

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.

SEPARATE OR MIXED SCHOOLING:

A REVISIONIST STUDY OF
SECONDARY EDUCATION IN
MARLBOROUGH (1946-1958)

A thesis presented in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Philosophy
in Education at
Massey University

Ralph Barry Cocklin
1983

ABSTRACT

The objectives of this study were twofold; to provide an in-depth and systematic account of secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling; and, to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958. Two procedures were chosen as the most appropriate for fulfilling these two objectives. First, the presentation of a systematic and in-depth documentation of the events, issues, and people involved in the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. Data was obtained from newspaper clippings, interviews, and such documents as Board Minutes and Records. This data is presented in two phases: first, a descriptive account, in approximately chronological order, of the events and debate which characterised this 13-year period in the history of Marlborough College; and, second, through the presentation of a critical analysis of the underlying assumptions and ideologies. This critical analysis is based upon what is popularly referred to as a 'revisionist perspective' and involves the examination of two competing explanations of the historical data and the selection of a Marxist-Feminist framework as the most appropriate method for achieving the second major objective.

The embryonic nature of such an investigation notwithstanding the study is seen to offer scope for further development, both as regards investigations into educational decision-making itself and in the application of the theoretical perspective to such historical analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The cooperation of a number of people has made this thesis possible and I take this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge their assistance and encouragement.

Dr. David Battersby supervised my research. The guidance, constructive criticism, experience and insight David provided, along with his friendship and encouragement has made the completion of this thesis possible.

The late Professor Clem Hill first suggested the continuation of my studies which has resulted in my pursuit of further qualifications. Professor Ray Adams has provided support and assistance which have enabled me to continue at Massey University while working on this project.

My colleagues in the Education Department at Massey University have willingly given both of their time and their knowledge in aiding me with this project. Mrs. Doreen Howes through her friendly advice has been a constant source of motivation towards the completion of this thesis. Mr. Eric Archer, Dr. Roy Shuker and Mr. John Clark provided constructive critical comment on an earlier draft of the report of this investigation.

The people of Marlborough who provided access to information and documents enabled this project to proceed. In particular, appreciation is expressed to the group of Informants who provided a valuable insight into the historical period, and the Marlborough Colleges Board for their assistance.

This thesis is dedicated to Heather whose support, assistance, and encouragement provided the conditions under which the study became possible. Finally, John and Marie, through their faith, understanding, and tolerance, have greatly assisted in the completion of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii.
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	vi.
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY	3
The Debate	3
Secondary Education in New Zealand: A Brief Overview	5
Marlborough High School (1900-1946): Origins and Development	11
Objectives and Methodology	19
Summary	23
CHAPTER TWO: MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE (1946-1958): A PERIOD OF DEBATE	24
Marlborough College (1946-1957) Overview	24 48
Marlborough College (1958) Overview	48 56
Marlborough College (1958-1964)	57
Summary	59
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	61
The Normative Perspective	64
Role of Women	64
Justification: Innate Differences	66
Ideology of Naturalism and the Sexual Division of Labour	69
Problems of the Normative Perspective	71
The Revisionist Perspective: A Marxist-Feminist Framework	72
Sex and Gender	75

Legitimation and Reproduction of Social Relations	78
Patriarchy and Capitalism	83
Power	86
Summary	91
CHAPTER FOUR: THE SINGLE-SEX/CO-EDUCATION DEBATE:	
MARLBOROUGH (1946-1958): A CRITICAL ANALYSIS	93
The Single-sex/Co-education Debate	
Social Context	95
Subject and Career Choice	95
Status Indicators	102
Summary and Discussion	107
The Single-sex/Co-education Debate	
The Decision	109
The Second School Debate (1946-1957):	
An Overview	110
The Case for Single-sex Colleges in Marlborough (1958)	113
The case for single-sex colleges: Summary and discussion	124
The Case for Co-educational Colleges in Marlborough (1958)	127
The case for co-educational colleges: Summary and discussion	142
The Role of the Media	145
The role of the media: Summary and discussion	150
The Role of the Board	152
The role of the Board: Summary and discussion	156
The Decision-Makers	156
The decision-makers: Summary and discussion	159
Summary	160
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS	162
BIBLIOGRAPHY	164

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURE ONE: The Biological Determination of Sex Roles	67
FIGURE TWO: The Imposition of Gender Roles	82
TABLE ONE: Marlborough College 1958 School Roll by Courses Taken	96
TABLE TWO: Occupational Destination of School Leavers Marlborough College, 1955	100
TABLE THREE: Staff Numbers by Sex and Qualification Marlborough College, 1947-1959	104
TABLE FOUR: Type of Staff Qualification by Sex Marlborough College, 1947-1959	105
TABLE FIVE: Marlborough College Roll Numbers 1946-1964	112

INTRODUCTION

*I keep six honest serving-men,
They taught me all I knew;
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who.*

Rudyard Kipling

Within the requirements of the Standard Scheme of Control for Secondary Schools and the particular school Act (e.g., Marlborough College Act, 1899), a secondary school Board of Governors has a considerable degree of autonomy in the making of decisions which can then affect successive generations of secondary students. Two such decisions made by a Board of Governors in Blenheim, New Zealand, provide the focus for this study. First, their selection of a new College Principal in 1946 brought with it new and different ideas to their district. Second, in 1958, this Board of Governors decided, after 13 years of debate, to recommend to the Department of Education that the existing co-educational college in Blenheim be converted to a single-sex college, and that a new, also single-sex, secondary school be established.

Although both these decisions have had widespread and prolonged ramifications for the Province of Marlborough, there has been no attempt to examine systematically the outcomes of the decision to appoint this particular Principal in 1946 nor of the reasons which led the Board of Governors in 1958 to support the establishment of two single-sex Colleges in Blenheim. Indeed, while descriptive and historical accounts of the New Zealand educational system exist spanning the period from 1946 to 1958, there are no detailed references to secondary education in the Marlborough Province. Further, nor do such descriptive accounts provide critical scrutiny of events, involving individuals (e.g., the College Principal) and groups (e.g., The Marlborough College Board of Governors) as a way of exposing ideologies and assumptions concerning

Marlborough's secondary education during this 13-year period.

Accordingly, the present study has as its major objectives:

To provide an in-depth and systematic account of secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling; and,

To examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

The report of the study carried out toward the fulfilment of these objectives is divided into five chapters. Chapter One, which follows, briefly outlines the origins of the debate over single-sex and co-educational secondary schools in New Zealand, and then focusses attention on the establishment and development of secondary education in Marlborough up until 1946. Against this background the methodology and objectives of the current investigation are elaborated. Chapter Two provides an historical overview of the events and debate concerning secondary education in Marlborough which characterised the period from 1946 until the establishment of the two single-sex Colleges in the early 1960's. Chapter Three will present a revisionist perspective, based on a Marxist-Feminist framework, which will then be utilised, in Chapter Four, to achieve the goal of examining critically, and more closely, the lengthy debate leading up to the decision to establish two single-sex colleges in Blenheim. The report will conclude with an overview of the investigation and its implications.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter is comprised of three sections and provides a discussion of: (a) the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling in New Zealand; (b) the development of secondary education in Marlborough; and, (c) the objectives and methodology of the current investigation.

THE DEBATE

In 1962, the Report of the Currie Commission noted that:

The debate between supporters of co-educational and single-sex schools only occasionally assumes importance in New Zealand.

*(Department of Education,
1962, p.222)*

This Report then proceeds to dismiss the co-education/single-sex issue as ultimately of little importance and leaves the topic without much further comment. Yet, the type of school to be provided has effects on the pupils, the staff, and the community and on this basis the Currie Report has been criticised (see, Meikle, 1964). Thus, to gloss over the debate or to reject it as unimportant is to dismiss as inconsequential the provision of single-sex and co-educational schools in New Zealand. However, despite the Currie Report's dismissal, it has been argued that, given the Department of Education 'practice' - as distinct from 'policy' (see, Minogue, 1965) - of allowing a local community to determine whether single-sex or co-educational schools were to be established in their district, various aspects of the debate have, and will probably continue to assume importance (see, Cocklin, 1981b, 1982a, 1982b). Certainly in a number of countries, and particularly in Britain, the co-education/single-sex debate continues with much fervour (e.g., Byrne, 1978; Finn, 1980; Shaw, 1980). Indeed, from a comprehensive examination of

single-sex and co-educational schooling, Sutherland (1981) concluded that:

... the worldwide trend towards more co-educational schools is now of more questionable value than would originally have been believed. As the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education (1979) said, we need more research on the effects of co-education.

(Sutherland, 1981, p.206)

In New Zealand some single-sex secondary schools are now encountering difficulties (e.g., financial constraints; falling roll numbers) in remaining as viable institutions. In some instances, this has led to consideration being given to co-education as an alternative, or to varying degrees of interchange and mixing of classes between nearby single-sex schools. Whatever the alternatives the debate continues, and at various times catches the attention of the media (see, *The New Zealand Truth*, September 1, 1981; Cocklin, 1981b, 1982b; Battersby, 1982) and in turn raises public concern over the issue. This concern is often more apparent and continuous in those regions which have various restrictions on the type of schooling available for secondary students. Thus, for example, the cities of Tauranga and Rotorua, in the North Island of New Zealand, have school zoning regulations which often restrict the choice as to the type of school - single-sex or co-educational - parents wish to select for their children. In other towns, such as Blenheim and Oamaru in the South Island, single-sex schools are the only option available to secondary students, and this in turn has generated local and even national interest over the advantages of single-sex schools as opposed to their co-educational counterparts (e.g., 'Nationwide', Television One, August 19, 1982). Indeed, a review of some of the literature and media reports (see, Irving, 1976; Cocklin, 1981b, 1982b) suggests that, at least since the advent of compulsory secondary education in New Zealand, advocates of both co-educational and single-sex schooling have often indulged in dogmatic and frequently acrimonious rhetoric as

they sought to justify their beliefs in the superiority of one form of secondary schooling over the other. In fact, as the next section of this chapter will indicate, the history of secondary education in New Zealand is characterised by changing beliefs about the type of education most suitable for secondary school students.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The Colonial Period in New Zealand saw an early concern for the provision of educational facilities for both the Maori and settler populations (Butchers, 1929, 1930, 1932; Dakin, 1973). In 1816 the first Mission school was opened while 1842 saw the establishment of New Zealand's first secular primary school system for the children of settlers. This early concern was reflected in the first Education Ordinance, in 1847, of the Colony providing grants for Churches to maintain primary schools for the children of the settler population. However, despite this concern, the first secondary school, established in Christchurch in 1851, was modelled on the English Public and Grammar school system. With its fee-structure and academic curriculum it reflected a view that secondary education was a privilege rather than a right; a system which was to continue until the passing of the Secondary Schools Act of 1903 introduced a system of free places for which the Government undertook to pay grants.

As well as reflecting the British traditions of secondary education, which saw the opening of Nelson College - in 1856 - compared to the establishment of Eton, this early development occurred on the basis of single-sex schools particularly for boys. The only public secondary school for girls established and endowed during the Provincial Period - which ended with the abolition of Provincial Councils in 1875 - was Otago Girls' High School in 1871, although Wanganui College (1852) and Auckland Grammar (1869) were originally opened with places available for girls. In other centres, girls' secondary schools were not established until after the passing of the Education

Act of 1877 resulted in the opening, within the next decade, of girls' colleges in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Nelson.

By 1900, 25 secondary schools had been established throughout New Zealand with a total enrolment of nearly 1800 boys and over 1000 girls (see, Murdoch, 1943). In Wanganui, Napier, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Timaru, Oamaru, and Dunedin there were already separate secondary schools for boys and girls. With their fee-paying structure, endowment incomes, and academic curriculum, and the selectiveness this produced, many of these schools soon developed a high status within New Zealand; a status with which the co-educational schools - provided for in the 1877 Education Act - had little chance of competing (see, Murdoch, 1943; Minogue, 1965). Despite egalitarian principles, a dichotomy was thus produced which saw status being equated with single-sex schools (see, Minogue, 1965). Indeed, this status was further reinforced through the academic nature of these single-sex schools - whose pupils were invariably from higher socio-economic backgrounds - compared with the technical and vocational orientation of the early co-educational schools (see, Murdoch, 1943).

The development of single-sex secondary schools in New Zealand owes much to the British influence (see, Murdoch, 1943; Irving, 1976; Lavigueur, 1980) and to the widely held view at the time that different needs and social roles of males and females required different educational preparations (see, Byrne, 1978). Indeed, the influences of both British traditions and the social values of the time had considerable effect on the early development of New Zealand's secondary schools:

... although the New Zealand environment had left its impact upon them [these schools], they showed even more unmistakably that they had been created by men who had the social and educational pattern of Victorian Britain firmly fixed at the back of their minds.

(Murdoch, 1943, p.5)

Thus, boys were often seen as requiring training to master their future careers within the work-force. Girls, on the other hand, were to be trained for their future role as homemakers and this necessitated a domestic orientation to their education. For those girls 'of position', whose parents could afford to send them to such fee-paying schools, education was to be in the finer things of life - such as the classics - which enhanced their role as homemaker. An expression of this view can be seen in Murdoch's (1943) reference to an inaugural address at the opening of Auckland Grammar School in 1869:

... men ... would rejoice to know that after they come home from their day's work, with its often sordid details, they would be led to higher things by their wives, who, more happy than themselves, had found time during the day to hold converse with the noble minds that have formed the literature of our and other nations.

(Murdoch, 1943, p.43)

While the classics, and to a lesser extent mathematics, science, history, modern languages, and geography, dominated the boys' curriculum in single-sex secondary schools, that for the girls gave prominence to modern languages, art, music and the social and domestic skills. Such was the case, for instance, with Otago Girls' High School, which was established in 1868 to provide education in:

... correct moral culture, advanced English (elocution, grammar, composition), arithmetic, geography, Biblical and secular history, singing, deportment, the principles and practice of domestic economy (including habits of neatness and tidiness, proficiency in needlework, etc.)

(Murdoch, 1943, pp.34-35)

Further to this, some educators at the time suggested that sex differences between males and females, and their differing patterns of social and moral development, provided strong justification for the provision of separate secondary schools for boys and girls. Illustrating this view are the comments of the Principal of Otago Girls' High

School, who, in 1888, remarked that:

... boys were less delicate, and stronger than girls; that girls were "perhaps quicker of insight, and more readily responsive to teaching"; but that "this leads to worry"; that little provision was made for outdoor sports for girls; that girls had household responsibilities

(Murdoch , 1943, p.29)

Indeed, as a further justification for separate secondary education for girls, considerable concern was expressed about the potential damage to their delicate nature and effects this could have on future child-bearing. For instance, supporters of the childrearing practices proposed by Sir Truby King¹ were able to argue that:

... the stress placed upon girls by the education system interfered with their physical development, producing neurasthenic females who were unable (or unwilling) to suckle their young, unable to bear the pains of labour as well as their mothers and, as if this were not enough, suffered in addition from eye failure, headaches, menstrual disturbances and constipation!

(Tennant, 1977, p.145)

The early development of secondary education in New Zealand, then, saw the establishment of a superior tradition - on both status and academic grounds - for single-sex schools. This development and separation perhaps owes more to influences from Britain and the Victorian social mores of the time (see, Irving, 1976) than it does to any reliance on research evidence, indeed:

... there is surprisingly little evidence that the underlying philosophical and educational problems have been systematically examined. Such separation is characteristic of English secondary schools, which have so strongly influenced our own.

(Murdoch, 1943, p.222)

¹ Founder of the Plunket Society and leading proponent of scientific childrearing practices emphasizing the vital role of the mother in this full-time occupation.

While most of the larger cities had both co-educational and single-sex schools, the population and lack of endowment funds in the majority of smaller towns often precluded single-sex schools from being established. In these districts, co-educational schools were developed in the form of District High Schools with their lower fees and a more vocationally oriented curriculum. Such schools, provided for by the Education Act of 1877, initially consisted of a secondary department added to a primary school. It was intended that, along with the training offered by the vocational curriculum, these would open up access to secondary education for both the children of less well-to-do parents and those who did not win scholarships to the fee-paying secondary schools. In some Provinces, co-educational secondary schools took the form of Technical High Schools, and these often existed in the larger centres along with the academic single-sex schools and colleges. For the District High Schools, co-education was often seen as a transitional phase to be passed through before growth in roll would justify single-sex schools for the area. Despite the existence of such co-educational schools, the belief in single-sex education continued, with size, apparently, the criterion for community, teacher, and Department of Education justification for co-education. A comment made by Murdoch (1943) supports this contention:

Several schools at the moment have roll numbers over 400; but if circumstances permitted and boards and principals had their way most of these would probably be converted into two single-sex schools or into 'combined' schools with boys and girls separated.

(Murdoch, 1943, p.222)

This did occur in areas such as Gisborne, Tauranga and Rotorua, where co-educational schools were split into single-sex schools as a result of growth in roll numbers. As for the Technical High Schools, they continued to be co-educational despite roll growth. Indeed, by the early 1940's, for instance, Seddon Memorial College in Auckland

had a roll of approximately 1200 pupils in a co-educational institution (Murdoch, 1943).

While single-sex schools were seen by many as the ideal throughout most of the first century of New Zealand's educational history, the period since the Second World War has shown a shift towards co-education; a shift which saw the last single-sex State secondary school - Marlborough Girls' College - opened in 1963, and the Department of Education to state publicly, in the previous year, that it would resist establishing any further single-sex schools (Department of Education, 1962). By 1981, this trend saw a total of 306 State secondary schools established, of which 241 were co-educational, with 31 boys' and 34 girls' schools. This shift towards co-education was influenced by a combination of factors: economic concerns; overseas educational trends; and, staffing shortages, particularly in girls' secondary schools. However, as was the case with single-sex schools, the primary justification for co-education appears to have been the prevailing attitudes at the time, rather than any substantive evidence about the superiority of one type of education over another. Thus, it has been suggested (see, Irving, 1976; Cocklin, 1981b, 1982b) that the arguments advanced by supporters of co-education in New Zealand, and overseas, have often proceeded on the assumption that it is not only natural for the sexes to mix at school but that the trend towards co-education reflects a change in the aims of schooling to meet the social needs of students. Mack (1962) argues, for instance, that the early period of single-sex schooling in New Zealand saw education concerned with 'intellectual' development and that educational planners did not see it as necessary to have the sexes together for social development. More recently, supporters of co-education have viewed education as being concerned with the 'social', as well as the academic, development of students.

The causes, reasons, and justifications for co-education and single-sex schooling seem to be based more on prejudice and deep passion than on substantiated evidence (see, Minogue,

1965), as the New Zealand Department of Education points out:

It is difficult to find any substantial evidence about the co-education/separate school issue in New Zealand that goes beyond opinion and convenience.

(Department of Education, 1974, p.18)

This will become even more apparent when a close study is made of the single-sex/co-education debate in the New Zealand Province of Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. As a background to this debate, the origins and developments of secondary education in the Province will be discussed.²

MARLBOROUGH HIGH SCHOOL³ (1900-1946):

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

Despite its location at the geographical centre of New Zealand, the Province of Marlborough has been isolated for much of its history. Access to Wellington involved a voyage across Cook Strait by ship, a situation not eased until the establishment of an air service in the 1950's, while roading links with Nelson and Christchurch were made difficult by the terrain. It was not until the opening of the South Island Main Trunk Railway in 1945 that access to Christchurch became easier. Later improvements in roading, sea, and air transport decreased further Marlborough's isolation from its neighbouring Provinces. Such circumstances as these seem to have

² Although secondary education also became available in two other centres in the Province - Rai Valley and Kaikoura - before 1958, both of these were District High Schools. Thus, following the local community practice, reference to secondary education in Marlborough will imply that which was established in the Province's main centre of Blenheim.

³ Commonly referred to as 'Marlborough College' since the 1920's, the change of title was not made official until 1957. Again, recognition will be given to the local community pattern and it will be referred to as Marlborough College after discussing the period 1900-1920.

... contributed to a strong sense of local identity and an independent vein ... There also developed a guarded attitude to association with Nelson, the Province's nearest South Island neighbour; and suspicion of absorption has defeated most plans for administrative structures spanning the two Provinces and providing comprehensive services for both.

*(Department of Education, 1974,
p.9)*

These characteristics of independence and rivalry with Nelson - from which the Province separated in 1859 - are in evidence today, and contributed in the past to the founding of the first secondary school in Marlborough.

The moves to have a secondary school in the Province were initiated in 1874 by the Blenheim Borough Council which also acted as the local Education Board. The Superintendent of the Province, Mr A.P. Seymour, who was also the Member of Parliament for the district, planned to introduce a Bill providing for a secondary school in Blenheim. However, events were to overtake this move because:

... before [Mr Seymour] could get very far an event of moment for the whole country intervened - the Government moved for the abolition of the Provinces, and in the confusion the Bill providing for a school at Marlborough was not proceeded with.

*(New Zealand Free Lance,
March 22, 1950)*

For a period following this Government move, secondary education became available in Blenheim at a District High School which was established by adding a secondary department to a local primary school. This High School seems to have been in existence until the early 1880's when:

... owing to many cross-currents of opinion, changing school staffs, and impatience on the parts of parents and scholars for results, it was decided at a meeting of householders ... on January 24, 1881, to

make an end to the high school project.

*(The Marlborough Express⁴,
March 23, 1960)*

It also seems that the end of the High School project was hastened by an adverse report from an Inspector (see, Marlborough College Register, 1950).

An increasing population, possibly coupled with Nelson having its own secondary College, brought pressures again to seek endowment funds for a permanent secondary school in the Province. Added impetus for the move possibly being provided by the fact that those children whose parents could afford it, or who gained Government scholarships, were at the time attending such schools as Nelson College. But again, events were to bypass this as:

The movement to establish a permanent secondary school had no sooner been restarted in 1893 with the objective of inducing the Government to set aside £10,000 worth of land as an endowment (compared with the £20,000 with which neighbouring Nelson College began) than the Government conceived a distaste for educational bodies owning land endowments and laid down a policy accordingly.

*(New Zealand Free Lance, March
22, 1950, emphasis
added)*

However, continued efforts resulted in the Marlborough Education Board, in 1899, drafting a High School Bill which, through the efforts of Mr. C.H. Mills - a member of the Board and the Parliamentary Member for Wairau - became the Marlborough High School Act of 1899. The school admitted its first pupils to temporary accommodation on March 26, 1900, under the Act which also provided an annual grant of £400, and an additional £1,000 for building purposes. This grant indicated an important turning point

⁴ This particular newspaper provided the major source of information for the present study. In all subsequent instances of this source being cited the title will be abbreviated to *The Express*.

in education in New Zealand, and perhaps also contributed to the community feeling of pride in their achievements in the field of educational provision, for it enabled the the first Free-Place secondary school to be established, as the inaugural Principal, Dr. J. Innes, recounted:

The Government of the day was hostile to Secondary School Boards in respect of their administration of endowment lands, and so no endowments were given to this school, but a statutory annual grant was made instead. The school was required to bestow annually eight scholarships or free places. We arranged to grant each year two junior and two senior free places.

(Marlborough College Register, 1950, p.10)

. No explanation was given for the discrepancy in numbers.

The opening roll of 17 pupils comprised six girls and 11 boys (*The Express*, March 23, 1960), although other figures (e.g., Marlborough College Register, 1950) give a roll of 18. The ages of those enrolled in the first week ranged from 11 years to 20 years as admission was as yet unrestricted by qualification requirements. The official opening of Marlborough High School, marked by a small ceremony involving local representatives, was later described in extravagant terms by the Editor of the local newspaper:

Fifty years ago the siege of Mafeking meant more to most people than the birth of Marlborough College. The opening of Marlborough's first properly established secondary school ... passed almost unnoticed by the local community and the Colony at large, and a mere handful of people saw the first 18 pupils enter the temporary portals of an institution now more than half a century old. Yet the event was in a way parallel with Mafeking, for the new school was the product of a siege pressed with unsurpassed stubbornness and a determination and ending in a victory for a comparatively small district which has always known how to fight for what it wants and has never known how to give in.

