "the medicine I would like to give, I gotta get from the government, but I can't". She argued that community workers were gaining less and less access to resources. She no longer suggested to those whom she worked alongside that she could necessarily assist them to obtain these resources:

I will not build sand castles in the air. It's very much against my beliefs. Cruel as it may seem, it's no use saying "look, there's light at the end of the

tunnel" because that's not true and I cannot guarantee the government's behaviour.

Katarina claimed that she now focussed on individual and small community change, as she believed that achieving major structural change was beyond the level of energy that she was prepared to put into her community work. In the next breath Katarina was busy telling me how she was now encouraging people to think about alternative forms of employment, which suggested that she had not entirely given up on achieving structural change. This tension will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

The women were also extremely concerned about the effects of deinstitutionalisation and its corollary - devolution. Shannon believed that the (male) state was:

telling us once again that we should go home and to care for, unpaid, all the sick, all the prisoners and all the other people in our society that need caring for. That we should do it with smiles on our face and do it for nothing.

Shannon was particularly concerned that community work was not resisting the deinstitutionalisation, which she claimed was being "neatly presented to the community as devolution". Rather, she argued that the community was looking for ways to co-operate with the system, rather than resist it:

You know there are new employment policies that are being put into place that nobody's resisting. We have ACCESS which is stupid and dumb and yet people keep falling into line and saying that training's nice for people and in fact people keep saying over and over again what they want is real meaningful work and we still keep fooling ourselves, and community workers are doing it too.

Megan was less critical about community workers. She contended that community workers had been manipulated by the state's apparent move towards devolution. Megan was of the opinion that:

The state has adopted a lot of community work information and jargon and language and often people think "this is great" and then they discover sometime down the track the limitations of that like C.O.GS and DECS committees. But you can see how they're being put together using all the jargon and all the Maori words as well in concepts.

Megan pointed out that devolution had been sought for by community workers. This was an interesting observation and was also taken up by Elizabeth who suggested that community work had achieved a measure of change, but questioned whether it got what it really fought for.

I think there has been a whole lot of expectations of people too, like some of the things that people were asking for ten years ago have actually happened and now they have to re-analyse the situation and say "is this what we wanted - are we getting what we wanted? - like decentralisation of service, community involvement - suddenly people are expected to do a whole lot of tasks, poorly resourced, unpaid, their genre is still controlled by the institutions.

This issue will also be explored more fully in Chapter Nine. All of the women were extremely critical of devolution. Many of them had somewhat naively believed that devolution would lead to a greater share of resources, so that communities could function more effectively. Pare spoke quite angrily about her first-hand experience of the Department of Maori Affairs's approach to devolution:

O.K. Maori Affairs devolved and you hear all the good things they do and you hear this, and we actually had a satellite office in our district and then they go and devolve and take the office out of the district and all the resources that were there - typewriters, office equipment, you name it - they offered it to the whanau, for \$12,000. Where are the people going to find that? We lost it, they withdrew the resources and gave it to someone else who could give them \$12,000.

The only resource that was seen to accompany devolution was the Community Organisation Grants Fund, which as I pointed out in Chapter Two, was in effect brought in to phase out the voluntary sector's dependency on the Department of Labour's various work schemes to fund wages for community work. This point was encapsulated by Alice:

Yeah, they're saying it's devolution, but they're actually not providing the resources or the money for it. It's a catch-phrase, as far as I can see it is, it's just that. They're handing everything back to groups, tell us we've got COGS, and really we've lost all the Labour Department funding.

Alice was also concerned that "contracting-out" set community groups against one another and was promoting a form of professionalism and a more rigid accountability:

I can't see that community groups are at all prepared or able to cope with the demand that's being put on them. People are freaking out and rushing around getting all this high powered training so they are ready for contracting-out, but I think that's sown up already for acceptable groups - and really they're forgetting that the community work that they do shouldn't be pushed towards professionalism or we will lose sight of the real issues.

Several of the women suggested that some of the voluntary agencies were adapting their policies, so that they could obtain more adequate resources. Rose explained that the reason why she was concerned about this development was because she feared it would lead to the state co-opting community work and in so doing not meeting the real needs of people:

Because it's (the state) changing its policies about funding, organisations like for example Crippled Children are changing their policies and I think that Crippled Children were really well funded from the state and so they're changing their policies and moving into community work. Now that sort of community work is going to be different from the sort of community work that you started in for example, so there's good reason to believe we'll see community work co-opted by the state and social work jobs will turn into community work jobs.

Rose went on to argue that community work's dependency on state funding created a double-bind, in that it provided the state with an opening to take control of community work initiatives. As Ungerson (1983) argues, state intervention occurs both at the ideological and material levels. The state's approach to, and financial accounting for, social service provision, is founded on implicit assumptions about the continuing availability of women to provide unpaid or underpaid labour.

Another key point, as discussed by Diana, related to the way the state attempts to neutralise the potential for social change:

I have a very real concern at the way the system is colonising a lot of community initiatives - like you get some really good self-help group going or something like that which has heaps of potential to create change - and

suddenly along comes someone from inside the system to sort of be part of it and it kind of then becomes under the control of the system.

Because Diana believed that there were "too many strings" attached when community work got "caught up in the system", she maintained that she had become more creative in her work for social change.

The state, then, was seen to "poke its nose in community work", to advance its own interests, and there was a genuine belief that "they don't listen to what people want or need". There was a growing concern among all of the women, that community workers were being asked to take on too much and that women community workers in particular, were adversely experiencing this burden. As Elizabeth put it:

We're being asked to take more responsibility without actually having access to the policy, and we're not even part of the dealing out of resources. Umm and then there's that economic pressure and the gap is widening all of the time and we're the ones who are expected to pick up the pieces and we get caught up in that, but I try to think about what other priorities I should be responding to. It's like running round in circles.

Policy makers are perfectly aware of the caring and nurturing dimensions in women's community work. As I argued in Chapter Four, it is often assumed that women enter community work because it is a 'natural' extension of their traditional caring and nurturing roles. With the economic decline in Aotearoa, the state is becoming increasingly reliant upon "community care". The women gave numerous examples of how the state harnessed their labour to implement the current policies of community care and spoke, with anger, about how they were expected to "pick up the pieces" from failed government policies. As Harata said:

I am now spending much of my time working with street kids who are no longer cared for by government agencies - they've closed all the houses for the kids and cut down foster care so where are they to go?"

A few of the women asked me if they had, in the past, lacked an understanding of the way in which the state manipulated community work. Hira, for example, suggested that many Maori women involved in community work, had accepted legislation and policy changes that had been made on the assumption, that there would be "women willing and waiting in the community to go to it, and we went to it all right". She believed it was time to challenge this state of affairs. Several of the pakeha women held similar perceptions. Despite this view, all of the women were still committed to the belief that the aim of community work was to work towards social change, and in the next chapter I will examine what it means for these women to work towards social change.

### **Summary**

This chapter has examined the women's experiences of community work within the context of the community, the organisation and the state. All of the women believed that community work necessitated working alongside those who were disenfranchised and marginalised and that it thus had to be located at the grass roots level. Indeed, many of the women themselves had become involved in community work because of their own experiences of powerlessness. The women maintained that the state needed community workers to implement its policies because of its own lack of access to the grass roots. They contended that devolution had resulted in community workers being asked to take on even more responsibility, but without access to policy or resource allocation decisions.



There was also a belief that community work was undervalued, in part because it was seen as "women's work", and this situation was reflected in its substantially unpaid or underpaid status. As well, the women were concerned that little or no acknowledgement was being given to those workers on welfare benefits who were making significant contributions as unpaid community workers. The considerable ambivalence the women experienced about their organisations, revolved primarily around the potential of the organisation to fund community workers on the one hand, and to become less removed from the needs of those at the grass roots on the other hand, in its pursuit to retain its own bureaucratic structures and/or access to state funding.

In fact, a dominant theme of this chapter was a very real concern that community work held an extremely vulnerable relationship to the state, because the state controls the much needed resources for its survival in the labour market, as well as to alleviate community suffering. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the next chapter, the women were continuously finding ways in which they could "slip in through the contradictions", in order to continue to work towards social change.

## *Chapter Nine*

### **Working Towards Social Change**

This chapter examines the women's experiences and their reflections on working for social change. I begin with a consideration of the role that caring plays in the social change process and then examine the women's experiences of social change. This consideration is followed by an exploration of the ways in which the women's experiences of community work have changed the women themselves. Next, I describe the women's views on developing strategies for change and on working for change from within the system. The chapter concludes with a brief account of some important issues that should be heeded by those working for social change.

#### **Caring: a central theme for social change**

As shown in Chapter Seven, this study clearly revealed that caring and nurturing is an integral part of community work and was seen as an essential part of social change. This theme was encapsulated by Hira:

I've got to say it's (community work) about caring. It's got to be that and also I think that the main thing is looking at social change. So it's both. For me it's got to be the caring along with the social change. My work entails supporting women in their existing situation and then moving on to empower them to bring about social change. If you don't work for social change in caring ways, then it's not worth doing.

Harata believed that Maori women initially became involved in community work "because they cared about what's happening to our people". She also pointed out that they were now focussing more on social change:

You look at it world wide and people are looking more for more control, more independence. Certainly for our own Maori people we have to take control of our own destiny. I don't believe the partnership will work unless we're able to control our own. However, we've got to be careful we take our people with us. Some of the older generation don't understand it if we rush them.

This was point endorsed by Pania who suggested that caring provided "the basis of the struggle" and that Maori people were becoming increasingly intolerant of people who used community work for their own political agenda:

If you are using it (community work) as a political thing, a stepping stone for you, community workers who have been here for a long time will sort you out very quickly and move you out. Your effectiveness is judged not only on how you determine what needs to be done, but also how you do it.

The Maori women had no difficulty in perceiving caring and nurturing as the foundation for their struggles. In fact, for them there was no tension in being both a carer and nurturer and being a 'change agent'. The two roles were entwined. This situation was summed up by Katarina:

To make social changes, you've got to care that people can cope with the changes, or there are people who are prepared to make changes and if there are consequences they must be aware of what may happen. I've made a choice to be in community work because I care about my people and lots of them don't

have the skills or confidence to make the social changes, but I do and I do both and I'm comfortable in both those roles.

The pakeha women also believed that caring and social change were inextricably linked. This belief was evident in Alice's observations of the relationship between the two:

Well I actually believe that social change comes through caring methods. If people are hit with things that they don't understand, they retreat from them or they fight. But if they're introduced to them in a caring way, especially by people that they regard and the ideas are put to them slowly and gently, then they'll often mull them over and they've got time to really think about them and really talk about them and see how it fits in their own lives. Social change in this way has a much better chance of advancing.

It was apparent that for all of the women the relationship between means and ends could not be ignored. In Chapter Seven I suggested that the women's vision of the ideal society provided them with the commitment to sustain their community work practice. Robyn, for example, believed that it was wrong for people to have power over others, and that a driving force for her was to change this situation:

There's people who have power and those who don't and I don't think it's right eh. It's like a passionate belief that it's bloody wrong and I want to change that and that keeps me going. But you've got to be careful, like I care about people. I care enough to want to change it. Yet so often when you get caught up in changes the caring gets lost and are you any better than the people who have power. I don't think so eh, so that caring's like a life-force or some sort of spirit which bonds us to things.

In other words, incorporated in their process of social change were caring and nurturing ways of working which, for these women, were linked to their specific goal of a more caring and just society. The model of community work they adopted fitted in with their perception of what the world could be like if major social change took place. Their community work practice proceeded in tandem with their vision of the ideal society.

As could be expected the women constantly had to balance the tension between their long-term objectives and that of providing immediate, "worthy" relief (Dominelli and McLeod, 1989:55). The women were of the opinion that their caring should not be seen as "band-aiding". As Megan explained:

All you are doing in that kind of caring capacity is trying to know people's expectations or change their expectations. So I've learnt to have a strong resistance to that kind of band-aiding.

Rather, as Rose suggested in Chapter Seven, women community workers approached caring at a wider level and even if they worked with individuals the focus tended to be on "a lot of building-up of people before they're ready to actually be part of any action that's happening". Rose described the process:

Community work is about social change, but it's connected to women as carers, women caring in the community and it's about actually moving from looking at things on an individual level, like me caring for my son, and moving on to actually looking at - a recent example is that child care subsidies are tightening up and I just feel so passionate about that. So I'll be rallying people and encouraging people and getting them to actually sort of try and fight this, but I'll be building them up so that they've got the confidence and we will be working together.

Evelyn made similar comments. She claimed that the "sufferings" people experienced were a "driving force" for her involvement in community work. She maintained that:

If we start to concentrate on those sufferings and forget to look at the wider issues, that's when we get into the dog-eat-dog situation where we start competing so much for our little share of the *kete* so we can attend to those immediate situations. So I always have in the back of my mind - "Do I want to continue doing this? Where are we going? Is it worth it? Is it empowering people, or is it doing more damage to the people that we're working with?"

Most of the women suggested that they worked towards social change somewhat differently than their male counterparts. In Chapter Seven, I argued that the women believed men and women cared in different ways, and it was evident that the women felt this difference influenced their differing approaches to the social change process. Rose, for example, claimed that male community workers interpreted particular issues quite differently to women and this affected their responses. With reference to the issue of childcare she stated:

I just don't think they feel it the way we do. They don't experience it, they don't feel it, so it's much easier for them not to consider that it's terribly important and not to follow it up and take it on. So I think that the sorts of things that male community workers probably see as requiring action or as being sites for potential change or whatever are different, are probably different to what we see as women, because we do care differently. ....The male community workers I see - I see some well paid male community workers in *blank* - but I see all of them working for Internal Affairs, Social Welfare or City Council and doing lots of - some of them maybe have been doing some really good neighbourhood work at some stage - but their contacts, the time

they spend is spent a lot more working with those structures directly; going to meetings, having chats and all that sort of stuff than actually sort of working in their communities or within the groups. I see a lot more of that stuff that becomes a bigger priority than the people.

Rose went on to suggest that many of these male community workers were very dependent on women for receiving information on important community issues. This belief was reiterated by a number of the women. For instance, Pania believed that the males tended to sit back while the women community workers carried out the grass roots community work:

We do a lot of work on the ground and that's where the changes come first and I think some of the males that take over are good performers, but they are only supporting the work that the women have already done. You've done all the work and you really think about it. The men try to take over at that stage. I think that Maori women have to be careful of our men who try to take over then, because they often get the wrong ideas and are trying to do other things than what we were aiming for.

Katarina was more blunt with her views on this question. She argued that Maori women had spent a lot of time making changes through caring ways, by creating confidence among their women and installing "cultural pride" with many of the youth, and yet she maintained:

men like to believe that they've done it. A lot of women are gutsy people, they want to make changes, so they're prepared to put their necks out. However, with this credit due to the women, the guy at the back is standing 10 feet tall. "Hey everybody, I did the changes".

Several of the women believed that they were actively encouraged by male community workers, especially "the bosses" to keep working at the neighbourhood level whilst the bosses "the structural stuff". It is evident, too, that policy makers, albeit at times unintentionally, take advantage of such women to ensure that they will continue to care and nurture. This very process uses women's energy to the extent that they often have difficulty moving from the supportive, nurturing role, to that of a 'social change agent'.

### **Community work and social change**

During the interviews, I asked all of the women to describe a piece of social change that they had been involved in, and also to tell me about the most exciting community work they had engaged in. Quite often these two aspects turned out to be the same. In this section I will examine the women's perceptions of the ways in which their community work has contributed to social change.

As I argued in Chapter Six, from the outset it was evident that all of the women believed that community work was a site of struggle for working towards social change. Although none of the women were convinced that they would see far reaching social change take place in their life-time, they were all reasonably optimistic that the small changes with which they were involved made a contribution towards the wider struggle.

This belief was illustrated by Rose who contended that there were "some shocking things happening in society", which necessitated significant change at "so many different levels". Rose maintained that to make small changes in women's lives and to build upon these was part of her overall struggle for change:



I think change can begin really small and that it may take a year, but it's all important in terms of making up a whole picture of change in society. I had a woman in a group for the first year that I was at work and at the beginning of the second term she came along to the group and she said "I did something on the weekend I want to talk about. I stayed in bed on Sunday morning until 8.30. I heard my husband and my kids stomping around the house and they said "what are we going to have for breakfast?", and I said that they'd have to make their own toast". And she was so pleased with herself and that was one little step and that was in 1988. That woman now is one of our neighbourhood workers and is actually doing things on a number of different levels, but it had to start back then and that took two terms of saying absolutely hardly anything at all in the group.

One of the Maori women provided a similar story. Pania was of the opinion that as Maori women grew in confidence, they would become "a strong force to reckon with". She cited, by way of example, a situation with a "quiet (older, Maori) lady, a really humble lady" who publicly opposed some planned action by a local Maori person, because she believed he was making some unjust demands on the particular group she had become involved with:

The next day, the lady was (told by her husband that she was) no longer allowed to come to any of our meetings, because what he (the local Maori person) had done was gone to her husband and said "*Blank's* in this group and she shouldn't be allowed to be in it". So *Blank's* husband had quite plainly told her she wasn't allowed to go any more, *but she did!* (her emphasis).

The increasing level of confidence among Maori women and Maori youth, was cited by several of the Maori women as making marginal contributions to social change.

Harata, who had worked extensively with young people who were involved in gangs or had just come out of institutions, described their progression as:

a maturity, a blossoming of knowing their roots, finding identity and with identity came pride and self-esteem and confidence. That's what I saw; being able to stand up and say "I am who I am", Maori in this case. Saying "I belong and that's my tipuna and that's my cousin", whereas in the cities we tend to put ourselves in our quarter acre lots and that's life". That's what I saw and I really loved it, and most of those kids had not had that exposure and were beginning to think that they'd heard about the Maori and the marae and all that, but where the heck were they, and that was the attitude of some of those young people that I worked with.

Harata went on to point out that for Maori, the reclaiming of one's identity was the key to social change. This is explored further in another section in this chapter.

For some of the women, a specific community work initiative that they had been involved in, exemplified community work as a site of struggle for change. Rangi spoke about the work she had done with Maori women by focussing on cervical cancer. She not only found this important in terms of her own concerns about Maori women's health, but also it provided her with a way in which she could:

work with the whanau to provide better education about lots of issues at the same time. We did a lot of things during that awareness week, and it's still carrying on, with the youth too.

A few of the women referred to some of their early community work initiatives when, as Shannon put it, "we maybe felt as if we were slightly ahead of the politics of the day and that we had some chances of making major changes". In Chapter Two I

alluded to a number of these kinds of initiatives. The significance of these initiatives was that the women were able to develop a project, which was primarily established on their "beliefs and systems", rather than being directed by a particular organisation or local or central government. Megan explained:

Setting up the women's centre was a very very grand piece of work for me because I was able to do it on my own terms, it was the first project that I'd ever established with all of my beliefs and systems in it, and without having to get permission from anyone else for it. It was set up because the women needed it and we have used it to do so many amazing things that have helped to bring about changes in the women's lives.

Shannon shared a similar story. She believed that her early days in community work were the most exciting and challenging, no doubt because "I was growing and learning about all kinds of things and learning about some options that were available to me". For Shannon, setting up a women's refuge was the most significant contribution that her community work had made to social change, although she was concerned about subsequent events:

I guess starting the women's refuge was the most significant in that it meant a way out for some women of domestic violence and pain and all those sorts of things, but I wonder again whether in fact when I see how institutionalised refuges have become - that spark and freedom that we had then is now so tightly controlled -and I wonder if we didn't focus on education enough or if we overlooked how the state would step in and control what we were doing eventually?

In fact, what Shannon was referring to, was the necessity not only to develop strategies for change, but also counter strategies. This important task of community work will be examined in a separate section in this chapter.

For Diana, it was some community work which she had done in response to a major redundancy in her area "that devastated the families around us", that she considered was an important social change initiative, because it provided "new horizons and opportunities":

I was working at *blank* when this huge group of redundant freezing workers who came grieving, who were nurtured and cared for by the whanau there, who had the opportunity to be together for a lot of them to actually explore for the first time what it was like to be on the marae even though they were Maori and to come, by being in this big group process, to the realisation that the freezing works closure liberated them. I really learnt the true meaning of humility through that process.

As Diana explained, it was very much a team effort. Her own skills came from her organising abilities, and also skills she had "learnt through being a reasonably competent housewife and mother and higher management stuff":

I was very much a part of the team and others were doing it as well and it was that really committed team of people who facilitated the new horizons and opportunities.

Here Diana was highlighting the reality that community work is about collective action, or as Pania suggested in Chapter Seven, working for social change was part of a team effort and was dependent on the support of others.

Two of the pakeha women cited recent community work projects that they had become involved with, as offering considerable potential for change. For Ruth the particular women's project that she was currently working closely with was:

a totally new model of working for women and it's something that is for the future - that we can give to the women for the future. For me that's challenging. It's like a coming of age, and it's built on all the things that I learnt through women's refuge, through the Association stuff, training things and neighbourhood work stuff that I've been involved in. It's like everything is just clicking into place.

In Chapter Seven I alluded to the necessity of feeling good about one's work, if only in order to retain the optimism that change could be achieved, even if the odds appeared against this. Ruth highlights the fact that for her there had to be a sense of purpose in her work. It was only through this commitment that she was able to continue to recognise herself as a change agent.