(New Zealand Free Lance, March, 22, 1950)

The school continued in its temporary accommodation in a local church hall for the remainder of that year with the roll increasing to 32 by the end of 1900. Plans for a new school were drawn up and construction commenced with the laying of the foundation stone on September 22, 1900. This ceremony was attended by local dignitaries and Government representatives:

Parliament was in session, and Mr. C.H. Mills, M.P., arranged for a party of his Parliamentary friends to accompany the Hon. W.C. Walker, the Minister for Education, to Blenheim. The Government steamer, Tutanekai, was placed at the disposal of Mr. Mills and his party. The visitors number 26 all-told, and it was the first occasion that Blenheim had seen so many parliamentarians.

(The Express, March 23, 1960)

The building and occupation of the new school was completed in 1901, and Dr. Innes described it as follows:

At first it comprised three classrooms, two wings flanking two small teachers' rooms, and behind these a room separated from them by a four-foot passage. A hideously-clanging bell on a tall iron frame was placed in the boys' yard.

(Marlborough College Register, 1950, p.17)

The school continued to increase its roll slowly, with pupil numbers passing the century mark in 1904. This year also saw the founding of an Old Pupils' Association and the publication of the first issue of the school magazine, *The Marlburian*. By 1922 the roll had reached 192, and there was a staff of seven assistant teachers as well as seven classrooms, a science room, a Library, a gymnasium and staffroom. In 1922 Dr. Innes retired, a man educated at Christs' College whose teaching experience had included positions at Timaru High School and Wellington Girls' High School prior to his 22 years service as Principal of Marlborough High School. As well, his contribution to education also involved an active part in the establishment of Victoria University College, and a period of three years

as Chairman of the Court of Convocation of the University of New Zealand. Dr. Innes was succeeded by Mr. J. Stewart, M.A., who remained Principal until ill-health brought his retirement in 1946.

At about the time of Dr. Innes' retirement, the school became unofficially known as 'Marlborough College' reflecting the belief that it "had grown up" (*New Zealand Free Lance*, March 22, 1950). However, despite some earlier representations to gain official recognition of this name change, it was not until 1957 that the Act of 1899 was altered to become the Marlborough College Act.

Mr. Stewart's time as Principal saw further changes occur in the school. The roll continued to grow, and by 1926 nearly 300 secondary pupils were attending Marlborough College. However, it was the following year which produced a further and more important change in the school:

The next year, that is, in 1927, another piece of history was written in New Zealand education and Marlborough College has a prominent share in making it. A decision was taken by the Education Department to experiment with the junior high school - now known as the intermediate school and as a system extensively adopted. Casting round for a school of convenient size and character to which to the experiment might be entrusted, the authorities at Wellington hit on the College across Cook Strait. The chance was accepted and 1927 was opened with the total roll nearly doubled - 557, of whom 275 were the new Forms I and II.

The Principal, John Stewart, M.A., entering into the spirit of this adventure in learning went to the United States of America to study the intermediate system in operation in an advanced form there. As the results of his investigations the scheme succeeded signally at Blenheim and provided the Department with material from which extensions of the system could be developed intelligently and with confidence.

(New Zealand Free Lance, March, 22, 1950)

This experiment continued until the College Board of

Governors⁵, faced with growing roll numbers at the College, recommended that the Department of Education move the intermediate pupils to a new school to be built on a separate site. This move was completed in 1957 and its significance will be discussed in later chapters.

The increase in the Marlborough College roll brought about by the inclusion of intermediate pupils, and a growing number of secondary students, resulted in the need for further buildings. During the mid-1920's a block of temporary classrooms was erected while 1927 saw the erection of a two-storeyed brick wing. The addition of a technical block completed the building programme, although at this stage some of the descriptions of the Marlborough College site were far from glowing:

... with the two-storeyed brick wing, its squat original formation, its temporary detacheds, its technical block, its old gym., and its oddments of bicycle sheds and conveniences - all separated and scattered - the College foundation was described by an officer of the Education Department as "a depressing clutter of buildings."

*(Marlborough College Register,
1950, p.28)*

This condition of the College buildings provided grounds for the Board to mount pressure on the Government, and the Department of Education, to improve facilities. A pressure which reached a peak during the 1930's and saw the production of a booklet illustrating the situation at the school. The booklet, produced by Mr. R.P. Furness, a Board member between 1926 and 1948, and the then Board Chairman, Mr. W.J. Girling, contained photographs and commentary on this 'clutter of buildings'. This booklet was issued to all Members of Parliament in a move to secure improved buildings for the College. In a report of this

⁵ Although the full title of the governing body of the school is 'The Marlborough College Board of Governors' future reference to this governing body may abbreviate the title to the 'Board'.

event, Mr. Furness recalled a statement made by Mr. Girling:

Splendid work has been done by and for the children notwithstanding the severe disabilities under which the College labours, but compared with other scholastic institutions in New Zealand the buildings which comprise Marlborough College are makeshift, inconvenient, and hopelessly out-of-date.

(The Express, March 8, 1950)

Constant pressure and lobbying by Marlborough people eventually brought about the Government decision, in 1935, to rebuild the College, which considering the depressed economic conditions of the time seemed quite an achievement on the Board's part. The building programme was partially completed in 1937 and finished in 1940, and today forms the nucleus of the Marlborough Boys' College. Occupation of these buildings took place in 1941 and was the first time the school had been under one roof. However, in 1942 part of the school was commandeered by the Army for use as a hospital, being reoccupied by the pupils in 1943.

This early history of Marlborough College is brought to a close with the retirement of Mr. Stewart in 1946 and the subsequent appointment of his successor, Mr. H.A.H. Insull from Christchurch. The school at this stage had a roll of 234 intermediate and 364 secondary students. The next 13 years in the history of Marlborough College form the basis for the discussion which follows in subsequent chapters.

Emerging from this brief historical account is a view of a relatively isolated and independent community which has had a long-standing rivalry with its neighbouring Province, Nelson. Moreover, it is a community which not only has been able to lobby effectively the Government of the day, but also one which prides itself on its achievements, especially in the field of educational provision, for the Province.

It is against this historical background that an in-depth study was made of secondary education in Marlborough

covering the period from 1946 to 1958, and focussing particularly on the debate concerning the provision of two single-sex Colleges in Blenheim. The objectives of this study, the methodology adopted, and the data sources are discussed in the concluding section of this chapter.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The year 1946 marked the beginning of a 13-year controversy in the Province of Marlborough over the provision of a second College and whether it should be co-educational or single-sex. While the single-sex/co-education debate has assumed some importance in the history of secondary education in New Zealand, it has received scant attention from social and educational historians. Indeed, this is surprising, for in at least some Provincial centres (e.g., Blenheim, Rotorua, Tauranga, Damaru, and Hamilton), the debate still continues and has become part of local educational folklore. In view of this, the present study was embarked upon with one of its major goals being to document the way in which this single-sex/co-education debate came to assume significance for the Province of Marlborough, especially during the period 1946 to 1958. In more precise terms, then, the first objective to be achieved by this study was:

To provide an in-depth and systematic account of the developments in secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling.

In fulfilling this objective, an examination would be made of the reasons advanced for, and attitudes of various groups (e.g., the Marlborough College Board of Governors) and individuals (e.g., the College Principal) towards, the formation of two single-sex Colleges in Marlborough as opposed to the alternative of establishing a second co-educational College.

The second major goal for this study was to examine some of the underlying assumptions and ideologies evident in this debate over the provision of a second post-primary school for Marlborough. Accordingly, the second objective can be stated as follows:

To examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

In accordance with Trow's (1957, p.33) injunction, "... the research problem under investigation properly dictates the method of investigation", the following two procedures were chosen as the most appropriate for fulfilling the above objectives:

1. The presentation of a systematic and in-depth documentation of the events, issues, and people involved in the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. To achieve this, several data sources were used. The primary source of information concerning this historical period was a number of scrapbooks of clippings, most from the local newspaper in Blenheim, 'The [Marlborough] Express'. On examination, there were two immediate problems with this information. First, the exact date of each clipping was often not given nor were page numbers written on the clippings. This necessitated extensive checking to establish the day, month and sometimes the year for each clipping used. The second problem was that, as with any research data, newspaper clippings may not always provide an unbiased account of events and incidents. Indeed, as Parker (1975) points out, newspaper articles on the issue of single-sex/co-education are often glib and journalistic in style and emotional in content, however, they do offer both a contemporary account and an insight into the attitudes and opinions of the time. The problem of bias was partly resolved by cross-checking the newspaper reports with other sources of data which included the Marlborough College

Register (1950) and its Supplement (1960), Board records (e.g., Board Minutes and Reports), and information obtained from people (e.g., past pupils, teachers, Board members and parents) through open-ended interviews and discussions. During the research investigation, a total of 20 people furnished information specifically about the 1946 to 1958 single-sex/co-education debate, five of whom are specifically cited in the present study.⁶

The presentation of this data is divided into two phases. The first consists of a descriptive account, in approximately chronological order, of the events and debate which characterised this 13-year period in the history of Marlborough College. This is covered in Chapter Two, and it provides an overview and point of reference for the second phase of the present study, namely a critical examination of the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

2. This critical analysis is based upon what is popularly referred to as 'a revisionist perspective'. In this study, the revisionist perspective is defined as the utilisation of sociological concepts as 'explanatory tools' "... in order to produce *theoretically informed history*." (Shuker, 1982, p.19). Thus, this perspective involves a commitment to:

... the history of education as a form of social action [where] schooling has served the interests of the dominant groups in society [with] formal schooling acting essentially as an agent of social control to reproduce the prevailing system of social relations in society.

(Shuker, 1980, p.41)

And further, the perspective must give cognizance to the active role of people in the creation of their social

⁶ These five - informants A, B, C, D, and E - were teachers at the Marlborough College during the period 1946 to 1958, some for the entire period, all for the year 1958. All are now retired from teaching.

conditions in order to avoid the strictures of:

*... a deterministic perspective on education;
a perspective which reduces ... educators
and their students to relatively powerless
individuals.*

(Shuker, 1982, p.5)

The concepts utilized, which are discussed in Chapter Three, originate within a generalized Marxist-Feminist framework. Basically, this framework, as used in the present study, utilizes a set of sociological concepts which recognise that people play an active, rather than biologically or socially determined, role in the creation and legitimation of social reality. In particular, the Marxist-Feminist framework provides a set of concepts for critically examining the assumptions and ideologies concerning males and females, and their inherent inequalities and contradictions, within a chosen historical period such as that selected for study in this investigation. This framework has been adopted for three reasons. First, the Marxist-Feminist approach is compatible with the revisionist perspective (see, MacDonald, 1980a, 1980b). Second, the literature on the single-sex/co-education debate (see reviews by, Parker, 1975; Irving, 1976; Cocklin, 1982a, 1982b; Cocklin, Vincent, & Battersby, 1982) suggests that most attention has been given to the education of boys and that what is lacking is a critical examination of the debate from a feminist position. Finally, the choice to use the Marxist-Feminist framework was influenced by the background and predispositions of the researcher. Prior to this study, the writer taught in both a co-educational and a boys' secondary school. This experience combined with a background of research and study in the field of sociology, brought about two complementary predispositions. First, that a revisionist perspective utilizing a Marxist-Feminist framework could lead to more valid explanations of human behaviour than those provided by a normative paradigm. Second, through reflection about teaching experiences, and many discussions, the writer became predisposed towards the view that girls, more so than boys, are disadvantaged in educational systems. These

predispositions, combined with the reasons enunciated above, led to the selection of the revisionist perspective and the Marxist-Feminist framework as the most appropriate method for achieving the second major objective of this research, namely, to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

SUMMARY

In the early part of this chapter a brief overview was given of the single-sex/co-education debate within New Zealand. Following this, discussion turned to the historical development of secondary education within the Province of Marlborough.

Against this historical background the objectives of the present study were outlined. These were: (a) to provide an in-depth study of secondary education in Marlborough, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling from 1946 to 1958; and, (b) to examine critically, via a revisionist perspective based on a Marxist-Feminist framework the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. The following chapter represents the first phase in this in-depth, systematic and critical examination of this debate.

CHAPTER TWO

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE (1946-1958):

A PERIOD OF DEBATE

This chapter provides an insight into events in the history of secondary education in the Province of Marlborough from 1946 to 1958. Throughout, the focus will be on the debate over the provision of a second post-primary school in Blenheim and whether it was to be a single-sex or co-educational school. Accordingly, the first section of this chapter will detail events which occurred between 1946 to 1957; the second part will focus specifically on the year 1958 during which the final decision was made; and, the concluding section will outline events between the decision of 1958 and the year following the opening of the new school, 1964.

The two major objectives for the present study, as stated in Chapter One, were for; first, the provision of an in-depth and systematic account of developments in secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling; and, second, the critical examination of the ideologies and assumptions underlying this particular debate. Accordingly, this chapter will set the background for both these objectives by providing a systematic presentation of the debate as it evolved from 1946 to 1958. This descriptive overview will indicate the events as they occurred in, approximately, chronological order thereby establishing a reference point for an account of the debate, and for examining critically the underlying assumptions and ideologies evident in the debate.

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE (1946-1957)

The Introduction to the present study indicated the relative autonomy of a secondary school Board of Governors to make decisions which can, then, affect successive

generations of secondary students. It was further stated that two such decisions, by the Marlborough College Board of Governors, provide a focus for this study.

The first of these decisions occurred in April, 1946, with the appointment of Mr. Insull to the position of Principal of the then co-educational Marlborough College. Mr. Insull, whose name had been added to the short-list of candidates for the position by a special motion of two Board members, was, at the time, Principal of Cathedral Grammar School in Christchurch, a school described by Informant E as a "tin-pot little school." One of the other two names on the short-list was that of the current Deputy Principal, Mr. H.B. McClatchy⁷, who at the time was acting-Principal of the school following Mr. Stewart's retirement earlier in the year. While Mr. McClatchy was later (during 1949 and 1958) to be a strong advocate for co-education Mr. Insull asserted his preference for single-sex education at his first Board meeting (Sept. 9, 1946) as Principal. After thanking the Board Chairman, Mr. A.M. Gascoigne, for welcoming him, Mr. Insull gave a report on what he saw as proposed developments at Marlborough College. Having suggested that the Board could expect results and changes in "about 15 months", Mr. Insull appeared to castigate the Board for lack of forward planning and recommended that:

Before anything further is done, I would urge that the Board have a large scale plan of the grounds made in order that a co-ordinated scheme for development can be thought out.

(The Express, Sept. 10, 1946)

On the other hand, he seemed to have clear ideas himself about the directions this future development should take:

*The question arose as to whether it might not be desirable to plan for a division.
.... It looked as though the alternative was the consideration of the establishment*

⁷ Mr. McClatchy taught at Marlborough College between 1943 and 1959. Prior to his appointment to Marlborough College he taught for 18 years at Timaru Boys' High School.

of a separate girls' college.

(The Express, Sept. 10, 1946)

The commencement of the final school term of 1946 was the first occasion for the pupils of Marlborough College to meet their new Principal. Once again, Mr. Insull is reported to have stated, this time to an assembly of the pupils:

When we get rid of the girls, it [Marlborough College] will be one of the leading Colleges in the country.

(Informants, A & E)

Therefore, these expressions of Mr. Insull's views may be seen as indicating his preference for single-sex schools for the Province, and in particular for the establishment of a Boys' College. The unanimous decision of the Board to appoint Mr. Insull to the position of Principal may then be seen as providing a catalyst for much of the controversy and debate about secondary education in Marlborough during this period between 1946 and 1958.

The year, 1946, also saw a change in the membership of the school's Board of Governors following elections and appointments made in July and August. Upon her election, unopposed, in July, Mrs. T.A. McDonald, M.A., became the first woman member of the Board since its formation nearly fifty years previous. Other than for a period between July 1949 and May 1951⁸, this ex-teacher (1936-1938) at the College, was to remain the sole woman on the Board until her resignation in 1958. During her tenure she served on both the Visiting Committee and the Appointments Committee, as well as some other short-term sub-committees¹, but, at no stage did she serve on the Board's Executive, Finance, or Works Committee's.⁹ It is also noted from the Board Minutes that she chose the Jubilee photograph of the

⁸ Mrs. E.T. Hegglin was appointed as a Government representative on the Board in July 1949 and resigned due to ill-health in May 1951.

⁹ Yet it was usual for male members to serve on two or more of these major committees.

Board (Oct. 10, 1949), had responsibility for selecting replacement sewing machines (Aug. 10, 1954), and for ordering flowers for departing staff (Nov. 11, 1957). Upon one re-election, the then Chairman of the Board, Mr. A.J. Liley - member 1948-1957; Chairman 1954-1957 - commented:

... it is very useful to have a woman on the Board and Mrs. McDonald had done splendid work in many directions where it would be more difficult for a man.

(The Express, Aug. 8, 1955)

That her appointment was even more a departure, is suggested by her comment that each of the members of the first Board she served with "were almost old enough to be her father" (*The Express*, June 10, 1958). While it appears that Mrs. McDonald may have had children attending Marlborough College at the time of her election - she was a member of the Parents' Association during 1946 and 1947 - she had two further children (in 1949 and 1950) during her term on the Board. This, combined with her comments above, may be seen as indicating a further break with tradition in that this first woman Board member was relatively young.

The Board at this time, following Mrs. McDonald's appointment, included: Mr. Gascoigne (member 1935-1956; Chairman 1945-1947); Mr. Furness, B.A., (member 1926-1948); Mr. Girling (member 1915-1951; Chairman 1934-1945); Mr. A.F. Bent (member 1942-1949); Mr. W.E. Davies (member 1942-1949, 1958-1961); Mr. W. Merrifield (member 1944-1956); Mr. S.C. Hyndman (member 1941-1961; Chairman 1947-1950); and, Mr. H.C. Mills (member 1946-1949). Of these, Messrs Gascoigne (admitted 1917), Mills (admitted 1913) and the Secretary, Mr. F. Mogridge (admitted 1900)¹⁰, were Old Boys' of the school, although it was not until the end of 1962 that Old Pupils were appointed as such to the Board.

Also during this final term of 1946, the Old Pupils'

¹⁰ Mr. Mogridge was Board Secretary from 1929-1949 and had been a Board member 1923-1928.

Associations were revived following the War years, with the Old Boys' receiving strong encouragement from Mr. Insull to re-form their Association. Both groups remained active, and indeed, over the decade which followed, the Old Boys' Association was to play a relatively major part in the decision to establish separate secondary schools for boys and girls in Blenheim. However, membership appears to have been a constant problem and between 1954 and 1958 no elections were held for the executive's of either Association, although both were revived in 1958 and contributed to the final decision for single-sex schools to be established in the Province.

The following year, 1947, brought the first official discussion by the Board on the direction secondary education in the Province should follow. At a Board meeting in June, Mr. Insull suggested that:

... the time would come when the Board would have to consider the question of separate boys' and girls' schools. As far as the Intermediate Department was concerned he felt strongly that it would be a mistake to take it away from the upper school [and] that a girls' school might be established on the other side of town.

(The Express, June 10, 1947)

This latter suggestion being of interest in that the Board's consideration of the matter had been brought about through a recommendation from the Parents' Association that property, in the vicinity of the College, be purchased for future expansion.

At this Board meeting in June, 1947, on the motion of Mr. Hyndman, a sub-committee to investigate "the whole question of future sites, hostels, and separate schools" was formed. This committee comprised the Board Chairman¹¹, Mr. Gascoigne, Mr. Insull, Mr. Mills, Mr. Hyndman, and

¹¹ Mr. Hyndman was elected to the Chair in August, 1947, a position he held until 1950.

Mrs. McDonald. However, it was the issue of Mr. Insull's suggestion that consideration be given to forming separate schools that caught the headlines in *The Express*. The Editorial of June 11, 1947, argued that Mr. Insull's recommendation for separate schools came about because he had

... time to assess the situation This [recommendation], presumably is not because of any objection to co-educational institutions as such, but because an accommodation stress will compel an extension of school and playing field space to the equivalent of another school.

(The Express, June 11, 1947)

In September, the sub-committee formed in June reported its findings to the Board, and recommended *inter alia* that separate-sex Form One to Six schools be established. The report went on to state:

If the boys and girls were separated ... this would have the advantage of ensuring continuous schooling from Form I to Form VI, and would enable each school to specialise in the interests characteristic of each sex. By 1959 the Board could expect each college to have a roll of about 500.

(The Express, Sept. 10, 1947)

It was obvious that the sub-committee considered two single-sex colleges more desirable than the option of establishing a further co-educational school:

The establishment of another co-educational school ... has been considered. Facilities for manual and technical instruction would have to be duplicated, unless one of the schools specialised in these subjects. Segregation by courses the committee considers to be undesirable. The pros and cons of co-education were considered by the committee, and it considers that these about balance each other.

(The Express, Sept. 10, 1947)

The Board adopted the report and authorised the sub-committee to draft its recommendations for submission to the Department of Education in Wellington. Thus, almost

within a year of Mr. Insull's appointment, the Marlborough College Board had adopted a major policy decision concerning the future education of boys and girls, from the district, in separate Form One to Form Six schools. However, it appears that little response to the sub-committee's recommendations was received from the Department of Education, despite a detailed analysis of birth statistics, provided by Mr. Insull in support of the recommendations, which indicated that the school would have a roll of about 1,000 pupils in 1959, and be "far too big."

For Board members, the end of the year (1947) saw the election of Mr. Girling (unopposed) as Mayor of Blenheim and Mr. Davies as Mayor of Picton. Thus, while unsuccessful in their request for a second school, the political scene provided some satisfaction.

Coupled with the separate schooling recommendation, but less publicised was the Board's decision that a boarding hostel "for boys' only" (*The Express*, Feb. 10, 1948) be established. This decision was undoubtedly influenced by Mr. Insull who argued that:

If we have a boys' hostel there will be more room for girls around town as far as boarding is concerned.

(The Express, Feb. 10, 1948)

In 1948, the Board was granted temporary accommodation at Omaka aerodrome that could be used as a boys' hostel. While it was planned that the buildings at Omaka were to provide accommodation for 52 boys, a housemaster and staff, the hostel never eventuated partly because expenditure on such a scheme was regarded by the Minister for Education to be too excessive, and also because of the distance the boys would have to travel each day.¹²

The provision of hostel accommodation, both for boys and

¹² The cost of conversion was estimated at £28,000 for a hostel located some miles from the College outside the town boundary.

girls, continued to occupy a place of prominence throughout the next two decades and, as such, had considerable influence on the views of various community groups (e.g., Federated Farmers) when the issue of separate schooling was being considered.

In 1948, Mr. Insull, having earlier had the Board (Sept. 9, 1946) adopt a prayer for the opening of all Board meetings, advocated the appointment of a full-time religious instructor at the College. This is indicative of both Mr. Insull's views and the rivalry existing with the Nelson area, previously indicated in Chapter One. With Nelson having single-sex boarding schools, this rivalry comes to have a considerable import for the debate occurring in 1958. Thus, when Mr. Insull suggested religious instruction for Marlborough College an immediate comparison was drawn with Nelson; as the Editorial in *The Express* on September 15, 1948 illustrates:

Religious instruction in primary schools was pioneered in Nelson, where a generally acceptable voluntary system was devised. Marlborough may do the same thing for secondary schools

(The Express, Sept. 15, 1948)

Mr. Insull had suggested that neglect of the spiritual side of education resulted in children not being educated but "being turned out half-blind" (*The Express*, Sept. 15, 1948). While the Board adopted this recommendation and made representations to the Department of Education, the National Council of Churches, and the Secondary School Boards' Association, there was little support for the suggestion. Indeed, the acting-Director of Education stated in a letter of reply to the Board's submissions that:

He could not see how the Board could, under the Education Act, employ a full-time religious instructor.

(The Express, Feb. 15, 1949)

As an issue for the Marlborough College Board, the reply from the acting-Director of Education appears to have ended the matter, although it was raised at various times by

Mr. Insull (*The Express*, March 16, 1950; Feb. 13, 1951; Dec. 11, 1954) and mentioned by two Minister's of Religion during the Marlborough College Jubilee celebrations in 1950 (*The Express*, March 20, 1950).

The future direction of intermediate and secondary schooling in the district surfaced for discussion again during 1949. This followed a visit by the Minister for Education in June of that year during which he recommended that the Board reach a final decision as to whether

... the College is to continue ... co-education, but with a separate intermediate school, or whether separate boys' and girls' colleges will be developed, each with its own intermediate department.

(The Express, June 14, 1949)

A week after the Minister's visit, the Board met and heard discussions, and Mr. Insull's views at his request, on the recommendation in committee. However, a paper by Mr. Insull (Insull, 1949) - produced either for this meeting or as a result of the discussions which took place - indicated his continued support for single-sex Form One to Six schools. And further, he argued that:

... separate schools will enable each sex to specialise along its own lines, with better results for the girls and boys concerned I feel sure that girls need a separate curriculum and a different timetable from boys, and a separate school in which to work it out.

(Insull, 1949, p.12)

The Board felt, at this June meeting, that the issue was of such importance that the Parents' and Old Pupils' Associations should be invited to make recommendations before a final decision was reached on the future of the College. Within a week, the Old Boys' Association - following an address by Mr. Insull, again in committee - and the Old Girls' Association both publicly stated their support for single-sex schools with attached intermediate departments (*The Express*, June 17, 1949). In view of this support, the Editorial in *The Express* on June 18, 1949,

suggested:

If the case for the retention of the co-educational system rests on educational, sociological and traditional grounds, there goes the traditional. If the Old Pupils' not only consent to but recommend the vital change a substantial obstacle disappears.

(The Express, June 18, 1949)

However, support for separate schools for boys and girls was not unanimous. The local branch of the New Zealand Educational Institute was overwhelmingly in favour of co-education and recommended a separate intermediate school (*The Express*, June 21, 1949). Likewise, the Parents' Association decided, by six votes to three ¹³, to support co-education and to have a detached intermediate school.

The views of these various parties were reported to, and discussed at, a Board meeting in early July of that year. Also present at this meeting were the Deputy Principal and the Head Teacher of the Intermediate Department of Marlborough College, both of whom reported not only their teachers' support for co-education, but their own view that co-education was superior, and that the only solution was to form a separate intermediate school. In particular, the Deputy Principal, Mr. McClatchy, spoke with vigour about the advantages of co-education as the following report in *The Express* shows:

Mr. McClatchy drew on a number of quotations from leading educationalists throughout the world who favoured co-education and he said that the only country to move away from co-education during the last decade had been Soviet Russia. It had been freely stated by those in authority that the disadvantages, if any, of co-education were far outweighed by its advantages. A further opinion quoted by Mr. McClatchy was that education was a process of social adjustment and this could not be brought

¹³ This decision of 'The Marlborough College Parents' Association' - referred to in this study as Parents' Association - is most likely that of the elected committee rather than the Association to which all parents may belong.

about by segregation.

Dealing with Marlborough's experience with co-education, Mr. McClatchy said that as far as he knew there was not a single stain on the morality of the College over a very long period. He said that if there had been any weakness with co-education it would have been reflected at a time when there were large numbers of troops in the district, as during the last war. Further, a judge of the Supreme Court in 1943 had remarked on the absence of crime in Marlborough, and Mr. McClatchy thought that this also had been a worthy tribute to co-education.

Mr. McClatchy dealt at length with his associations with segregated schools and laid stress on the many problems that were apparent to him.

(The Express, July 12, 1949)

In response, Mr. Insull re-affirmed that:

... he had always been in favour of segregation and he had not changed his mind in spite of all that had been brought forward by the teachers. He felt that segregation would mean a better standard of school work, better discipline and better men and women.

(The Express, July 12, 1949)

This lack of unanimity prompted an Editorial in The Express to comment:

The future of Marlborough College is a clear-cut issue between co-education and segregation. Because of the present and estimated increase in roll numbers the retention of co-education will mean separation of the intermediate department and the establishment of a new intermediate school. The alternative entails setting up two secondary schools ... each with an intermediate department attached Without question, the decision for the Board is a heavy one ... but the right verdict must, it is clear, be finally based on our peculiar local circumstances and requirements.

(The Express, July 12, 1949)

It was not until October 1949, that the Board had full representation to again consider the matter, having determined that it required reflection. At this October meeting, the Board unanimously favoured co-education,

passing a resolution that:

This Board approves co-education in both the senior and intermediate schools as the form of education most suitable for Marlborough, and as the Intermediate Department was attached to the College as an expediency and an experiment, and intermediate schools have now become separate schools as part of the educational system, this Board notify the Education Department that it approves of its separation from the secondary school, but requests that its control remains under the Board.

(The Express, Oct. 28, 1949)

All members of the Board spoke in favour of co-education at this meeting, and Mr. Insull, when invited to comment on the motion, said the Board knew his opinion. Thus, although Mr. Insull's objections were noted, it seemed apparent to Board members, and to the general public through reports in *The Express*, that the idea of separate education for boys and girls in the district was now abandoned, and that the Board would direct its efforts towards the establishment of a new intermediate school. Nevertheless, the subsequent delay in building the proposed intermediate school - opened in 1957 - ensured that debate would arise over the October Board meeting motion, especially as accommodation became pressing with an increasing number of pupils at Marlborough College.

The Marlborough College Jubilee year of 1950 saw the local Member of Parliament, the Hon. T.P. Shand, suggest at the Jubilee banquet that the time would come for separate boys' and girls' colleges and that the Old Pupils' should "become a pressure group to get the things you need" (*The Express*, March 16, 1950). While noting the contribution of the growing roll at Marlborough College to this need, Mr. Shand linked his recommendation for single-sex schools to the hostel issue. He repeated this suggestion in 1951 at the College prize-giving ceremony when he expressed the hope that Marlborough College would become "known as one of New Zealand's really good boarding schools" (*The Express*, Dec. 8, 1951).

Earlier in 1951, the lack of space and a roll of nearly 900 students at Marlborough College had brought the need for another school to the attention of both the Board and the public. Indeed, in March of that year, Mr. Insull had suggested that, unless additional rooms were available before 1952, "we will have to use marquees as temporary rooms" (*The Express*, March 15, 1951). This, despite additional space being provided the previous year with the opening of a new domestic science block. The Board responded immediately by meeting with the Minister for Education and suggesting three alternative solutions to the problem: first, to expand the present College; second, to build a complete new intermediate school; and, third, to establish a separate girls' college, with an intermediate department attached. In putting this proposal to the Minister, the Board indicated that the last alternative

... was not favoured by the Board which was strongly in favour of co-education.

(The Express, March 24, 1951)

In July 1951, the above three alternatives were discussed further following the suggestion that the Board would have to take a longer view and plan for the future. While Mr. Insull re-affirmed his support for single-sex Form One to Six schools, by August the Board's preferred solution to the accommodation problems at Marlborough College was for a new intermediate school to be built, although it was acknowledged that this would be a temporary measure only. A transient solution emphasized by Mr. Shand at the end-of-year prize-giving ceremony when he said:

The establishment of a separate intermediate school was not going to be a permanent solution to the accommodation problems ... It was possible to estimate the school's roll figures as far ahead as 1960 ... and it was apparent that before long a further split would be necessary in the secondary department.

(The Express, Dec. 8, 1951)

The College had just re-opened in 1952, when Mr. Insull suggested that the increasing congestion at Marlborough College would lead to

... pupils in the future failing in their examinations because of the makeshift conditions under which they are being taught.

(The Express, Feb. 14, 1952)

These accommodation problems led the Board, later that year, to urge the Department of Education to:

... expedite the purchase of the Bohally property and the establishment of a separate intermediate school.

(The Express, Sept. 20, 1952)

Whether resulting from the Bohally property being a farm just within the town boundary¹⁴, or some other cause, the proposed purchase brought the first suggestions that the new college to be established should have an agricultural bias. Indeed, Mr. Shand stated:

I look forward to the day when Marlborough College will become an agricultural high school ... There is no place in New Zealand more suited for training in agriculture than Blenheim. In my opinion it will be a sensible move if the Education Department acquires Bohally with a view to the eventual establishment of a boys' training college.

(The Express, Sept. 27, 1952)

However, this proposed use of the Bohally property was viewed with some alarm by the Federated Farmers who felt the land was more suited and valuable as a farm than as a site for a school. Indeed, such was their concern that the Federated Farmers submitted a letter of protest to the Board setting out their reasons for the retention of the property as a farm. At the October Board meeting this letter was discussed and Mr. E.E. Currie (Board member 1951-1958; 1960-1963), himself a member of Federated Farmers, suggested that the Board

¹⁴ This 57-acre property was offered to the Department of Education for purchase on the condition that it be used for educational purposes only. The property, located on the northern boundary of the town and approximately one-mile distant from the centrally situated Marlborough College, also included a farm Homestead which had been erected in the late 1800's.

... write to Federated Farmers explaining that the land will not be a total loss to the farming community, as we hope to have a farming college here some day.

(The Express, Oct. 14, 1952)

Mr. Currie's recommendation was not acceptable to all members of the Board and no action was taken. Indeed, during discussion of the recommendation, Mr. Hyndman remarked:

Personally I do not see the need for us to reply at all I do not think that a reply on the lines suggested by Mr. Currie would be satisfactory. We cannot prophesy what form a school will take in the future and I think it would be wrong of us to give anyone the impression that the college will be an agricultural one.

(The Express, Oct. 14, 1952)

During 1952, Mr. Hyndman, a member of both the College Board of Governors and the Wellington Education Board, received the M.B.E for services to education (*The Express*, June 6, 1952). He thus became the second Board member within this period of 1946 to 1958 to receive similar recognition, the first being Mr. Girling who received the C.B.E in 1950 while also Mayor of Blenheim (*The Express*, June 9, 1950).

The year, 1952, closed with Mr. Insull again stressing the makeshift conditions at the College, and noting that pupils might be sent home in 1953 because of the lack of space (*The Express*, Dec. 9, 1952). The Board responded to Mr. Insull's statement and

... it was decided that an urgent telegram be sent to the Minister ... asking that ... prefabricated classrooms be completed before the beginning of the 1953 school year.

(The Express, Dec. 9, 1952)

These rooms were subsequently built and were ready for students by the beginning of the second school term in 1953. Several Board members were, however, displeased with the appearance of these prefabricated buildings and described

them as "sheds" and a "disgusting sight" (*The Express*, March 10, 1953). The completion of these prefabricated classrooms only allowed accommodation for the current year (1953) and therefore did not provide a solution to the problem of the increasing roll at Marlborough College. Indeed, by September of 1953, the Parents' Association - which became a Parent Teachers' Association in October, 1953 - was urging the Board to recommend to the Department of Education that another secondary school be built in Blenheim (*The Express*, Sept. 9, 1953). In response to this, Mr. Insull brought forward again his support for single-sex schools with the alternative suggestion of an agricultural school. At a meeting in September, the Board decided to set up a sub-committee - comprising Mr. Currie, Mr. Insull, Mr. Gascoigne, and Mrs. McDonald - to investigate statistics of future roll growth and to report to a special meeting of the Board in March of the following year.

The preparation of statistics, in 1953, was also undertaken by the Federated Farmers seeking an indication of the potential support for a hostel. However, despite the enthusiasm for the hostel project expressed by the Editorial in *The Express* on June 26, 1953, responses indicated that well below the 80 boarders required by the Department of Education for the founding of hostels would be available. This lack of support brought a further deferment of the hostel issue.

An earlier request by the Board to the Department of Education was met in November 1953 when the Minister for Education reported that the Bohally property had been purchased as the site for a new intermediate school. In a letter to the local Member of Parliament, Mr. Shand, outlining this decision, the Minister also commented that:

As you know, the Marlborough College roll is rapidly outgrowing the available accommodation and the obvious solution is to take the intermediate department away and establish it as a separate school. The day cannot be far distant when we will have to establish another post-primary

school, and part of the land will be used for this purpose.

(The Express, Nov. 26, 1953)

This official recognition of the eventual requirement for a new secondary school supported the views expressed by some Board members in the previous year that a new intermediate school would ease only temporarily the accommodation problems at Marlborough College. It may also be seen as helping to keep the issue of single-sex/co-education schooling alive through providing official recognition of the need for the second secondary school.

As he had done the previous year, Mr. Insull made a statement on the accommodation problem during the College end-of-year prize-giving ceremony:

True education is an intensely personal affair, and true education cannot take place in a school such as ours if the accent is on regimentation and mass production, and if relations between pupils and teachers who do not know each other become so impersonal that all come to feel that they are mere cogs in a huge impersonal machine.

(The Express, Dec. 10, 1953)

Whether a reflection of this, or Mr. Insull's suggestion made in 1952 that examination results would suffer due to the lack of accommodation at the College, a low pass-rate in the School Certificate examinations of 1953 brought the Board to pass a motion of censure of the teaching staff (*The Express*, Feb. 9, 1954). Whatever the cause, such a motion may be seen as lending support to the move to establish a second school and, also to the single-sex lobby which was to emphasize the high academic standards in single-sex schools in comparison to their co-educational counterparts.

During 1954, proposals for another secondary school were again linked to the provision of a hostel. Mr. R.D. Harvey - Board member from 1951 to 1954 - brought this issue to the Board at its June meeting, where Mr. Insull reacted

by saying that:

... in his opinion such a hostel should not be erected while the College remained co-educational. When the College was divided, possibly having it as a boys' school and establishing a separate school for girls, that was the time to think of hostels for both, making them into boarding schools.

(The Express, June 16, 1954)

A month later, Mr. Insull re-stated this position by making a comparison with Nelson College and recommending that separate-sex boarding schools be established in Blenheim (*The Express*, July 14, 1954). This was immediately after the July Board meeting at which it was proposed that if a new college was to be built it should be multi-purpose and co-educational (*The Express*, July 13, 1954). However, a special meeting of the Board in late July amended slightly this proposal by suggesting that moves should be made to establish an agricultural-bias co-educational school (*The Express*, June 30, 1954). During discussion of this motion, various Board members expressed their continuing support for the "natural atmosphere" of co-education, although one member noted that girls might not take to agriculture. Mr. Insull, on the other hand, commented that an agricultural co-educational college would prove problematic and that he was against the recommendation. The response from the Department of Education to this recommendation from the Board was that such decisions as to type would be better left until nearer the time the second school was actually required (*The Express*, Sept. 14, 1954).

The Board elections of 1954 saw a "rare event ... the receipt of two nominations" (*The Express*, July 15, 1954). It is noteworthy that eligibility to vote in these elections was confined to the father of the secondary pupil, and further, that some protest was conducted through the columns of the newspaper concerning the requirement that voting papers were to be signed and give the parent occupation. As a result of the election, the sitting member, Mr. Liley, was returned and subsequently elected Chairman, while Mr. Currie was elected the first Deputy-Chairman (*The Express*,

Aug. 17, 1954). With Mr. Gascoigne, Mr. H.A.J. Sowman (Board member 1951-1962, admitted¹⁵ 1912), and Mr. Liley (admitted 1919) there were then three Old Boys' representatives on the Board - although not elected as such - but none from the Old Girls' Association. Of these Old Boys', Mr. Gascoigne had been Chairman, Mr. Liley was currently Chairman (until 1957), and Mr. Sowman was to become Chairman (1961-1962).

A strong plea for State Aid to Church Schools was made by Mr. Insull as the theme of his address at the end-of-year prize-giving ceremony at the College (*The Express*, Dec. 10, 1954), although the accommodation problem was still noted (*The Express*, Dec. 12, 1954).

Discussions about the need for another secondary school faded somewhat in 1955 with the main concern focussing on the lack of progress with the building of the intermediate school on the Bohally property. At the February Board meeting, it was decided to write to the Department of Education

... urging them to have the new intermediate school at Bohally ready to house Form I pupils next year [1956] and Form II pupils in 1957.

(The Express, Feb. 16, 1955)

A letter expressing the same request was sent by the Board to the Minister for Education in March, with copies to the Department of Education and Mr. Shand (*The Express*, March 15, 1955). This letter was followed by a telegram from the Parent Teachers' Association in May which stated their concern at the lack of progress on building the new school (*The Express*, May 6, 1955). Three months later, in August 1955, construction of the first stage of the Blenheim Intermediate school commenced.¹⁶

¹⁵ Taken from the Marlborough College Register (1950) these year's of admission gave no indication of class or age.

¹⁶ Prior to the school opening it was officially named 'Bohally Intermediate'.

While the predominant concern, during 1955, had been with the intermediate school, the possible division of Marlborough College was raised by a meeting of the Blenheim Chamber of Commerce. This meeting, following an address by Mr. Insull, reported that:

The College Principal ... estimated that by 1962 between 1300 and 1400 pupils would be attending the College. About this time it might be necessary to split the College in some way.

(The Express, Sept. 13, 1955)

At the College end-of-year prize-giving ceremony, Mr. Insull expressed his dissatisfaction with the lack of participation by boys in rugby, along with a restatement of his comments of the previous year on the impersonal nature of the institution brought about by the increasing number of pupils attending Marlborough College (*The Express*, Dec. 9, 1955). He continued by noting that, while most attention during the year had been directed towards the establishment of the intermediate school, since progress was now being made on this front, the increasing roll required that:

... next year [1956] the Parent Teachers' Association, the Board and the Education Department will busy themselves with plans for another secondary school in Blenheim.

(The Express, Dec. 12, 1955)

Mr. Insull's contention of regimentation and lack of personal interest in a school with more than 800 pupils surfaced again, during 1956, to be linked with the view that the buildings at Marlborough College were only designed for a roll of 600. In his report to the Board in March of that year, Mr. Insull estimated that by 1960 Marlborough College would have a roll of at least 1,000 pupils, despite the temporary relief to be brought with the complete removal of the intermediate department at the end of 1956. Mr. Insull stated to the Board in his report that:

It is obvious from these numbers that the time has come to press the Education

Department for the establishment of another secondary school. Any post-primary school with a roll in excess of 600 is too big.

(The Express, March 9, 1956)

After hearing Mr. Insull's report, the Board agreed to write to the Department of Education recommending that it establish a co-educational, agricultural secondary school on the Bohally property by 1959 or 1960 (*The Express*, May 15, 1956).

This recommendation was discussed again later in the year at a Board meeting. In July, after 21 years on the Board, Mr. Gascoigne resigned. In the elections for the vacancy, Mr. P.L. Molineaux, M.A. (Hons.), LL.B., a Blenheim Solicitor, was elected by a majority of five votes. In the formation of the Board committees' Mr. Molineaux was appointed to the Finance, Works and Appointments committees (*The Express*, Aug. 14, 1956). At his first Board meeting, when discussion focussed on the co-educational and agricultural aspects of the recommendation for the new school, Mr. Molineaux said that:

He was not sure whether or not an agricultural bias, as favoured by the Board for the new school, could be effectively carried out on a co-educational basis.

(The Express, Aug. 14, 1956)

However, at this meeting in August, a report was tabled by a sub-committee - set up the previous month to investigate the establishment of a second post-primary school in Blenheim - which recommended that the new school be both co-educational and multi-purpose. Indeed, during the discussion of the report, the Board appeared more resolute than ever in its support for co-education as the following statement indicates:

Mrs. T.A. McDonald pointed out that the Board's decision in favour of a co-educational school, made some years ago, had been reached only after extensive inquiry. She did not think the matter should be re-opened. Most of the Board members expressed similar views, Mr. E.E. Currie saying that the decision was the Board's to make and Mr. A.E. Greig

mentioning that the Board's decision had been known for some considerable time and there had been no complaints.

(The Express, Aug. ND, 1956)

Indeed, even Mr. Insull conceded that:

It would be regrettable to re-open the matter. It would savour of disloyalty to the present school ... if he, as Head, were to push for segregation of boys and girls when the new school was opened.

(The Express, Aug. ND, 1956)

This same unanimity among Board members was not, however, apparent at the December meeting in 1956, which was attended by the Chief Inspector of Post-Primary schools, Mr. G. Aitken, and the Chief Officer of the Building Division of the Department of Education, Mr. K. Oldfield. At this meeting, Mr. Aitken remarked that:

The Christchurch Post-Primary Council had made a survey of between 200 and 300 parents on the same vexed question and 35.3 per cent favoured co-education, 34.6 per cent favoured separation of the sexes and 29.9 per cent had no decided opinions.

(The Express, Dec. 11, 1956)

He then went on to comment:

A pattern had developed in certain provincial towns, where for years there had been only one post-primary school, of division into separate schools. Then third schools had been established and these were again co-educational because there were not enough pupils available for two segregated schools.

(The Express, Dec. 11, 1956)

Or, in other words, the same justification for single-sex and co-educational schools noted previously in Chapter One. Following these remarks, it became clear from some Board member's comments that the type of secondary school needed in Blenheim was far from resolved. The reporter from *The Express* who attended the meeting gives an insight into the interchange of argument that took place:

Mr. Molineaux: ... I am a strong protagonist

of segregation. Tradition and achievement could not be the same in co-educational schools as with segregation, which brought out the best in pupils. Federated Farmers sought a boarding establishment for the College and a co-educational boarding establishment is out of the question. Separate boarding schools were the answer.

The Principal: Co-educational boarding establishments exist but they are not a success. It was a mistake to say it was unnatural for girls and boys to be in separate schools. Girls developed more quickly than boys and even in co-educational schools, girls and boys separated from each other. There was no unanimity in Blenheim ... as to the type of school wanted.

Mr. Oldfield agreed with Mr. Insull that the establishment of another co-educational school would bring about problems.

(The Express, Dec. 11, 1956)

Several days later, news of this Board meeting reached the national press in the form of a New Zealand Truth article which read as follows:

A controversy with national implications seems likely to break out - or break out anew - in Blenheim. It is the almost perpetual argument between segregated and co-educational schools. Education Department officers called on the Board of Governors to find out what type of college is wanted. Said the Board Chairman, Mr. A.J. Liley: We are unanimous that we want another school like this one - co-educational. Said a Board member, Mr. P.L. Molineaux: We are not unanimous. I am for the splitting of this College into boys' and girls' schools. The Principal, Mr. H.A.H. Insull, made it clear that he was with Mr. Molineaux and the Departmental officers gave a hint that they were too, though they said the Minister would bow to public wishes. Efforts by the Board of Governors to get an idea of public opinion have not been successful. The public's ideas seem garbled.

(The New Zealand Truth, Dec. 31, 1956)

The division apparent on the Board reinforced the situation for a continuation of the single-sex/co-education debate in the Province as discussion over the second post-primary

school continued.