Robyn said much the same. She argued that the work trust she had initiated, not only had considerable potential for change in that it offered women a mechanism for developing their confidence, but it also provided them with a means to utilise their diverse skills. They could also be paid for the use of these skills. Robyn had set up the work trust following a period of time-out from another project which had left her "thoroughly exhausted and disillusioned". This project, which in fact had its origins in the earlier project, left Robyn feeling there was some hope. after all. An interesting aspect of this case was that the specific work trust project had not really become a success in itself, but the women involved in it found that many avenues opened to them from which they directly benefited. Thus for them it was a success. This point was encapsulated by Robyn:

I have seen over the last two or three years the changes in the lives of all the women who've been involved, including myself. Like in terms of the skills we learnt, the confidence that we gained and things that some of those women are doing now. Like *blank* had never been in a paid job. That was her first paid position at the work trust and whilst it wasn't entirely successful in terms of being a work trust, she's now got the confidence and she's now working as a co-ordinator of *blank*. If she hadn't come to the work trust, I doubt that she would now be working at *blank*.

As noted in Chapter Seven, it was the little changes like these that helped Robyn guard herself against the cynicism that she sometimes experienced. The same was true for all of the women.

Several of the Maori women also observed that for them, their struggles with statutory agencies had produced, over the years, a reasonable measure of changes in the ways in which some of these agencies now responded with a greater degree of cultural sensitivity to people in need. Although they all considered that more work needed to be done in this area, nevertheless they were of the opinion that they were moving in the right direction. Pare suggested that it had been a difficult task for many Maori women to take the lead in this type of work; it was "the men who were supposed to". According to Pare:

The dealings I've had with departmental staff, understanding their policies and their bureaucratic system of why they cannot be so flexible as what we can has been important for me as a Maori woman, because I'm now not confronting them. Instead I'm just being an advocate for the people, confer with them and challenge them and I can see already the changes I've made. But you're using all your energy which I find exhausting, and maybe that's what they hoped -

there's only so much energy you've got in a day. Some of us have to do it though.

It was interesting to observe the endless times women alluded to the exhausting demands that were placed on them, firstly because they were women, and secondly because they had chosen to be change agents in a society that did not encourage structural change, unless it was dictated by the politicians. Even then, such change was generally different to that which these women were fighting for.

Finally, as can be expected, a number of the women also spoke about their involvement in the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, and pointed to the contribution they hoped it would make for community workers seeking social change. Most of the women took the view that the primary contribution of the Association was that it was based on a partnership model and that this provided a model which all community work agencies and projects could adopt.

Several of the Maori women acknowledged that they were overwhelmed when the pakeha workers involved with the setting up of the Association handed the responsibility of the allocation of the funding to the Maori community workers. Harata summed up this common view:

Pakeha people have always taken the control and held the purse strings. We didn't expect anything different which was why we (the Maori community workers present) wanted it recorded. We really felt overwhelmed when you left us to make the decisions. That was the first time anything like that had happened for most of us.

In Chapter Seven I suggested that the Association provided a mechanism to obtain on-going training, which was considered essential for anyone involved in working

towards change. The role the Association played in securing the funding for the training was also mentioned by a few of the women. It is important to point out that the Association also acted as a lobby group against the state for the women. It resisted co-option by the state, and provided the women with a site to reflect on their strategies for change.

All of the women, then, were able to argue that community work provided a site for social change. They were also of the opinion that their involvement in community work had changed them, and that these changes empowered them to become change agents. As Diana said:

I've actually come to the point where I actually see the work as a war, you know, there's a war going on and then there's a lot of sort of - for me it's an ideological war, but it's like time has come now where I'm not prepared to sit back and wait for some sort of evolutionary change to happen. There's a lot of situations that I can feel that I can go into and actually stimulate change, capitalise on change, especially in people's attitudes and I feel strong in myself about being able to cope with that, that's what community work's done for me.

### **Changes for the women**

I asked the women whether they thought their involvement in community work had changed them. There was no doubt that they all believed it had changed them considerably. I can still hear Pania's voice, the intensity mingled together with humour and a sense of regret, in her response to my question:

Yes. I used to be such a lovely person. It's made me far more assertive. In some ways the changes have brought good things like assertiveness. I've seen a lot of the country and a lot of where people live, and have been able to accept



that this is the way that other people choose to live. Politically I've been in places that I'd never been and that's locally and nationally and it's given me a whole insight into what's going on. No longer do I just accept it when somebody walks in and decides that they want to run the show. It's also done some things, not negative, that haven't been so pleasant - I can no longer go somewhere and shut my mouth, I need to be involved and I'm no longer happy to just be there and be a part of what's happening. If I think other people are being taken for granted you know I'll say something. It's unsettling in some ways - it's just like I never thought that something like a road committee in the local council would mean anything to me - it meant nothing to me before, now you know that if they make the decision to put a road somewhere it could affect what sort of zoning there is etc. The other thing is a personal one, I have to learn to shut my mouth when I go home - I come from a conservative family - and not embarrass my parents because some stupid person comes on and says something and I suddenly stand up and my father's going "No, no, no".

The ambiguity in Pania's response epitomised those of the other women. Community work had given her knowledge and confidence, but it had also made her painfully aware of the differences between her and some of the people that she was close to. Indeed there were times when she wondered if "ignorance was bliss". Many of the women made similar comments. Pare, for instance, claimed that "I can never go back to being that what I would call ignorant, a non-eventful woman that didn't dare challenge anything". She was, however, quite realistic about this change:

Yes, I can see where I've definitely changed, I couldn't go backwards. I sometimes think that there's no going back and that's being realistic because again it's life - if a tree's growing up, it doesn't go back into the ground, only in the area of reproduction does it go to ground as seed and that comes back to my reproduction. I can see things in pictures and natural surroundings and

that's what gives me my understanding of the structures and philosophies of what I do.

Evelyn also found that she knew a lot more now than she had "ever known before in my life". Whilst she recognised this knowledge was essential for her work, she suggested that she had become much more wary, and there were times when she had difficulty in obtaining support for her work:

It has made me very wary of where and who I can turn to as a person and I guess the very openness of what I am as a Maori person has slowly disappeared, so I guess I'm very much more aware of what I say when it comes to me personally.

For Evelyn some of this ambiguity was created through her employment situation as the only Maori community worker in quite a large church-based organisation, and thus, during our interview, we spent quite some time developing strategies to help counteract her feeling of isolation. The changes she had undergone, however, had also placed a strain on her whanau, although her husband and children were, "after all these years" beginning to accept the way she was.

Shannon suggested that she had paid a high price for her involvement in community work, especially as far as her family was concerned:

Community work has probably had a huge influence on my life. I'm now questioning what sort of an influence and whether it was necessary or good, or as good as I thought it was - the price has been high, really high. It's so ingrained, I mean now that I find it almost impossible not to do and I don't know whether that's good. I just simply don't know how to abandon it and how to look elsewhere and how to physically go about changing my life.

Not all of the women felt as desperate as Shannon did at the time the interview took place. Diana, for example, acknowledged the pain, but highlighted the necessity for her to remain involved. Although she realised that community work had changed her, she claimed that:

I like myself better for having done it. It's been quite painful. It's required a lot of soul searching too though. Like what the hell am I doing, sort of thing. What would happen if I wasn't doing this? Probably nothing, but what would happen if none of us were doing this?

Some of the women were very positive about the ways in which they had changed. Ruth believed that through community work she had developed in ways which she doubted would have happened if she had stayed working in a factory:

It hasn't changed my basic working class values, but it has changed me. When I first started off I was a really shy person who had no confidence at all and it's made me feel that I'm equal to the next person. I've been through lots of growth within myself; about where I'm coming from, my past and where I'm going to. It's given me an avenue to tap my creativity too, and that's why I like initiating new projects - I've got this creative side to me that needs to be fulfilled, and community work does it. It's also made me feel confident in that I don't have to have the educational qualifications, I don't have to be a bookworm, I don't have to be someone who's come up in that traditional sense of education and background to do the types of things that I'm doing and be the person that I am - I can feel the equal in associating with people on all different levels.

Essentially, Ruth was arguing that community work had given her the freedom to develop as a woman and that she greatly valued this opportunity. Alice claimed that this had been important for her as well. Not only had community work changed her, but also she believed it had saved her:

I think it's changed me, saved me at times. It's been my sanity, it's been my drive, my ambition. It's been a lot of those things. It's been my life. I mean, I've lived it for so many years.

Alice was able to relate how she had moved from being a victim to a change agent through her involvement in community work. This evolution took place over a series of stages:

The first bit was recognising my own (sexual) abuse - that was the first step. Becoming self-aware. The second one was getting into a group with women so as we could look at this collectively. And then deciding you wanted to start up the rape crisis part of that group that dealt with sexual abuse of women. That started my involvement with training, which helped with my own healing all the way through. And then I started working with other women on the community awareness and education side. There was change at all those levels, for myself, other women and then wider community change I guess.

Although Alice no longer worked in this particular area, she believed that all change had to follow "basically the same steps that I've described".

Robyn also suggested that community work had "saved her". She claimed that it had made her realise that people could grow up in the same household and see the world in entirely different ways. Until she found community work she always believed that there was something "odd" about herself:

It's legitimated the bloody feelings that I've had in my life. Things to do with Maori/pakeha relationships eh, that made me realise that I had a different way of looking at the world to my family. I used to feel I was odd. I remember an argument with my mother. It was at the time when the government encouraged all the Pacific Island people to come into the country for cheap labour and my mother telling me that products in this country had gone downhill because they didn't know how to make things properly. And I remember I didn't know anything much then, but I remember saying that if an employer provided working conditions and better quality materials rather than hanging out for a quick buck then there might be different results. And it got really heated and I remember us screaming at each other, but it was things like that throughout my life that I've been on the outer in my family and it wasn't until I got involved with community work that I got the support and learned how to argue for the things I believe.

For Robyn, then, the changes were positive in that they both legitimised her views, as well as providing her with some understanding of how she could work towards changing situations which she believed were socially unjust.

Two of the Maori women were most positive about the changes they had gone through. Katarina believed that other Maori people were encouraged by the things that she was able to accomplish on account of the skills that she had developed:

A classic of my change is that people can now say "Hey, if Katarina can do that, then so can I". So it eases the pressure. I say, "look you don't know what's going on, never assume". Sometimes the way I talk, people hook in on it and use some of those skills - not all of them which is fair enough, I'm

unique to my own skills, but they use a bit of my skills that I've learnt in my work.

Harata also suggested that she had developed considerably through her community work, although she suspected that some Maori women might find her a little threatening. She believed that many Maori people had lost the art of working together and that this skill needed to be re-claimed:

I'm told not too long ago that we had a few women here in *blank* who are afraid of me and I said "what the hell for". I might be a wee bit threatening in that I've come to know so much and they're quite prominent women themselves, these are Maori women, but I don't mean to. I will talk with them one day because it needs to be addressed. It might be that I know too much and am in conflict with their own work because we're actually working in similar fields and that's why I say that we have to re-learn and re-claim what we had traditionally, so we can be working together again.

Despite the tensions and ambiguities, it appeared as if the personal changes the women had undergone were essential components in their development as change agents. It was evident that their contact with other community workers continued to sustain their optimism in working for change. This point was clearly illustrated by Rose who claimed that community work made her feel:

a lot more hopeful because when I'm with community workers I feel a lot more hopeful about change. It (community work) makes me see the world differently and it also makes me see the world quite hopefully because I think that it is a way, it is a path to real change, useful change and positive change in society. When I am with community workers I get the real sense of that. It re-motivates, it makes me feel a lot more committed to keep trying really and I

think community work has changed me and given me hope and so does being around community workers.

Here the notion of working collectively came through very strongly. So, too, did the notion of empowerment. While a key principle of community work is to empower people, it was evident that the women found the changes they had undergone an essential part of an empowerment process for themselves.

### **Organising for change**

In a previous section in this chapter I quoted Rose as saying that change was needed at "so many different levels". Rose, together with the rest of the women, believed that community workers needed to develop more effective strategies for working at these different levels. She argued that because society was so complex, community workers had to "develop overall plans to see where each could empower the other". This point was endorsed by Hira, who claimed that when she was developing strategies for social change, she never overlooked the role played by empowerment:

You look and you see the skills within the women themselves and realise how empowering that can be and that becomes paramount to you because they (the women) are part of the cogs in the wheel that turn the whole thing round. So you don't look at it as a specific thing, you look at the people who make the wheel go round and then we see what we can do with their commitment.

Hira was referring to women with whom she worked in the community. Rose, on the other hand, was suggesting that community workers often failed to utilise the contributions other community workers could make to assist to bring about change. In fact, throughout the interviewing process, I was often quite surprised to discover just how little time the women spent with other community workers developing strategies

for change, despite the fact that many of them worked in close proximity with one another. Several reasons were suggested for this situation. Katarina claimed that community workers got exhausted. She argued:

Our commitment is what binds us, our belief, our conviction, but what stops us sometimes is that maybe we've run out of juice - like your spirit, your body is all tired so we get together to relax, not plot, but then that belief is still there and we network when need be.

This explanation was endorsed by Ruth, who suggested that community workers only had a limited amount of energy and thus needed to consider how this could be used most effectively:

What we need to do is that we have to strategise how much energy we need to put into different things we want to work on, and then only put that bit of energy into it and no more because we could all work our butt off doing similar things and forget about our communities. Maybe we need to spend one day every few weeks pushing for particular things, like our training proposal and become more organised. We just have to work out how much energy we should put in to this and that and then get stuck in.

Robyn believed that all community workers had to work at the political level and not just leave it up to those "who really get a buzz from that". She pointed out how easy it was to become "burnt out or disillusioned" when politicians were unresponsive to community needs, and she claimed that community workers needed to vary the ways in which they tackled the political level. In support of this statement, Elizabeth argued that community workers could build on their past experiences more, in order to avoid repeating mistakes:



If you really are working for some organised ends, that you build from past experiences, you just know what the limits were at that time and you can see how you can avoid pushing yourself beyond those limits the next time round. But I think we're not very good at that, or maybe we don't get other workers to remind us. We certainly don't inform each other about which strategies work, and we only hear about the ones that failed.

Megan, however, contended that community workers needed to develop new strategies if they were to maintain their effectiveness and credibility:

I do actually think that the strategies needed for the 1990s in community work have to be quite different from the ones we developed in the 70s and 80s and what I do think is happening at the grass roots is that there are not a lot of new ways of doing things and those are the moments when I don't think it is working well. I hate to think that what we worked for the last 10 years is gonna go down the puddle.

Megan was currently trying out one of Ghandi's strategies which focussed on passive resistance, the establishment of priorities and an emphasis on the rightness of the cause. She intimated that community workers had "a whole feast of strategies to draw upon", but wondered if they had sometimes overlooked the real issues concerning social justice. Shannon also voiced this concern and stated that she thought community workers needed to "get real" about what they were fighting for:

I'd like to see community workers get real about the politics of their work. We need to get together more often and gather people around us with some political awareness and focus wider than just what's happening locally. We need to talk about what we are really doing and see if we can learn from this. That's a

growing thing, but it's also a strategy thing. Strategies are what keeps us going.

As a Maori woman, Pania would not have entirely agreed with Shannon in that she maintained that "Maori community workers know what the political issues are", but she acknowledged that community workers still had to spend more time in focussing on education as part of the change process. This process was particularly necessary with her own people:

We still have Maori people - 75% of Maori people - my father's age group especially, who think it's not our place to do the sorts of things that we do. In fact, they could be the biggest group who are non-participants in the change process, they could actually be the biggest sort of hold up. We need to look more carefully at the ways we can bring them along with us and I think that can only happen by quietly doing our own thing and just slowly involving them more and more. Just little bits at a time.

Katarina had similar ideas, in that she recognised that Maori people were becoming more politically aware. She also thought that this made some of them feel powerless, and perhaps resist any suggestions that they try to change this situation:

Sometimes little people or grass roots people think power is to be up in the Beehive when they don't even know they've got it, so the old basic thing of accepting what goes on continues. To contradict that you have to take it slowly or they yell, scream, fuss and carry on to get rid of you - they're reactionary to your ideas.

Most of the women were convinced that community workers should be focussing on education more. Shannon, for example, argued that in the early days of her

community work, education was seen as very important, but she now felt somewhat frustrated "by the lack of focus on education for change". She believed that:

This sort of education basically holds the key to whether we will or won't learn about our environment and the world that we live in and how much power we actually have in it, but the vast majority of people that I live amongst and work amongst and share my life with are not finding out about these sorts of things.

Over the last few years, Shannon had increasingly felt unhappy about the lack of political awareness among the "new breed of community workers". She sometimes thought that these workers were making people more dependent rather than educating them for change.

Several of the Maori women supported Shannon's insistence that community workers should be promoting "education for change". Pania defined such education as:

giving people information so they can interpret it and use it how they want to and I think even people who don't determine themselves as any use in that change, have to even if it's in their own thinking. If they change their minds then that's a start, and if all of the people decided "today we're not going to do this" well, I think we'd see massive change - so education is to instill motivation on people.

Evelyn stated that she thought educating people for change was extremely important, and it had always "featured high on my priority list". Evelyn believed that Maori community workers should spend more time helping some of their young people understand their oppression, rather than "just cleaning them up from their messes". She argued that they could focus more on this process by using the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi as a starting point:

They hear enough about the Treaty, but I doubt many of them understand what it's really all about; the Maori version I mean. I'd like to get into the schools, during social studies time, and get to our young people early before they really get on the streets.

There was no doubt that all of the women believed that strategies for change needed to incorporate "little successes to make people feel good about themselves", because, as Robyn put it, "that's all we really ever get to experience, little successes". Such successes were viewed as an important mechanism to mobilise resources, be these human, economic or physical resources. The reality was, in Keri's words, that "they don't want to know you until you've proved yourselves".

I was left with the impression that the women tended to focus on small reformist type change, rather than structural change, because the latter task was somewhat daunting, even though all of the women believed it was necessary. Yet structural change was integral to their overall vision of the more just society, which they believed people were entitled to.

### **Changes from within the system**

In the last chapter I suggested that the women preferred to work for change outside of the system, rather than from within it. The reality is that because the state has incorporated community work into its policies, herein lies a challenge for all community workers who are working for social change. No one can be totally excluded from the state's directives. In this section I consider the tensions that the women experienced in working for change from within the system.

In fact, all of the women believed it was possible, and sometimes even desirable, to work for change from within the system. Hira, for example, argued "that the system was formed by people and if people want to change it this will happen". She suggested that the people at the grass roots were uncertain about how they could bring about change and that community workers had to help them understand the system better. Hira, however, was of the opinion that it was not until more community workers:

joined the system that we'll understand better how we can get change. Now that's a little scary - and it scares me to hell because often when our people join the system, they've been taken over by it - controlled or hi-jacked.

As I indicated in Chapter Eight, Hira was suspicious because the state was actively encouraging Maori community workers to become part of the political apparatus. She nevertheless believed that by joining the system, she had found "really important bits and pieces I can feed out to many of our groups".

Pare agreed with Hira, as did several of the Maori women. Like Hira, Pare had recently been placed on a government committee reviewing policy. She maintained that it was important to have informed community workers in positions where they could influence policies:

If we're not put into those places where we can change policy, then we'll never change them. So to me that's the importance of being in those positions. I'm not in it for the status, just in it to be an advocate and bring change.

Pare believed she had considerable influence on the particular committee she was on, and was able to cite evidence of this. She thought that she had developed sufficient support mechanisms to stop her "giving into the system", through having (self-

imposed) weekly supervision. She pointed out that she spent a lot of time networking with other Maori people, especially women who were on similar kinds of committees. Pare was concerned that many of the community workers who were employed by the various statutory agencies, were not networking together adequately. She believed that further attention should be given to this situation in community work training.

Harata believed that by being part of the system, her contribution had become much more useful for the community groups that she continued to work with:

I can filter out information to community groups. I've read information that we wouldn't ordinarily get and I'm enjoying seeing the Ministry wanting, for whatever reason, to share more information out to community groups. That's where I see myself as useful. I put myself as a tool to be used. I also see I'm useful in terms of the policies Maori want to change.

For Harata there were three essential aspects to her work for the Ministry. Firstly, it provided her with access to information. Secondly, it enabled her to be in a position to influence policy. Thirdly, as Harata put it, "I have to say financially it's let me continue with that work. I've got to the stage where I have to be paid for my work". This important aspect should not be ignored.

Ruth also believed that change could be worked for from within the system. As alluded to in Chapter Eight, Ruth's concern was about the potential to be corrupted or worn out by the system. This potential was especially strong if workers stayed there too long. Ruth also emphasised the importance of having workers inside the system:

I really believe we have to have workers there or else I wouldn't be there. But I don't think community workers survive too long within government or local body structures because the longer we're in there the more we start buying into

that system....(But) we need people from within to pass information out, to pass resources out, to continually tell us - because the system changes so much to confuse us on where those resources are and how to get them out - we need people inside to pass the information on.

She suggested that once community workers stopped passing information on, they needed to be challenged about why they were staying within the system.

Megan was somewhat more cautious. She agreed that changes could be made from within the system, because "collectively we've created them". She was quick to point out that to an extent "it depends on what change the system is capable of making". Megan argued that to make changes within the system, it was necessary to force that system to "honour its own book of rules". Although she conceded that in the tide of the current political changes, it was becoming increasingly difficult to accomplish this ideal, she nevertheless maintained that when people stood up and said "that's enough, we won't take any more", change could occur. This was the point at which the community workers' role was crucial, as it was his/her task to empower people to take such a stand.