During 1957, the debate over another secondary school in Blenheim was again linked to the need to provide a boarding hostel for pupils, although on this occasion concern was expressed by some Board members about "adjusting the plan for a hostel with the Board's policy of co-education" (*The Express*, Feb. 12, 1957). Moreover, it was argued that the cost of establishing a hostel would be prohibitive with the small number of boarders available. Accordingly, it was decided by the Board that Mr. Insull, who was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, should address the Chamber about the Board's intention for the second school and the hostel situation. This he did, but he also took the opportunity to suggest to the Chamber that:

... in his opinion the establishment of another co-educational ... school would kill Marlborough's chances of ever securing a hostel, but on the other hand the establishment of separate boys' and girls' colleges would make it easier to secure hostels for boys and girls and that the authorities would have no difficulty in filling both hostels.

(*The Express*, Feb. 15, 1957)

In his address to the Chamber, Mr. Insull is also reported to have said that:

He personally favoured separate colleges for boys and girls. If Federated Farmers wanted a hostel the public would have to be educated on the advantages of separate colleges for boys and girls.

(*The Express*, March 15, 1957)

By October, the constant agitation for hostel accommodation prompted the Board to form a committee to investigate means of raising finance within the Province to provide a hostel. This committee comprised the Board Chairman, Mr. Currie - Chairman 1957-1958; 1962-1963 -, a recently elected Board member, Mr. R.W. Kibblewhite (member 1957-1958), and Mr. Molineaux who clearly indicated his views on the issue when he stated the "absolute necessity" of separate hostels for boys and girls (*The Express*, Oct. 15,

1957).

OVERVIEW

By the end of 1957, then, conditions were well established for a continuation of the single-sex/co-education debate. The division apparent on the Board ensured that the previous unanimous support for co-education no longer existed and, in turn, that those in favour of each type of school seek additional support for their case. Also apparent are a number of underlying issues and assumptions which guided the debate, for instance: boys and girls were seen as requiring a different education; co-education and hostels would not mix; a second co-educational school would result in an attenuated curriculum, problems of zoning, and the Department of Education would not duplicate expensive equipment; there was the comparison and rivalry with Nelson College; males and females had different roles and realms of expertise; and, decision-making was a male responsibility. These issues and assumptions, as the next section will indicate, became more apparent and more publicised during 1958, the year the debate reached its climax.

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE (1958)

At the beginning of 1958, Mr. Insull recommended to the Board - who in turn passed his comments on to the Department of Education - that a push be made for a new secondary school to be opened at the start of the 1959 school year, and that Form Three students be sent there that year, with successive forms in following years (*The Express*, Feb. 11, 1958). Mr. Insull also informed the Board that the Old Pupils' had previously indicated support for single-sex schools, and that, in his opinion, a hostel was conditional upon Blenheim having two single-sex secondary schools.

It was at this first Board meeting for the year that Mr. Molineaux argued that public opinion should be sought as:

Although he favoured hostel accommodation and separate schools, he was speaking for a militant group, and there might be other views on the matter.

(The Express, Feb. 11, 1958)

The Board considered Mr. Molineaux's request at its next meeting in March and decided that:

... to have as much material as possible available before it decides on the type of proposed future secondary school ... the Board ... wishes all interested persons, organisations and associations to discuss the matter and to submit their views in writing before April 30 [1958].

(The Express, March 28, 1958)

However, even at this early stage, some groups (e.g., the Blenheim Jaycees) had already expressed to the Board their support for single-sex schools.

At this time, public interest over the proposed new secondary school was also mounting and various groups and individuals called for a public meeting to discuss the issue. Likewise, *The Express*, in its Editorial on March 31, 1958, suggested that a public meeting was vital. The Editorial also offered the opportunity for discussion of the issue in the columns of the newspaper. Eventually, the Marlborough School Committees' Association agreed to take responsibility for arranging a public meeting for early April.

Also in March of 1958, debate over co-education and single-sex schools was fueled by an address to the Board by Mr. O. Conibear, President of the Secondary School Boards' Association, who gave his support to the idea of establishing two single-sex colleges in Blenheim (*The Express*, March 28, 1958). At the conclusion of Mr. Conibear's address, Board member Mr. Hyndman proposed a lengthy motion re-affirming the Board's support for co-education as the only option suitable for the Province. This motion was then debated at length, and an amendment was carried that it be deferred until the Board made

further investigations. However, Mrs. McDonald - the sole woman member on the Board - strongly supported Mr. Hyndman's motion and subsequently carried the debate further by having a detailed case for co-education published in *The Express* of April 3, 1958.

Prior to, and following, Mrs. McDonald's article a considerable number of Letters to the Editor in *The Express* indicated that, as with the Board, public opinion was now divided as to what type of secondary school was best for the district. These Letters, however, in general emphasized the traditional values of single-sex schooling, and particularly those of a boys' school. While an extreme view, one such Letter - signed G.C.H. - stated:

Every boy would like to be a boarder, or at least go to a boys' school. Consciously or not, he doesn't like to be 'mucked up by a lot of tarts'. He feels it is a more manly institution if it is for boys only; it's his, and not hers as well.

(The Express, April 9, 1958)

The diversity of opinion in these Letters to the Editor was responded to in an Editorial in the newspaper on April 9 in which people were urged to attend a public meeting arranged for the following evening. The Editorial commented that the discussion panel for this meeting, comprising Mr. Insull, Mr. Conibear, Mr. Currie, the Board Chairman, and Mr. Shand, the local Member of Parliament, would be able to offer authoritative opinion.

At this meeting, the "nearly 300 people" in attendance heard strong arguments for single-sex education with little, at least reported, comment in favour of co-education (*The Express*, April 11, 1958). Mr. Conibear, for instance, noted that single-sex schools had better academic results, pride and traditions, and also that most co-educational schools, on dividing, formed into boys' and girls' schools. Mr. Insull indicated that co-education was better described as 'co-existence' since

... it is commonsense to allocate classrooms to the girls that are near their own cloakrooms,

and similarly for the boys.

(*The Express*, April 12, 1958)

He also commented, once again, that with single-sex schools competition with Nelson College would be on a more equal footing¹⁷, and that a hostel required single-sex schools to be established first. Mr. Shand then endorsed Mr. Insull's argument and suggested that an academic/technical dichotomy would result from having two co-educational colleges. Mr. Currie, the final speaker, did not discuss the merits of either single-sex or co-educational schooling, but rather made a plea for a full survey to determine whether a second college was absolutely necessary.

Possibly reflecting the opening comments of the Chairman, Mr. A.E. Greig¹⁸, who suggested that, while the main contention was segregation versus co-education, he personally advised against a resolution being formed on the matter, no firm recommendation emerged from the meeting to resolve the debate.¹⁹ Indeed, the only conclusion reached and agreed upon was that the Board be requested to extend the time limit for submissions beyond April 30. This was complied with, and the date for final submissions was later extended to July.

¹⁷ Indeed, Informant D suggested that with Marlborough College's First Rugby XV playing Nelson College's Second XV, this argument of more equal competition resulting from the establishment of a boys' college held considerable sway.

¹⁸ Mr. Greig, a Board member, Chaired the meeting as Mayor of Picton.

¹⁹ Various informants who were present at the meeting suggested that the general support was for single-sex schooling with only some speaking for co-education. However, *The Express* report of the meeting provided no indication of opinions other than those of the panel, who received extensive coverage, and mentions only two questions from the floor. While both of these questions were directed at specific claims made by the panel in support of the superiority of single-sex schools and one reply appears contradictory - in that it argues that small classes at senior level select against exam passes but supports single-sex schools for the area with a concomitant reduction in senior class size - there is no report of any debate having occurred over such issues at the meeting.

During April further discussions took place on the proposed type of secondary school as various community groups, organisations and associations met to consider the issue and to draft their submissions for the Board to consider. A meeting of "over 30 Old Pupils", for instance, voted, with only one dissenting vote, for single-sex schools to be established in Blenheim (*The Express*, April 18, 1958). Their meeting, addressed by Mr. Insull, recommended that single-sex education was the logical progression for the district. The Old Pupils' were subsequently supported by a number of other groups, including Federated Farmers, a group of 37 parents from the Parent Teachers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce, who voted in favour of single-sex colleges.

In May of 1958, there was a volatile Board meeting as a result of a published statement by Mr. Currie, the Board Chairman, that roll numbers at Marlborough College did not justify a second school. One of those who reacted angrily to this suggestion was Mr. Molineaux who claimed that Mr. Currie's comments were merely a "red-herring" to detract from the "landslide of opinion towards segregation" (*The Express*, May 13, 1958). The Board, however, resolved that a special closed meeting should be held at which Board members could state their personal views as to the type of school to be provided. This meeting, held later that month, produced brief statements of Board members' views: five favoured single-sex schools; one - Mrs. McDonald - supported co-education²⁰; Mr. Currie, the Chairman, declined to express his opinion; and, Mr. J.R. Bown - Board member 1954-1960 - said that he was "not definite" although he "was leaning towards separate-sex colleges" (*The Express*, May 30, 1958). Also at this special Board meeting, 24 submissions from various groups and individuals were tabled, with 17 in favour of single-sex schools, three for co-education, and the remainder expressing support

²⁰ The other Board member who had expressed strong support for co-education, Mr. Hyndman, was not present at the meeting.

for a hostel.

During the weeks following this Board meeting, newspaper reports detailing the outcomes of submissions received, and a continuous stream of Letters to the Editor, seemed to indicate that support for single-sex colleges was mounting in the district. Probably as an attempt to balance the arguments which appeared in favour of single-sex education, particularly in light of the previous public meeting, the Redwoodtown Home and School League²¹ recommended that the Board invite Mr. G. Wild, Assistant-Director of Education, to address the public on co-education (*The Express*, May 30, 1958). Mr. Wild was subsequently invited to Blenheim in June of 1958, and in his address to an audience of 60 people, he said that co-education was "in line with the development of equal rights for women" (*The Express*, June 19, 1958). He also noted that trends were towards co-education and that the local debate should be seen as separate from the hostel controversy. Mr. Wild's mention of girls' schools having particular problems with staffing confirmed an earlier concern raised by advocates for co-education.

This mid-year period of 1958 saw a further attempt to ascertain, and influence, public opinion on the type of secondary school needed in Blenheim. Under the auspices of the Marlborough School Committees' Association²², a ballot was held of all primary school parents and householders in Marlborough to determine the level of support for establishing either separate-sex colleges, or another co-educational college (*The Express*, June 26, 1958).

²¹ Redwoodtown is a primary school located in Blenheim. A Home and School League is an association of parents and teachers equivalent to the College Parent Teachers' Association.

²² An Association of representatives from the governing Committees of each primary school. These School Committee's are responsible, under the Wellington Education Board, for school administration. As did the Professional Association of primary teachers - New Zealand Educational Institute - in 1949, this local School Committees' Association supported co-education.

Preceding the ballot, *The Express* published two articles, one by Mr. Insull in support of single-sex colleges, the other by Mr. W.J. Scott, Principal of Wellington Teachers' Training College, who argued the case for co-education. The result of the ballot, given prominence in *The Express* on July 14, 1958, indicated that of the 3,600 ballot papers issued, 2,950 were returned, and of these 58.6 per cent favoured single-sex colleges and 41.4 per cent supported the establishment of a further co-educational college. The Editorial in the newspaper on the same day hailed this result as indicating majority support for single-sex schools.

On the eve of the publication of these ballot results, the Board held its July meeting. At this meeting, the Board Secretary tabled 15 further submissions, 10 of which favoured segregation, four supported co-education, and one, from the staff of the College, which stressed that a start on the building of a new school should be made without delay. After brief discussion, it was decided that these submissions be circulated to members and that a final decision on the type of second post-primary school for Marlborough be reached at the Board meeting on August 11, 1958. According to Mr. Molineaux:

... all members had already made up their minds, having thought on the matter for some time, and it could be handled very quickly at the next ordinary meeting.

(The Express, July 15, 1958)

However, changes in the membership of the Board then intervened. Mrs. McDonald, one of four parent representatives on the Board, resigned in June and was replaced by Mrs. P. Jenkins, and so the Board continued to have a sole woman member. In August, the two Governor-General's appointees on the Board, Mr. Currie, the Board Chairman, and Mr. Greig (Board member 1950-1958) were replaced by Mr. Davies and Mr. J. Burt (Board member 1958-1959). Also that month, Mr. Kibblewhite resigned to be replaced later, through election, by an Old Boy of the College, Mr. G.F. Creswell, who defeated - by 264 votes

to 57 - Mr. D.L. Dewar, an executive member of the Parent Teachers' Association and a strong critic of Mr. Insull and single-sex schooling (*The Express*, April 29, 1958).

Due to these changes, by August 11, the position of Board Chairman had been vacated by Mr. Currie, and at the Board meeting that evening - with eight of the nine Board members present - Mr. Molineaux was elected Chairman. He subsequently opened for discussion the issue concerning the proposed type of secondary college for Blenheim. However, a Board member, Mr. Hyndman, was quick to move a motion similar to that which he introduced at the March Board meeting:

That a co-educational multi-purpose type school is the only type possible having regard to the extreme staffing problems existing in the post-primary service at the present time.

(*The Express*, Aug. 12, 1958)

Following this motion:

The Chairman asked for a seconder. There was a lengthy pause before Mr. Bown volunteered. Mr. Molineaux then asked for the views of each member.

(*The Express*, Aug. 12, 1958)

At this point:

Some tension marked the meeting as each member gave his opinion on the question of the type of school and indicated which way he would vote. At one stage it appeared as if the voting would be even.

(*The Express*, Aug. 12, 1958)

The Chairman then invited the Principal to express his views. Mr. Insull spoke against the motion and said that:

... at present the single school at Rotorua, a community of similar size to Blenheim, was splitting into two separate-sex schools. The shortage of women teachers was only temporary. During the war there was a shortage of men teachers. At the College this year there had been four applications for post-primary teaching studentships from

girls, not one from boys.

(The Express, Aug. 12, 1958)

Mr. Hyndman spoke next and conceded that, by the way members had expressed their views, the vote on his motion had already been taken. The motion was then voted on and was lost by five votes to three. Another motion was then tabled, namely, that:

This Board ask the Education Department for separate post-primary boys' and girls' schools for Marlborough.

(The Express, Aug. 12, 1958)

This motion was carried, five votes to three, with: Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Bown, and Mr. Davies voting for co-education; and, Mr. Molineaux, the newly elected Chairman, Mr. M. van Asch (member 1957-1962), Mr. Burt, Mr. Sowman, and Mrs. Jenkins supporting single-sex schooling. Mr. Kibblewhite, whose resignation was tabled at the meeting, could not attend, but also indicated his support for single-sex schools. This vote brought to a conclusion more than a decade of debate about the future of secondary education in Marlborough.

OVERVIEW

The year, 1958, was characterised by considerable controversy and debate reflecting the conflicting assumptions and ideologies that arose over the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough. Many of these assumptions and ideologies had surfaced in previous years, yet it was this year, 1958, which saw them extensively discussed in the newspaper, at public gatherings, in submissions to the Marlborough College Board, and at Board meetings. Because of this it seems opportune, then, to concentrate on the year 1958 to illustrate and critically examine the assumptions and ideologies underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough.

However, certain aspects of the debate were unresolved despite the decision in favour of single-sex schools.

Accordingly, to conclude this chapter, discussion turns to the period between the decision and the first year of the new College.

MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE (1958-1964)

While the debate was resolved in favour of single-sex secondary schools for the Province, even before the end of 1958, the decision came under question from the Department of Education. In reply to the Board's notification of the decision, Mr. Wild suggested that, because of the staffing difficulties as he had outlined during his address earlier in the year, the new school may have to be co-educational (*The Express*, Oct. 14, 1958). However, this was totally rejected by the Board who re-affirmed their intention to have single-sex schools as they considered these shortages to be temporary and unlikely to cause serious problems. Early in the New Year, the Director of Education, Dr. C. Beeby, re-iterated the potential staffing difficulties which could result from the Board's decision and exonerated the Department of Education from any responsibility (*The Express*, Feb. 13, 1959). This, argued Mr. Hyndman, necessitated a re-examination of the decision for single-sex schools and he restated his earlier suggestion that a second co-educational college was the only viable option (*The Express*, Feb. 21, 1959). As a result, a special Board meeting was held, at which the Chief Inspector of Schools - Mr. Aitken - deputised for Dr. Beeby, and the staffing issue was discussed. The outcome of this meeting being a dilution of the staffing problem, which was again dismissed as temporary by Mr. Insull and most Board members, and a consequent re-affirmation of the Board's desire for separate-sex schools (*The Express*, March 25, 1959; April 10, 1959).

Following some discussion as to whether the new school would be for the boys or the girls, the decision was made to make the new buildings, sited on the Bohally property, the Girls' College (*The Express*, April 30, 1959).

Efforts then became directed at obtaining the new school as

soon as possible. However, it was 1960 before tenders were let for the construction (*The Express*, May 13, 1960). The project, both the planning (e.g., *The Express*, May 15, 1960), and the actual building, was beset with problems. For instance, the Board expressed its displeasure with Department of Education proposals to site housing along the frontages of the school and sought, and obtained, community support for a letter of protest to the Department. This issue was successfully resolved when the Minister for Education advised that the plans for the housing had been dropped (*The Express*, July 28, 1960). Delays in the building programme forced the Board to invoke the penalty clause in the contract (*The Express*, July 13, 1961), a motion later rescinded following discussions with Department of Education Officers and the Contractor's (*The Express*, Aug. 11, 1961). These examples illustrate that progress was far from smooth. Despite plans to move the Home-craft and Commercial girls to the new school at the start of the 1962 school year delays meant this was abandoned during 1961. The staffing issue, as predicted by the Department of Education continued to cause concern as well, with the Board making representations to the Department for both schools to be included in the Country Service List²³, finally succeeding (*The Express*, May 12, 1961). Resulting from the shortages of women teachers justification was provided for the possibility that male staff, perhaps including a male Principal, would be required at the Girls' College.²⁴ Further debate, and a degree of dissension, over staffing also occurred when the teachers at the Marlborough College were asked, by the Board, to indicate

²³ A secondary teacher was required to complete a period in a school designated as Country Service in order to pass a salary bar, unless they were prepared to wait on this bar for a number of years. Schools with staffing difficulties could be added to this Country Service List as a means of attracting teachers.

²⁴ Mr. Insull informed parents - Principal's Newsletter of November 23, 1961 - of this possibility. He further reported a communication from a Girls' High School Principal who supported the inclusion of male staff particularly during the first few years in a new school as it had helped her school over this difficult period.

preference for either the Boys' or Girls' school's (*The Express*, Sept. 9, 1962).

However, these issues were resolved and after some debate on the naming of the two schools Marlborough Girls' College was officially opened by the Hon. W.B. Tennent, Minister for Education (*The Express*, March 1, 1963).

Having decided upon single-sex schooling, attention was then directed towards the provision of hostels during the 1960's. Plans were discussed, then abandoned, for conversion of the Domestic Science block to a Boys' hostel and of the Homestead at Bohally to, first a Girls' hostel, then to a Teachers' hostel. Efforts continued, however, and in 1964 were successful (*The Express*, March 3, 1964). The pleasure at this success, for at least Mr. Insull, was muted considerably by the fact that the hostel was to be co-educational and sited at the Girls' College.

The period is brought to a conclusion, now that the schooling and hostel issues have been resolved, at least for the moment, by the retirement of Mr. Insull. This was first announced at a Board meeting in April (*The Express*, April 10, 1964) and was to take effect from the following September which brought up his 18-years of service at the College. After his retirement, Mr. Insull taught at Wesely College, in Auckland, and also at Pukekohoe High School. He died in March, 1979.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided the initial steps toward the objective of giving an in-depth and systematic analysis of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. Indications have been provided of the assumptions, ideologies, interests and power relationships underlying this extensive debate which reached its climax in 1958. In the next chapter the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework are discussed, and this will then be followed, in chapter

Four, by the application of this perspective and framework to a critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies which guided this single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the preceding chapters the origins of the debate over single-sex and co-educational secondary schools in New Zealand have been outlined and an account has been given of the development of secondary education in Marlborough from 1900 to 1958. Before analyzing more closely and critically the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough, this chapter will detail the competing standpoints from which such an analysis may be carried out, with, first an outline of the normative perspective, and, then, an elaboration of the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework selected to achieve the task of critical analysis.

In the initial chapter the objectives of the present study were discussed and justified. The first of these objectives was:

To provide an in-depth and systematic account of the development of secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling.

This has been partly achieved in chapter Two and will be completed in the following chapter. The second objective was stated as follows:

To examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

A critical analysis of the type suggested by this research objective necessitates that the standpoint or perspective from which such an analysis may proceed should be stated at the outset. This is in line with the recent suggestion by Harris (1982) that:

All investigations and analyses are made from

the perspective of some particular theory or theories: they are theory-dependent or theory-laden, and this is so regardless of whether or not the underlying theory is declared, admitted to, or spelt out. There can be no such thing as a neutral examination, or an examination which is objective either in the sense that it is a-theoretic or else sufficiently eclectic so as to encompass all theoretical perspectives.

(Harris, 1982, p.29)

And then, Harris (1982) goes on to point out that research investigations should be cast

... into the context of a research programme (or problematic) wherein certain basic or 'hard core' hypotheses and propositions are accepted as being secure and inviolable for the purpose of operating or working with the research programme. ... this ... does not, of course, mean that these propositions are necessarily correct or that they express 'necessary truths': what it provides is nothing more than a methodological device for allowing investigations to get under way untrammelled by many of the problems brought about by theory-ladenness

(Harris, 1982, p.29)

Thus, in order to interpret historical events it is necessary to take a position vis-a-vis them (Shuker, 1980). And so, in selecting, organising, analyzing, and interpreting historical data the researcher is guided by a theoretical orientation. Indeed:

Social theory ... is inevitably present in any historical writing. The crucial question then becomes one of the adequacy of the theory brought to bear on a particular problem. Different theories can logically be expected to generate different explanations of 'what happened in history'

(Shuker, 1980, p.40)

The present study, then, is carried out within a revisionist perspective based on a critical or Marxist-Feminist framework.

As enunciated in chapter One (pp.21-23), the selection of this perspective and framework proceeded from the view that

attention should focus on the assumptions and ideologies concerning males and females within a chosen historical period such as that selected for study in this investigation. From the overview of this historical period in chapter Two, it has been indicated that much of the argumentation in support of both co-educational and single-sex schooling, which characterised the debate between 1946 to 1958, was based upon specific views of the educational needs and future roles of boys and girls. Accordingly, prior to the critical examination of these underlying assumptions and ideologies, to be conducted in chapter Four, two competing perspectives are to be evaluated for the explanations they provide of these educational needs and future roles, with a particular focus from the viewpoint of the girls. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to outline the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework and in so doing distinguish it from the more common or normative approach to historical analysis.

First, however, the nomenclature employed for these contrasting perspectives requires some elaboration. What is labelled 'normative' is essentially an amalgam of related, deterministic explanations which view social relations as natural and immutable and, thereby, as Sarup (1978) argues, present a reified account of social reality. In particular, within the normative perspective discussed in the present chapter are those explanations which proceed from a biological-determinism of sex-differentiations of educational needs and future roles. On the other hand, the term 'revisionist' is used to refer to a set of conceptual propositions from sociology which are not premised on the belief that social relations are natural or immutable, and which therefore enable more critical explanations of social reality to be derived from historical data than are offered by the normative perspective. What is labelled 'revisionist', then, is a synthesis of those explanations which propose an active and non-determined role for people in the creation and reproduction of social relations (see, Gramsci, 1971; Bernstein, 1976; Giroux, 1979), with particular emphasis on those relations

affecting the girls.

The format adopted in this chapter reflects Harris' (1982) argument that while the propositions

... do not have to be argued here, they do at least need to be introduced, explained, and where necessary contrasted with other approaches to similar issues.

(Harris, 1982, p.30)

Accordingly, first the normative perspective then the revisionist will be examined as sources of propositions from which a critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958 may proceed.