Over the years that she had been working for change from within the system, Elizabeth claimed that she had been able to "kick in doors" and that she had done this by being prepared to challenge the system that employed her. In part, she believed that she had achieved some of her goals through being well organised, having clear objectives and appropriate skills to "detect where people are at, and so not force an issue if the time's not right". Elizabeth also believed that community workers became worn out by the system, and argued that they should be more prepared to find new ways of working:

We need to start to test out new models of work and new ways of working.

We need to look at other models that are being used by Maori people and

people from third world countries such as Nicaragua. We've sunk into a particular pattern in our work and it's time to change that. There might just be one little aspect of those models that we might be able to incorporate into a new project that we embark upon. I think too that we should go back to the principles underlying our community work. It doesn't matter if you're working for change inside the system or from outside as long as we use those principles to guide us.

As I pointed out in Chapter Seven, all of the women believed that ongoing support was essential for any one working for change, and this support was seen to be particularly necessary for those who were working within the system. Alice encapsulated the women's concerns about this situation:

I think as long as we've got strong support we can continue to make changes from within the system, but from what I see we go in with high ideals and just keep meeting this brick wall again and again and eventually we feel as if we have failed. But if you've got strong support and you use that well in such a way as to see the small gains that you've made then you don't feel as if either you've failed or are perhaps fooling yourself.

Alice went on to state that sometimes she thought community workers tried to be perfect and set themselves such high ideals. Often these ideals were almost impossible to achieve. She suggested that community workers who worked from outside of the system, could have unrealistic expectations of those who worked from within. She stated that she herself had at times been guilty of this expectation. Alice believed it was important that community workers should think about what they did to themselves much more seriously than they had in the past. This point is further explored in the next section.



## Other issues relating to change

In this final section on the women's experiences and views about social change, I will consider a number of key issues the women touched upon while narrating their stories. These issues seemed to be too important simply to bury under the headings used so far, as they covered several significant issues relating to community work in general.

The first issue related to the different directions that Maori and pakeha appeared to be moving in. This point was indirectly alluded to by the Maori women, but more openly discussed by the pakeha women. Shannon, for example, stated that her views about social change could not be fixed, because until there was a partnership between Maori and pakeha, she was not certain what the future held for community work:

I think that for Maori people it's (community work and social change) different - they're going in a different direction than pakehas and some of us can go with them, but that we're going to face up to what we're on about as community workers in a different sort of a way, because we're not going to be able to make that journey with Maori people in the way that they're making it. Our struggles are different to theirs, but hopefully we have an end goal of partnership.

Alice also believed the struggles for Maori women and pakeha women were different, in that Maori women were doubly oppressed. As she put it, "I can't even imagine what the struggle is going to be like for them for the next 20 years". Alice made some comparisons between the way in which Maori people and other groups who had been viewed as victims, such as sexual abuse survivors, were moving from victim status to survivors. She maintained that for Maori people, "the battle was an immense one". This view was endorsed by Megan who stated:

I don't mean this in any kind of hysterical way, but I think that the (Maori) issues are so huge and I just don't know if the injustices will ever be made right in the way Maori want it.

Although all of the Maori women indicated that they felt comfortable about working with the pakeha women towards a partnership, some, nevertheless, suggested that as tangata whenua, the decisions about change had ultimately to be theirs. Harata, for example, commented that for Maori people change was "the process of re-claiming everything". She went on to state that the change had "to come from within and it's got to be Maori people to formulate that change".

Katarina saw change in terms of Maori people having "more confidence in their convictions". She suggested that some Maori women felt torn between the Maori way of doing things and "what pakeha women have to say about Maori men's behaviour". Katarina intimated that for her the gender issue was "something that can be worked through once Maori people believe in themselves".

I doubt that any of the pakeha women would have taken exception to these views. I believe that for some of them this added to their general feeling of confusion about community work, especially in relation to women's issues. This is an issue that clearly needs further clarification.

Another issue that arose was that of dealing with the consequences of change. Anyone who works as a change agent has to confront the consequences of change, be this at the individual level, or the structural level. Pania provided an example of this at the individual level with reference to the "really humble lady" whom she referred to in an earlier section in this chapter. Pania highlighted her concern about the ramifications of the woman's decision to go against her husband's request, that she no longer attend a particular group:

I went through a lot of turmoil after that and talked to someone about this and the person said to me "you gave her choices and she didn't even know before that she had them".

In fact, women community workers, in particular, often find themselves in precarious situations, in that in the process of empowering women to take more control of their lives, some of the women invariably end up leaving oppressive relationships. Indeed, while it can be argued that the women are "given choices," sometimes the unknown can create even greater oppressive situations, such as loneliness, lack of security, homelessness and poverty. These factors need to be carefully considered in order to weigh up the costs, because as Robyn put it:

The reality is that women receive so many labels and hassles and obstacles when they step outside male expectations they have to balance up whether it's worth it.

When we consider the consequences of structural change, it is evident that we need to question whether we are, as Elizabeth said, "getting what we wanted". Several of the women thought that we had been quick to criticise existing structures, but slow in providing carefully thought through alternatives. Elizabeth had been referring to devolution, which was something that community workers had been demanding for years. When it was presented to the community, however, people's expectations did not match what they received. Insufficient detail had been given to community workers' demands, and thus the state was in the situation to claim that this was what the community had asked for.

Shannon pointed out that this situation had also happened with women's refuges. In the early days, women had sought state funding for refuges, but she now questioned,

together with an increasing number of women, whether women's refuges had become institutionalised and "lost their political clout". In Chapter Two, I referred to the tendency of the state to co-opt, repress or control community work initiatives. In effect, some of the women were concerned that community workers, by not carefully articulating their demands and the ways in which these can be met, have facilitated their own vulnerability to the state's governance.

The third issue which rested somewhat uneasily with most of the women, was the global issues the world faced. All of the women alluded to these issues, but very few considered them at length. Yet, as Megan said, "we can't talk about the micro issues without referring to the macro and we can't work on one without the other". She went on to point out that conservation issues were closely related to economic issues, and yet community workers had paid little attention to "these fundamental issues".

Diana, argued however, that it was issues such as these which would eventually unite Maori and pakeha people working for change. She maintained that feminist and anti-racist issues will be placed alongside issues to do with the environment:

We're moving into a point in time when feminism and racism is going to have to be looked at in terms of another group of people who cross all cultures to care about the land, or care about the universe. So that's another movement for change we need to know about. That's a whole new tribe - I think Ranganui Walker called them a tribe - so we're going to actually have to link hands with people who really do understand and care about the land.

Elizabeth also believed that global issues needed to be considered more carefully by community workers. She maintained that for too long community workers had narrowly focussed on their localities, and ignored "what happens even at the national level, let alone internationally". She argued that community workers should all

participate in regular structural analysis workshops, so that they could develop a greater understanding of local, national and global issues.

The final issue which I will consider concerns the role of laughter and celebration in the social change process. Katarina asked me "what happened to the laughter?" She recalled:

I remember when a new staff member started we all used to write a poem. Wendy, one described us to a tee. It typified us and it was a good giggle. However, that seems to be all gone now - like that song "Where have all the flowers gone?" and I want to bring back the laughter.

Ruth also dwelt on this point. She argued that celebration must play an important role in community work. Ruth described how for her it was important to celebrate achievements, no matter how small:

When we reach a goal, it is essential that we do something to celebrate; we must stand back and look at the change and acknowledge it even if it is just a small step. I remember someone saying to me "you can't be part of my revolution unless you want to dance with me".

This very important message concludes the women's stories.

## **Summary**

To bring the women's stories to an end was a difficult task, because they contributed a wealth of significant experiences. This final chapter will highlight the central theme of this thesis, working towards social change. The women have suggested that this is not an easy task. It requires commitment, vision and considerable optimism that those

people who are effectively powerless, can achieve change. It also requires working in ways that are caring and nurturing, which was a dominant theme in this chapter. The women suggested that they actively embrace this capacity that women have developed, and it is used as an empowering tool in the social change process.

Creating small changes in people's lives, was also seen as part of the overall goal of structural change. The women had many stories to share, about how little changes could be built upon, in order to increase people's confidence and develop their creative potential. For Maori people, the restoration of pride in one's cultural identity was seen as an important part in this process. The women also spoke about the changes they had undergone as a result of their involvement in community work. It was evident that they had become politicised and that for them there could be "no going back". For some there were tinges of regret about a lost innocence or a high price that had been paid. This regret was balanced against the positive step from being powerless or a victim, to that of a change agent and, essentially, this was seen as an act of self-empowerment.

The struggles inherent in organising for change were also explored. The women constantly had to reconsider their strategies and it was evident that more training was necessary in this important domain. Many of the women believed that they now spent too much of their energy responding to the demands of the state, rather than educating for change. Strategies to overcome this situation also needed to be developed. Although most of the women preferred, given a choice, to work outside of the system, there was a growing recognition that there was a place for workers inside the system to resource those more on the periphery. Strong support mechanisms were deemed necessary, however, in order to avoid compromising one's integrity. Finally, there was, among other important issues relating to change, the suggestion that Maori and pakeha were moving in different directions. This issue is considered more closely in the conclusion of this dissertation.

## *Chapter Ten*

### **The Way Forward: Reflecting On The Past**

#### **Weaving the stories together**

One of the key tasks of this concluding chapter is to bring together the diverse themes of the women's stories and to examine these in the context of the theoretical frameworks explored in Part One. These frameworks help us to explain and understand the women's experiences. In so doing, however, it is important to acknowledge that as Nash (1987), Weedon (1987) and Munford (1989) suggest, theory also emerges from women's stories. The women themselves have explanations for why a situation is as it is and these explanations have been woven throughout their stories. It would also be arrogant to assume that because their theories may not be documented in a written form, that they do not exist, or that they are not significant.

Part One is about published theoretical arguments, and traverses the theoretical fields which explore the role of the state and issues to do with the politics of caring. As well, it contains my own previously unpublished material which documents the history of community work in Aotearoa. I have been able to write about this issue because of my personal involvement in that history. This task reflects my commitment to recording the practice of community work in Aotearoa. It also enabled me to contextualise Part Two in a way that is appropriate to the direction of this thesis. This aim has been discussed in the methodology section of this thesis. In Part Two the women speak about their experiences and perceptions of community work, and their

explanations for these experiences. This chapter, by focussing on some of the key themes, brings the two parts together.

This thesis, then, has documented women's experiences of community work; stories that are very seldom told. It has also focussed on an explanation of social change from the perspective of women community workers. This final chapter addresses both these important elements. It begins with a summary of the context of community work and then moves on to examine some of the key issues and themes emerging from the women's stories. Some key aspects of social change are examined, and then the chapter concludes with a section on the future of community work and of research in this area.

### **The context of community work**

Community work does not take place within a vacuum. It occurs within three contextual sites: the state, the organisation and the community. Throughout this thesis and specifically in Chapter Eight I have explored these sites. In this section we revisit the context of community work to consider its significance. We will begin with the state, which in effect encompasses the other two sites.

#### **The state**

Throughout this thesis the contradictory nature of the women's relationship with the state has been explored. On the one hand most of the women gain their income through the state in wages or benefits or both. As well, those women employed by state agencies are controlled by the policies of these agencies. On the other hand, the women have on many occasions effectively challenged the hegemony of the state. The state is not monolithic, and at least until recently, there has been a great deal of space for these women to challenge, to make changes and to influence policies



governed by the arena of the state. Although this thesis has provided a discussion of some of the feminist critiques of the welfare state it is important to acknowledge the gains that were made by many disadvantaged groups during the heyday of the Keynesian economic/welfare social state in Aotearoa. It was this state form that in fact opened up the possibilities for these successes.

Comparatively speaking, women workers in Aotearoa have made some significant advances during the 1970s and 1980s. Recently, however, new right policies have contributed to a withering of the state. Cuts in the D.P.B., unemployment benefit, the widow's benefit, C.O.G.S funding and training schemes have been followed almost simultaneously by increases in education costs, state housing rental and user pays in health care. These factors, together with the repeal of the Pay Equity Act, the abolition of the Restart employment programme and the recent Employment Contracts Act, have taken women and other marginalised groups giant steps backwards. Indeed, Bryson (1991) contends that the rapid changes that the state has recently undergone have, in part, been the outcome of the struggles of the powerful to reclaim ground that they have lost through the victories won by women, working class, minority groups, ethnic, racial and other marginalised people during the last few decades.

Whereas in the past the state has appeared to accommodate the demands of the women community workers, now, when the women's energy levels appear low, the state has become more overtly hostile. We have the situation in Aotearoa, as in a number of other post-industrial societies, where the state is no longer concerned about maintaining some pretence of achieving equality for people. As Bryson (1991:3) points out, the "reduced political will to promote the cause of women and the range of other subordinate groups", will necessitate a movement back to charities and emergency relief services.

If this trend persists, the politics of community work will again become engulfed under a model of aroha, charity and the deserving poor. This possibility is rapidly becoming a reality within Aotearoa at the present time. Even as the foodbank lines are increasing, the state, through a number of mechanisms, is clearly articulating a philosophy of self-reliance. Moreover, recently it was made clear that funding for community groups through its so-called devolutionary process, the Community Organisation Grants scheme (COGS) would not be made available for any groups which were using such funding for political purposes (Waikato Times, 1991). Other funding sources such as CLANZ (Community Learning Aotearoa N.Z.) have now been disestablished.

Despite the success of Labour and National governments in introducing new right economic policies and neo-liberal social agendas into the state, this does not constitute the 'end of the struggle' but the beginning of new forms of struggle. For example, the recent success of superannuitants in forcing a re-think of the superannuation policy, and the modification to changes in the legislation governing services for people with disabilities, shows that monetarist states, no less than Keynesian ones, can, when the opposition is strong, be responsive to challenge. If the challenges are big enough, loud enough and long enough, change will occur. The danger is however, that women, worn down by the politics of impoverishment, will be too exhausted to fight. Nevertheless, the increasing inequalities that are so evident in our society have undoubtedly provided new impetus to women's struggles.

This situation is especially noticeable for the Maori women who as the stories reflect, have discovered new ways to organise their struggles. These struggles, as has been shown, are firmly rooted in their whanau, hapu and iwi. These groups provide for these women a context for their work in the organisation and in the community.

The pakeha women, on the other hand, are having to consider new alliances, and some of them are promoting ways in which they can work alongside Maori and other groups to challenge the hegemony of the state. Recent examples of 'people power', have seen the state challenged by people who are caring for children with disabilities, and the fight to keep open the adolescent unit at Christchurch Hospital. Community workers have stood alongside these groups. Indeed, some have themselves been affected, because they are, in fact, part of the community they seek to support.

### The organisation

In response to the state's directive, many community work organisations have also undergone considerable changes. In telling their stories, the women intimated that their organisations now appear to be more accountable to the state than to the constituency that they serve. Indeed, it can be argued, that many of these organisations begin with the state's needs and not those of individuals. Many organisations have clearly adopted a brokerage role. For these organisations there has been a movement away from prevention, innovation and social change, to that of dealing with social problems in an individualised manner, akin to a community social work approach.

Thus, once again, the women are placed in an ambivalent situation. On the one hand the organisation provides them with the support they require to do their work, but, conversely, it may also hinder the very work they wish to carry out. It can be very difficult for these women to take radical action and to challenge the actions of both the organisation and the state. It has also been disheartening for the women to find that when secure paid employment opportunities eventuate within organisations, men appear to get first priority, especially if these are full-time positions. This is a barrier which they have difficulty in overcoming.

Moreover, the challenge for these women is to find ways in which they can utilise organisations' resources, but remain aligned with those groups with whom they identify as oppressed. One would not want to portray these women as powerless and unable to transcend the difficulties their organisations present. As the stories have shown, these women have found some very creative ways in which to work. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association is just one example of where the women gain support. They use this organisation to reflect on their daily activities both on local and national levels. This, in effect, is one way that they keep "hanging in" so that they can continue their work in the community.

### The community

The women's stories have shown that community work takes many different forms. At times the women had difficulty moving from dealing with daily issues to organising for structural change for their communities. Nevertheless, they still managed to achieve some change. One must point out that little consideration may be given to the struggles of people such as community workers (Williams, 1989). Rather, they have seemingly been ignored in "mainstream and political economy writings, where the issues are precisely those about welfare provisions - housing, health, children, older people, poverty" (Williams, 1989:194).

Although this may be so for the women in this study, it is important not to devalue and diminish the change that they have achieved for their communities. The issue for these women is not about being recognised for what they achieve, but rather of improving the lives of those they work with, both on a personal and a structural level. They are not concerned with the status ascribed to fighting for a particular issue. Instead they measure their success in terms of whether they have prevented an oppressive situation or managed to create something new and empowering.

One must emphasise the very unassuming way many of these women have worked in their communities. As one of the Maori women pointed out, they are the quiet leaders behind those who stand up front. One of the aims of this thesis has been to document this work. As women have struggled to bring about change within these communities, they have followed two important community work principles: that of self-determination and of working collectively. These have facilitated the empowerment process and contributed to an analysis of power, which in turn contributes to the process of challenging the hegemony of the state.

### **Key issues and themes**

Now that we have an understanding of the context of community work, it is important to summarise briefly again some of the key issues and themes emerging from the women's stories. Let us begin with their views on feminism.

#### **On feminism**

In this thesis, while recognising my own feminist commitment, I did not impose it upon the women. In the process of carrying out the interviews, the women articulated their own views of feminism. A few of the women talked explicitly about, and labelled their actions as part of, feminist community work. Even for those women who did not address feminism as such, it is evident that when examining their stories, much of their work could be defined as feminist action. The task, as identified by the women, is to organise the struggle with other women and other groups working towards change.

My decision not to interview men, originated out of my concern about the inadequacy of written information about women's involvement in community work. I was thus more intent on providing an alternative account, rather than examining community

work in Aotearoa within a wider context. I acknowledge, not withstanding, that in working towards social change, community workers must take account of the place of men and children and their place in society. While I believe that at times women need to find the space to organise themselves, I do not adopt a separatist stance, for as Dominelli and McLeod (1989:69) state:

As a grander, all inclusive strategy, however, we consider that separatism holds the danger of seeking to subordinate concern for the welfare of men and male children. This is anathema to feminism, whose origins lie in the refusal to acquiesce to any form of subordination. We also suggest that the bogey is patriarchal social relations and not necessary the men themselves, though it may be very difficult to separate the two at times.

Most of the women made it quite clear that the social change they were seeking would be liberating for men as well as women. This was particularly so for the Maori women, who emphasise the importance of working with all whanau members in the community.

Nevertheless, it was evident that all of the women were concerned about the tensions inherent in their working relationships with male community workers. To some extent, this was understandable. Women's significant contributions in the home and in the community have constantly been diminished, undermined or ignored, and these women provided many examples of this response in the telling of their stories. Many male community workers were seen to co-opt women's community work and present it as their own. In promoting men as more or less irrelevant in their struggles, the women were clearly expressing the frustrations, despondency and anger that they frequently experienced. Despite this, for both the Maori and the pakeha women, it is clear that part of their struggle is to re-articulate their relationship with men, and in so doing, to find ways to build alliances.

## Gender, race and class

In this dissertation I have avoided exploring in depth the theoretical debates over primacy since I was more concerned with the ways in which gender, race and class intersect (James and Saville-Smith, 1989). I did not want to get caught up in these debates, but rather sought to provide a framework for examining the specificity of the social order in Aotearoa. This is of a particular concern to me, in that my own commitment to socialist feminism is such, that I believe these inter-relationships must be explained so that we can more easily understand the context of the social order in Aotearoa.

If our future theorising is to be of explanatory use, it must of necessity show how gender, race and class are related. As can be seen by the differences between the Maori and pakeha women's stories, gender cannot be examined in isolation from race. Current developments in Aotearoa have also exploded previous conceptions of the way class is constructed (O'Brien, 1987). The existence of gender as a category is shaped not only by gender relations, but also by other relations such as race and class. These relations are historically constructed (James and Saville-Smith, 1989), and, although feminist theorising has not been the focus of this dissertation, if we are going to push the feminist boundaries of knowledge, future research must take into account these questions. It is not possible to maintain our macro theories or grand theories without looking at the context in Aotearoa. Whilst these theories are useful, they fail to explain the specific situations in Aotearoa and the subtleties that happen on the ground. Recent developments such as post-structuralism may help to account for these situations (Weedon, 1987).

Again I return to the women's stories because they have shown ways in which we can begin to find the answers. Although the women did not spend large amounts of time

trying to find reasons for why the current reality existed as it did, they did make some interesting observations. Their questions were concerned about whether our theories give us adequate explanations for the existence of power relations, and the ways in which these can be challenged. For these women, gender race and class all have significance. The important task is for them to find more successful ways of analysing power relations and organising their struggles in order to move toward constructing new subject and class positions. They are not concerned with which theory is better, but with how our theories can help us understand the current situation and change this situation. This is a key element of community work.

### Community work and social work

In this thesis, the women I interviewed, view community work as different from social work. It is not the task of this study, however, to spend time further exploring the debate on whether community work has a different essence from that of social work. Although the women believe that there are key differences, the issue in this study has been to identify the nature of the community work task and its relationship to the social change process. I believe the perceived differences that came out in the interviews tend to reflect the relationship between community work and the state, and, that social workers, especially those within the statutory agencies, are seen as having power and resources denied to community work, rather than some unique qualities that community work has over and above social work. There is no doubt that these women community workers appeared to be more irreverent about those who hold the power, and that they focussed more on working and celebrating with the people that they worked alongside, than did the majority of social workers with whom I am acquainted.

Although I believe that there are nevertheless some differences between the two, I tend to support Shannon's (1986:218) suggestion, that both are part of a broader directive



of "social relationship change work". As with the theoretical debates, the women are concerned with improving their situation, rather than wasting precious energy on criticising others in related fields. Training is one of the areas they are currently focussing upon and putting much energy into.

### Training

It was evident that although these women have been involved in community work for a long time, none of them sees herself as an expert. Rather, as Dominelli and McLeod (1990) suggest, they tend to move from issue to issue and almost begin afresh each time. Although this has some advantages in that every situation can be seen as unique, I believe the women have to recognise their extensive abilities and involvement more positively. In fact, as shown in this study, there were times when they were even somewhat self-effacing about these abilities. That the women often devalue the significance of their work, reflects the way in which to an extent they have internalised the dominant culture's views. It is likely that if I had interviewed male community workers they would have had no difficulty in articulating their achievements.

Through the Aotearoa Community Workers Association the women are beginning to identify their training needs and are working to meet these needs. As with the issues pointed out in the discussion on the role of the organisation, these women are, at times, reluctant to engage in 'mainstream training' in that they do not want to lose their positions, as well as their ability to be radical and to challenge the current structures. Some of the women associate training in institutions such as universities, as being conservative, not radical enough, and too career focussed. Many opt for training that is issue related and based in the community. This need means that it is difficult to pay for and find appropriate resource people to provide the training. The Aotearoa Community Workers Association has gone some way in ameliorating this situation.

For other women, training is a site in which to reclaim and redefine what community work with, and for women, is all about. One of the key issues that these women have been, and still are confronting, is the issue of unpaid work and women's nurturing work. It is often deemed as inevitable and natural, that women are the caregivers and the helpers, therefore their training needs are seldom considered. This brings us on to the women's views of caregiving.

### The politics of caring

The women have to care; they have been socialised into doing so. If they don't care, the people they work with suffer. They like doing community work, and they see their work as a valuable contribution in the labour force. Moreover, the women do not want to stop caring, but they want to receive recognition for their work. They are also optimistic, in that they believe that their model of caring contributes to social change, as it is based on an empowering model, rather than a dependency one.

For the women, much of their work is premised on their own value system of aroha and caring, as opposed to apparent societal values of obligation and servitude. The women have gone some way towards challenging the ways in which these societal values have served to oppress and marginalise women. They have been supported in this aim by the work of some institutions such as the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Given that men have seldom taken up this struggle on behalf of women, however, it is hardly surprising that the women appear to be somewhat protective about their caring capacities, as distinct from those of men. As intimated in Chapter Seven, however, all of the women believed that because these capacities were socially acquired, men also had the potential to acquire them. It is now up to men to do something about this.

In Chapter One, I claimed that community work originally had a close association with social work and with the care and nurture of individuals and families. My research has

shown that while this is still considered to be an essential practical dimension of community work, little consideration has been given to its relationship with the social change process, especially in the more recent community work literature. Analyses of community work have tended to make a distinction between working with people to alleviate their daily lives - generally considered to be a conservative approach to community work - and working with people to empower them to change their social conditions of existence, as in a radical community work model. Definitions of community work frequently highlight this dichotomy. Even my own definitions of community work do not allude to the affective components of community work (Craig, 1983,1989). I personally believe the time has come to reclaim the caring dimension, and its relationship to change, in our community work literature and training.

### **Differences in the experiences of Maori and pakeha women**

Of the two groups of women, the Maori women interviewed for this research have more clearly identified what caring within the context of their community work means to them. This does not diminish the pakeha women's understanding of the role of caring, but serves as an example that, in fact, there were some differences between the ways in which the Maori and pakeha women had experienced community work.

As evidenced throughout their stories, there are other differences between Maori and pakeha experiences of community work. The Maori women are in a renaissance and have been in their most hopeful stance. Pakeha women are less hopeful, having lost some of the impetus of the 70s. Perhaps because all but one of the pakeha women identified themselves as working class, however, they did tend to focus more on issues to do with rights, poverty and marginalisation.

The Aotearoa Community Workers Association has brought this group of women together, although it would be unwise to suggest that the relationship has always been a harmonious one. There are distinct differences between them, and whereas the pakeha women were showing some signs of losing their direction, the Maori women did not. Their battle will continue, because it is about the survival of their culture alongside any other issues.

The whanau is extremely significant for the Maori women. Community work must incorporate the family. It embraces the family and does not exist independently. Community work for them, then, embraces their culture. It focusses on how the family can be involved and it focusses on re-claiming Maori control and tino rangatiratanga, or Maori rights and needs. Needs are seen in the context of rights, not impoverishment. Rights are seen within the context of development and what the culture needs to survive, not what pakeha thinks it needs.

Within this context community work clearly has to incorporate a parallel development approach. Pakeha women see the family as a site of oppression. While the Maori women are sympathetic to this view, they nevertheless see the whanau as a site for empowerment and self-determination. They thus focus on empowering Maori women and Maori men. It was not so much that pakeha women talked about the oppression of the family however; it was more that the Maori women embraced the family and incorporated it in the social change process.

There was, nevertheless, considerable optimism that Maori and pakeha community workers could work alongside of, and in close proximity to, one another. Through their collective involvement in the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, both the Maori and pakeha women have shared a more equal relationship and have thus gained a better understanding of each others' needs and concerns. Some of the pakeha community workers, and in particular most of the pakeha women that I interviewed,

have been careful in their attempts to incorporate the principles that underlie the Treaty of Waitangi into their daily community work practices. The Maori women have recognised this, and the relationship between the two has generally been co-operative.

The potential thus exists for them to learn from one another. For instance, the Maori women need to recognise that the state will try to co-opt their work, as it clearly has tried to co-opt and control community work as a movement. The Maori women have begun to address this issue and pakeha community workers have played a significant role in helping them to do so. The pakeha women need to guard themselves against becoming institutionalised. In their stories they spoke of their concerns about this possibility. They can reflect upon this possibility with the Maori women and develop strategies to prevent this happening.

Similarly, pakeha community workers must listen to their Maori counterparts when they argue that community workers in Aotearoa need to identify, develop and articulate their own community work models for training and practice. We can no longer afford to follow training programmes developed in Britain. As shown in Chapter One, British community work has gone down a path that we must seek to avoid. In Aotearoa, the Maori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa, were colonised by the British. We must now seek to reverse the effects of this colonisation, not maintain it.

The chapters on the history of community work overseas and here in Aotearoa reveal the ways in which community workers have developed distinct ways of working. The history of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association clearly shows how women community workers, alongside their male counterparts, have begun to develop community work practices that are firmly rooted in a particular cultural context and have taken on a form that is distinct to Aotearoa. This thesis, by including both a historical account of community work and by documenting experiences of community

work, acknowledges the importance of reflecting on our past together with our present situation in order to move on.

The challenge for these women is to highlight the ways in which Maori and pakeha women can work together in their struggles for social change. Understanding how change can be brought about, and how this change can be sustained is an essential concern for these women.

### **Social change**

This thesis has documented women's stories about community work. Woven throughout these stories the women articulate an important theme - that of how to bring about change. These women constantly link their daily problems to global and structural issues. They simultaneously work on several levels, with individuals, families, organisations, the community and the state. For them, community work is a site of struggle for change.

The women survive and maintain their struggle, because they believe that they can bring about change. Throughout, it is their vision of the ideal society and the support that they receive that sustains them. 'Spaces' open up in the dominant culture for them to harness. For example, the Maori women talked about how they were organising themselves to take advantages of lapses in the dominant culture. This was not to say that change was consistent and planned. Often it appeared as if the women were involved in change almost sub-consciously. What is important is that the potential was there and the women persisted in their struggles as an ongoing part of their work. The women do not always articulate this situation nor draw attention to their involvement in social change. Rather, they tend to approach it in a quiet way and, at times, do not even recognise their achievements.

Part of the struggle for these women, is the difficulty of keeping their long-term objectives in sight, while dealing with the daily crises associated with community work. For the Maori women, this has perhaps been less difficult, in that their minor struggles for change within the whanau are part of a global struggle for Maori development, tino rangatiratanga and the rights of indigenous people. For them, at the end of the day, everything relates back to the struggle for the survival of their culture. This struggle informs their community work and is part of their central identity.

For the pakeha women, it is their concern about gender issues that appears to be the primary focus of their work, although this is not as clear. Indeed, there is the suggestion of a more generalised focus on the wider issue of social justice. The struggle, then, is more clearly defined for the Maori women, and thus can be seen as more readily focussed. At times, however, it becomes more difficult for them in that the struggle can never be left alone.

It can be argued that the changes the women have achieved are reformist in nature. There is not necessarily a dichotomy, however, between reformism and revolutionary social change (Gramsci, 1971). Rather if reforms alleviate social problems and human suffering, but at the same time challenge dominant discourses, then they are contributing to social change. As Gramsci (1971) suggests, the important thing to focus on is the site of struggle. If reformist changes challenge the common sense (the dominant understandings in civil society), then they are contributing to social change because they are challenging the state. For these women, community work as a site of struggle for change takes place within the context of the state, the organisation and the community, and it is from within this context, that the women seek to empower people to take more control over their lives and thus challenge the practices of the state.

The women's struggle is constantly changing; alliances change and strategies often need to be redefined. The challenge for them is to maintain their struggle on a number

of different sites. I view this thesis as part of this struggle. It documents women's experiences in a way that other women can use to reflect on their work. A key element of social change is the reflection process. In an attempt to contribute to this process I have written this thesis in such a way as to enable women to read and reflect on their own experience. For this reason, I have deliberately chosen to use simple and accessible language. There is always a risk in doing so, of appearing deceptively simple.

The challenge of any research and action is not only to document experiences and perceptions of these experiences, but also to use our knowledge, both written and oral, to provide an explanation of our current reality. This thesis, as part of a social change process, has attempted to do this. So where will the women go now?

#### **The future of community work and community work research**

In the process of finishing this dissertation, major changes have taken place with respect to the restructuring of the welfare state. It will be interesting to see how the women respond to the current changes. It is, I believe, necessary as suggested by the women's stories, for them to build alliances across race, gender and class because the changes that are happening are affecting both men and women, Maori and non Maori. The concept of a gendered culture must incorporate class and race more effectively as the issues that community work is concerned with are becoming more polarised. For instance, the issue of unemployment is rapidly becoming one of impoverishment and destitution. The poor are rapidly being seen again in terms of the 'undeserving poor' and the 'deserving poor'. Working for one's welfare benefit is becoming almost a regular and expected practice. Unemployment is not necessarily along traditional class lines, in that the middle classes are finding there is no longer a guarantee that their jobs are secure.



Community workers will find that they will be dealing with people who fall between the cracks. Women community workers will once again be expected to provide their services for aroha, and those who continue to receive state funding will get caught in a double bind of working for social change, yet will be wary of biting the hand that feeds them. This is not a new problem for the women, but will have more urgency.

However, I do not believe that community work has lost its impetus for change. Nor am I disheartened by the apparent loss of thrust towards revolutionary change. As shown throughout the women's stories, the women clearly believe that they need to work towards change at a collective level and in ways that are empowering. In my view, revolutions seldom achieve this aim. Rather, they tend to replace one powerful and controlling group with another. The relationship between means and ends is an important one and clearly informs the women's visions of the type of society that they are working towards. Moreover, I believe that during times in which society undergoes rapid and major changes, we need stability as well. The women have shown that they are mindful of this, in that the majority of them are working carefully to establish supportive structures around them.

Issues surrounding Maori development are and will continue to be important. Maori women have begun to articulate the ways in which their struggle for tino rangatiratanga link with other struggles. Pakeha women recognise that the struggles of the Maori people do not belong to the Maori alone. Rather, pakeha community workers can stand alongside Maori community workers, to ensure their demands for their rights are heard and secured.

Our community work must document these struggles. It must provide both quantitative and qualitative data about what constitutes community work. It must also move forward and use this information to document changes to state policy and the effects of these changes. As with any successful feminist research, our studies must

include analysis of the ways in which women are portrayed and maintained in their current positions. They must, however, also clearly identify the means for transforming women's position . This thesis has gone some way to doing this.

I have found the experience of writing this dissertation at times tiring and depressing, but also exhilarating and empowering. This is a reflection of how the women feel. Like the women, I have a belief that the energy that has been with us for so long will sustain us so we may face new challenges. I know that for some of the women their energy is low at the moment, but they will not give up and and collectively we will find new ways to organise our struggles to transform the structures that oppress disenfranchised and marginalised people.

This thesis is a celebration of the women's experience and knowledge. In its writing, I hope I have been able to portray adequately these women community workers' daily lives and their struggles for change. Our challenge is to listen to their stories and in the process of reflecting on our past, move with renewed optimism into our future.

## *Appendix One*

### **History of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association<sup>1</sup>**

The origins of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association (ACWA) can be located within community workers' struggle for locally based community work training as outlined in the previous section. Although the Local Authority Community Workers Association was formed in 1980 this organisation, of course, excluded the increasing number of community workers attached to voluntary agencies or community based organisations. Most local authority community workers were seen to have a different mandate from those in the voluntary sector, and the fact that they were not seen to have to fight for their salaries or wages also created further barriers. The majority also possessed tertiary qualifications.

It was not until 1983 that community workers, especially those from the voluntary sector, began to meet collectively on an annual basis. Prior to this there had been some organisations such as women's refuges and Community Volunteers who held annual hui, but these were for their own workers and not for those from outside organisations. The first national hui, which was hosted by the Local Authority Community Workers Association, was held in October 1983 in Hastings, and this hui set the scene for the subsequent annual hui. At this hui the suggestion of forming a National Community Workers Association was floated. It was met with some

---

<sup>1</sup>Material for this section is primarily drawn from my own archives which I gathered throughout the 1980s. It began with my involvement on a National Working Party on Community Work Training and my subsequent role as a co-founder of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. Most of the material is in the form of minutes, working notes, draft proposals and formal submissions. None of this material has been published.

suspicion, however, and was thus deferred until the next annual hui at Christchurch in October, 1984.

In the meantime, because of the proposals to find national funding for community work training, many regions were beginning to meet on a regular basis. This co-operation resulted in a growing interest in the notion of forming Regional Community Workers Associations which could act as an umbrella group for both community work training and other issues confronting community work. In June 1984 the Canterbury Community Worker's Association was formed to work on key issues identified by local community workers.

The second national hui of community workers focussed on developing regional networks rather than a national association. At the third national hui, however, which was held at Hinemihi Marae in Rotorua in October 1985, the formation of a National Association of Community Workers was discussed together with the idea of establishing a Community Workers Union. Regional contact people were identified to take responsibility, to discuss these issues at their local level, and then to meet again in Rotorua in April 1986 to provide feedback from the regions.

At the meeting it was evident that despite a large amount of energy which had been put into exploring the formation of a national association, there was still considerable disquiet as to how this could actually benefit community workers, especially Maori community workers.

Concern, too, was raised by the Maori community workers about the working definition of community work that had been promoted in the discussion paper on the development of training opportunities in community work back in July, 1983. It was believed that this definition did not reflect the holistic approach to community work which incorporated whanau development. The Maori group met separately to discuss

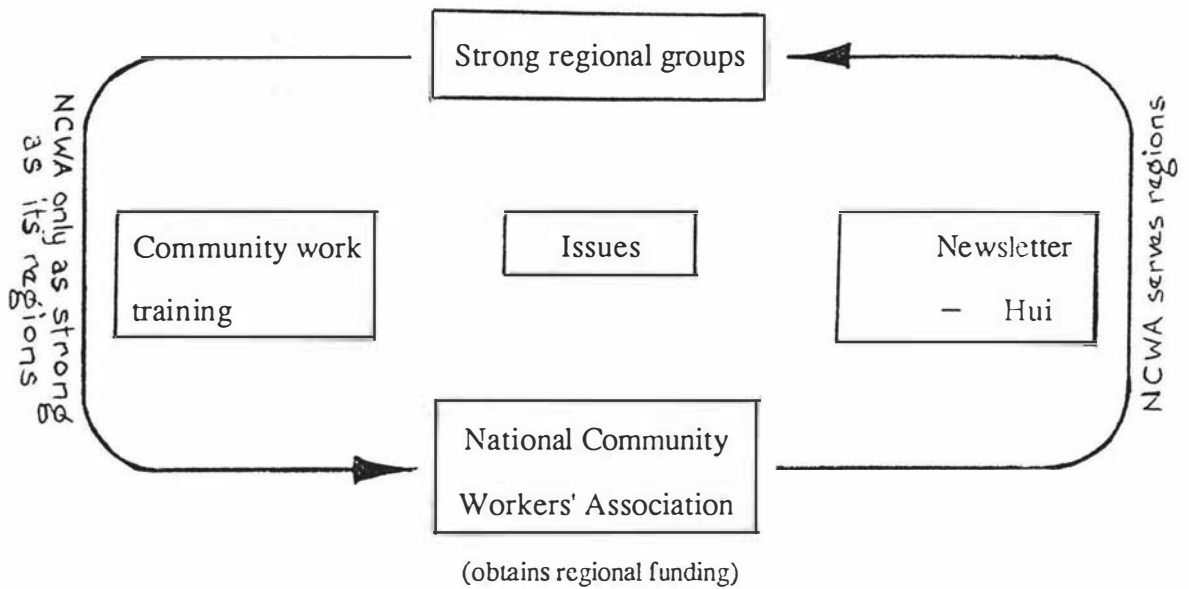
their views about this issue, and they eventually agreed to the formation of a National Community Workers Association.

The minutes of this hui record that the following points were deemed to constitute the purpose of forming an Association:

- An association will encompass our support people and family
- Our structures and processes will model what we would like to see in the community
- Support for one another and a united front
- Strong local networks and having a national networking structure providing links for national issues
- Support for isolated workers
- Clear standards of practice - ethics
- Conditions of work for paid/unpaid community workers
- National voice on community work issues
- Credibility when asking for funding and making submissions
- Unity

Four options were considered for the structure of the National Association. The one that was decided on incorporated a whanau structure and was based on the kohanga reo model, thus allaying the initial concerns of the Maori community workers. This is set out on the next page, in Figure A1.1.

Figure A1.1: Structure of the National Association



The regional representatives were again charged with the responsibility of taking this information back to their regions, with a view to having the formation of a National Community Workers Association adopted at the next national hui at Kaiwhaiki Marae, Wanganui, in October, 1986.

At the fourth national hui it became apparent, that although a number of local and regional areas had begun to form their own Associations, there was still considerable resistance to forming a National Association. This situation was not helped by the continuous upheavals that community work and community workers were experiencing, especially in relation to the phasing out of The Voluntary Organisation Training Programme, which had been a major funding source for community groups. Although some support in principle was given to the proposed structure of a National Association of Community Workers, the hui ended with no decision being made about its formation.

Some community workers who had been struggling for a number of years to establish an Association, left this hui feeling relatively despondent. Others, on the other hand, went back to their regions full of enthusiasm and committed to building up their own associations. The Manawatu Community Workers Association group was an example of this latter category, and immediately began to develop a constitution for the proposed Manawatu Community Workers Association. This constitution endeavoured to incorporate both the working definition of Community Work which had been promoted in the original discussion paper on community work written in 1983, as well as the concerns expressed by the Maori Community Workers Group in Rotorua earlier in 1986. The first draft of the Manawatu Constitution was circulated to all local community workers in February 1987 and a few months later the constitution was finalised.

The decision to form a National Association was finalised at the fifth National Hui of Community Workers, which was held at Waiputu Marae in October 1987. It is debatable whether this decision would have occurred without a directive from the Department of Internal Affairs, that in order to obtain \$150,000 funding for Community work development and training it was necessary to form a National Association:

If the project is to go ahead, a national association of community workers needs to be formed to receive and distribute funds. The national body should be representative of all community workers and its terms of reference will need to be such that funds are not tied up unduly in administration or duplication of training programmes; and that training and facilities are available for both paid and voluntary workers. The national body will be accountable to Government for its use of the funds provided for training (Pam Hill, 22 September 1987).

For a number of Maori community workers, in particular, this letter strengthened their concern that pakeha structures would dictate and direct a National Association if one was formed. After considerable discussion which included the decision to form a National Community Workers Association, it was decided that regional representatives would meet in Wellington in November to draw up a constitution. The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services agreed to fund this meeting. In fact, it took two meetings to accomplish this aim.

At the first meeting which was held at Tapu Te Ranga Marae, the concern of Maori community workers was that their struggle would be swallowed up by Pakeha structures and by their more individualistic, as opposed to whanau, approach to their community work. Maori community workers wanted assurance that the Association would be truly bicultural and would uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

As a starting point for discussion, the Manawatu Community Workers Association constitution was considered. This constitution had been favourably received at Waiputu Marae by those workers who had examined it. Consequently, this constitution formed the basis of the national constitution. A decision was made to name the association the Aotearoa Community Workers Association. An interim committee was formed with representatives from each region and this group was given the task to return to Wellington in March 1988 to finalise the constitution and determine how the \$150,000 grant from the Department of Internal Affairs was to be allocated.

The second meeting, which was held at Kuratine Marae, proved to be significant and it was ascertained that the constitution provided a basis for biculturalism. In recognition of the spirit of the constitution, the task of developing a bicultural structure for the allocation of the grant was given to the Maori community workers as tangata whenua of Aotearoa. Based on their combined knowledge of the needs of local and regional



(tribal) boundaries, they arrived at a system of funding allocation that was deemed to be fair and socially just. Of the \$150,000, \$50,000 was allocated specifically for Te Iwi Maori, \$50,000 for the South island and \$50,000 was to be shared between Tai Tokerau, the central regions of the North Island and Tamaki Makarau. A maximum allocation of \$3,000 was to be made to any applicant.