THE NORMATIVE PERSPECTIVE

During periods of labour scarcity, such as occurs during war, women will be found performing tasks which in time of peace would probably be occupied by males (Mitchell, 1971). For instance, as noted by Aitken (1980), during the Second World War women in New Zealand were to be found at all levels in the labour force as substitutes for men away at war, even moving into areas such as the public service, Legislative Council, and other positions of power and responsibility such as Justices' of the Peace, all of which were previously dominated by men. However, the period immediately following the Second World War saw the importance of the traditional female roles of marriage and domesticity being emphasized once again.

ROLE OF WOMEN

The period selected for study in this investigation, being 1946 to 1958, therefore includes this emphasis upon the traditional marriage-based domestic role as the destiny of the majority of women. Indeed:

... the end of the war heralded a headlong rush into marriage. There was a baby boom in nearly every post-war country, and after the horrors of total war, security was

understandably the hope of every new bride. This was generally encouraged by women themselves, who accepted their traditional roles without trying to hold on to the independence won during the war. Thus traditional views were reinforced and became doubly difficult to erase.

(Aitken, 1980, pp.28-29)

This view of the future role of women can also be found in the literature of this immediate post-war period. For instance, Newsom (1948) explained the role dichotomy for the two sexes in this way:

... for the vast majority of women, the ... business of home-making and the early nurture of children is a dominant theme in their lives, while for men the equivalent dominant is to earn enough to support their wives and families.

(Newsom, 1948, p.12)

Newsom elaborated his argument and suggested that this role dichotomy was effected by choice and not design, for

No woman in this age of equality of opportunity, of careers open to all, of equal education and political rights, no woman is compelled to get married and to accept the degradation involved. Yet she chooses it deliberately as her main occupation and a great part of her early womanhood is spent trying by one artifice or another to get entangled in the domestic toils.

(Newsom, 1948, p.25)

Although espousing an apparently liberal view of equality of access and opportunity, Newsom presupposes a domestic role for women and thereby dismisses it from the realms of the problematic.

This primacy of the domestic role for women leads some writers (e.g., Newsom, 1948; Ollerenshaw, 1961) to emphasize the domestic sciences as the important aspect of a girls' education. Accordingly, in order to establish that a similar view of the future role of women existed in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958, it is proposed to examine the data for a similar emphasis upon domestic

sciences and assumptions reflecting this domestic role.

However, this narrow, rather traditional view of the role of women extends beyond the inculcation of the domestic skills. From the normative perspective, education is seen as serving different functions for the two sexes. It is suggested by some that schooling for boys has been directed largely towards the workplace, while for girls the dual role of potential worker and housewife has been the case (see, Davies & Meighan, 1975; Shafer, 1976). Indeed, Mitchell (1971) argues that this results in a girl having 'two occupations':

They are trained to do something - currently 'female' work - (secretarial or factory), and educated to be someone - a wife and mother. The same word, 'vocation' is used indifferently of both

(Mitchell, 1971, p.135)

Differentiation along these lines may also be required from an analysis of the data from the normative perspective. Here, examination of subject choices available and career options taken up could illustrate this training for female work. Behind these career options lies the assumption that such work is but a 'stop-gap' prior to marriage, which, in turn, has provided a basis for the view that training in the domestic skills is the important aspect of a girl's education (Bessant, 1976). Indeed, the assumption that education serves different functions for boys and girls and requires a differentiation in syllabi and hidden curricula (e.g., Benseman, 1978; Middleton, 1982) can be established from such an analysis of subject choice and career options taken up by the pupils.

JUSTIFICATION: INNATE DIFFERENCES

The role expectations, and concomitant educational provision, just enunciated are further justified by some advocates of the normative perspective as explanation is provided for such differentiations. For instance, arguing that male and female roles are based on innate characteristics, Ollerenshaw (1961) categorically states:

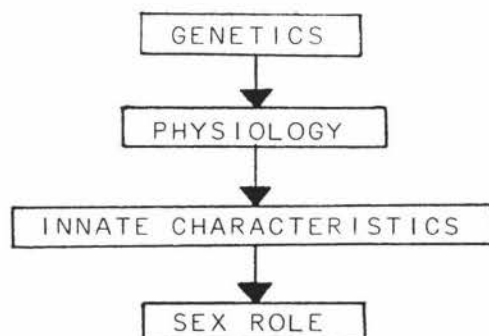
The incentive for girls to equip themselves for marriage and home-making is genetic.

(Ollerenshaw, 1961, p.186)

Thus, linked to the determination of sex are a number of inherited, and hence biologically-based, characteristics which are seen, within the normative perspective, to determine appropriate roles for a particular sex. Such female traits as maternal instinct, submissiveness, concern for animate things, verbal fluency, intuition, and many other behavioural characteristics have been linked to genetics, and are assumed to be innate (see, Dale, 1975; McGuinness, 1975). For the male his ambition, dominance, reasoning, logico-mathematic ability, concern with inanimate objects, and aggressiveness, are similarly linked to genetics. It can be suggested, therefore, that the normative perspective sees a linear determination of sex role as shown in Figure One below.

FIGURE 1

The Biological Determination
of Sex Roles



Inherent within the unidirectional path illustrated in Figure One above is a connotation of immutability. If such characteristics are genetic in origin, it is then argued that they are natural and hence not subject to extensive change (e.g., Dale, 1975), even were alteration to be seen as desirable. Therefore, the innate characteristics noted above come to be established by

proponents of the normative perspective as natural and based on biological inheritance within a linear determination (Figure One). Thus, role differentiations, and the concomitant socialisation, education, and social structures are seen to be simply a reflection of what is natural and, by implication, not open to question.

From this view of natural, biological determination, then, follows the allocation of specific tasks and realms of expertise as appropriate to a particular sex. For example, it becomes 'natural' for the women to be at home and for the men to be at 'work' as this is a reflection of innate characteristics appropriate to these tasks. The male is required to be aggressive and dominant as it is 'natural' that he should be so, while the trait of passivity establishes the subordinancy of the female. Decision-making is often seen as a male occupation due to the innate characteristics attributed to males. These assumptions, and many more, within the normative perspective, are consistently found to be reinforced in such areas as the media and education for both sexes (e.g., McLuhan, 1951; Wolpe, 1974; Kelly, E., 1981). Indeed, Newsom (1948) argues that the innate characteristics of girls require a special nurturance through education:

True this desire [for marriage] can be retarded by so filling their lives with study that they have no time even to speculate on the future - or to get their hair done - but when the delayed awakening comes it is often the more violent. And with this as her conscious or unconscious objective we hand her over to involuntary virgins, not all of whom are able to make a success of single life this adjustment to the single life is not easy and frequently produces narrow, envious and embittered women some of whom are almost neurotically afraid of any manifestations of feminine characteristics. Having turned their thoughts from marriage they encourage a like attitude in their pupils. Some of the more docile and anxious girls will follow their example ... and, instead of learning to adjust themselves to the standards and demands of a woman's normal life, they fit themselves instead for a communal woman-ridden world and develop

qualities which are often the antithesis of those needed for a wife and mother.

(Newsom, 1948, pp.146-147)

The question to be asked of the data, then, from a normative viewpoint, is whether or not such 'natural' assumptions and divisions are made and whether there are tasks or areas of expertise seen as 'naturally' the prerogative of a particular sex.

IDEOLOGY OF NATURALISM AND THE SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

The normative justification of this allocation of task and areas of expertise is critically described by Gamarnikow (1978) as forming an 'ideology of naturalism':

Such biologicistic explanations treat the sexual division of labour as a natural division, springing from or ultimately rooted in reproductive functions. This 'naturalism' is seen to underpin women's labour in both the family and wage sector, because both are characterised by sex specific task and job allocation. The ideology of naturalism, therefore, represents labour process, or parts of labour process, as specifically 'feminine' or 'masculine'. This is achieved either by direct reference to biology (motherhood, for example), or by drawing analogies between such apparently biologically determined activities as motherhood and particular types of work.

(Gamarnikow, 1978, p.98)

For instance, in establishing teaching as a 'feminine' occupation, Newsom (1948) draws such an analogy between motherhood and a particular type of work:

It is generally granted that the care of the young is one of the tasks for which they [women] are biologically fitted, and that in teaching they are able to 'transfer' to a wider field, if in a more diluted form, these maternal instincts.

(Newsom, 1948, p.144)

This 'ideology of naturalism' and 'sexual division of labour' has been shown to exist in many aspects of the social structures (e.g., Mitchell, 1971; Kuhn & Wolpe, 1978). It may further be illustrated in the labelling of

certain school subjects as 'feminine' or 'masculine' (see, Ormerod, 1975; Murphy, 1978; Finn, Dulberg, & Reis, 1979). This has ramifications for the schooling of both sexes in that the type of school - co-educational or single-sex - and curriculum offered becomes based upon these naturalistic assumptions and not necessarily on the abilities of the students (see, Byrne, 1975; Chesson, 1977; Saraga & Griffiths, 1981). As MacDonald (1980a) states:

Despite the actual availability of all subjects, girls and boys of different [social] classes learn the new ideology of sex differences which mixes a theory of biological sex differences with expected gender differences of intelligence, ability, interests and ambitions, making it appear 'natural' that boys and girls should study different school subjects.

(MacDonald, 1980a, p.38)

On this basis further questions, derived from the normative perspective, may be asked of the data from the Marlborough single-sex/co-education debate from 1946 to 1958. For instance, does subject choice reflect this division into areas of 'masculine' and 'feminine' realms of expertise? Are these subject choices seen by boys and girls as 'natural'? Is the schooling offered justified on the basis of 'different interests and needs'?

Based upon what has been termed the 'normative perspective' a number of questions have so far been suggested. These questions can now be stated in propositional form as follows:

1. That the domestic role is the destination for girls at secondary school.
2. That roles are based on innate characteristics such that specific tasks and realms of expertise are the prerogative of a particular sex.
3. That equal opportunity and equality of access is available to girls, both within the school and the social structures.

4. That a sexual division of labour exists in society.
5. Due to the sexual division of labour education is seen to hold different values for the sexes.

PROBLEMS OF THE NORMATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Although, in many aspects of society, similar propositions relating to the role of women - their education, socialisation, and status, coupled with the ideology of naturalism and sexual division of labour - still exist, such propositions lack explanatory power. Indeed, while the propositions above could be used as a basis for describing the events of the historical period focussed on in this study, they would fall short of providing for a critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies which guided the debate over single-sex/co-educational schooling which occurred in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. Moreover, as Middleton (1982) points out:

... when people are exposed to functionalist descriptions of societies with traditional sex-roles, these can be taken as prescriptions - what is is seen as what ought to be.

(Middleton, 1982, p.59)

By treating the events and issues of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough as unproblematic, the normative perspective justifies and establishes the sexual division of labour through its concern with description and becomes both 'reductionist' and 'mechanistic' as human activity is reduced to a biologically determined set of social relations. Indeed, such linear and superficial accounts seem to suggest an ideal of stability and consensus through the determinism of an account which fails to allow for the possibility that people may, and indeed do, reject these definitions of 'reality'. Or, in other words, the normative perspective fails to allow for the active role of people in the construction of their social conditions.

It is therefore proposed that, in attempting to analyse more closely and critically the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958, a perspective needs to be adopted which seeks to establish the underlying assumptions and ideologies of the debate. In so doing, it is intended to suggest that the decision to form single-sex schools, and the debate which preceded it, exhibits conflicting assumptions and ideologies and the use of power to define and create social 'reality' within a set of social relations.

THE REVISIONIST PERSPECTIVE:

A MARXIST-FEMINIST FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this section is to adopt a revisionist perspective towards the innate determination of sex-roles of the normative approach discussed above. Through this perspective, a contrasting set of propositions, derived from a Marxist-Feminist framework, are adopted from which to analyse more closely and critically the underlying assumptions and ideologies of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958. The main concern is to provide propositions from which a critical examination may proceed to indicate the manner in which the decision made in Marlborough in 1958 to form single-sex schools, as well as the assumptions and ideologies upon which those involved based their decision-making, reflects the legitimation and reproduction of class and, in particular, gender relations within capitalist patriarchal society.

The assumption held is that within the social context, and the decision-making process itself, there existed a set of hierarchical social relations which, in turn, directly influenced the decision to form single-sex schools as well as the manner in which the decision was reached, who made it, and the rationale they gave for it. The formation of this graded ranking is seen to be along both class and gender lines such that a complex, and dynamic, interrelationship exists between capitalism and these social

relations:

The development of capitalism ... finds patriarchal relations of male dominance and control of women buttressing the structure of class domination. Further, in so far as class relations (in other words the division between capital and labour) constitute the primary element of the capitalist social formation, they limit and structure the form of gender relations, the division between male and female properties and identities. If one definition of femininity or masculinity is dominant, it is the product of patriarchal relations and also the product of class relations, even though these two structures may exist in contradiction.

(MacDonald, 1980a, p.30)

Others have suggested that there has been a neglect of sexual structures within education as integral, rather than subsidiary, elements of capitalism (e.g., Davies & Meighan, 1975). Indeed, few, if any, attempts have been made to analyse an educational decision, and its context, from the standpoint of sexual structures within a patriarchal capitalist society. Contributing to this neglect is a lack of similar focus within sociological theorising (see, Mitchell, 1971; Kuhn & Wolpe, 1978; MacDonald, 1980b). This, in turn, creates problems for the establishment of propositions and necessitates the 'mining' of the concepts from within sociology to produce 'theoretically informed history' (Shuker, 1982). For sociological theory, including 'radical critiques', Clarricoates (1981) notes that:

The crucial limitation ... is that of a world seen from men's position within it, a world where any examination of the inequalities usually deals only with those inequalities which exist among men.

(Clarricoates, 1981, pp.185-186)

A similar limitation and focus is also apparent in those studies addressing the single-sex/co-education issue, particularly those providing justification of co-education (see reviews by, Cocklin, 1981a, 1981b).

Accordingly, the position adopted in the present study is that analysis should proceed from propositions which elucidate the mechanisms of class and, in particular, gender relations within capitalist patriarchal society.

The task set by the second objective for the present study is to provide for a critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies characterising the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958. This critical analysis of the data will proceed under the propositions that:

1. Gender is a culture specific phenomenon requiring constant legitimation and reinforcement.
2. The imposition of gender definitions proceeds within a dominant hegemony.
3. This imposition requires constant ideological legitimation to establish acceptance and consent to the gender definitions and the hierarchy of gender relations.
4. The conditions existing in the society may be described in terms of patriarchal capitalist relations.
5. The exercise and relations of power are necessary to the continuation or reproduction of patriarchal capitalist society.
6. The exercise of power may be overt or covert.
7. The function of the use and relations of power is to establish an apparent consensus for a particular definition of social reality.

The following discussion, in line with Harris' (1982) arguments which introduced the present chapter, will provide a basis and explanation for these propositions, as well as, within the revisionist perspective, indicating a rejection of the maxims noted for the normative perspective.

SEX AND GENDER

A basic tenet of the normative perspective was that sex-related and specific behaviours were inherited, thus innate. In opposition, a central maxim of the Marxist-Feminist framework argued here is that a differentiation is required between sex and gender. This develops the distinction between the biologically based aspects of male and female existence, termed sex, and the psychological and social components of what it means to be 'masculine' and 'feminine', termed gender (see, Deem, 1980; Delamont, 1980). This differentiation is explained by Stoller (1968):

... the word sex ... will refer to the male or female sex and the component biological parts that determine whether one is male or female; the word sexual will have connotations of anatomy and physiology. This obviously leaves tremendous areas of behaviour, feelings, thoughts and fantasies that are related to the sexes and yet do not have primarily biological connotations. It is for some of these psychological phenomena that the term gender will be used: one can speak of the male and female sex, but one can also talk about masculinity and femininity and not necessarily be implying anything about anatomy or physiology.

(Stoller, 1968, pp.viii-ix)

As a result of studies conducted in California, Stoller (1968) further emphasizes the distinction that gender is psychological, therefore cultural, and that sex is biological:

Gender is a term that has psychological or cultural rather than biological connotations. If the proper terms for sex are 'male' and 'female', the corresponding terms for gender are 'masculine' and 'feminine', these latter may be quite independent of (biological) sex.

(Stoller, 1968, p.9)

From these studies on intersexed patients (e.g., genetic male with female reproductive organs) Stoller further suggests that external genitalia are not essential, or indeed necessary, to the traits expressed as gender, but that:

... gender role is determined by postnatal forces, regardless of the anatomy and physiology of the external genitalia.

(Stoller, 1968, p.48)

From their study of gender attribution, Kessler and McKenna (1978) suggest that the categories of 'masculine' and 'feminine', and even to an extent 'male' and 'female', are not necessarily dichotomous and mutually exclusive. As an outcome of this study into gender attribution, Kessler and McKenna provide further support for the culturally ascribed nature of gender in contrast to the innate determination which a normative perspective would suggest. Indeed, by seeing the categories of gender as not necessarily exclusive, Kessler and McKenna may also provide support for the view that individual differences may be more important than the male/female group differences of the normative perspective.

The evidence of these, and similar researches, supports the implication that the supposed 'innate' traits (e.g., masculine aggression, intelligence, force, practicality; versus, feminine passivity, verbal fluency, nurturant instincts, submissiveness) of the sexes may be gender rather than sex-based.

Support for the cultural character of gender may be further provided by evidence that different cultures show a divergence of expected behaviours considered appropriate for a particular sex (see, Mead, 1949; Oakley, 1972), whereas an innate, biological base, would presuppose a uniformity of behaviours.

Such a distinction between sex and gender has a number of implications for both the social context and the educational system within which the debate over single-sex/co-educational schooling in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958 occurred.

It provides for the view that the sexual division of labour is not based on natural differences but rather is socially created and legitimated as an organizing principle of

capitalist social relations (see, MacDonald, 1980a, 1980b). Due to this culture/gender link, these relations and structures, seen as constituting the ideology of gender differences, require constant reinforcement through the social agencies of the law, politics, and education (e.g., Aitken, 1980). Support for this view, within the educational context, is provided by a number of investigations suggesting that divisions into 'masculine' and 'feminine' realms of expertise are socially defined. For instance, Dwyer (1973) suggests that the 'superiority' of girls at reading and boys at mathematics (Dwyer, 1974) are cultural in origin rather than due to innate differences of ability. Other subject areas, especially the so-called 'masculine' subjects of mathematics and physical science, have also been shown to possess a cultural element in their gender-differentiation (e.g., Keeves, 1973; Kelly, A., 1981b). While not the sole causal agent, such areas as teacher behaviours and expectations have also been shown to contribute to gender-stereotyping within schooling (e.g., Ricks & Pyke, 1973; Saunders, 1975; Schlosser & Algozzine, 1980).

Indeed, this and related research, illustrates the view that the school, in both its curriculum and organisation, acts as an agency for the reinforcement and reproduction of the ideology of gender differences. A detailed analysis of this research led the present writer to conclude:

The one area of commonality within this research is that girls do less well in the educational system than an ethos of equality would suggest.

(Cocklin, 1981b, p.13)

The argument may then be advanced that the cultural definition and differentiation of gender - coupled with the 'egalitarian ideology' (Mitchell, 1971; Kuhn & Wolpe, 1978), which suggests equal opportunity and life choices - produces an inherent contradiction. Unlike the biological determinism of the 'innate view', this contradiction provides scope for both change and rejection of the gender roles and identity, as Mitchell (1971) argues:

The belief in the rightness and possibility of equality that women share has enabled them to feel 'cheated' and hence has acted as a precondition to their initial protest. Yet offered a mystifying emancipation and participating in an ideology of equality, the sense of something wrong is more acute than where women share in the openly dominative structures of feudal, semi-feudal or early capitalist societies.

(Mitchell, 1971, pp.40-41)

As well as providing the basis for change, it is suggested that these culturally-defined gender relations and inherent contradictions indicate an active and dynamic role for people in the creation of social reality, a possibility the linear approach of the normative perspective does not allow for. Indeed, the events and issues described in chapter Two may be interpreted in a critical vein in order to illustrate that there are "omissions, invisibilities and inaccuracies" (Middleton, 1982, p.63) which can result from using the earlier stated normative propositions. Through an examination of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework these events can be interpreted as exhibiting the legitimation and reproduction of the existing social relations at the time.

LEGITIMATION AND REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

The process of this legitimation and reproduction noted above is seen to be through the imposition of a 'male-defined hegemony'.

Hegemony is domination. It refers, in Gramsci's analysis (see, Williams, 1976), to the ability of a dominant group to define the limits of common sense. This comes to be truly total, saturating the society, and all pervasive such that it forms the dominant view of social reality, a reality which is lived (see, Apple, 1979). An indication of the interpretation used in the present study is shown by the definition that:

... hegemony refers to a form of ideological control in which the dominant beliefs, values,

and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions, such as schools, the family, the mass media, and the trade unions. As the dominant ideology, hegemony functions to define the meaning and limits of common sense as well as the form and content of discourse in a society. It does so by positing certain ideas and routines as natural and universal.

(Giroux, 1980, p.228)

From this definition it may be seen that a link is formed such that hegemony equates with a social reality that is seen to be 'natural'. Hence, it is suggested that the natural definitions of 'masculine' and 'feminine' are part of the social hegemony, and that, due to this pervasive characteristic, are resistant to superficial change. Hegemony is maintained through the success of a dominant ideology. As with hegemony, ideology is an intricate concept subject to differing definitions (see, Bernstein, 1976; Williams, 1976; Apple, 1979). For the purpose of analysis in this study it is used to refer to that

... system of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, or values about social reality.

(Apple, 1979, p.20)

This ideology, then, serves to reinforce and reproduce existing social relations. Thus, it may be seen as a form of 'false consciousness' in that the 'socially defined' comes to be viewed as the 'naturally ordained', serving the interests of a dominant group within society (e.g., Harris, 1982).

The purpose of such an ideology is an attempt to gain, in the context of the present study, the consent of men and women to the definitions of masculinity and femininity within the society. If such consent can be won, the ideological conditions supporting these definitions are more likely to be reproduced and the hegemony maintained (see, MacDonald, 1980a).

It is therefore within the context of a 'male-defined' hegemony that a basis for the analysis of the events and

issues of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough during this period of 1946 to 1958 can proceed. The view adopted is that the decision made in 1958 to form single-sex schools and the debate which preceded it, and the social context within which this occurred, was essentially concerned with maintaining the status-quo relations of production and gender. That this hegemony was 'male-defined' is established on the basis of Simmel's analysis which illustrates the manner in which it is made difficult for women to "contribute to a culture that operates, by and large, according to male standards and criteria" (Coser, 1977, p.871). It is contended further by Simmel (1911) that while 'equality' may be the ethos, the 'game' is rigged against women:

We measure the achievements and the commitments ... of males and females in terms of specific norms and values; but these norms are not neutral, standing above the contrasts of the sexes; they have themselves a male character The standards of art and the demands of patriotism, the general mores and the specific social ideas, the equity of practical judgements and the objectivity of theoretical knowledge, ... - all these categories are formally generically human, but are in fact masculine in terms of their actual historical formation.

(Simmel, in Coser, 1977, p.872)

Simmel further establishes the hegemonic character of this male-defined reality by stating that:

Man's position of power does not only assure his relative superiority over the women, but it assures that his standards become generalized as generically human standards that are to govern the behaviour of men and women alike.

(Simmel, in Coser, 1977, p.872)

Indeed, it may be suggested that the image of women - and what it means to be 'feminine' - is "created by men and fashioned to suit their needs" (Millet, 1971, p.46).

From these considerations, Simmel argues that in male culture it is

... the social and physiological destiny of women to be treated and valued as simple means, and that women tend to evaluate themselves in these terms: as means for the man, for the home, for the child.