Subsequently, monies received from the Department of Internal Affairs have been allocated at the AGM of the Association, which is held at the national hui each year. The funding allocation formula developed by the Maori group has been slightly modified each year, although the basic principles remain the same.

Although the national hui is the decision making body of ACWA, a structure was developed for decisions that have to be made between each annual hui. The structure which has been developed, incorporates both the regional focus of ACWA, as well as its efforts to recognise the unique cultural emphasis of the organisation. The executive has a representative from Te Iwi Maori, Taiuiwi and Pacific Island, as well as a President, Secretary and Treasurer. This group is supported by ACWA's regional representatives again made up of Te Iwi Maori, Taiuiwi and Pacific Island as well as a representative of Rangatahi and Te Kupu (the newsletter of the Association). The structure of ACWA is determined at each annual hui, as is where the next hui will be held.

*Appendix Two*

**The Treaty of Waitangi**

TREATY OF WAITANGI: ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF MAORI VERSION<sup>1</sup>

(by Professor Kawharu)

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the chiefs and subtribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their chieftanship and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order considers it just to appoint an administrator one who will negotiate with the people of New Zealand to the end that their chiefs will agree to the Queen's Government being established over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her subjects already living on this land and others yet to come.

So the Queen desires to establish a government so that no evil will come to Maori and European living in a state of lawlessness.

So the Queen has appointed me, William Hobson a captain in the Royal navy to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) shortly to be received by the Queen and (those) to be received hereafter and presents to the chiefs of the Confederation chiefs of the subtribes of New Zealand and other chiefs these laws set out here.

---

<sup>1</sup>Source: The Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988 *The April Report, Volume II Future Directions*, April 1988, Wellington, Appendix Four, pages 87-88.

### The First

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over this land.

### The Second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftanship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

### The Third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.

(Signed) William Hobson  
Consul and Lieutenant-Governor

So we, the Chiefs of the Confederation and the subtribes of New Zealand meeting here at Waitangi having seen the shape of these words which we accept and agree to record our names and marks thus.

Was done at Waitangi on the sixth of February in the year of our Lord 1840.

The Chiefs of the Confederation.

### *Appendix Three*

#### **Community Work Training in Aotearoa**

The first professional training course for social workers was established in 1949. It took a further eighteen years until, as a response to the lack of training opportunities, the (NZ) YMCA set up a two-year diploma under the direction of Peter Darracott, who advocated that community work was a method of social work. He had been unsuccessful in his attempts to have greater content on group and community work included in the Diploma of Social Science at Victoria University (Working Party on Community and Youth Work, 1977). Darracott also claimed there was a necessity for non-University based professional courses, especially for youth work and community work (Darracott, 1967).

It was, however, another eight years before the first Polytechnic, at Wellington, offered a modular training course for volunteers, community service workers and community workers. In 1982 it was reported that approximately ten Polytechnics, Technical Institutes and Community Colleges in Aotearoa were offering such courses (New Zealand Social Work Training Council, 1982). By 1986 this number had risen to at least 22 (NCAE and VWATB, 1986).

Although it can be argued that these institutions are more accessible than universities,<sup>1</sup> most tend to cater more for social and community service workers at an introductory level. The emphasis tends to be on assisting these people to develop an understanding

---

<sup>1</sup>Both in a geographical sense and also with regard to expectations about academic achievement.

of human development, as well as learning interpersonal and basic community work skills. Some of these programmes are excellent and clearly achieve their objectives, however they do not provide a comprehensive training programme, which includes structural analysis and other relevant knowledge more suited to a practising community worker.

During the 1970s, a number of community based organisations began to develop their own training programmes. At first the majority of these programmes were quite simplistic, focussing primarily on the development of basic skills, understanding client needs and the provision of information about the organisation's goals and structure. Many of these training programmes have now become much more sophisticated and some provide good quality training for particular groups of workers.<sup>2</sup> These training programmes tend to be specialised, although there is a core body of knowledge and skills that is transferable to other areas of social service work. A number of community based organisations, on the other hand, have been very erratic in providing training programmes for their workers. Some workers have struggled to get any training at all, and others have ignored opportunities offered to them and their organisations have accepted this.

Community workers began to examine their training needs far more seriously in the early 1980s. At this time there was still a noticeable lack of training opportunities for community workers, especially when compared with the growing number of professional social work training programmes (Craig, 1983). With the rapid increase in the number of community workers, and the realisation that the state's aims for devolution were very different to that of community work, some community workers began actively to seek or promote appropriate community work training, nationally,

---

<sup>2</sup>An example of this would be Women's Refuge. Workers can proceed through a training programme and eventually gain a certificate.

regionally and locally.<sup>3</sup> This development eventually led to a request by the then Minister of Social Welfare, George Gair, that the New Zealand Social Work Training Council investigate the training needs of youth and community workers.

During the first half of 1983, the Social Work Training Council met with community workers from the voluntary and local authority sectors, primarily in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. A few local community workers in Hastings, Palmerston North and Dunedin were also consulted (New Zealand Social Work Training Council, 1985). Following this meeting, in June 1983, regions were asked to nominate representatives to attend a Community Work Training National Working Party. This was funded by the Social Work Training Council, and eleven representatives from five regions attended.<sup>4</sup> A few of the regional representatives brought position papers from their regions to ensure that they accurately reflected their region's concerns about training.

The major issues and principles that emerged from this two-day meeting as reported to the New Zealand Social Work Training Council were as follows:

1. Community workers' training needs are not being met;
2. Community workers have a basic right to relevant training, support and supervision. Agencies and employers should recognise this right;
3. It is essential that community work recruits workers from differing experiences and backgrounds. Community work's strength lies in this diversity;

---

<sup>3</sup>Many of these community workers were involved in Community Volunteers. In Craig (1983) I describe some of my own efforts to promote community work training.

<sup>4</sup>These regions were Auckland, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. I was the representative from Palmerston North, and the Hastings representative was unable to attend.

4. We therefore would oppose pre-entry academic qualifications<sup>5</sup> and support the development of training opportunities for paid and unpaid community workers during community work practice.
5. Community work training must follow community development processes and will therefore:
  - be based on an action/reflection model;
  - be local (i.e. regionally based);
  - reflect the diversity of communities;
  - be tailored to community workers' needs;
  - be managed by community workers;
  - be independent of employing agencies;
  - be ongoing;
  - be modular;
  - be available for both paid and unpaid community workers and for community groups.

(Report from the Community Work Training National Working Party to the Social Work Training Council, 1983).

These issues and principles were subsequently expanded upon and written up as a discussion paper, which was presented to the regions for further discussion in preparation for a second meeting of the National Working Party in September 1983. The report to the New Zealand Social Work Training Council recommended that the Council sponsor this second meeting. More importantly, it recommended that the Council recognise the need for community workers to identify and determine their own

---

<sup>5</sup>Academic qualification was defined as "an individualised, competitive achievement which may not necessarily be relevant to community work theory and practice: usually a university degree, where a person's ability to assimilate theory is tested, rather than his or her ability to work with other translating theory into practice" (Discussion paper on development of training opportunities for those working in community work, 1983).



community work training requirements. The New Zealand Social Work Training Council was generally supportive of this.

The discussion paper provided a diversity of responses when it was distributed throughout the regions, although generally was favourably received. Concern was expressed, however, that there had been little input from Maori and Pacific Islander community workers and that the national training proposal should accommodate both cultural and community needs (Northern Community Workers' Group, 1983). From Otago, Pat Shannon questioned the distinctions that had been made between community worker and social worker, and suggested that instead of further fragmentation, social work needed to be "dragged" towards a social change direction". From Wairarapa (1983) there came a reminder of the difficulties rural regions have when trying to fund, including transport costs, appropriate community work training.

Following the second meeting of the National Working Party in September 1983, a paper Community Work Training, and a national<sup>6</sup> and four regional<sup>7</sup> proposals were prepared to be presented to government (New Zealand Social Work Training Council, 1985). The New Zealand Social Work Training Council was asked to lend its support to these requests to obtain ongoing funding, and, in November 1983, the submissions went to government. These proposals were also discussed locally and nationally, especially with the Department of Internal Affairs which was seen as another possible source of funding.

By the end of January 1984 it was apparent that no significant funding would be immediately forthcoming. During 1984 community workers lobbied for support for their training proposals, both locally and nationally. The Departments of Social

---

<sup>6</sup>The national proposal argued for the establishment of regional (resource) centres, each to receive funding for training and determine how this funding would best be utilised.

<sup>7</sup>The four regional proposals were from Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington City and Porirua.

Welfare, Education and Internal Affairs were all targeted, as well as some local members of parliament. Some regions also approached the Voluntary Welfare Agency Training Board to see if the Board could assist either financially or by lending support to the submission.

Issues surrounding training were also hotly debated at the second national community workers' hui, which was held in Christchurch in October, 1984. VOTP workers expressed their concerns about the lack of training opportunities, as well as issues relating to their precarious working conditions. There was a strong feeling that VOTP workers needed a channel through which they could express their concerns to government. Some regions had begun to provide some training through Community Service Councils, VOTP schemes and voluntary efforts.

It was not until March 1985 that the National Community Work Training Group met again with the Social Work Training Council, to discuss the submissions that had already been made and to present further funding submissions. The Social Work Training Council was sympathetic to the lack of training opportunities for community workers, but nevertheless was frustrated by the lack of response from government. The Council itself was undergoing a review of its activities which had been commissioned by the new Minister of Social Welfare in September, 1984. It noted, in its report on this review, that government had not yet approved the recommendations of the National Community Work Training Group and the Social Work Training Council.

The Social Work Training Council had more success with their recommendations for youth work training. The Council had been meeting with representatives from the Department of Internal Affairs, the YMCA and the National Youth Council since 1977 (Church, 1990). In 1983, following extensive consultations facilitated by the

Department of Internal Affairs, the Council prepared a discussion paper on youth work training. From this paper emerged a report which recommended a regional based training programme for paid and unpaid youth workers (NZSWTC, 1985). This programme was introduced in the 1985 Internal Affairs vote of the Budget (Church, 1990). It can only be assumed that the decision to fund youth work training ahead of community work training, reflected public concerns at that time about the behaviour of gangs and the rapidly increasing rate of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment.

In September 1985, representatives of the National Community Work Training working party met with representatives of the Education and Employment's sub-committee of the Cabinet. At this point, it was the impression of the Working Party that if funding was to be found for training, it would most likely come from Vote: Education. However, in September 1985 the Department of Internal Affairs provided funding for a pilot community work training programme in Wellington. The following month it allocated a grant of \$7,000 for the third National Community Workers' hui in Rotorua. At this hui, training and the formation of a National Association of Community Workers, emerged as key issues, together with the issue of unionisation.

The opportunity to utilise Polytechnic tutor hours for community work training was also explored at the hui. The Christchurch Community Work Training Group had negotiated some hours with their local Polytechnic and other regions became interested in this as a possible route to the provision of community work training. There was some resistance to this from those regions who did not have a good relationship with their local Polytechnic, such as Rotorua.

The Department of Internal Affairs provided a further \$7,000 towards the funding of the fourth National Community Workers' hui which was held in Wanganui in October,

1986. Shortly after the hui, a meeting was held between representatives of the Community Work Training working party and the Departments of Education, Internal Affairs and Social Welfare to examine the possibility of obtaining interdepartmental funding for community work training. The Community Work Training Working Party was asked to put forward a proposal for budget consideration.

Three pre-conditions to funding were to be observed. First, that a one-page proposal for the funding was to be submitted by the first week in December. Second, that this be followed by a detailed proposal early in February. Finally, that a National Community Work Training Trust be set up in order to receive and distribute funds to the regions.

Representatives from the Wellington and Canterbury Regional CWT Groups agreed to co-ordinate and put together another national submission. This was based on the previous proposals which had sought regional training based in resource centres, in order to recognise regional diversity and needs. Regions were to be asked to comment before the proposal was finalised.

When submitted, the proposal was modelled on the Wellington community work pilot training projects. Six regions had indicated they were in a position to set up training centres and calculated on \$50,000 for one regional centre, \$300,000 was requested for the six regional resource centres together with a request that further funding provision be made for future regions as well. The \$300,000 was requested from Vote: Education and Vote: Internal Affairs allocations.

In the meantime, in November 1985, the Department of Internal Affairs provided \$10,000 to the Canterbury Community Work Training Group. The New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Service (NZCETSS) had also been

established. This Council had formed as a result of the recommendations of the Reviews of the Social Work Training Council which was subsequently disbanded in February, 1986. The Reviews recognised that the mandate for the Social Work Training Council was somewhat narrow, and that training provision in the social service field needed to be expanded. The terms of reference of the NZCETSS promoted the Council's role in assisting local communities and groups to identify and meet their training needs (NZCETSS , 1990).

The Department of Internal Affairs agreed to fund the fifth National Community Workers Hui in Hastings in October, 1987, and ten days prior to this hui, the Department allocated \$150,000 for National Community Work Training. In order to receive and distribute the funding a national association of community workers had to be formed. Other than ensuring that administrative costs were kept to a minimum and that training programmes were not unnecessarily duplicated, the Association was to determine the allocation of this funding (Department of Internal Affairs, 1987).

The Department of Internal Affairs indicated that the Department of Education was not at present able to contribute the other \$150,000. It would assist by encouraging Polytechnics to develop community work training programmes which would suit regional requirements.

In March, 1988, shortly after it became legally constituted, the Aotearoa Community Workers Association (ACWA) received the \$150,000 funding allocated by the Department of Internal Affairs. This funding was dispersed using a structure that had been developed during the formation of the Association as noted in Appendix One.

At the fifth National Community Workers Hui in Hastings, members of the NZCETSS agreed to advocate on behalf of community workers for their training proposals to the

Department of Education. In May 1988, the Council sponsored representatives of the Association to come together to update and further develop this proposal (Moses, 1989). The Council was generally supportive of ACWA and was of the opinion that community work training had long been "the poor relation of social service training" (NZCETSS, 1990: 2).

The new proposal called for two separate training programmes, one for Te Iwi Maori and the other for non-Maori community workers. This parallel development approach to training gave recognition to the differing needs and ways of meeting these, between Maori and non-Maori community workers. Te Iwi Maori had long argued that pakeha structures were mono-cultural, and that in order to pursue their own self-determination, training must be based on their own kaupapa and within the context of iwi development. Thus for Te Iwi Maori, iwi authorities were to set up the community work training programmes in accordance with the needs of their people. Non-Maori resource centres were to be established within regional areas, and a total of ten such centres were to be developed over a five-year period.

The training programmes were to be targeted at those workers, paid and unpaid, who were actively involved in community work, as well as those groups involved in community development. It was envisaged that the Education Department would provide the funding for salaries for the establishment and ongoing costs of the resource centres, as well as salaries for a co-ordinator and administrator. The Polytechnics would allocate tutor hours and resources for photocopying, printing, advertising etc.

The NZCETSS allocated \$2,000 for ACWA to employ a worker to prepare a report, which would serve as a comprehensive funding submission, on the history of the Association and its training initiatives and proposals. Ruth Palmer, a community

worker from Christchurch, completed this report in October, 1988 and submitted it to the NZCETSS for support.

The NZCETSS took a key role in organising meetings of ACWA with the Minister of Social Welfare and the Undersecretary for Education.<sup>8</sup> Although the meetings appeared to be favourable, it was unfortunate that they took place at a time when CLANZ, the Committee for Learning Aotearoa New Zealand, was strengthening its base and being given responsibility for funding of new initiatives in community education. Alongside this was the existence of a number of review groups for education. These groups were examining not only formal training provisions, but also the role of the community in social service provision, as well as identifying where responsibility should be for continuing education (Dept. of Education, 1989).

Given this situation, the Ministers were reluctant to make a commitment to provide additional training for community workers. They did, however, make a number of suggestions to ACWA and to NZCETSS. Firstly, that they would take the proposal for community work training back to their officials in the Ministry of Education for further research and consideration. It can be argued that community workers were not always at the top of the agenda and in fact had to compete with other groups for funding (NZCETSS Minutes, 1988). Moreover, as argued in Chapter Two there were obvious philosophical differences between the officials views of community work and those of the community workers themselves.

Secondly, it was suggested to ACWA that the Polytechnics were being encouraged to provide community work training. Again this furnished little comfort for ACWA, who had seen some Polytechnics take over community work training without any consultation with those who would receive the training (Minutes of the AGM ACWA,

---

<sup>8</sup>It was considered that it would be sensible to go to both Ministers, especially given that NZCETSS was funded by the Department of Social Welfare.

1988). The official response to this was to advise ACWA to put pressure on the Polytechnics to be more responsible. This was a hollow piece of advice in that, unlike the strong employers' groups such as the IHC, ACWA did not have the resources nor the political clout to bring pressure to bear on Polytechnic Councils.

The third option presented to ACWA was for them to apply to CLANZ for funding. CLANZ had limited funding for community education, and community work training was not necessarily a priority. It was expected that ACWA would continue to receive the bulk funding from Internal Affairs, although this was nowhere near sufficient to establish comprehensive and extensive training initiatives. Consequently, ACWA were left feeling dissatisfied and concerned that they had not been listened to. They had been told that their proposals were excellent but that given the current economic and political climate, these proposals did not meet the requirements of the 'new way' of providing funding and resources (Minutes of the AGM ACWA, 1989).

Both ACWA and the NZCETSS considered that there had been insufficient debate regarding the ways in which training should be provided. Subsequently, ACWA decided to examine more closely its relationship with Polytechnics and become more innovative in its approach to community work training.

Given the extensive lobbying of the Departments of Education and Social Welfare over so many years, it was apparent to ACWA that no new funding would be forthcoming. The organisation was caught in a difficult and untenable situation wherein neither the Education nor Social Welfare Departments was prepared to make a commitment to fund training. ACWA had applied for money in a climate where communities were being asked to take on more responsibility for the provision of community services and where the state was trying to shed much of its responsibilities.



ACWA reconsidered its strategies, and NZCETSS continued to lobby on its behalf. The reality is that there is no money around for training. Even organisations such as the IHC have more recently had to lobby Polytechnics for training resources. Employer-rich proposals do well, but ACWA is not in a position to compete, and Polytechnics are not prepared to share their diminishing resources with them.

The Department of Internal Affairs has so far continued with its bulk funding of \$150,000 for community work training. However, in 1988 at the first hui of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, held at Teapot Valley in Nelson, ACWA received only \$3,500 from the Department towards the costs of the hui. The hui was told that ACWA would have to meet the costs of future hui out of the bulk grant. Since then, \$10,000 has been allocated each year out of the bulk funding, for this purpose.

## *Appendix Four*

### **Community Work Survey and Questionnaire<sup>1</sup>**

Due to the limited amount of published information available on community workers' gender, age and employment patterns at A.C.W.A.'s 1989 hui, I conducted a survey among the hui participants. The questionnaire is included in this appendix (see below). On average, approximately 180-200 community workers have attended these annual hui and thus I took 200 questionnaires with me to the hui. In fact, it was reported that over 500 participants attended this hui, although not all of them were there at the same time.

I decided to hand out the questionnaire on the second day of the hui and I did so at a time when I estimated that approximately 200 community workers were in the whare hui. As it happened there were 196 and I made the decision that this could be seen as a random sample and elected not to give out the other four questionnaires I had left. Of the 196 questionnaires that were given out, 143 were handed or posted back to me which means the response rate was almost 73 percent. Six of the questionnaires, however, contained insufficient data to include in the analysis and were deemed ineligible.

---

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Adrienne Baird who helped hand out and collect in the questionnaire. Adrienne spent a considerable amount of time providing potential respondents with explanations as to why we were trying to collect the data. Although at first there was some mild resistance from some of the respondents I was fortunate in that some of the women that I was in the process of interviewing for my research project spoke in support of the need to collect data. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution from Penny Salmond who did a preliminary analysis of the data we received in the questionnaires and can thus take much of the credit for the findings printed here.

Of the 136 questionnaires, 69 came from Maori women, 36 tauiwī<sup>2</sup> women, 25 Maori men and six tauiwī men. Although the figures for the males appear to be low, in fact it was my perception that the women outnumbered the men at the hui by about 3:1 and consequently this was probably an acceptable sample. The average age for all of the respondents was between 35 and 44.

Fifty-five of the respondents were not paid for their community work and 40 of these were women. The Maori women worked on average 36.72 hours per week, and this time allocation was closely followed by the Maori males' figure of 35.09 hours. Tauiwī women worked on average 33.57 hours and their male counterparts 31 hours.

Three key points emerged from this survey. None should come as a surprise. First, all of the workers, but particularly the women workers, carried out many years of unpaid community work before they obtained paid employment as a community worker. Second, there were very few workers who held reasonably paid, secure employment. The term "reasonably paid" is in itself questionable, in that this figure was set at \$10 per hour. For those on this figure the rate was seen as reasonable remuneration. Many of the workers were, in fact, paid by agencies who expected them to find the funds for their ongoing work. Finally, of the 136 respondents, 23.5 percent were welfare beneficiaries and received no other form of payment for their community work. In fact, this finding demonstrates that many beneficiaries are already providing unpaid labour.

Listed and illustrated below are brief summaries of the overall findings. It is not intended that this be seen as a detailed account of the findings. Rather, as promised in the questionnaire that was handed out, this information is to be written up shortly, and

---

<sup>2</sup>The word 'tauiwī' was purposely used to include all non-Maori people. Since conducting this survey, I have taken to using the term 'non-Maori', as there appears to be less resistance to this term.

will be published in Te Kupu. I am not attempting to make comparisons between the four groups here.

It is evident that women make a significant contribution to community work on an unpaid or underpaid basis, and that Maori women do less well financially than do their tauwiwi counterparts. More Maori males are on paid job schemes than those from the other groups, although they are also clearly exploited. The figures for tauwiwi males are somewhat limited to draw any conclusions. Of the six who filled out the questionnaire, the two, who were well paid, received considerably higher salaries than the rest of the respondents.

*Maori women: 69 in total*

- 29 unpaid, range between 3 months and 40+ years
- 28 greater unpaid than paid, for example 12 years unpaid
  - 1 month paid, 15 years unpaid
  - 3 years paid, 10 years unpaid
  - 6 months paid, 15 years unpaid
  - 7 months paid, 20 odd years unpaid
- 2 greater paid than unpaid - paid 4, unpaid 2
- 7 only mention paid work, up to 4 years
- 3 short term paid work, by benefit or job scheme

*Tauwiwi women: 36 in total*

- 8 unpaid, range between 7 months to over 20 years
- 21 greater unpaid years than paid, for example 15 years paid - 30 years unpaid
  - 7 years paid, 15 years unpaid
  - 2 years paid, 14 years unpaid

5 years paid, 15 years unpaid  
6 months paid, 12 years unpaid  
3 greater paid than unpaid, 4.5 years paid, 6 months unpaid  
10 years paid, 7 years unpaid  
6 years paid, 1-2 years unpaid  
4 only mention paid work, between 18 months and 7 years

Without doing a comparative analysis it is sufficient to point out that the above figures correspond reasonably closely to the employment patterns that I obtained from the women whom I interviewed for my dissertation. The average years worked by these women were 17.75 for the Maori women, with all but five of these unpaid. The pakeha women worked on average for 14.75 years, for which they were paid for 5.75 years.

*Maori males: 25 in total*

9 unpaid, range between 12 months and over 20 years  
9 greater unpaid than paid, for example 1 year paid, 6 years unpaid  
5 years paid, heaps unpaid  
18 months paid, 10 years unpaid  
1 month paid, 12 years unpaid  
Nil greater paid than unpaid  
7 only mention paid work, 5 on job schemes  
2 paid 2 and 10 years respectively

*Tauwiwi males: 6 in total*

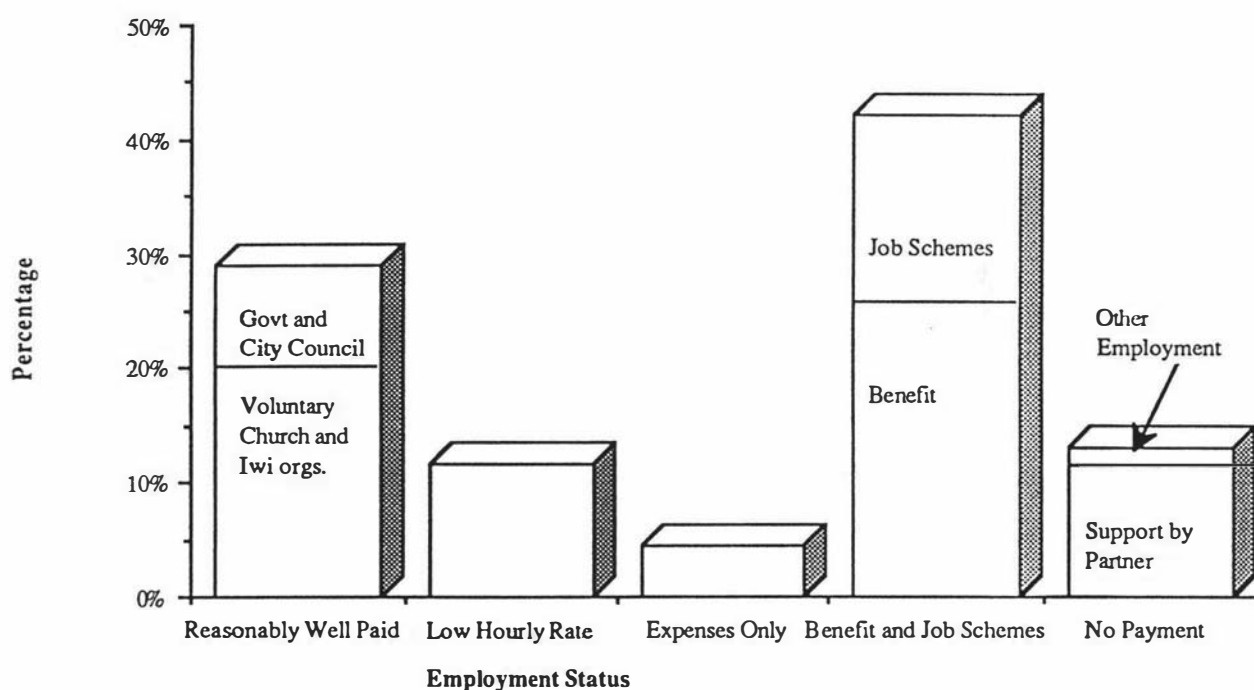
4 unpaid, range between 4 months and 20 years

1 greater unpaid than paid - 3 years paid, 7 years unpaid

1 paid, 10 years

The four figures presented below provide an overview of the income and employment status of each of the four groups of community workers.

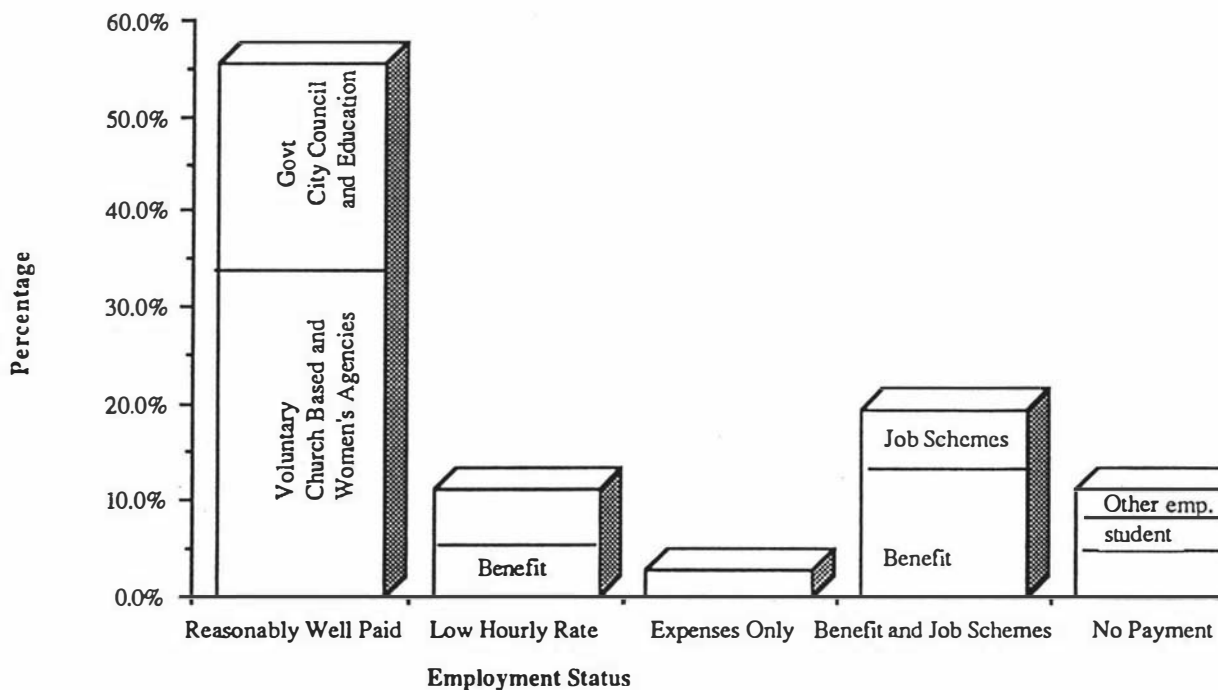
**Figure A4.1 Female Maori, Income Status**



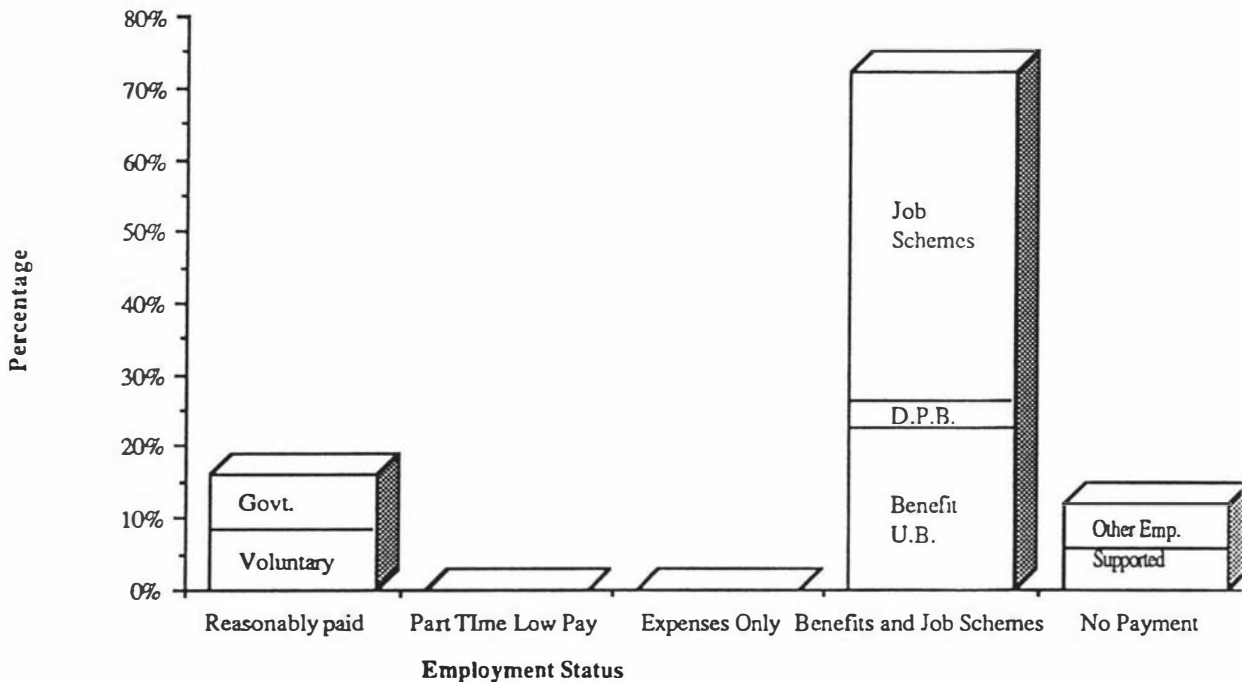
As Figure A4.1 shows, of the 69 Maori women nine (13%) were not paid for their community work and were either supported by their partners or had other forms of employment. Three women (4.4%) received expenses only and eight (11.6%) worked on a part-time basis or were paid a low hourly rate. Fourteen (20%) of the women worked for voluntary agencies and a further six (9.%) were employed by central or local government agencies. Ten (14.5%) of the women were on government work schemes and nineteen (27.5%) were on welfare benefits only.

As illustrated below in Figure A4.2 ,of the 36 tauwi women, four (13.9%) were not paid for their community work, these being otherwise supported or students. One women (2.8%) received expenses only, and four (13.9%) were either on a low hourly rate or were working on a part-time basis. Twenty women (55.5%) considered they were reasonably well paid, 12 (33.3%) of whom worked for a voluntary agency and eight (22.2%) for central or local government agencies. Seven (19.4%) of the women were either on a job scheme or on a welfare benefit which was their only source of income.

**Figure A4.2 Female Tauwi, Income Status**



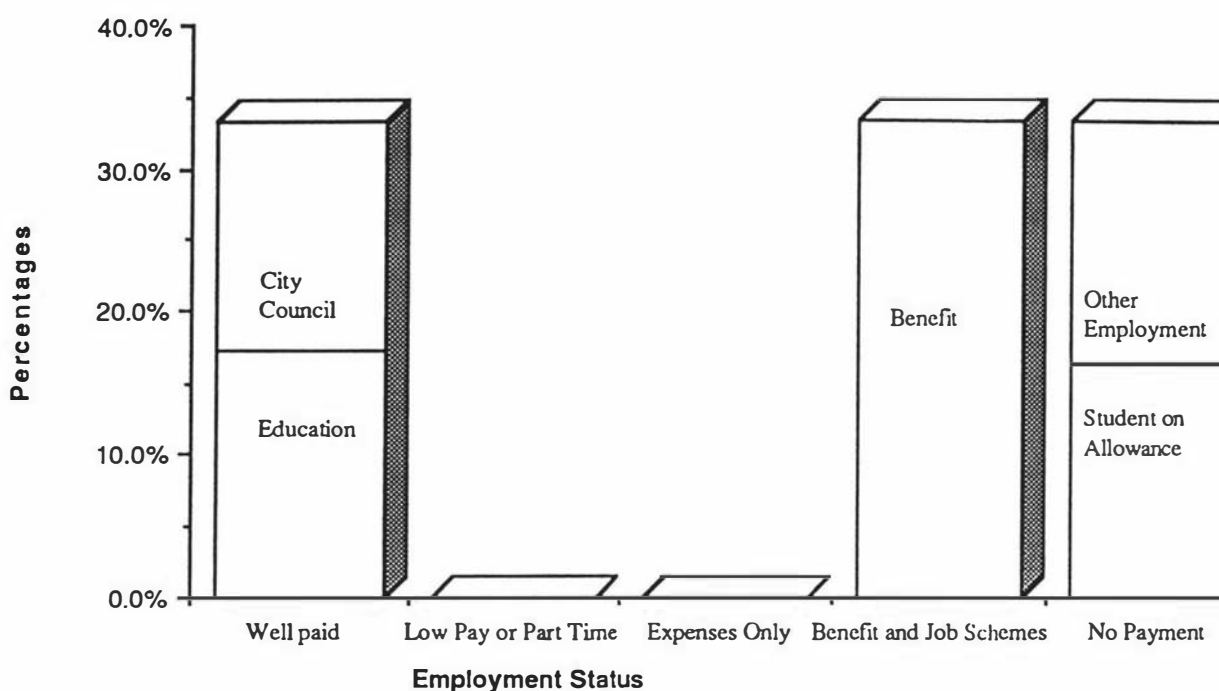
**Figure A4.3 Male Maori, Income Status**



As shown in Figure A4.3, the 25 Maori males fared even worse than their female counterparts. Three (12%) were not paid for their community work, two of whom had other forms of employment and the other being supported by his partner. Of the four (16%) who were paid for their work, but were not on a work scheme, two (8%) received low pay from a voluntary agency and the other two were well paid by a government agency. Of the 18 (72%) who were either on welfare benefits( 7 = 28%), 11 (44%) were on work schemes.



**Figure A4.4 Male Taiwi, Income Status**



Finally, Figure A4.4 shows that of the six males who participated in this survey, two were on welfare benefits, two were employed by statutory agencies and were well paid, and of the other two, one had another source of employment and the other male was a student.

*Comments from the respondents*

To conclude the summary of this survey I have provided a random sample of comments that some of the respondents wrote at the end of their questionnaires:

MAORI MALE 45-54 "Community workers need to emphasise the need for training at a higher level to ensure positive objectivity from a structured level."

MAORI MALE 35-44 "ACCESS is a good way to do community work with Maori people. But we shouldn't have to go begging for money each time."

MAORI MALE 25-34 "It is on the basis of voluntary work that social issues are addressed from a Maori perspective."

MAORI MALE 35-44 "...people responsible for changes within the structure be 'thrown out', e.g. Treasury officials..., that wage structures as well as the unemployment benefit be restructured to allow for the right to a basic living."

MAORI MALE 35-44 "If I didn't believe in our people, I wouldn't be doing what I'm doing today."

MAORI MALE 25-34 "It is hard to define working hours as you are working on call 24 hours, 7 days a week."

TAUIWI MALE 35-44 "...for only 12 months now (out of 10 years), I've been even half-way secure. The difference between secure Community Workers (very few), and the rest, is astronomical. Training is also non-existent unless organised by those who need it most."

MAORI FEMALE 35-44 "If funding does cease for our ACCESS, I will have to go back on unemployment benefit as I'm a single, supporting mother, but I'd still help doing community work where needed."

MAORI FEMALE 25-34 "A community worker's hours are hard to determine due to the fact it is always continuous and you find yourself accessible to the community you work for. So the time can never be limited."

MAORI FEMALE 25-34 "The more I seem to be able to help people, the more I am regarded with aroha-respect - an understanding of the value of life - wisdom and a change of attitude and values of the younger generation."

MAORI FEMALE 35-44 "That community worker's training be done within the community... Polytech tutors are not necessarily community people and a lot of what they teach is from a bureaucratic system. Give that control to community groups who are doing the mahi."

MAORI FEMALE 35-44 "I recommend that at least the expenses incurred by voluntary workers be paid... i.e. their travel expenses and meals."

MAORI FEMALE 35-44 "I'm still doing the same work as I did before I got this job but now I get paid". (Work 10 years, paid 6 months!)

MAORI FEMALE 35-44 "National Hui are excellent for support and networking."

MAORI FEMALE 45-54 "I really loathe things like this (the survey) and do not think it culturally appropriate."

MAORI FEMALE 45-54 "I would like to see Voluntary communities (sic) get paid. Why should Govt. people like S/Welfare get away with their pay when v/workers are doing more for nothing."

MAORI FEMALE 45-54 "I enjoy my work but at times my immediate whanau suffer. Funds are necessary for the continuation of our work."

MAORI FEMALE 45-54 (Working 50-60 hours per week - getting \$30 approx. per week for expenses) - says "I don't get any training in my work and when I come to a hui like this I have to beg for money from Dept. S.Work."

MAORI FEMALE 55+ "We do it for aroha and should not expect to get paid unless we need the money."

TAUIWI FEMALE 25-34 "Quality community workers are being lost to other employment because they can't afford to work without guaranteed income, and-or can't work under the constant question mark over continued funding."

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Women's Refuge workers now get reasonably secure money but it hasn't always been that way. We often have to fundraise for it."

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Working for the city council means I am well paid. It hasn't always been like that. I used to do my work on the benefit but it cost me and I had to give it up. I worked hard to get this job and sometimes feel guilty at my pay."

TAUIWIFEMALE OVER 55 "As a mental health worker we have just been moved from the untrained workers category onto the social workers scale and the salary has increased from \$11,000 to 15,000 for 20 hrs. This has taken years of hard work to obtain and an enormous amount of workers energy. While this is a great result - what is happening for workers outside the P.S.A. ??"

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Very obvious that at Hui that the majority of voluntary workers are female. Very obvious that communities rely on voluntary services."

TAUIWI FEMALE 25-34 "Community workers desperately need some standards for employment contracts. The initiatives of Christchurch in negotiating with the clerical workers union should be followed everywhere."

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Did much more when I was unpaid than I do now" - A job scheme worker for 6 months after 12 years unpaid !

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "It is my experience that community workers success depends on the amount of aroha in their hearts."

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Used to do paid work but it cost me too much. Prefer doing my own thing in my own time. Community work is being contributed too much now by the money side rather than the people way of doing things."

TAUIWI FEMALE 35-44 "Community work is very important for Pacific Island people. It is a way of enabling the families and whanau to make decisions for themselves. Also for the Pacific Island people to formulate initiatives that are culturally appropriate to meet the peoples needs."

TAUIWI FEMALE 25-34 "It's difficult to say how many years I have done community work - it feels like forever. As I am a single parent on a benefit it is difficult to work full-time and uneconomic to even work more than 10 paid hours per week. Homebuilders is a perfect alternative for me - I can work as many hours as required and yet still remain on the benefit. Also the hours I work can be filled more easily around my own whanau's needs."

TAUIWI FEMALE 25-34 "Community CARE requires adequate resources. Without assistance (financial etc.), it falls upon those people working in the community

as individuals to provide these resources and something most of us are ill-equipped to do even our own circumstances."

TAUIWI FEMALE OVER 55 "I would like everybody to keep up the good works. If there is a fund to pay that is good. If no money, keep up the good works as alofa or love to help one another."

TAUIWI FEMALE 45-54 "I am in paid employment but do community work in my spare time. I live with handicapped people and am not paid to do so. It is really impossible to say how many hours a week I work at community work. I help to integrate IHC people into the community as well."

### COMMUNITY WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Kia ora Kaimahi-a-iwi

To date there is no information that gives us some facts about some key aspects of being a community worker. The following questionnaire is designed to do this. Could you please assist by ticking the appropriate boxes and filling in the figures on spaces provided. The results will be written up in the next issue of Te Kupu.