(Simmel, in Coser, 1971, pp. 873-874)

Or, in short, the type of functionalist role given by Newsom in the earlier quotations, which illustrated the normative perspective and its biological determinism.

From this, Simmel (1911) argues that male culture denies female identity. This theoretical perspective of the male-defined hegemony serves to establish the feminist perspective that what exists in society is a male-biased reality, made all the more pervasive through its acceptance by society as an 'immutable verity'. The revisionist perspective used in this study may be seen to include the category of feminist where:

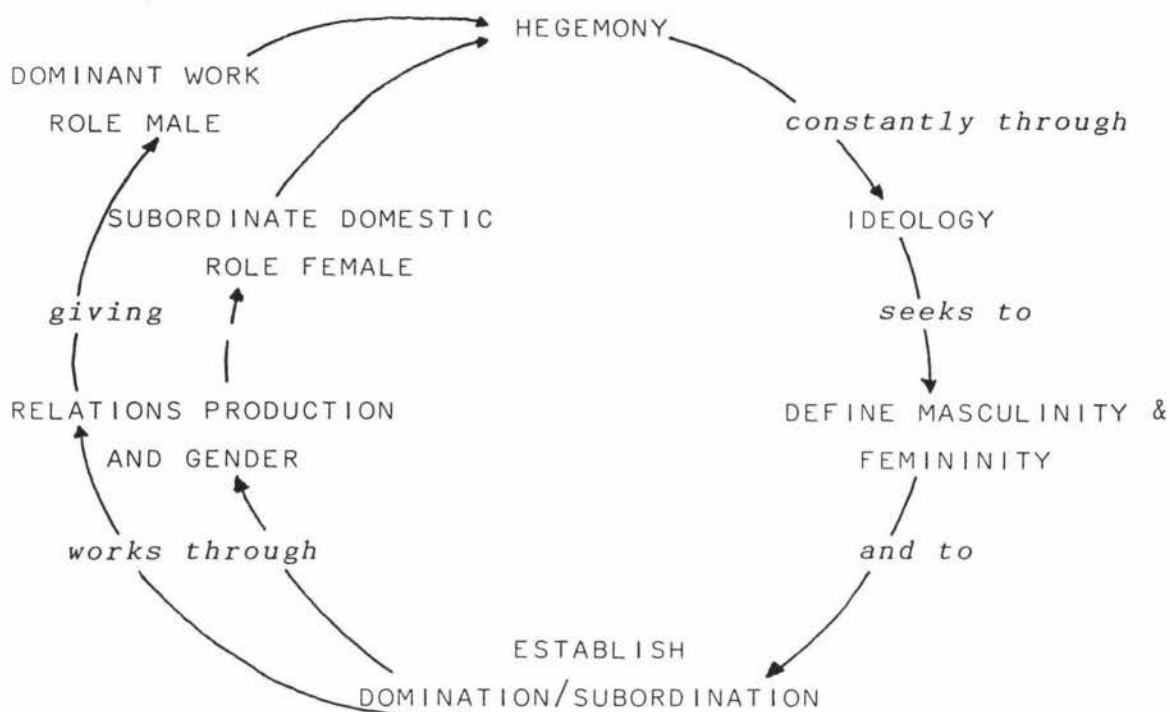
Feminists are people who recognise, and seek to eliminate, the inequalities existing between men and women. Feminists recognise that individual differences are more important and a better guide to what people can and cannot do, than gender. They maintain that the allocation of tasks and roles in our community should be related to individual capacities, not locked in by traditional views on what is appropriate for women and men because of their sex.

(Aitken, 1980, p.14)

The approach therefore seeks to question the process of imposition of gender-differentiations indicated by Figure Two on the following page. In contrast to that outlined earlier (Figure 1) this is an 'active' process of creation and legitimation implying that both contradictions and rejection of the 'imposition' of social reality exist. The process illustrated in Figure Two is of the establishment, through a 'male' hegemony, of relations of production and gender, which requires consent to be won through ideology. But it must also be recognised that:

FIGURE 2

The Imposition of
Gender Roles



... to win consent for the arbitrary division of social life into male and female worlds of public and private activities is no easy task and perhaps this is why there is such ideological bombardment from educational and cultural agencies of the state. It is not that capital has succeeded in creating classed and sexed subjects, suitably adjusted to the rigours of work in the home and the work place, but rather that no day can go by without it trying.

(MacDonald, 1980a, p.46)

It is therefore suggested that the decision to form single-sex schools in Marlborough in 1958, and the rationale given for this decision, reflect such an attempt at winning consent. Further, that at least part of the impetus for this attempt may be the re-emphasis on the traditional roles following the upheaval in relations of gender and production which occurred during the Second World War, and

which were enunciated earlier in this chapter.

PATRIARCHY AND CAPITALISM

This 'reality' of male domination is subsumed by defining the society, like its historical antecedents, as a patriarchy: a society which divides home and work into male and female realms with a hierarchical relationship whereby males have positions of power, prestige, and authority over women. However, the situation is more complex, as the society is not only patriarchal but is characterised by the capitalist mode of production and this serves as an additional variable. Indeed:

Even though patriarchal forms of control existed prior to the advent of capitalism, the economic and social subordination of women has, nevertheless, become an integral element of the capitalist social formation. This is not to assume that they constitute an essential ingredient, necessary for the survival of that system, but rather to recognise that they figure as one of its central organizing principles.

(MacDonald, 1980b, p.13)

MacKintosh (1977) states the issue as:

This then clearly specifies the theoretical problem: what are the forms taken by patriarchy in this society, and how are they interrelated with the social relations of production?

(MacKintosh, 1977, p.122)

Within the capitalist mode of production the role of women had become that of nurturance of the wage-earning (or property-owning) male. Deem (1978) continues this line of argument:

If women did not take some of the responsibility for tasks like child care, cooking, cleaning, washing and shopping, and if men had to share these tasks, then either employers would find their employees less healthy, or less hard-working, or with less time to work, or they and the state would be forced to provide many of the services which the nuclear family and women within it now provide largely free of charge. A change

such as this would radically alter the existing structure of society.

(Deem, 1978, pp.4-5)

In addition, this 'domestic role' and the patriarchal, monogamous, family mode serves other functions for the maintenance of capitalist social relations (see, MacDonald, 1980a). The family serves as the site for the biological and social reproduction of the work force required by the capitalist mode of production. Also, the recruitment of women into the work force, due to their domestic commitments, is limited to those occupations which require little skill or training, are badly paid, and are often part-time and normally lack any prospects for promotions or for positions of responsibility. Yet, at the same time, the women may act as a reserve labour force which is then utilised, as indicated previously in this chapter, in times of labour scarcity such as occurred during the Second World War. Finally, the sexual division of labour across the differentiation between 'work' and 'family' life has the

... psychiatric advantages of the family to capital by the alleviation of class aggression and alienation, through the 'hiving off' of the materialistic and harsh world of work. Women in the family become either a stabilising emotional force or alternatively the victims of violence.

(MacDonald, 1980a, p.31)

Within the ideology of capitalist society, then, labour comes to be divided on a sexual basis, and women work for their husbands and families rather than for society. Indeed, as Kuhn (1978) argues, the distinction between 'home' and 'work' becomes accentuated within a capitalist society where a distinction is made between

... the production of use values (by domestic labour) and the production of exchange values (through wage labour).

(Kuhn, 1978, p.55)

Through this distinction the relationship of the sexes to the mode of production is different such that a wife's

relation to production is usually mediated through her relation to her husband (see, McDonough & Harrison, 1978). In this situation a women's labour is subordinate both to the mode of production and to men as a group. Engels (1968, p.510) phrases this another way: "In the family he is the bourgeoisie; the wife represents the proletariat." Wolpe (1977) summarises this view:

Women not only believe that they must rely on their husbands who contribute the major portion of the family income, they are also unable to increase their earning capacities, due to lack of qualifications and the structural aspects Thus the dominant role of men, within the confines of the family is ensured. Equally women are in a subordinate dependent state.

(Wolpe, 1977, p.2)

What emerges from such an analysis is a picture of a capitalist patriarchal society dominated by a male-defined hegemony and ideology, which presents the form and role of women and the family as aspects of Nature. Or, in other words, the status-quo situation of the normative perspective outlined previously. However, analysis of the events and issues of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework enunciated here provides for the critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies, in turn leading to an indication of the manner in which these relations of gender and class provide for the maintenance and reproduction of this capitalist patriarchal society. Indeed:

Within capitalism, the relations of class and gender take a unique form. They are brought together, for example, in the maintenance of capitalist relations of production - where male dominance reinforces the authority of supervisors, managers and experts. At a more fundamental level, the coincidence of these two structures facilitates the reproduction of the work force required by that mode of production.

(MacDonald, 1980a, pp.30-31)

Accordingly, the decision to form single-sex schools in Marlborough made in 1958 and the debate which preceded this

decision, along with the social context within which the debate occurred, may be seen as attempts to establish both gender-roles and the patterns of subordination and dominance as a set of social priorities within the cultural framework characteristic of patriarchal capitalist society.

Finally, in considering the social relations characteristic of the capitalist patriarchal society attention so far has focussed on those of gender, in order to complete the Marxist-Feminist framework a brief account of the class-differentiated aspects of the sexual division of labour is provided. As has already been indicated, class and gender relations are linked in a complex interrelationship (e.g., MacDonald, 1980a). It is suggested that:

Though women are placed simultaneously in two separate but linked structures, those of class and patriarchy, it is their class position which limits the conditions of the forms of patriarchy they will be objectively subjected to.

(McDonough & Harrison, 1978, p.36)

From such a view comes the implication that different definitions of what is appropriate 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviour may exist. This allows for the fact that some women, from the bourgeois class, may attain positions of apparent power and responsibility in relation to those of the working class. Within the context of analysis this may appear to produce, for these women, 'equal access' to aspects of the culture (e.g., Deem, 1978). However, what is common to most women is that their subordination and economic dependence, real or implied, is characteristic of all classes. Therefore, it is argued, positions of power must be seen in their relationship to both the gender and class factors.

POWER

From the definitions of hegemony, patriarchy, and capitalism developed above, comes the requirement to

establish a basis upon which these impositions are brought about.

The power to bring about this imposition of a bourgeois, male-defined hegemony within patriarchal capitalist relations thus becomes a central component of analysis. This is required in order to indicate the role of both individuals and groups in the imposition of this patriarchal social reality such as that within the secondary education system in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958. Indeed, the debate over the provision of single-sex schools for Marlborough may provide a focal point from which to examine these power processes, in this case as they exemplify patriarchal relationships. The view of power adopted for the present study carries with it an implication of rejection of those descriptions of power relationships which, similar to the functionalism of the normative perspective rejected earlier, merely describe and uphold the status-quo.

The view of power adopted here is that which is termed by Lukes (1974) as 'three-dimensional'. Power in this sense is ideally suited to an analysis of patriarchy, a system so well 'accepted', so 'natural', that overt conflict is not apparent:

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

(Lukes, 1974, p.23)

Such exercise of power can occur through the control of information, both content and distribution, through the mass media, and through the socialisation process whereby, for example, the woman is brought to an 'acceptance' of the domestic role. Examples of this process may be sought from the data on the single-sex/co-education debate in

Marlborough.

That patriarchy is generally accepted is also provided for in this perspective as consensus may still illustrate the use of power. Indeed, as Lukes (1974) notes:

... is not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial. To assume that the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by definitional fiat.

(Lukes, 1974, p.24)

From this process, it is suggested, people are brought to view, reinforced by the pervading ideology, that it is in their 'real interests' to see the situation this way. Moreover, such a view of power allows for the examination of events in which decisions are made that are contrary to other's interests, despite apparent acceptance or consensus. Lukes elaborates this view:

The radical ... maintains that men's wants may themselves be a product of a system which works against their interests, and, in such cases, relates the latter to what they would want and prefer, were they able to make the choice.

(Lukes, 1974, p.34)

Further, such a perspective provides for the view that not only 'action' but 'inaction' on the part of individuals or groups concerned with decision-making may illustrate power. A group which is seen to have power, such as that attributed to 'experts', may influence decisions by simple reputation without explicit acts of power. Without any overt action, such a group may effectively control the public's conception of issues of social and educational change. This becomes an exercise of power, within Lukes' view, due to the fact that such a group

may have acted differently:

The reason why identifying such an exercise involves the assumption that the exerciser(s) could have acted differently - and, where they are unaware of the consequences of their action or inaction, that they could have ascertained these - is that an attribution of power is at the same time an attribution of (partial or total) responsibility for certain consequences. The point, in other words, of locating power is to fix responsibility for consequences held to flow from the action, or inaction, of certain specifiable agents.

(Lukes, 1974, pp.55-56)

Such a view of power becomes a central component in an analysis of the means by which patriarchal, gender-based, educational decisions are made.

Characterising the events and issues of the debate over single-sex/co-educational schooling in Marlborough outlined in chapter Two is a further dimension of power which requires elaboration. It is evident that many groups and organisations contributed to the decision to form single-sex schools and had considerable influence on the debate in Marlborough. Therefore, it is suggested, that the interconnections within these groups, in particular the fact that various individual's were members of different groups and so had a widespread influence on the debate, is a factor which requires elaboration.

As has been the pattern throughout this section, the position taken here is also seen to be an attempt to move beyond a superficial descriptive account to a critical examination of the underlying ideologies and power relations existing between and within these organisations. The perspective adopted, therefore, is in line with Greenfield's (1979) assertion that:

Organisational theory has too frequently defended conventional social realities and ignored the process whereby sets of people and ideas are in contention over what is reality and how one should behave in it.

(Greenfield, 1979, p.100)

And further:

The question that administrative theory ignores is why individuals, whose lives are far from any point of control in organisations, usually accept and willingly fulfill the ordered lives that tradition, their jobs, and the organisation prescribe for them. Administration thus involves an act of creation and compulsion. From all that might be, the administrator seeks to cause certain actions and events to prevail over others. The administrative act has force when people become and fulfill the ideological vision of what should be in the world.

(Greenfield, 1979, p.107)

Membership of various groups within the debate was not static throughout the 13-year period between 1946 and 1958, this also requires a basis from which such changes may be examined:

Dialectical theory ... offers an explanation of the processes involved in the production, the reproduction, and the destruction of particular organisational forms. It opens analysis to the processes through which actors carve out and stabilize a sphere of rationality and those through which such rationalised spheres dissolve.

(Benson, 1977, p.2)

Accordingly, the same notions of reproduction and legitimation may be applied to organisations as were to the relations of production and gender. An active role is assigned to the construction by people of both social reality and organisations to serve, reflect, and indeed, to reject this reality. Such an approach to organisations further emphasizes that they should be viewed as part of the 'totality' of the social context, thus stressing the 'multiple interconnections' (see, Benson, 1977). This approach becomes of central importance to the decision-making which occurred in Marlborough during this period of debate and controversy, as seeing any of the interest groups in isolation neglects the complex facets of influence which characterised the debate.

Through such a perspective of power and organisations, informed by the Marxist-Feminist framework enunciated above, the critical examination of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958 may then proceed. Accordingly, in contrast to the descriptive propositions of the normative perspective outlined previously (pp.70-71), this examination will consider:

1. The alternatives conceived and explored by both individuals and groups concerning the provision of secondary education in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958.
2. The constraints upon the decisions made, over a second post-primary school for the Province, in terms of patriarchal capitalist society and the political sphere.
3. The power bases and relations of various individuals and those existing between and within various groups.
4. The changing membership of organisations as, at least in part, reflecting the contradictions inherent within the organisation and its purpose in creating social reality.
5. The multiple, interconnecting links between and within organisational groups.
6. The mechanisms of influence whereby both individuals and organisations brought the public to accept their definition of reality.

SUMMARY

This chapter has detailed two competing standpoints from which an analysis of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958 may proceed.

From a revisionist perspective, the characteristics of the normative account were examined critically as providing a descriptive account for the role of women as pre-determined

by 'innate' characteristics. A normative perspective would, therefore, provide a description of the debate and controversy which occurred in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958 over the provision of a second post-primary school. As such, it allows for an indication of the existence of a domestic role for women based on biologically-determined characteristics which, in turn, was reflected in the educational provisions for a particular sex. However, this perspective, through its determinism and reductionism, was seen as unable to provide for the critical analysis of the underlying assumptions and ideologies guiding the 1946 to 1958 debate over single-sex/co-educational schooling in Marlborough.

Accordingly, a revisionist perspective based on a Marxist-Feminist framework was discussed as providing propositions and concepts - such as, ideology, hegemony, patriarchy, gender, and power - to achieve the task set by the objective, of critical analysis. Through the application of these concepts to the events and issues of the debate, the requirements set by the two objectives - noted at the start of the present chapter - for an in-depth, systematic, and critical examination of the underlying assumptions and ideologies are to be developed as indicating the legitimation and reproduction of social relations within a capitalist patriarchal society. This examination is undertaken in chapter Four which follows.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SINGLE-SEX/CO-EDUCATION DEBATE

MARLBOROUGH (1946-1958):

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

In chapter Two, the events and issues in the history of secondary education in the Province of Marlborough from 1946 to 1958 were outlined, with a particular focus on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling. Chapter Three has detailed the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework selected to achieve the task of providing an in-depth and critical analysis of this debate. The present chapter will examine critically the underlying assumptions and ideologies which led to the establishment of single-sex colleges in Marlborough. Accordingly, the first section of this chapter will detail the social context within which the debate occurred, and, the second section will focus particularly on the events and issues characterising the 1958 period of the debate.

The present study has as its major objectives: to provide an in-depth and systematic account of secondary education in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling; and, to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying this debate.

Accordingly, chapter Two was directed predominantly towards the first of these objectives and presented an overview of the events in the history of secondary education in the Province of Marlborough from 1946 to 1958. In this chapter, it was indicated that this historical period saw considerable controversy and debate concerning the provision of a second post-primary school for the Province. However, it was during 1958 that the debate over single-sex and co-educational schools in Marlborough reached its climax through extensive discussion of the issues in the

newspaper, at public gatherings, in submissions to the Marlborough College Board, and at Board meetings. Because of this, the main focus in the present chapter will be on the year 1958 to examine critically and closely the underlying assumptions and ideologies which guided this single-sex/co-education debate.

Chapter Three was directed primarily towards the second objective and discussed a revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework to be utilised in the task of critical and in-depth analysis of this lengthy debate leading up to the establishment of two single-sex colleges in Marlborough.

The overall purpose of the present chapter, then, becomes the completion of the tasks set by the two objectives which introduced the chapter, namely: the in-depth and critical analysis of the 1946 to 1958 single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough and its underlying assumptions and ideologies. In more detail, the aim of this chapter is twofold: first to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions, prevailing in the Marlborough society at the time, concerning the educational needs and future roles of women, especially the girls at Marlborough College, as providing a basis and background from which the debate proceeded; and second, by focussing particularly on the year 1958, to present a critical analysis of the events and issues of this single-sex/co-education debate as exemplifying the processes of legitimation and reproduction of social relations within the Marlborough College and community.

The format adopted for this chapter is to first detail the social view of the educational needs and future roles of the girls, then, second to consider the events and issues of the single-sex/co-education debate. In both sections the presentation will be of the data first followed by a summary and discussion utilising the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework detailed in chapter Three.

THE SINGLE-SEX/CO-EDUCATION DEBATE

SOCIAL CONTEXT

The first of the two aims enunciated above for the present chapter required that the assumptions and ideologies concerning the educational needs and future roles of women which existed at the time in Marlborough be examined critically, with a particular focus on the girls at the Marlborough College.

Accordingly, this section aims to support the position discussed in chapter Three of the assumptions and ideologies which presuppose a domestic role and subordinate status for women. In presenting the supportive evidence for the existence of a similar view in Marlborough during the period between 1946 and 1958²⁵ two broad areas are considered. First, attention will be focussed on subject and career choice available and selected by the girls at Marlborough College as indicating the assumption of a future domestic role. Second, the relative status of the girls, the subjects they took, the available role models, and assumptions of status and responsibility within the Marlborough community will indicate the degree of support for the position in chapter Three that women occupied subordinate status and responsibility positions. This section will conclude with a brief summary and discussion prior to consideration of the second aim for this chapter of focussing on 1958 as the year the debate reached its climax.

SUBJECT AND CAREER CHOICE

During this period between 1946 and 1958 the pupils at Marlborough College were divided into different courses as

²⁵ In some instances this has been extended to within the limit provided by the retirement of Mr. Insull in 1964. This was determined by the availability of data, although it may be tentatively assumed, given the same Principal and others in positions of authority (e.g., Board members) that there was little change in conditions and views between 1958 and 1964.

TABLE 1

Marlborough College
1958 School Roll by Courses Taken

COURSE	BOYS	GIRLS
Professional	96	130
General	136	36
Commercial	---	151
Home-Life	---	101
Trades	144	---
Agricultural	67	---

is shown in Table One above. From these, 1958, figures support is provided for the position (p.66) of education for the boys being directed towards the workplace and that for girls towards the domestic and 'female occupations'. Indeed, of the girls at the College in 1958, 60 per cent were taking courses specifically directed at providing training for the future roles within such female occupations. However, perhaps a more accurate indication of the emphasis given to the domestic training is provided through the fact that all girls in the school received at least some instruction in the domestic sciences, as a report in the school magazine, *The Marlburian*, noted:

I suggest the inclusion of woodwork or metalwork for Professional boys in place of the present periods spent in crafts. Professional girls take cooking and dressmaking while we fiddle with crafts. If girls learn what will be useful to them in the home, why do we not have a chance to learn what will be useful in the workshop or garage.

(*Marlburian*, 1957, p.64)

Due to this emphasis given the domestic sciences, both above and in the normative perspective enunciated previously (pp.65-66), as an important aspect of the education for girls, attention will now focus on this domestic science course offered to the girls at Marlborough College.

The Homecraft teachers' from Marlborough College provided a detailed outline of the aims and subject matter of this domestic science course to a meeting of the College Parent Teachers' Association in March of 1958, at a time when the debate over single-sex/co-education was reaching prominence in the community (*The Express*, March 13, 1958). The Homecraft portion of the course was sub-divided into the subjects of: nutrition, practical cookery, house-wifery, home management, house planning, home furnishing, budgeting in the home, laundry-work, and mothercraft. Within this course the emphasis was on the training for the domestic skills required by a dependent, house-bound mother whose responsibilities are located in the efficient running of the home to which the husband will return from work. The girls were:

... left to plan a menu for three days and do all the housework. They invite three guests to their meal every day and it gives them a lot of satisfaction to serve mother and father with a well-balanced, attractively served dinner, often surprising mother. They work out a timetable each day to include all household chores. They must keep an account of what they spend and budget their money wisely. After the dinner each girl is given a written criticism on the preparation and cleanliness, table-setting and decoration, the service of the meal and the quality of everything cooked.

*(The Express, March 13, 1958,
emphasis added)*

That the girls found, at least, part of this 'domestic chore' tiresome is indicated by the following report:

Housewifery is the part the girls find most irksome. They do not like cleaning up after cooking. It is our aim to teach the girls to be methodical, and to keep their tables tidy when working.

(The Express, March 13, 1958)

This statement of aims also suggests that the development of the domestic skills required rigorous reinforcement and training (e.g., Ollerenshaw, 1961), and indicates that while rejection was possible the course was intended to ensure the continuance of the domestic role.

In the fourth-form year came the mothercraft section of the course:

The Plunket Nurse gives a series of lectures and one day brings a real baby to bath and dress. The girls love these classes and in their spare time between practical cooking they like to take our doll, Phillipa Ann, dress her and put her to bed the correct way.