1. Do you call yourself a community worker? Yes  No
2. How many National Hui (this is the 7th) have you attended?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Ethnicity: Maori  Taiuiwi
4. Sex: Female  Male
5. Age: 15-24  25-34

35-44  45-54   
 55+

6. How long have you been doing community work?

Paid. \_\_\_\_\_ Unpaid \_\_\_\_\_

7. What type of agency are you currently working with?

Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	City Council	<input type="checkbox"/>
Churchbased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Voluntary Organisation	<input type="checkbox"/>
Iwi/Whanau	<input type="checkbox"/>	Community House	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the community (no particular agency)			
Other (please state)			

\_\_\_\_\_

8. How many hours a week do you spend doing community work?

\_\_\_\_\_

9. Are you paid? Yes  No  Expenses Only

10. What is your gross weekly wage? \_\_\_\_\_

or your yearly salary? \_\_\_\_\_

or your hourly rate? \_\_\_\_\_

11. Do you have to fundraise for your own wages? Yes  No

12. Are your wages/salary reasonably secure? Yes  No

13. If your funding ceases will you continue with your work? Yes  No

14. Are you employed through a Government scheme such as Restart, Jos or Access? Yes  No

15. If you are unpaid, how do you support yourself and any of your family?

Partner	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whanau	<input type="checkbox"/>
Benefit	<input type="checkbox"/>	Which	_____
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	Explain	_____

16. Any comments you want to make:

---

---

---

---

---

No reira, tena koutou

Wendy Craig

(address included)



## *Appendix Five*

### **Interview Schedule**

#### *Community Work*

- how long have you been doing cw. - how did you first get involved?
- what is c.w. to you - what is the main focus of your work?
- has c.w. changed over the last ? years?
- has it become more bicultural - in what way?
- why do you stay in it - Are there other things you would like to -Is it a way of life?
- do you get reasonably well paid - have you always - or ever?
- what is a typical working day like for you - hours, routine,etc?
- what has been the most exciting piece of c.w. that you have done - why?
- is spirituality an essential dimension in your c.w.?

#### *Feminism/Women*

- what does the word feminism mean to you -how do you define it- do you ever use it?
- would you say women in Aotearoa are oppressed - all women?
- are women divided by race, class and in any other ways?
- what do you think causes women's oppression - how did it first begin?
- do you meet regularly with other women including your female whanau- why?

- what do you like about your life right now?
- what don't you like?

### *Social Change*

- is c.w. an extension of a caring role or essentially about social change?
- is change necessary - where should change take place - on what level(s)?
- what do you see happening in c.w. at the present time?
- describe a piece of social change that you have been involved in - what happened?
- are there any social structures that need changing?
- have women changed social structures and attitudes?
- do you believe that in our lifetime we can achieve substantial social change?
- are we wasting our time doing c.w. - why/why not?
- have you a vision - are you working towards it- do you ever talk about it with others?
- what changes would you like to see take place?
- do you ever talk about the kind of change you are working towards in c.w. or generally?
- do you feel as if you are in control of your life?
- has c.w. changed you - in what way - personally, publicly - is there a difference?

### *Support*

- who gives you the most support..-mother, family, friends, other c.workers, church etc?
- how do you cope with difficulties, frustrations and disappointments?
- how do you survive and handle any conflicts between factions/groups?

- what makes you hang in there - when will you stop - can you?
- what continues to drive you - beliefs, experience, money, commitment, the buzz?
- does your 'family' support and understand your commitment to c.w?
- what has been the most difficult time for you in c.w?
- how supportive is your organisation?

### *Training/Skills*

- who taught you your skills?
- where did/do you get your training from?
- do you do much reading about c.w.?
- how do you continue to learn?
- do you believe in ongoing training?
- how would you define training?
- what sort of training would you like?
- does your organisation provide you with training - how useful is it?

### *State, Power and Politics*

- how do you see politics and power - how would you define both?
- what influence does the State have on c.w.?
- can you make changes from within the system?
- is c.w. political - why/ why not?
- who do you think holds the power in Aotearoa - elaborate?
- would your organisation support most of your views about c.w., social change and power?
- tell me about your organisation and any problems you encounter with it.

## Bibliography

- Abercrombie, Nicholas; Turner, Brian and Urry, John 1978 *Class, State and Fascism: the work of Nicos Poulantzas* in Review Article, **Political Studies** Vol. XXIV, No.4, pp 510-514.
- Able-Smith, Brian and Townsend, Peter 1965 **The Poor and the Poorest** Bell, London.
- Adams, Margaret 1971 *The Compassion Trap* in Vivian Gornick & Barbara K Moran (eds) **Woman in Sexist Society** Basic Books, New York.
- Awatere, Donna 1982, 1983 *Articles on Maori Sovereignty* **Broadsheet** June 1982, October 1982, Jan/Feb, 1983.
- Awatere, Donna 1984 **Maori Sovereignty** **Broadsheet**, Auckland.
- Balbo, Laura 1987 *Crazy quilts: rethinking the welfare state debate from a woman's point of view* in Anne Showstack Sasson (ed) **Women and the State** Hutchinson Education, London.
- Baldock, Cora V 1983 *Volunteer work as work: some theoretical considerations* in Cora Baldock and Bettina Cass (eds) **Women, Social Welfare and the State in Australia** George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney.

- Baldock, Peter 1974 **Community Work and Social Work** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Baldock, Peter 1977 *Why Community Action? The Historical Origins of the Radical Trend in British Community Work* in **Community Development Journal** Vol.12 No.2, Oxford University Press.
- Baldock, Peter 1980 *The Origins of Community Work In the United Kingdom* in Paul Henderson, David Jones and David N. Thomas **The Boundaries of Change in Community Work** George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Banks, Olive. 1981 **Faces of Feminism** Martin Robertson, Oxford.
- Barrett, Michele. 1980 **Women's Oppression Today** Verso Press, London.
- Barrett, Michele and McIntosh, Mary 1982 **The Anti-Social Family** Verso, London.
- Barretta-Herman, Angelina 1990 *The Restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare and Implications for Social Work Practice* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Massey University.
- Barron, Beverely and Hancock, Mervyn 1983 **Social Services in Napier 1983** A Report to the Napier Pilot City Project. Social Communications Ltd.
- Bell, Claudia and Adair, Vivienne 1985 **Women and Change: A Study of New Zealand Women** The National Council of Women of New Zealand, Wellington.
- Beveridge, W.H. 1945 **Why I am a Liberal** Jenkins, London.

- Blagg, Harry and Derricourt, Nick 1982 *Why we need to reconstruct a theory of the state for community work* in Craig, Gary; Derricourt, Nick and Loney, Martin (eds) **Community Work and the State** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Blakers, Catherine 1990 **Youth and Society: The Two Transitions** Australian Council for Education and Research.
- Block, Frank 1977 *The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State* **Socialist Revolution** (32)
- Bloomfield, Rachel 1982 **People Organising For Power: Nonviolent Action for Social Change in New Zealand** Resource Centre for Nonviolence, New Zealand.
- Bolger, Steve; Corrigan, Paul; Docking, Jan and Frost, Nick 1981 **Towards Socialist Welfare Work** MacMillan Press, London.
- Bouchier, David, 1983 **The Feminist Challenge: The Movement For Women's Lib in U.K. & U.S.A.** Macmillan Press, London.
- Bowles, Gloria and Duelli Klein 1983 **Theories of Women's Studies** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Brandwein, Ruth A. 1988 *Towards the Feminization of Community and Organization Practice* in **Journal of Social Development Issues**, Fall/Summer 1981, pages 181-193.

Briar, Celia 1990 *Women and Labour Market Flexibility: Towards Employment Equity?* Paper presented to the Labour and Employment Conference, Victoria University, Wellington, June 1990.

Briar, Celia 1991 *Women and Work: a research report* Massey University (publication pending).

Briar, Katharine; Hooper, Hoff; Marie, D. and Seck, Essie Tramel 1987 *Women and Work* in Dianne S. Burden and Naomi Gottlieb (eds) **The Women Client: providing human services in a changing world** Tavistock Publications New York.

Broadsheet - New Zealand's Feminist Magazine, PO Box 5799, Auckland

Brookes, Barbara; MacDonald, Charlotte and Tennant, Margaret 1986 **Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand** Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.

Bryant, George 1979 **The Widening Gap** Cassell Ltd., Auckland.

Bryson, Lois 1991 *Economic Rationalism and the Welfare State: Implications for Theory and Practice* Paper presented to the Policy For Our Times Conference, Social Policy Research Centre, Wellington, July 1991.

Burden, Dianne S. 1987 *Women and Social Policy* in Dianne S. Burden and Naomi Gottlieb (eds) **The Women Client: Providing human services in a changing world** Tavistock Publications, New York.

- Burton, Clare 1985 **Subordination: Feminism and Social Theory** George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Butterworth, G.V. 1989 **End of an Era: The Departments of Maori Affairs 1840-1989** Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington.
- Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation 1968 **Community Work and Social Change** Longman Group Limited, London.
- Canterbury Community Work Training Group 1990 *Proposal To Christchurch Polytechnic For Acceptance of Community Work Diploma* Unpublished Document.
- Carnoy, Martin 1984 **The State & Political Theory** Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Charvet, John, 1982 **Feminism** J.M. De & Sons Ltd, London.
- Chodorow, Nancy 1978 **The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender** University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Church, Alison 1990 **Community Development: A History of the Involvement of the Department of Internal Affairs in Community Development** Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.
- Cockburn, Cynthia 1978 **The Local State** Pluto Press, London.



Codd, John; Gordon, Liz and Harker, Richard 1990 *Education and the Role of the State: Devolution and Control Post-Picot* in Hugh Lauder and Cathy Wylie (eds) **Towards Successful Schooling** Falmer Press, London.

Community Development Project 1974 Inter-Project Report 1973 CDP, Information and Intelligence Unit, London.

Community Forum Series, 1979a; 1979b; 1981; 1982 **Opportunities For Change** Vols 1, 2, 3, 4, Community Forum Inc., Auckland.

Community Work Training National Working Party.

**Report from the C.W.T.N.W.P. to the Social Work Training Council, 28 June 1983.**

**Minutes of C.W.T.N.W.P. June 27-28 1983.**

**Discussion Paper: Development of Training Opportunities for those Working in Community Work July 1983.**

Court, Marian 1989 *Winning a Voice in Educational Administration* Unpublished MEd Admin. Thesis, Massey University.

Cox, D.J. and Derricourt, N.J. 1975 *The de-professionalisation of community work* in David Jones and Margorie Mayo (eds) *Community Work Two* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Craig, Gary; Derricourt, Nick and Loney, Martin (eds) 1982 **Community Work and the State** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- Craig, Wendy 1981a *An analysis of the role of Community Volunteers and Community Work within the welfare state of the New Zealand capitalist social formation* Unpublished paper, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Craig, Wendy 1981b *Community Volunteers, Palmerston North Inc: 1977-1981 An historical documentation* Unpublished Manuscript, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Craig, Wendy 1983 **A Community Work Perspective** Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Craig, Wendy 1988 *Making Changes - Future Directions. Women in New Zealand Society - Study Guide Six.* Palmerston North Teachers College.
- Craig, Wendy, 1989 *Women, unpaid work and the state* Paper presented to the Women's Studies Association Conference, Christchurch, August 1989.
- Craig, Wendy 1990 *Caring and Nurturing: a central theme in community work in Te Kupu* Issue 5, July 1990.
- Cree, Murray 1985 *Community Work - Social Work Splits?* in **NZSW Journal** Vol. 10 No. 2.
- Croft, Suzy 1986 *Women, Caring and the Recasting of Need - a feminist reappraisal* **Critical Social Policy** Issue 16, Vol. 6, No.1, Summer 1986.
- Cummerton, Joan M. 1986 *A Feminist Perspective on Research: What Does it Help us See?* in Nan Van Den Berg and Lynn Cooper (eds) **Feminist Visions of**

**Social Work** National Association of Social Workers, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Dahlerup, Drude 1987 *Confusing concepts - confusing reality: a theoretical discussion of the patriarchal state* in Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed) **Women and the State** Hutchinson Education, London.

Dale, Jennifer & Foster, Peggy. 1986 **Feminists and State Welfare** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Dalley, Gillian 1988 **Ideologies Of Caring** MacMillan Education, London.

Daniels, Kenneth 1974 *Non-professional Involvement In Helping Services In Palmerston North* Unpublished thesis, Massey University.

Dann, Christine. 1985. **Up From Under: Women & Liberation in New Zealand 1970-1985** Allen & Unwin, Wellington.

Dann, Christine 1987 *Further Up From Under* in *Sites* Issue No.15 pp 36-46.

Darby, Jennie; Wheeler, Brent; Callow, Sarah; Cleaver, Elizabeth 1983 **Towards 1984: Issues for Voluntary Agencies** Community Service Council, Palmerston North.

Darracott, Peter A. 1967 *Community Organisation as a Method of Social Work* in **The New Zealand Social Worker** Vol.3, No.4 - November.

Davey, Judith and Dwyer, Maire 1984 **Meeting Needs in the Community** New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington.

Deckard, Barbara Sinclair 1975 **The Women's Movement** Harper and Row Publishers Inc., New York.

Department of Education 1989 **Learning For Life: Two - Education and Training Beyond the Age of Fifteen** Policy Decisions, August 1989.

Department of Internal Affairs, 1987 *Correspondence to the Participants, National Community Workers Hui, Waipatu Marae, 2 - 5 October 1987 re Community Workers Training Package* 22 September 1987.

Department of Statistics 1988 **The 1986 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Families, Series C, Report 13.**

Department of Statistics 1989 *Families and Households: Profiles of New Zealanders, Number 3.* Taken from 1986 **New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings Series E, Report 3.**

Discussion Papers submitted to the Community Work National Training Party in 1983:

*Pat Shannon, Otago*

*Northern Region Local Authority Community Workers Association.*

*Wairarapa C.A.P. community workers and others from the Wairarapa region.*

Dixon, Gill; Johnson, Chris; Leigh, Sue and Turnbull, Nicky 1982 *Feminist Perspectives and Practices* in Gary Craig, Nick Derricourt and Martin Loney (eds) **Community Work and the State** R.K.P., London.

Dominelli, Lena and McLeod, Eileen 1989 **Feminist Social Work** MacMillan, London.

Driver, Sue 1986 *Functions and Funding of Local Authorities in Relationship to Community Development in Future Directions* The 5th National Community Development Conference, Local and Regional Government, Wellington, March 1986.

Driver, Sue and Robinson, David 1986 **Voluntary Social Services: A Review of Funding** New Zealand Planning Council, Planning Paper No. 28. October 1986, Wellington.

Du Bois, Barbara 1983 *Passionate Scholarship: Notes on Values, Knowing and Method* in Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (eds) **Theories of Women's Studies** R.K.P., London.

Duelli Klein, Renate 1983 *How to Do What we Want to Do: Thoughts about Feminist Methodology* in Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (eds) **Theories of Women's Studies** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Duff, Beryl 1988 *A Comment on "Feminism/80s: What Agenda?"* in **Sites** Issue No. 17, Summer 1988. New Zealand Cultural Studies Working Group.

Dyce, Tim 1979 *Community in New Zealand in Opportunities for Change*, Vol 1 **Community Forum** (Inc), Auckland

Easton, Brian 1980 **Social Policy and the Welfare State in New Zealand** George Allen and Unwin, Auckland.

- Eisenstein, Hester. 1984. **Contemporary Feminist Thought** Unwin Paperbacks, Sydney.
- Eisenstein, Zillah 1979 *Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism* in Zillah Eisenstein (ed) **Capitalist Patriarchy** Monthly Review Press, New York.
- Eisenstein, Zillah 1981 **The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism** Longman, New York.
- Eisenstein, Zillah 1981a *Reform and/or Revolution* in Lydia Sargent (ed) **Women and Revolution - A discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism** South End Press, U.S.A.
- Elliott, Michael C 1978 *The Church's Role in Community Work* Paper presented to The Fourth Australian and New Zealand Methodist Missions and Social Services, Auckland.
- Elliott, Michael C. 1982 *Christianity: Towards a Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society* in Ian Shirley (ed) **Development Tracks** The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Elliott, Michael C. 1990 **Freedom, Justice and Christian Counter-Culture** SCM Press, London and Trinity Press, Philadelphia.
- Elworthy, Juliet 1986 **The Development of Social Welfare Services in New Zealand** Supplementary Paper No.1, The Ministerial Task Force on Social Welfare, September 1986, Wellington.

Evans, Judith 1986 *Feminist theory and political analysis* in Hills, Jill (co-ord)  
**Feminism and Political Theory** Sage Publications Ltd., London.

Finch, Janet and Groves, Dulcie 1980 *Community Care and the Family* *Journal of  
Social Policy* 9 pp 487 -511.

Firestone, Shulamith 1971 **The Dialectic of Sex: the Case of Feminist  
Revolution** Granada Publishing Ltd., London.

Fletcher, G.J.O. 1978 *Division of labour in the New Zealand nuclear family* *New  
Zealand Psychologist* 7, 33-40.

Fraser, Derek 1984 **The Evolution of the British Welfare State** MacMillan  
Press, London (2nd Edition).

Fraser, Nancy 1989 **Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in  
Contemporary Social Theory** Polity Press, U.K.

Friedan, Betty 1963 **The Feminine Mystique** Norton Books, New York.

Friedman, Milton 1962 **Capitalism and Freedom** Chicago University Press,  
Chicago.

Friere, Paulo 1972 **Pedagogy of the Oppressed** Sheed and Ward, London.

Galbraith, J.K. 1972 **The New Industrial Society** Penguin Books,  
Harmondsworth.

Gallagher, Ann 1977 *Women and Community work* in Marjorie Mayo (ed) **Women in the Community** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

George, Vic and Wilding, Paul 1976 **Ideology and Social Welfare** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Gillespie, Christine 1980 *The Road Ahead for the Women's Movement - Out of the Womb and into the World* in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes (eds) **Women in New Zealand Society** George Allen and Unwin, Auckland.

Gold, David A.; Lo, Clarence Y.O. and Wright, Erik Olin 1975 *Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State* **Monthly Review** Vol. 27, No.5, pp 29-34 and Vol. 27, No.6, pp 36-51.

Gottlieb, Naomi 1987 *Dilemmas and Strategies in Research on Women* in Dianne S. Burden and Naomi Gottlieb (eds) **The Women Client: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and Philosophy of Science** D. Reidel Publishing, Netherlands.

Graham, Hilary 1983 *Caring: a labour of love* in Janet Finch and Dulcie Groves (eds) **A Labour of Love: women, work and caring** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Graham, Hilary 1985 **Health and Welfare** MacMillan Education, London.

Gramsci, Antonio 1971 **Selections from Prison Notebooks** International Publishers, New York.



Grimshaw, Patricia 1972 **Women's Suffrage in New Zealand** Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, Wellington.

Grimshaw, Patricia 1986 *Women in History: Reconstructing the Past* in Jacqueline Goodnow & Carole Pateman (eds) **Women, Social Science and Public Policy** George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Habermas, Jurgen 1976 **Legitimation Crisis** Beacon Press, Boston (translated by T. McCarthy).

Haigh, David 1986 *Historical Background to Community Development Within Local and Regional Authorities in Future Directions* The 5th National Community Development Conference, Local and Regional Government, Wellington, 1986.

Hall, Trish and Shirley, Ian 1982 *Development As Methodology: Locality Development, Social Planning and Social Action* in Ian Shirley (ed) **Development Tracks: the theory and practice of community development** Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.

Hancock, Mervyn 1966 *Social Workers and the Welfare State in New Zealand* Unpublished paper, Palmerston North. Cited in Kenneth Daniels 1974 *Nonprofessional Involvement in Helping Services in Palmerston North* Unpublished thesis, Massey University.

Hancock, Mervyn 1977 *The Historical Evolution of Mutual Support Institutions in New Zealand Society 1800-1890* Unpublished Paper, Massey University.

Hanmer, Jalna 1977 *Community action, women's aid and the women's liberation movement* in Marjorie Mayo (ed) **Women in the Community** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Hanmer, Jalna and Rose, Hilary 1980 *Making Sense of Theory* in Paul Henderson, David Jones and David N. Thomas **The Boundaries of Change in Community Work** George Allen & Unwin, London.

Harding, Sandra (ed) 1987 **Feminism & Methodology** Indiana University Press & Open University Press, U.K.

Hartmann, Heidi 1981 *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards A More Progressive Union* in Lydia Sargent (ed) **Women and Revolution** South End Press, Boston.

Harwood, Peter 1975 *Background History of Local Body Involvement in Welfare Services* in **Local Body Involvement in Community Welfare Services** Seminar Proceedings, Lower Hutt City Council, 24 October.

Hay, Roy 1986 **The Use and Abuse of Oral Evidence** Deakin University Press, Victoria, Australia.

Hayek, F.A. 1960 **The Constitution of Liberty** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Henderson, Paul; Jones, David and Thomas, David, N. (eds) 1980 **Boundaries of Change in Community Work** Allen and Unwin, London.

Hercus, Ann 1985 *Foreword* in Claudia Bell **Women and Change: A Study of New Zealand Women** National Council of Women, Wellington.

Hernes, Helga Maria 1987 *Women and the Welfare State: the transition from private to public dependence* in Anne Showstack Sassoon (ed) **Women and the State - The Shifting Boundaries of Public & Private** Hutchinson, London.

Hodder, Lorna M. 1969 *Recollections from 1940* in **The New Zealand Social Worker** Vol.5, No.4, October 1969.

Horsfield, Anne, 1988 **Women in the Economy** Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington.

Horsfield, Anne & Evans, Miriama 1988 **Maori Women In The Economy** Ministry of Women's Affairs, Wellington

Hyman, Prue 1981 *Women and Pay* **New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations** (6), 79-89.

Hyman, Prue 1985 *How Much Discrimination is there in Women's Pay?* in **National Business Review**, 2 December.

Jack, P. Avery and Robb, J.H. 1977 *Social Welfare Policies: Development and Patterns Since 1945* in A.D. Trlin (ed) **Social Welfare and New Zealand Society** Methuen Publications, Wellington.

- Jaggar, Alison 1977 *Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation* in Vetterling-Braggin, Mary; Elliston, Frederick and English, Jane (eds) **Feminism and Philosophy** Littlefield, Adams and Co., New Jersey.
- Jaggar, Alison, M. 1983 **Feminist Politics & Human Nature** Rowman & Allanheld, New Jersey.
- James, Bev 1977 *The Maori Women's Welfare League: from social movement to voluntary association* Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Waikato.
- James, Bev 1982 *Feminism: Making the Private World Public* in Ian Shirley (ed) **Development Tracks** The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- James, Bev 1985 *Mill Wives: A study of gender relations, family and work in a single-industry town* Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- James, Bev 1986 *A Great Place to Raise a Family? New Zealand Family Policy and the Welfare State* in Chris Wilkes (ed) **Working Papers on the State, Volume Three** Department of Sociology, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- James, Bev and Saville-Smith, Kay 1989 **Gender, Culture and Power** Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Jayarathne, Toby Epstein 1983 *The Value of Quantitative Methodology for Feminist Research* in Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein (eds) **Theories of Women's Studies** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- Jones, Chris 1979 *Social Work Education, 1900-1907* in Noel Parry; Michael Rustin and Carole Satyamurti **Social Work, Welfare and the State** Edward Arnold, London.
- Jones, David 1981 *Community Work in the United Kingdom* in Paul Henderson and David N. Thomas (eds) **Readings in Community Work** George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Jones, Kathleen 1981 *A Capacity for Living* in Eileen Younghusband **The Newest Profession** IPC Business Press, London.
- Kawharu, Hugh 1988 *Treaty of Waitangi: English Translation of Maori Version* in The Royal Commission on Social Policy **The April Report, Volume 2 Future Directions**, April 1988, Wellington.
- Kelsey, Jane 1984 *Legal Imperialism and the Colonization of Aotearoa* in Paul Spoonley, Cluny Macpherson, David Pearson and Charles Sedgwick (eds) **Tauwiwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand** Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Keynes, John 1936 **The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money** MacMillan, London.
- Kiel, Helen 1983 *Women in Social Work: Caretakers or Policy Makers?* **Australian Social Work** June, 1983, Vol. 36, No.2.
- Kilmister, Terry 1987 **Community Volunteers: A History** Printed with the assistance of the Roy McKenzie Foundation, Wellington.

- Kirby, Georgina 1985 *Te Ropu Wahine Toko I Te Ora/Maori Women's Welfare League* in Haeata Herstory Collective Haeata Herstory 1985 New Women's Press, Auckland.
- Koopman-Boyden, Peggy G. and Scott, Claudia D. 1984 *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand* George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Kupenga, Vapi; Rata, Rina and Nepe, Tuki 1989 *Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy* in Conference Proceedings of the Social Policy and Inequality Conference organised by the N.Z. Planning Council in conjunction with the Social Welfare Research Centre of the University of New South Wales, 10-11 November 1988, Wellington.
- Lewis, Jane and Meredith, Barbara 1988 *Daughters Who Care: Daughters caring for mothers at home* Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.
- Lloyd, Jacky 1978 *Community Work: An Appraisal* in NZASW Biennial Conference Papers August, 1978.
- Loney, Martin 1983 *Community Against Government* Heinemann, London.
- Loveridge, Judith and O'Neill, Anne-Marie 1989 *Report on the Status of Academic Women* Massey University, Palmerston North.
- MacDonald, Charlotte 1990 *A Woman of Good Character: single women as immigrant settlers in nineteenth century New Zealand* Allen and Unwin/Historical Branch, Wellington.

- Mackinnon, Catharine 1987 *Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: Towards Feminist Jurisprudence* in Sandra Harding (ed) *Feminism and Methodology* Indiana University Press and Open University Press, United Kingdom.
- Marchant, Helen and Wearing, Betsy. 1986 *Gender Reclaimed: Women in Social Work* Hale & Iremonger Pty Limited, Sydney.
- Martin, John 1981 *State Papers* Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Mason, Beryl 1969 *What is New in Training Overseas?* in *The New Zealand Social Worker* Vol.5, No.2 - April 1969.
- Matthews, Joan and Ward, Dave 1978 *Community work and social work as separate disciplines* *Social Work Today* Vol 10, No 15, 5.12.78.
- Matthews, Kay 1988 *White Pinafores, Slates and Manuka: Pakeha Women's Experiences of Primary Schools in Hawkes Bay, 1880 - 1918* in Sue Middleton (ed) *Women and Education in Aotearoa* Allen Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.
- Mayo, Marjorie 1975a *Community Development: A Radical Alternative* in Roy Bailey and Mike Brake (eds) *Radical Social Work* Edward Arnold, London.
- Mayo, Marjorie 1975b *The History and Early Development of CDP* in Ray Less and George Smith (eds) *Action-Research in Community Development* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

- Mayo, Marjorie (ed) 1977 *Women in the Community* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- McCreary, John and Shirley, Ian 1982 *In the Rural Tradition: Anthropologists Come to Town* in Ian Shirley (ed) *Development Tracks* Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- McIntosh, Mary 1978 *The State and the Oppression of Women* in A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (eds) *Feminism and Materialism* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- McRobbie, Angela 1982 *The Politics of Feminist Research: Between Talk, Text and Action* *Feminist Review*, 12.
- Middleton, Susan C. 1985 *Feminism and Education in Post-War New Zealand: A Sociological Perspective* Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of Waikato.
- Miliband, R 1969 *The State in Capitalist Society* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.
- Miliband, R. 1973 *The State in Capitalist Society* Quartet Books, London.
- Mill, John Stuart 1912 *On Liberty, Representative Government and the Subjection of Women* Ed. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, London.
- Millett, Kate 1971 *Sexual Politics* Abacus, Great Britain.



Ministry of Recreation and Sport 1977 **Report of the Working Party on Community and Youth Work Training** Submitted to the Minister of Recreation and Sport.

Ministry of Women's Affairs 1989 *Discussion Paper 1: Valuing Women's Unpaid Work* September 1989, Wellington.

Ministry of Women's Affairs/Te Minitatanga Mo Nga Wahine 1990 *Mana Wahine* in Department of Statistics/Te Tari Tatau and Ministry of Women's Affairs/Te Minitatanga Mo Nga Wahine **Women In New Zealand** Wellington, New Zealand.

Mishra, R. 1977 **Society and Social Policy: Theoretical Perspectives on Welfare** MacMillan, London.

Mitchell, Juliet. & Oakley, Ann. (eds) 1986 **What is Feminism? A Re-Examination** Pantheon Books, New York.

Moir, Hazel 1984 *Comment on women in the Australian labour force* in Dorothy Broom (ed) **Unfinished Business** George Allen & Unwin, Australia.

Moses, Karen 1989 *Community Work Training Proposal 1989* Te Kupu Issue 1, April 1989, Wairarapa.

Muncie, John; Fitzgerald, Mike and Read, Geoph 1978 *The Origins of Community Work* in **Community Work in Practice 1** Course Module, The Open University, Milton Keynes.

Munford, Robyn 1989 *The Hidden Costs of Caring: Women Who Care For People With Intellectual Disabilities* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Murchie, Elizabeth 1984 *Rapuora Health and Maori Women* The Maori Women's Welfare League, Wellington.

Nash, Mary 1987 *Women and Social Work: A Study of Feminist Social Work Student Placements* Unpublished thesis, Massey University.

National Community Workers Hui 1987

Records of the hui held at Waipatu Marae, Hastings, 2 - 5 October.

National Council of Adult Education and the Voluntary Welfare Agency Training Board 1986 *Training Tracks: A directory for development and training opportunities for adult educators and voluntary agency personnel throughout New Zealand* A joint publication of NCAE and VWATB, Wellington, May 1986.

National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women 1990 *Beyond The Barriers: The State, The Economy and Women's Employment 1984 - 1990* Department of Labour, Wellington.

Nes, Janet A. and Iadicola, Peter 1989 *Towards a Definition of Feminist Social Work: A Comparison of Liberal, Radical and Socialist Models in Social Work* Journal of National Association of Social Workers, January 1989, Vol. 34, No.1, pp 12-21.

New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services 1990 *An information paper summarising the Council's role and current activities, and outlining its priorities for 1990* NZCETSS, Department of Social Welfare, Wellington.

New Zealand Council of Social Service 1976 **Roles of Central Government, Local Authority and Voluntary Agency in Social Welfare** A discussion paper, August 1976, Wellington

New Zealand Council of Social Service 1978 **Sharing Social Responsibility** Report of the NZCOSS on desirable roles and directions in social service development, Wellington.

New Zealand Social Work Training Council 1978 **Education and Training for a Career in Social Work** Department of Social Welfare, Wellington.

New Zealand Social Work Training Council 1981 **Report on Activities** Wellington, July 1981.

New Zealand Social Work Training Council 1982 **A Map of the Training Journey: For Volunteers and Community Service Workers** NZSWTC, Wellington, March 1982.

New Zealand Social Work Training Council 1985 **Review of the New Zealand Social Work Training Council** A Report prepared at the request of the Minister of Social Welfare, 11 June 1985.

**New Zealand Year Book 1988 - 1989** Government Print, Wellington.

- Nga Kaiwhakamarama I Nga Ture/Wellington Maori Legal Service Inc. 1991 **Ka Awatea: A Preliminary Analysis** Unpublished document P.O. Box 6528, Wellington.
- Norman, Helen 1989 **Teacher Career and Promotion Study** Department of Education, Wellington.
- Novitz, Rosemary 1978 *Marital and Familial Roles in New Zealand: The Challenge of the Women's Liberation Movement* in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden (ed) **Families in New Zealand Society** Methven, New Zealand.
- Novitz, Rosemary 1987 *Bridging the Gap: Paid and Unpaid Work* in Shelagh Cox (ed) **Public and Private Worlds** Allen & Unwin N.Z. Ltd in association with Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.
- Oakley, Ann 1981 *Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms* in Helen Roberts (ed) **Doing Feminist Research** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- O'Brien, Michael 1983 *Accident Compensation: Whose Interest?* in Bruce Asher, Craig Johnston, Michael O'Brien, Simon Peacey, Viv Porzolt **Working Papers on the State** Massey University, Palmerston North.
- O'Brien, Michael 1987 *Social Work And Social Services Have No Class* **NZSW Journal** Vol. 12. No's 3 & 4.
- O'Regan, Pauline 1986 **A Changing Order** Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.

- O'Regan, Pauline and O'Connor, Teresa 1989 **Community** Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.
- Oliver, William H. 1977 *The Origins and Growth of the Welfare State* in A.D. Trlin (ed) **Social Welfare and New Zealand Society** Methven Publications, Wellington.
- Olssen, Erik 1980 *Women, Work and Family: 1880-1926* in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes **Women in New Zealand Society** George Allen & Unwin, Auckland.
- Olssen, Erik and Levesque, Andree 1978 *Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand* in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden (ed) **Families in New Zealand Society** Methven, New Zealand.
- Palmer, Ruth 1988 **Report From The Aotearoa Community Workers Association On Community Work Training** Community Work Training Group of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association, October 1988.
- Papps, Elaine 1977 **Is Community Work a Part of Social Work** Unpublished Paper presented to Anglican Social Services Convention, Christchurch.
- Parker, Julia 1988 **Women and Welfare** MacMillan Press, London.
- Parry, Noel and Parry, Jose 1979 *Social Work, Professionalism and the State* in Noel Parry, Michael Rustin and Carole Satyamurti **Social Work, Welfare and the State** Edward Arnold, London.

- Pascall, Gillian. 1986 **Social Policy - A Feminist Analysis** Tavistock Books, London.
- Phillips, Jock 1987 **A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History** Penguin Books, Auckland.
- Plummer, Ken 1983 **Documents of Life** George Allen and Unwin, London.
- Popplestone, Gerald 1971 *The Ideology of the Professional Community Workers* in **British Journal of Social Work** No. 1.
- Poulantzas, Nicos 1973 **Political Power and Social Classes** New Left Books, London.
- Poulantzas, Nicos 1977 *The Problem of the Capitalist State* in Robin Blackburn (ed) **Ideology in Social Sciences** Vintage Books, New York.
- Ramazanoglu, Caroline 1989 **Feminism And The Contradictions of Oppression** Routledge, London.
- Randall, Vicky 1982 **Women and Politics** The MacMillan Press, London.
- Reenen, Lionel van and Pope, Maggie 1982 *Racism and ACW's development* in Ashok Ohri, Basil Manning and Paul Curno (eds) **Community Work and Racism** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Rimmer, Lesley 1983 *The economics of work and caring* in Janet Finch and Dulcie Groves (eds) **A Labour of Love: women, work and caring** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Robinson, David (ed) 1978 **Community Development and Local Authorities Seminar Proceedings**, November 2 - 3, 1978. Organised by the Community Services Office, Wellington City Council.

Rochford, M.W. and Robb, M.J. 1981 **People in the Social Services: A New Zealand Survey** New Zealand Social Work Training Council, Wellington.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 1973 **Women's Consciousness, Man's World** Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 1976 **Hidden from History** Vintage Books, New York.

Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988 **The April Report Vol. II Future Directions** Government Print, Wellington.

Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988 **Towards a Fair and Just Society** Government Print, Wellington.

Sassoon, Anne Showstack 1987 *Women's new social role: contradictions of the welfare state* in Sassoon, Anne Showstack (ed) **Women and the State - The Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private** Hutchinson, London.

Saville-Smith, Katherine 1987 *Women and the State* in Cox, Shelagh (ed) **Public and Private Worlds: Women in Contemporary New Zealand** Allen & Unwin, New Zealand.

- Sedgwick, Charles P. 1988 *The Life History: A methods, with issues, troubles and a future* Working Paper One, Department of Sociology, University of Canterbury, New Zealand.
- Seed, Phillip 1973 *The Expansion of Social Work in Britain* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Segal, Lynne 1987 *Is the Future Female? Troubled Thoughts on Contemporary Feminism* Virago, London.
- Shannon, Pat 1986 *New Zealand Perspectives For Social Change Workers* Otago University Extension, Dunedin.
- Shiple, Susan 1982 *Women's Employment and Unemployment: A Research Report* Department of Sociology, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Shiple, Susan 1983 *Doing Feminist Sociological Research: Its Politics and Practice* in Women's Studies Conference Papers N.Z. Women's Studies Association, Auckland.
- Shirley, Ian 1979 *Planning for Community* Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Shirley, Ian (ed) 1982 *Development Tracks: the theory and practice of community development* Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Shirley, Ian 1987 *Theories of the State* Unpublished paper, Massey University.



- Shirley, Ian 1991 *Planning for a Dependent Society* Unpublished Draft Paper, Massey University.
- Shirley, Ian; Easton, Brian; Briar, Celia and Chatterjee, Srikanta 1990 **Unemployment in New Zealand** Dunmore Press, Palmerston North
- Skeffington 1969 **People and Planning: The Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning** HMSO, London.
- Smith, Michael 1976 *Introduction in Community Work in New Zealand* Proceedings from NZASW Seminar, November 1976.
- Smith, Teresa 1980 *Community Work: Profession or Social Movement* in Paul Henderson, David Jones and David N. Thomas **The Boundaries of Change in Community Work** George Allen and Unwin, London.
- Social Advisory Council 1986 **Partnership: The Delivery of Social and Community Services** Government Print, Wellington.
- Stanley, Liz and Wise, Sue 1983 **Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Sullivan, Michael 1987 **Sociology and Social Welfare** Allen & Unwin, London.
- Szaszy, Mira 1983 *A long involvement Maori struggles in Broadsheet* Issue 112, September.
- Te Kupu: Kaimahi-A-Iwi Newsletter of the Aotearoa Community Workers Association Inc. Issues 1 - 5, Wairarapa.

- Tennant, Margaret 1976 *Matrons with a Mission: Women's Organisations in New Zealand 1893-1915*. Unpublished thesis, Massey University.
- Tennant, Margaret 1989 **Paupers and Providers: Charitable Aid in New Zealand** Allen & Unwin/Historical Branch, Wellington.
- The New Zealand Social Worker 1965 *Social Work in New Zealand* in The N.Z. **Social Worker** Vol.1 No.1, August.
- The New Zealand Social Worker, 1965 Vol.1, No.1; 1970 Vol.6, No.3; 1970 Vol.6, No.2
- Thomas, David N. 1983 **The Making of Community Work** George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Thorpe, Rosamund 1985 *Community work and ideology: an Australian perspective* in Rosamund Thorpe and Judy Petruchenia (eds) **Community Work or Social Change?** Routledge and Kegan Paul, Melbourne.
- Tomlinson, John 1985 *The history of Aboriginal community work* in Rosamund Thorpe and Judy Petruchenia (eds) **Community Work or Social Change?** Routledge and Kegan Paul, Melbourne.
- Tong, Rosemarie 1989 **Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction** Westview Press, Inc., Colorado.
- Treasury, The 1989 *Treasury Comments on the Report of the Working Group on Equal Employment Opportunities and Equal Pay*, Wellington.

Twelvetrees, Alan 1976 **Community Associations and Centres** Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Twelvetrees, Alan 1982 **Community Work** MacMillan, London.

Twelvetrees, Alan 1991 **Community Work** (2nd Edition) MacMillan, London

Ungerson, Clare 1983 *Why do Women Care?* in Janet Finch & Dulcie Groves (eds) **A Labour of Love** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Ungerson, Clare 1987 **Policy Is Personal** Tavistock Publications, London.

Vasil, Raj 1990 **What Do the Maori Want?** Random Century New Zealand Ltd, Auckland.

Waerness, Kari 1984 *Caring as Women's Work in the Welfare State* in Harriet Holter (ed) **Patriarchy in a Welfare Society** Universitets Forlaget, Norway.

Waikato Times 1 October 1991, page 16.

Waikato Times 5 October, 1991, page 2.

Walby, Sylvia, 1986 **Patriarchy at Work** Polity Press, Cambridge.

Walby, Sylvia 1990 **Theorizing Patriarchy** Basil Blackwell Ltd., Oxford.

- Walker, Ranginui 1982 *Development From Below: Institutional Transformation in a Plural Society* in Ian Shirley (ed) **Development Tracks** Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Walker, Ranginui 1990 **Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou /Struggle Without End** Penguin Books, Auckland.
- Walklate, Sandra 1984 *Marx and Marxism* in Anthony Forder, Terry Caslin, Geoffrey Ponton and Sandra Walklate (eds) **Theories of Welfare** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Walton, Ronald G. 1975 **Women in Social Work** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Waring, Marilyn 1987. *The Invisible Women* in Shelagh Cox (ed) **Public and Private Worlds** Allen & Unwin N.Z. Ltd./ Port Nicholson Press, Wellington.
- Waring, Marilyn 1988a **Counting for Nothing** Allen & Unwin, N.Z. Ltd, Wellington.
- Waring, Marilyn 1988b *Discussion Paper on the Role of the State* in **The Role of the State: Five Perspectives** The Royal Commission on Social Policy, March 1988. Wellington.
- Waylen, Georgina 1986 *Women and neo-liberalism* in Hills, Jill (co-ord) **Feminism and Political Theory** Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Wearing, Betsy 1986 *Feminist Theory and Social Work* in Helen Marchant and Betsy Wearing (eds) **Gender Reclaimed: Women in Social Work** Hale and Iremonger Pty Limited, Sydney.

Weedon, Chris 1987 **Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory** Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Weil, Marie 1986 *Women, Community and Organizing* in Nan Van Den Berg and Lynn Cooper (eds) **Feminist Visions of Social Work** National Association of Social Workers, Maryland, U.S.A.

Weir, Lorna 1987 *Women And The State: Conference for Feminist Activists in* **Feminist Review** No. 26, pp 93-103.

Wheeler, Brent; Darby, Jennie; McDonald, Ann and Cleaver, Elizabeth 1982 **Research Into Non-Statutory Welfare Organisations in Palmerston North** Interim Report Community Service Council, August 1982, Palmerston North.

Wilby, Peter 1979 *Habermas and the language of the modern state* in **New Society** 22 March, pp 667-669.

Wilkes, Chris 1982 *Development as Practice: The Instrument of Reason* in Shirley, Ian (ed) **Development Tracks: the theory and practice of community development** The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.

Wilkes, Chris 1988 *The Art of the State* in **Working Papers on the State, Volume IV** Sociology Department, Massey, Palmerston North.

- Wilkes, Chris and Shirley, Ian 1984 *An Introduction to Social Policy* in Chris Wilkes and Ian Shirley (eds) *In the Public Interest* Benton Ross Publishers, Auckland.
- Williams, Fiona 1989 **Social Policy: A Critical Introduction** Polity Press in association with Basil Blackwell, Cambridge.
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1977a **Women and the Welfare State** Tavistock Publications Ltd., London.
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1977b *Women in the Community* in Marjorie Mayo (ed) *Women in The Community* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1982 *Women, the 'Community' and the 'Family'* in Alan Walker (ed) **Community Care: The Family, the State and Social Policy** Basil Blackwell and Martin Robertson, Oxford.
- Wilson, Elizabeth 1983 *Feminism and Social Policy* in Martin Loney, David Boswell and John Clarke (eds) **Social Policy and Social Welfare**. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Wilson, Elizabeth with Angela Weir 1986 **Hidden Agendas - Theory Politics & Experience in the Women's Movement** Tavistock Publications Ltd, London.
- Woodroffe, Kathleen 1974 **From Charity to Social Work** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Younghusband, Eileen 1981 **The Newest Profession: A Short History of  
Social Work** IPC Business Press Ltd., London.