*(The Express, March 13, 1958,
emphasis added)*

The training given in this mothercraft section appears to have been concerned with further reinforcing the role of the women as domestic and child-based.

Finally, within the domestic science course, came the clothing section whose inclusion then completed the general aim of the course:

... to help girls understand the care and function of the home and to train them so that their homes might be efficiently managed and fitly furnished and so contribute to the happiness of the family.

(The Express, March 19, 1958)

This statement of the overall aim of the domestic science course firmly located the future role of the girls within the domestic sphere. The clothing section itself was to instil 'perfection' in sewing techniques, and, as stated by the Sewing Mistress:

With such a full clothing course the girls become more dress-minded. And we must all agree that the better a woman looks the longer a man does.

*(The Express, March 19, 1958,
emphasis added)*

The domestic science course, then, provided suitable training for the likely destination of the girls in a marriage-based, domestic, child-rearing role; a training further reinforced even through the use of such names as 'housewifery'.

However, other courses and career choices also contribute

to this domestic role and sexual-division of labour and attention will now be directed to some of these aspects of the establishment of a domestic and subordinate role for the females.

Chapter Three established a dichotomy of 'masculine/feminine' subject areas such that the mathematical, logical, scientific subjects were the prerogative of males while verbal, arts and language realms were more 'suited' to females. The assumption of a similar gender-differentiation of subject options is evident during the period investigated in the present study. For instance, while special dispensation may be made for a boy to take both mathematics and history, a girl cannot for:

I explained that the reason is that the majority of girls cannot cope well with Mathematics but do well at History and so we teach Maths and History classes simultaneously, so that pupils may chose to take full Mathematics or History.

*(Principal's Report, Board
Minutes, Feb. 8,
1962)*

As both mathematics and science were prerequisite subjects for many areas of tertiary study as well as for a variety of occupations, this type of selection excluded the girls from these realms and constrained their choice of occupation (see, Kelly, A., 1981a, 1981b), which, in turn, may be seen as preventing them realising their potential. In 1954, following what were seen as poor School Certificate pass rates, the Board passed a lengthy motion of censure of the Marlborough College staff which concluded with the following statement and request:

As so much depends on the result of this examination, making or marring - in this case marring - the future of the majority of the students, the Board respectfully requests the Principal of the College to analyse the marks of the individual students to trace the teachers most directly responsible in an endeavour to effect a much-needed improvement and so overcome the possibility of such poor results occurring in any future

year.

(*The Express*, Feb. 9, 1954)

The assumption that certain subjects were the prerogative of a particular sex and the channelling of occupational choice this produced, as noted above, may equally be seen as 'marring' the future of the students, yet it passed unquestioned.

The results of this channelling into courses (Table 1) and assumptions that subjects such as mathematics were more 'suited' for the boys with the humanities for the girls are shown by the careers taken up by pupils upon leaving school. Table Two below indicates this result for 1955.

TABLE 2

Occupational Destination of School Leavers
Marlborough College, 1955

CAREER	BOYS	GIRLS
University	1	4
Teacher Training	1	6
Nursing	-	7
Government and Local Body offices	4	21
Industry and Commercial offices	8	11
Shop and Warehouse Assistants	10	12
Skilled Trades	42	--
Farming	28	1
Clothing workers	3	1
Factory Operators	6	3
Domestic work	-	1
Armed Services	3	-
Others	8	3
Unknown	3	3

Other than university and teacher training, it is apparent from Table 2 that the girls were destined predominantly for office-work and other 'low-skilled' occupations.

Indeed, the contention that the girls were 'steered' towards such 'stop gap' labour prior to marriage gains support from these occupational destinations. Further support, for this contention, may be provided by the instance of the College Dux who, after a science course of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and English, became a laboratory technician (*The Express*, Dec. 12, 1961). Had this been a boy, it may be suggested that pressures would be upon him to pursue a university course towards higher qualifications. Although other variables may have contributed to this girl selecting this particular career, one influence may have been the view that further education was unnecessary for a girl who was destined for the domestic role of housewife (see, Sampson, 1976).

Finally, some general indications of the assumption that the domestic sphere was the destination for girls may be provided. For instance, when discussions occurred over the establishment of a hostel for girls, and the means of keeping costs down were explored, the statement was made that:

As it is a girls' hostel, it is anticipated that much of the cleaning, setting of tables, washing up, laundry and vegetable preparation will be done by the girls.

(*The Express*, Dec. 19, 1961)

The importance of marriage for the girls was also emphasized and they were informed:

It was a great compliment to a girl when a man proposed marriage to her, but marriage was a serious affair. The home was the core of the nation, the king-pin around which the world revolves.

(*The Express*, Dec. 11, 1964)

Indeed, even the tasks allocated to both the girls at Marlborough College and women on the College Board reflect an assumption of the domestic role. For instance, in 1958, fifth form Homecraft students, from the domestic science course are reported to have catered for the

visiting teams to gain practice at coping with large numbers of guests (*The Express*, March 13, 1958). The sole woman member on the College Board was made responsible for such tasks as selecting flowers for staff who were leaving and choosing new sewing machines for the domestic science course at Marlborough College (see also, p.27), which may also be seen as reflecting a domestic task allocation. Similarly, the women staff at the College taught in the 'feminine' fields of the domestic sciences, commercial and humanities and were responsible for the domestic tasks of providing afternoon teas and arranging flowers.

It has been demonstrated, then, that, in the courses selected by the pupils, or the ways they were channelled into them, the subject matter taught in these courses, and the tasks allocated to the girls and women, a primacy was given to the domestic role for women which, in turn, perpetuated a sexual division of labour.

A further aspect of this sexual division of labour, as enunciated in chapter Three, is the hierarchy of gender relations which result in a subordinate status for women. Accordingly, discussion now turns to an examination of some indicators of relative status given to the boys and girls at Marlborough College as well as those accorded women in the local community.

STATUS INDICATORS

The relative status of girls as occupying an inferior/subordinate position within the co-educational Marlborough College may be demonstrated from a number of different examples. As one of the main reasons given by some advocates of single-sex schools was the improvement in sports that would result (e.g., p.51), the status of sport within Marlborough College will provide one example of this gender-differentiation.

Rugby obviously held pride of place as a 'manly' sport as

the Principal, Mr. Insull, stated at a prize-giving ceremony:

One thing that impressed me this year was the growing numbers of boys who didn't want to play [rugby] football - some few for genuine medical reasons, and others because their parents were afraid they might get hurt.

I am sure as they did so that Mr. Frank Milner once again expressed at considerable length his horror of molluscs, jelly-fish and other kinds of invertebrates.

(The Express, Dec. 9, 1955)

Indeed, boys were required to play rugby at the school on sports days even though they played other winter sports, such as hockey, during the weekend (*The Express*, June 14, 1955).

The emphasis upon boys' sports is also seen in the space devoted to teams, results, and reports in the school magazine - 19 pages to 8 pages for the girls in 1957 - and the Marlborough College Register (1950) and its Supplement (1960). If other activities, such as cadets and Old Boys' Rugby Club lists, are also considered the proportions are even more in the boys' favour. Perhaps even the order of presentation, with boys' sport and activities always first, may also indicate a gender-differentiated status hierarchy. The pattern of referring to boys' first led one correspondent to *The Express* to comment that:

For so many years the boys have so dominated the scene in the secondary school in Blenheim that it has become habit to mention the boys first. I have noticed when any announcements are made, either for publication or at the College itself, the boys' activities and results are given first. Normal courtesy and manners usually means ladies or girls first.

(The Express, July 31, 1962)

Although only one indicator, this status given the boys' sport and activities does illustrate the existence of a hierarchy of male domination, female subordination.

A further indication of relative status for women is provided by an examination of the staff at the College during this period of debate, 1946 to 1958. The staff of a school has received considerable attention in terms of both providing role models for the students and as an indicator of relative status (e.g., Whitcombe, 1980). From this research, the general conclusion is that women staff tend to occupy lower status positions in the hierarchy. In view of Marlborough College being a co-educational school at the time, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls, it may be expected that an equal representation of male and female staff would exist. An examination of Table Three below indicates that this was indeed far from the case as there were approximately twice the number of male teachers.

TABLE 3

Staff Numbers by Sex and Qualification
Marlborough College, 1947-1959

YEAR	MALE		FEMALE	
	Degree	No Degree	Degree	No Degree
1947	7	3	-	-
1952	7	9	4	3
1955	12	10	4	7
1959	12	12	6	5

Further, the qualification differences may be indicated by a consideration of the level of degree which these teachers had. From Table Four over the page, it is apparent that a higher proportion of the male staff had a Masters' degree. In turn, both the type and level of qualification was reflected in the Positions of Responsibility within Marlborough College. Indeed, other than the Senior Mistress, women only held such positions in the Domestic Science and Commercial courses, all other Head's of Department were male. This differentiation of status and

TABLE 4

Type of Staff Qualification by Sex
Marlborough College, 1947-1959

YEAR	1947		1952		1955		1959	
SEX	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
QUALIFICATION								
Masters	5	-	6	2	8	1	7	1
Bachelors	2	-	1	2	4	3	5	5
Diploma	-	-	1	-	2	1	2	1
Other	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-

responsibility is further indicated by noting that the women staff, during 1957, were allocated only junior and lower-stream classes as their Form Class.

From these indications of status and responsibility, it is apparent that the women staff occupied lower and subordinate positions in hierarchy of gender relations.

At least part of the responsibility for this dichotomy between male and female staff, and indeed the pupils' as well, may have rested with the Principal, Mr. Insull. Shortly after his appointment to the position, in 1946, Mr. Insull was reported to have divided the staffroom into male and female areas:

When this 'bird' arrived - 'that's the womens end, that's the boys end'.

(Informant E)

This separation of the sexes was then carried over to the pupils', as Informant E continued:

It was right up his alley. As soon as he saw the timetable, and how the boys' subjects and girls' subjects were separated he kept pushing them apart. Even had playgrounds for girls only.

(Informant E)

This separation of the boys and girls at the co-educational Marlborough College led Mr. Insull, in 1958, to describe the situation as follows:

The only co-educational classes at Marlborough College are for those pupils who are taking the professional and general courses. But here again the girls have to be separated from the boys for subjects such as physical education, music and science, and they are taught together in the same classrooms for only part of the week.

(The Express, April 12, 1958)

It also appeared from the interviews that a further separation existed within the school in addition to that between the sexes, namely that the staff had little contact with the Principal or his wife outside the school. As Informant D commented:

Staff relations were remarkably poor. Mrs. Insull never came near the school. She wouldn't, apart from Harry Glen, even have known a staff-member. She took no part whatever in school activities. I believe she was terribly short-sighted, which could be a reason she would walk past a staff-member without acknowledging him/her. There was a lot of ill-feeling in that direction. No staff were ever invited to Insull's house.

(Informant D)

In offering an explanation for this situation, and indeed for the separation of the boys and girls at the College, two of the Informants (D and E) placed an emphasis upon Mr. Insull's general attitude to women, described as being 'early Victorian', and his relationship with his wife and daughters.

A similar hierarchy of status and responsibility existed on the College Board as well. As has been previously (p.26) noted, the sole woman member of the Board, Mrs. McDonald, did not occupy a place on the Executive, Finance, or Works committee's at any time during the period from her appointment in 1946 to retirement in 1958. Further, shortly after her appointment, Mrs. McDonald was advised by Mr. Furness on 'appropriate' behaviour at Board meetings:

*Lass, sit down quietly, listen and learn,
and if you feel like saying anything, think
twice.*

(The Express, June 10, 1958)

Accordingly, Mrs. McDonald may be seen as having occupied a subordinate status within the Board hierarchy.

With the assumptions concerning the future role of women and their status within the community having been indicated, this section will conclude with a brief summary and discussion.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this section of the present chapter, as enunciated above, was to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions concerning the educational needs and future roles for women as providing a background and basis from which the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough proceeded.

Through the development of two themes, subject/career choice and status, it has been demonstrated that a particular view of the future role and status of women existed in the Marlborough social context at the time of this debate, 1946 to 1958. This view reflected the belief that it was 'natural' that girls were more suited to specific subjects, roles, and status premised on their future domestic role (e.g., Newsom, 1948; Ollerenshaw, 1961; Dale, 1975).

The primacy of the domestic role was reinforced and legitimated through the areas of curricular choice and the steering of the girls towards a sexual division of labour (e.g., Deem, 1978; Kelly, A., 1981a). For instance, as shown in Table One, the majority of the girls were in courses which led to the so-called 'feminine' occupations of housework and office-work (see, for example, Mitchell, 1971), and indeed these were the occupations they took up (Table 2). In addition, the assumption that

the girls could not 'cope' with mathematics and physical science may be seen as channelling them away from such status occupations as medicine and law as well as from many areas of tertiary study (see, Middleton, 1980; Scott, 1980).

Indeed, as this dichotomy of male/female needs and status existed establishes its 'natural' base as it appears to be assumed, or at least unquestioned, that male and female had different aptitudes, tasks, subject preferences and abilities. However, the emphasis within the domestic science course, described above, suggests that the 'natural' domestic role of the girls required considerable training (see, Eliou, 1975). The assumption, and the concomitant view of educational requirements or needs, appears to have been that the girls were destined for domesticity, the boys for work, which, in turn, reflects the sexual division of labour and the ideology of gender differentiations. Such an assumption, then, provided a basis within the society for seeing the education of boys as more 'important' as they have to support the dependent wife (see, Sampson, 1976; Wolpe, 1977).

The assumptions of status further indicate the ideology of subordinate/domestic role for women. For instance, the women staff occupied lower status positions and were concerned with teaching so-called 'feminine' subjects such as arts, languages, commercial and domestic science. Further, these women teachers did not have the responsibilities for administration, decision-making and discipline the male staff did (see, Middleton, 1982). Moreover, the extra-curricular tasks, such as afternoon teas and flower arrangements, allocated the women teachers reflect the assumption of the woman's role of 'housekeeper and wife' (Deem, 1978)

Accordingly, it may be argued that the decision to form single-sex schools in Marlborough had as much to do with reinforcing gender relations of subordination and domestic role as it did any moves to 'equality'. Indeed, both the

nature of the schooling and the decision itself may be interpreted in the light of the legitimation and reproduction of the existing relations of gender and production (see, for example, p.82). The dominant hegemony, then, through establishing these social relations as 'natural and universal' (p.78-79) and distributing them through such agencies as the school and media, ensured the continuation of the existing assumptions and ideologies concerning the role and status of women in the social context of the Marlborough single-sex/co-education debate between 1946 and 1958.

Finally, it may be stated that the debate over the type of second school to be provided in Marlborough proceeded from underlying assumptions and ideologies which within the dominant hegemony established a domestic role and subordinate status for women. Attention will now turn to the critical analysis of this debate, with a particular focus on the events and issues of 1958.

THE SINGLE-SEX/CO-EDUCATION DEBATE

THE DECISION

The second of the two aims for the present chapter, enunciated previously, required a critical analysis of the events and issues of the single-sex/co-education debate, in Marlborough (1946-1958) with a focus on 1958, as exemplifying the processes of legitimation and reproduction of social relations within the Marlborough College and community.

The section preceding this has established the particular view of women held in the social context as occupying the domestic role and a subordinate status. Accordingly, the analysis which follows will focus on these ideologies and assumptions as well as the relations of power through which the status quo was legitimated and reproduced.

The format adopted in this section continues the pattern previously established, that is, first the data will be presented followed by a summary and discussion of each section. Following an overview of the debate prior to 1958, the focus of attention will be the year the debate reached its climax with extensive discussion in the newspaper, at public gatherings, at Board meetings, and through submissions to the Board, namely, the year 1958. This will be divided into five sections: the case for single-sex colleges; the case for co-educational colleges; the role of the media; the role of the Board; and, the decision-makers. The chapter will then conclude with a brief summary.

THE SECOND SCHOOL DEBATE (1946-1957): AN OVERVIEW

Chapter Two has provided an account of the controversy and debate which occurred in Marlborough between 1946 and 1958 over the issue of a second post-primary school to be established in Blenheim. From this point of reference, it is possible to derive a number of assumptions which are apparent during the period 1946 to 1957 and then contributed to the 1958 debate over single-sex/co-education. For instance, through this 1946 to 1957 period, a primary focus was on the education and needs of the boys both during debate over the type of school to be provided and the type and need for a hostel. This concern may have reflected the early statement by Mr. Insull that Marlborough College would be "one of the leading Colleges in the country" once the girls left (see, p.26) as well as his support throughout the period of his tenure at the College (1946-1964) for single-sex, particularly boys', schools. Also apparent is the nature of the opposing arguments which considered either; that it was 'natural' and 'socially desirable' for the sexes to be together in a co-educational school; or, the counter-argument that single-sex schooling was superior for academic and sporting reasons, while two such schools would avoid the problems of an attenuated curriculum, zoning, and rivalry resulting from two co-educational colleges being established in the

Province. Further, it was argued by the advocates of single-sex schools that it was 'natural' that boys and girls separate during adolescence as they had different needs and interests. Throughout the period 1946 to 1957 the impetus for consideration of the single-sex/co-education issue came predominantly from the assumption that there was an 'ideal' size for a secondary school and that any increase above this was detrimental to education. This size was variously set as either 600 or 800 students, with the lower figure often being cited by Mr. Insull based on the view that the buildings at Marlborough College were only designed to hold 600 pupils. Indeed, Mr. Insull made considerable use of projected roll figures for Marlborough College as a basis for his argument that the school should be divided. These projected figures all indicated that this ideal size would be nearly doubled by the early 1960's. As is shown in Table Five on the following page, the actual roll figures for Marlborough College tend to support Mr. Insull's case, and, in fact, there was a high degree of similarity between these actual figures and Mr. Insull's earlier projected rolls. Moreover, Mr. Insull, in adopting this view of an ideal size for a secondary school, may have been stating a common assumption, as a survey by Murdoch (1943) of secondary school principals indicates:

... the almost unanimous support of principals that roll-numbers should be limited to about 500.

(Murdoch, 1953, p.422)

Also contributing to the debate over the establishment of a second post-primary school for the Province was the hostel issue. At intervals throughout this period of 1946 to 1957, the provision of a hostel received considerable publicity and local support within the Marlborough community. On a number of occasions a link was established by people such as Mr. Insull and the local Member of Parliament, Mr. Shand, between the provision of a hostel and single-sex schools being required. Finally, it is apparent that various interest and pressure groups

TABLE 5

Marlborough College Roll Numbers, 1946-1964²⁶

YEAR	INTERMEDIATE	SECONDARY		TOTAL
		M	F	
1946	---	---	---	584
1947	262	239	190	691
1948	269	229	212	710
1949	265	---	---	742
1950	280	257	239	776
1951	281	---	---	846
1952	314	291	281	886
1953	366	316	267	949
1954	352	---	---	1025
1955	360	---	---	1041
1956	376	413	360	1149
1957	---	404	376	780
1958	---	443	418	861
1959	---	---	---	931
1960	---	557	463	1020
1961	---	---	---	1157
1962	---	---	---	1217
1963	---	670	601	----
1964	---	663	559	----

For some years separate figures were unavailable.

In 1956, 185 of the total intermediate pupils were at the Bohally Intermediate site not at the College although still counted as on the roll.

In 1957 all intermediate pupils were at Bohally Intermediate.

The figures for 1962 are estimated from the Principal's projection of the previous year.

In 1963 and 1964 the figures are for the single-sex schools.

contributed to the debate over the type of second school to be provided and exerted considerable influence on the Board, the Department of Education, and the Government of the day. All of these factors had considerable effect in 1958 as well, and so as they occur again during this year attention has been focussed on 1958. Throughout the period, 1946 to 1957, the local newspaper played

²⁶ These figures were taken from various reports in *The Express* and where possible verified from the Marlborough College Register (1950) and Supplement (1960).

a vital role in keeping the public informed of the debate over the provision of a second secondary school for Marlborough and also provided a measure of direction and focus by defining the areas of 'importance'.

However, it is 1958 which provides the focus of attention in the present chapter, so discussion now turns to the events and issues of the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough during this year.

THE CASE FOR SINGLE-SEX COLLEGES IN MARLBOROUGH (1958)

The first statements made in support of single-sex schools for Marlborough reflected the assumptions noted in the preceding section. For instance, it was suggested that the increased roll numbers made the division of the school an urgent priority, that single-sex schools were the only alternative if a hostel was required, and as well noted the previous support for single-sex schooling and that the public should be involved in the debate (e.g., *The Express*, Feb. 11, 1958; Feb. 27, 1958). These were followed shortly after by statements which emphasized the academic/technical dichotomy, and consequent superior/inferior status, which could result from two co-educational schools being established in the Province (e.g., *The Express*, March 18, 1958).

Early in 1958 it was also apparent that the Marlborough College Board was divided on the type of secondary school needed in Blenheim. For example, Mr. Hyndman proposed a lengthy motion - about 200 words - in support of co-education at the March Board meeting in which he argued that such a school was the only option as it could be more readily staffed and was a more suitable form of education. Mr. Hyndman also suggested that the decision was the Board's alone to make as it had the final responsibility for secondary education in the Province. However, this motion was rejected by Mr. Molineaux who described it as a "manifesto" and suggested that the Board was more concerned about the future while the motion

reflected only the present. It was also Mr. Molineaux who expressed the view at this meeting, which was subsequently given prominence in an Editorial in *The Express* on March 31, 1958, that the decision on the future of secondary education in the Province required public participation. Thus, by March of 1958, the focus and some of the central issues of the debate were established, conflicts amongst Board members over the single-sex/co-education issue were apparent, and a call had been made for the public to become more directly involved in the debate.

For its part, the Board showed a willingness to invite to Blenheim experts whom it considered would help the Board in its decision-making on the proposed second college. Hence, Mr. Conibear - a man well-known to members of the Board as they had nominated him for election to the Victoria University College Council (Board Minutes, June 6, 1955; April 8, 1957) - was invited to address the Board and later a public meeting in Blenheim (*The Express*, March 29, 1958). It is suggested that, to an extent, Mr. Conibear was the 'Board's expert' through both the support given him by the Board in his position on the Victoria University College Council and his role as President of the Secondary School Boards' Association. Mr. Conibear supported, strongly, the hostel issue and expressed amazement that a Province with a large rural population such as Marlborough did not have boarding accommodation for secondary students (*The Express*, April 3, 1958). He further linked the establishment of a hostel to the need for single-sex schools and suggested that a hostel could not be provided with a co-educational school or, at least, would prove problematic (*The Express*, March 27, 1958; April 3, 1958). Mr. Conibear also drew the Board's attention to the trend to split existing co-educational colleges, such as those in Gisborne, Tauranga and Hamilton, into single-sex colleges, and warned the Board that zoning would present extreme problems for two co-educational schools in Blenheim (*The Express*, March 29, 1958). Mr. Conibear's views were also referred to, and supported, in a subsequent

Editorial in *The Express* on March 31, 1958, which termed him an 'impartial and qualified' speaker on the topic.

At the public meeting - where he joined Mr. Insull, Mr. Shand and Mr. Currie on the panel of experts - Mr. Conibear reiterated his earlier arguments in support of single-sex education while noting the academic superiority, better discipline, and greater pride and loyalty in single-sex schools. He also stressed that:

The primary thing was real education, not social adjustment, which the protagonists of co-education seemed to put first. A lot of piffle is talked about the harm caused by segregated education - would anyone say that the moral tone of segregated schools is not as high as that at co-educational schools?

(The Express, April 11, 1958)

Given the membership of the panel of experts at this public meeting, with all except Mr. Currie having declared their support for single-sex schools, it does seem that the 300 people who were present were told very little about the benefits which might accrue from having another co-educational school in the district. Indeed, from an interview with Informant C, it appears that Mr. Shand incorrectly stated that 11 candidates from the District High School at Kaikoura had failed School Certificate and that he used this as evidence for the academic inferiority of co-educational schools. It was also claimed in this interview that as the public at this meeting had no evidence to the contrary to dispute Mr. Shand's case the "knowledge of a Member of Parliament" proved to have a powerful effect in generating strong support for single-sex schooling. Indeed, the general tenor of this public meeting, and the subsequent reporting of it in the newspaper, was a strong case for single-sex schooling.

Besides the experts, the public also contributed arguments in support of single-sex schooling. This occurred through Letters to the Editor in *The Express*, and in submissions made to the Board. However, it is predominantly in the

Letters to the Editor that their views and reasons for this support are evident. Here, similar arguments to those of the experts are offered, although in some cases a more extreme version is presented. For instance, the issues of zoning, technical versus academic dichotomy from having two co-educational schools, better education in single-sex schools, and the provision of hostels were frequently mentioned (e.g., *The Express*, March 18, 1958; April 9, 1958). Other Letters emphasized further reasons in support of single-sex schools:

These schools always have a higher standing in a community than have co-educational schools. First, I find more loyalty than in a mixed school. Sex-loyalty is a natural instinct, and the loyalty of girls to other girls, and to women teachers, who are their examples, is an important part of character-building. Secondly, there is not the same temptation in separate schools to 'show off', so that self consciousness is more easily overcome, and there is more self-sacrifice to duty. Thirdly, there is no doubt that, in a mixed school, girls become aware too early of their charms for the opposite sex, and this tends to take their minds off their work.

(The Express, April 9, 1958)

For boys, the 'social adjustment' of co-education was rejected by some Letter writers in favour of the better education in single-sex schools (*The Express*, April 9, 1958). Strong emphasis was given by one correspondent to the independence of boys, from 'mother's apron-strings' and the 'traditions' only possible in a boys' boarding school (*The Express*, April 9, 1958). Examples of certain extreme views (see also, p.50) were also to be found in those Letters supporting separate-sex education, such as the following which made reference to the 'tradition of boys' boarding schools':

Those old English schools that so many little people delight in chipping at produced the men that made a great Empire, and kept it going; but democracy went mad, and any creature can crawl out of a hollow log and climb over the shoulders of the Great Unwashed to become a leader in the country. And what have we got left? A much depleted

"Empire", a horror of work, an unprecedented number of budding crooks, and a moneyed class that have never enjoyed the finer points of living.

(The Express, April 12, 1958)

These traditional values, and *esprit de corps*, were only possible, so it was claimed by some of the Letter writers, through single-sex schools, particularly boys' boarding institutions. Such statements were often made in support of comparisons made between the 'traditional' boys' schools in areas such as Nelson, Oamaru, Auckland and Christchurch and the co-educational Marlborough College (e.g., *The Express*, April 9, 1958; April 12, 1958). Indeed, it was often implied that similar results to those achieved by the great 'traditional schools' - both in New Zealand and the United Kingdom - could be obtained in Marlborough if single-sex schools were established (e.g., *The Express*, May 8, 1958).

Various organisations, associations and community groups in Marlborough also made known their views about the future of secondary education in the Province, and contributed submissions to the Board for consideration. The College Parent Teachers' Association committee held some early discussions in 1958, and their President, Mr. G.R. Kerr, noted his support for co-educational schools (a support he later reversed), but not for co-educational hostels, and suggested:

I think we should try to work out something that fits Marlborough's needs without trying to adapt either American or purely English ideas to New Zealand requirements.

(The Express, April 3, 1958)

Other members of the Association also expressed their views following the presentation of roll statistics by Mr. Insull; Mr. D.F. Sage, a teacher, advocated technical and academic co-educational schools; Mr. Kibblewhite saw single-sex schools as the next logical thing for the district; and, Mr C.A. Innes, a teacher, stated:

My own experience in both co-educational

and single-sex schools leads me to favour segregation very definitely... . A fine boys' college in a lovely environment and with adequate space that boys' activities need, could be developed on the Bohally site, and this would avoid the unhealthy competition that would arise if another co-educational school were opened in Blenheim... . Separate colleges would enable the special interests of boys and girls to be catered for.

(The Express, April 3, 1958)

Mr. Molineaux, also a Board member, affirmed his support for single-sex schools by saying that:

At the adolescent stage boys and girls develop far more naturally in separate schools without being distracted by the opposite sex. It is natural and right for small children to be educated together, but this is no argument for herding teenage boys and girls together. Their education needs at this stage are so very different. The establishment of separate colleges for boys and girls will be sound educational practice, and at the same time will enable the district to acquire the hostels we must have.

(The Express, April 3, 1958)

And, finally, the Vice-President of the Association, Mr. T.E. Smart, suggested that obtaining a hostel was dependent on single-sex schools. Mr. Smart's views on the issue were also addressed in an interview with Informant D who stated:

There were some very keen rugby parents. For example, Tommy Smart was one. The fact that as a boys' college we'd be able to match Nelson College had enormous appeal to blokes like him. Out of all disproportion to the actual importance of it. The educational needs took really second place.

(Informant D)

The Parent Teachers' Association vote on the issue occurred later in April at its annual general meeting, which followed the public gathering held earlier that month. Whether this gathering can be considered representative of either the parents or their views is open to contention. It

appears that the meeting was attended by only 37 parents (*The Express*, April 24, 1958) - from a school roll of 861 pupils (Table 5) - and was subjected to a re-statement of the views of the committee reported above, with only one reported comment from a parent not on either the Association Committee or the Board (*The Express*, April 29, 1958). The result of the meeting was an 'almost unanimous' vote in favour of single-sex colleges, a vote justified by the meeting as being in the 'best interests' of education as such schools were 'academically superior'. However, the meeting was not without acrimony, as the following report indicates:

"I don't think Mr. Insull was right in coming to Marlborough College," said Mr. Dewar. He said that Mr. Insull had come to the College from a boys' school, and intimated that his ambition was to head a boys' school.

[Both Mr. Dewar and Mr. Insull were ruled out of order at this point]

.... During the public meeting at the Town Hall, some of the facts concerning recent secondary schools had been misleading, said Mr. Dewar. Mr. Conibear ... had had to admit ... that the tendency in New Zealand was towards co-education. (The meeting showed that it did not entirely agree with Mr. Dewar's interpretation of Mr. Conibear's remarks). "To have an address by someone who has always been in faovour of segregation is a mistake," said Mr. Dewar.

.... He had been misrepresented, said Mr. Insull.

.... He had left a boys' school for a co-educational school. "Does that say I'm prejudiced?" Mr. Insull asked. The roll at the College had been 300 when he arrived, and in 1948 he had been asked by the Board to prepare figures on the future potential of the school. From that investigation he had come to the conclusion that segregation was the answer. That was why people had the idea he was in favour of segregation.

*(The Express, April 29, 1958,
emphasis added)*

As Mr. Insull was able to claim that it was not until 1948 that he had advocated single-sex schools, in contradiction to earlier evidence (p.26) that he made a statement to the Board in 1946 in support of separate-sex

schools, illustrates the ability of some of the advocates in this debate to fit their case to the situation they were confronted with. This acrimony between supporters of single-sex and co-education is also evident in an exchange which took place between Mrs. McDonald and Mr. Conibear. Following claims by Mrs. McDonald that he had not presented the true facts on the situation in New Zealand and that in most areas co-education was the preferred type, Mr. Conibear replied:

For many years I have publicly expressed my preferences for one-sex schools, and in keeping with that opinion, my children attend one-sex schools.. Has Mrs. McDonald, in so far as her family is concerned, acted likewise - that is, in keeping with her opinion of co-educational schools - or does she advocate, like so many protagonists of those schools, 'Don't do as I do, do as I say?'

(The Express, June 10, 1958)

However, it appears that Mrs. McDonald may have had children at Marlborough College as well as two further children who had yet to reach secondary school-age (see, p.27). Indeed, it may be suggested that in both these cases - Mrs. McDonald-Mr. Conibear, and Mr. Insull-Mr. Dewar - that they were attempts to discredit the standing of the individual as an expert and so a rejection of their opinions.

The Old Pupils' were another group who expressed views in support of single-sex education in Marlborough. At a meeting to establish a Marlborough College Jubilee Committee, a group of about 30 Old Pupils decided to re-form the Old Boys' and Old Girls' Associations (*The Express*, April 18, 1958). They were encouraged to do so by Mr. Insull who discussed the schooling issue with them and stressed that the building of a hostel was dependent on single-sex schools being established. Despite the attendance, presumably, of women, the only comments reported from this meeting are those of the men, and, in particular of two gentlemen who had enrolled at the school in the early 1900's - one in 1901, the other in

1917. Given the numbers at the meeting, the male only comments, and the age of the two who were most vocal, this meeting is possibly not representative of the Old Pupils. Once Mr. Insull had stated that it was logical to have the present college as a boys' school as the technical workshops were already there, discussion focussed on the single-sex/co-education issue. The reported comments suggest that it was seen by those at the meeting as a logical step to split the school into single-sex colleges, that such schools had a superior academic record, and that the urgently needed hostel was dependent upon single-sex schools being established (*The Express*, April 18, 1958). The building of a hostel, and the lobbying of Government towards this end, became a major activity for the Old Boys' Association, who planned to raise money both from Old Boys' of the College and from shares and debentures (*The Express*, May 1, 1958). Similarly, the Old Girls' Association seemed determined to obtain a hostel, however, they decided to raise funds - and interest in the Association - through dances, bazaars, wayside stalls, a picture evening, and other activities (*The Express*, May 2, 1958).

Federated Farmers, both at Branch and Executive level, also discussed the type of secondary school needed in Marlborough. They, along with the Women's Division of Federated Farmers, were one of the more vocal groups supporting the establishment of a hostel, which they argued could only eventuate with single-sex schooling (e.g., *The Express*, April 19, 1958; May 8, 1958; June 14, 1958).

The Marlborough Chamber of Commerce also advocated single-sex schools after hearing an address by Mr. Insull in which he remarked:

The Departmental attitude was that if a second co-educational college was established the education district would be zoned and expensive engineering and other equipment would not be duplicated.

Real co-education was not practised at Marlborough College.

Mr. Insull did not favour establishment of technical and academic colleges. This could result in a form of class distinction between the pupils.

(The Express, May 8, 1958)

Further, during his address, Mr. Insull noted the dependence of the hostel on the decision being made in favour of single-sex schools. After Mr. Insull had spoken, a member of the Chamber, Mr. F.W. Horton - an Old Boy of the College (admitted in 1917) and whose wife had recently become Vice-President of the Old Girls' Association - commented that:

... girls developed quickly in their early college years and wanted to be by themselves during that period. Boys on the other hand had their sports and studies to interest them and did not want other influences. A better standard of work was attained in separate colleges for boys and girls.

*(The Express, May 8, 1958,
emphasis added)*

It was Mr. Horton who moved the motion that the Chamber support separate-sex schools in Blenheim, which was then carried unanimously.

Other organisations also made comments and presented submissions in favour of single-sex schooling, although these received less publicity than those referred to so far. For instance, a meeting of the Picton Home and School League debated the issue of co-educational versus single-sex schools. This meeting was chaired by a Mr. G.C. Hayter, who may have been the G.C.H., of Picton whose Letter to the Editor was referred to above and in Chapter Two (p.50). Support for this supposition is contained in the similarity of arguments on both occasions stressing the desirability of 'traditional boys' boarding schools' (see, *The Express*, April 9, 1958; June, 20, 1958). The vote by the meeting in favour of single-sex schools reflected these arguments which based their support for such schools as being academically superior, having better traditions, and that the hostel was conditional upon the establishment of separate-sex colleges (*The Express*, June

20, 1958).

Finally, the most publicised views on separate-sex schools for Marlborough were those of the College Principal, Mr. Insull, who had continued to advocate their establishment since his appointment in 1946. Throughout 1958, his comments at Board meetings and addresses to local groups and organisations were extensively reported in *The Express*. In June of that year, Mr. Insull was invited by the newspaper to re-state his views in full, and to argue the case for the establishment of single-sex colleges in Blenheim. The intention was that, prior to a ballot of parents and householders in Marlborough (see, also, p.54), two comprehensive articles - setting out concisely the arguments for each type of schooling - would be published in *The Express* for the public to study before voting on the issue. Mr. Scott, Principal of Wellington Teachers' Training College, had been invited to submit the article setting out the case for co-education.

While Mr. Scott's and Mr. Insull's articles appeared side-by-side in *The Express* on June 28, 1958, it was apparent that Mr. Insull had access to Mr. Scott's article prior to publication as he tailored his comments to rebutt the case argued by Mr. Scott. Indeed, rather than presenting an argument in favour of single-sex schools, Mr. Insull had the advantage of being able to provide an apparently logical rejection of co-education. Mr. Insull's article noted that zoning and status problems could result from two co-educational colleges, and he suggested that "when" a third college was required in Blenheim it should be mixed. He also stated:

To separate teenage boys and girls for six hours a day so that they can get on with their studies and their games will in no way warp their outlook in regard to the opposite sex. Social and sporting contacts are much freer these days, and many arguments adduced against single-sex schools in the past have not now the force they once had.

By co-education, of course, Mr. Scott means that boys and girls are taught together in the same classrooms. His statement

is not true for the large secondary schools where circumstances compel segregation of boys and girls by the courses of instruction taken. In all large, co-educational secondary schools of today most pupils do not have co-education at all - only "co-existence" in a dual kind of school... .

Theoretically, as Mr. Scott says, women teachers should be able to teach subjects like English literature to boys better than men; but more often than not this does not work out in practice.

Boys and girls do tend naturally to gravitate apart during the growth period of their adolescence. They are developing at different rates and developing different interests. Their needs are quite distinct and they can do better in the classroom and on the playing field when they are apart.

If separate schools are established ... in a few years' time parents will wonder at the present controversy, for I know that they will be as satisfied as the people of centres like Whangarei, Tauranga, Gisborne, Nelson, New Plymouth, Waitaki and elsewhere. The results of the single-sex schools in New Zealand are undeniably first class, still unsurpassed by any co-educational institution.

(The Express, June 28, 1958)

The Case for Single-Sex Colleges: Summary and Discussion

This, then, completed the 1958 case made for single-sex colleges to be established in Marlborough.

In summary, the case argued that single-sex schools should be established because: they have higher standards of discipline and academic attainment and are characterised by pride and loyalty; adolescent boys and girls have different educational, social, moral, sporting and cultural needs necessitating a different and separate education; hostel accommodation was essential in order to provide boarding facilities and increase the prestige of the College, and such hostels were conditional upon the establishment of single-sex schools; and, a second co-educational college would result in expensive duplication of equipment, zoning problems and an academic/technical dichotomy.

The case itself was based, it is argued, on the status quo of gender relations reflecting the social context in which the arguments were advanced, and established through the ability of a dominant hegemony to define 'reality'. Perhaps the prevasiveness of this ideological justification is indicated through a statement by a local reporter (1960, ND, NS) that when the new school was opened Marlborough College "will lose its identity as one of the *few secondary schools which are co-educational*" (emphasis added). In the face of considerable evidence to the contrary, as more co-educational than single-sex schools were being established, the emphasis people such as Mr. Conibear placed on the trend to single-sex schools appears to have been accepted. The influence of the dominant hegemony may be further illustrated through the ready acceptance by most supporters of single-sex schools of the link with the hostel. Many of the interest groups accepted this version of 'reality', namely that the provision of a hostel was dependent on single-sex schools, which suggests the role of the hegemony in defining the 'limits of common sense' as the link was established as both natural and universal (see, p.79).

Although certain aspects of the case, on superficial examination, appear to be acceptable, in the light of evidence which is put forward today in support of single-sex education for girls (e.g., Deem, 1980; Delamont, 1980; Sarah, Scott, & Spender, 1980; Shaw, 1980), these cannot be separated from the assumptions and ideologies existing within the social context (see, Young & Whitty, 1977) which reproduced and legitimated the gender relations of the society. For instance, the statements made that educational advantages would result from single-sex schools with less distractions and more concentration on school work appear, superficially, satisfactory. Yet, when considered in the light of the social context which presupposed a domestic role and subordinate status for the girls, it would appear that unless these ideologies were also changed little advantage would go to the girls. Indeed, although it may be argued that single-sex education has advantages for girls (e.g., Shaw, 1980;

Cocklin, 1982b), it is contended that the focus of the historical period and the social context itself was concerned more with ensuring that advantage went to the boys. For instance, the gender-differentiations of status and role support the subordinate role and position of the girls. Similarly, the assumption appears to have been made that the resulting boys' college would become one of the 'leading colleges' in the country, yet at no time was an equivalent future predicted for a girls' college. Moreover, the majority of support for single-sex schools came from males and focussed on the advantages of having a boys' college. It appears that little was heard from the women of the community, as was indicated from the Old Pupils' Association meeting which was chosen as a typical example. Other than the Women's Division of Federated Farmers, who were more concerned with the hostel issue than the debate over the type of school, there were few instances of the opinions of women appearing in the columns of the newspaper. Indeed, the majority of Letters to the Editor were from men, while the greater proportion of submissions made to the Board either came from male organisations (e.g., Federated Farmers; Chamber of Commerce) or were submitted under a male's name. This, in turn, may be seen as reflecting the ideology of gender-differentiations of status and role which also suggest the male as the decision-maker (e.g., Middleton, 1982). This gains further support when considering that the voting for election of Board members was restricted to the father of the secondary pupil (*The Express*, July 15, 1954). Despite the fact that the decision was going to affect the whole population, the female half seemed to have had little direct influence on the result. As such, this reflects the gender relations and hegemony existing in the society which saw the dominant male as having responsibility for political decision-making.

From the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework enunciated in chapter Three, this critical analysis of the underlying assumptions and ideologies has demonstrated that the case made for single-sex schools

reflected the dominant hegemony of gender-differentiations and was concerned with maintaining the status quo of social relations.

Finally, parts of the case itself are fallacious. For instance, the common assumption appears to have been that single-sex schools have better academic records, and similarly with sport, and that this was due solely to the type of school. While no dispute is made, in the present study, against the notion of 'academic superiority', it is suggested that the assumption that equivalent results would be obtained in the local situation is not necessarily the case. Indeed, this is an unsupportable generalisation. Although examination results may suggest a superiority for single-sex schools (e.g., Mack, 1962), so many other variables may contribute to this (e.g., Irving, 1976; Cocklin, 1981b). The argument that pupils 'naturally separate', which was based on the evidence that they did, is also considered false. This separation, it is argued, was brought about through the coexistence model as well as the hierarchy of gender relations and school rules reinforcing them, and further compounded through the curricular choices and channelling, all reflecting the hegemony and reproduction of the social relations of the society.

But what of the counter argument, the case for co-education? Attention will now focus on this case, again presenting the data first followed by a summary and discussion.

THE CASE FOR CO-EDUCATIONAL COLLEGES IN MARLBOROUGH (1958)

From the outset, it is apparent that the case for another co-educational college in Marlborough received less publicity in 1958 than did that for two separate-sex schools. Perhaps this reflected public feeling on the issue. Such a proposition appears likely, particularly in view of the fact that the public meeting held in June of 1958, at which the case for co-education was argued, only 60 people were in attendance (*The Express*, June 19, 1958), while at an

earlier public meeting 300 people had heard discussed the case for single-sex schools (*The Express*, April 11, 1958). This comparative difference is also reflected in that there was only one report during 1958 in *The Express* of a local group which met to give support to co-education, while, as noted above, numerous reports supported separate-sex schooling. Whether or not more extensive support for co-education did exist, or whether this support was simply not reported, remains open to conjecture, although the Editor of *The Express* did state:

... we said that "for our own part we willingly offer the widest possible scope for public and specialist discussion and views in our columns in the hope that a wise choice will be made in an atmosphere of moderation and objectivity." That offer was accepted by a number of contributors, while in addition meetings have been extensively reported. We have turned no views away, and we have not committed ourselves to any side, nor do we accept responsibility for opinions expressed by correspondents or speakers.

(*The Express*, May 15, 1958)

This statement, however, seems at least contentious in the light of evidence gathered from interviews with several people present in Marlborough during the 1950's. For instance, Informant B stated that:

Bert Insull and Selwyn Vercoe, the Editor of the local paper, they really sold it [the idea of single-sex schools], they pushed it.

(Informant B)

Another Informant suggested:

... his [Mr. Insull's] relations with the Church and his position ... gave him the influence on the community whereas the staff had very little access to giving their views to the community. It had to be done through the paper so we were never given much of an opportunity to say much about the issue to the parents or to the community at large. A very senior officer in the Department [Mr. Wild] came over and spoke to the Parents' Association in an effort to change their

attitudes to co-education. But ... had no effect at all. The idea had been sold to the locals by this stage. And I think the local press was more or less in favour of single-sex schools also.

(Informant D)

Mr. D. who himself had been a teacher at Marlborough College during the 1950's, further suggested that the staff favoured retention of co-education for the Province. Indeed, the fact that the majority of Letters to the Editor in support of co-education came from teachers, or ex-teachers, lends credence both to the above statement concerning access and the support amongst teachers for co-education. It does seem plausible, then, to suggest that there were some conditions, such as Mr. Insull having relatively easy access to public groups in the community (e.g., Chamber of Commerce; Old Pupils' Associations), and the possible bias in *The Express* towards single-sex schools, which may have acted against the co-educationalists publicising and stating their case effectively. Moreover, it also seems probable that the advocates for co-education were not as well organised, nor as effective in marshalling support for their case, as were their counterparts who favoured single-sex schools.

A final contribution to the sparseness of support and publicity for co-education may stem from the prior history of the debate itself. Although the Board had made earlier decisions in favour of co-education these were not extensively reported or debated through the columns of the newspaper. On the other hand, the single-sex case had been kept in front of the public since 1947 by people such as Mr. Insull and Mr. Shand, with an upsurge of publicity during both 1956 and 1957. Indeed, the single-sex lobby had a well publicised base on which to build their case, a condition which did not exist for the co-educationalists.

Nevertheless, during 1958, there was some publicity given to the case for co-education by *The Express*. The first statement in favour of establishing a new co-educational

school came in a Letter to the Editor, over a month after that for single-sex schools had been published. The writer of this letter advocated the division into technical and academic co-educational schools as most suitable for the Province (*The Express*, March 27, 1958). The move to this division was seen, by this correspondent, as having the advantages of not requiring the expensive duplication of equipment, avoiding the staffing difficulties of single-sex schools, and, having adequately sized senior classes. Co-education itself was seen as superior in that:

Educational theorists regard schooling either as a preparation for life, or as life itself. A sudden and artificial segregation of the sexes at about eleven or twelve years of age is no preparation for life neither is it natural. The adolescent should have constantly impressed upon 'it' that there are some members of the opposite sex who are mentally more alert, some who are equally equipped and some who are less adequately equipped. In day to day contact, both the boys and the girls must learn that there is a point of view peculiar to the other sex and a way of approaching and doing things which is different. A knowledge of these things is essential to a balanced adult life and a segregation of the sexes at this stage is not preparation for subsequent life in industry or society.

(The Express, March 27, 1958)

This division into academic and technical colleges was categorically dismissed by, for instance, Mr. Conibear who reported that Government policy was for the establishment of multi-purpose schools only, and that variation could only be on the basis of single-sex or co-education. The role of co-educational schools in the preparation for life has been a common assumption made in support of such schools. Indeed, it has even led some researchers to go so far as to suggest, on rather tenuous grounds (see, Cocklin, 1982b), that such schools are directly responsible for 'happier marriages' (e.g., Atherton, 1973).

A second alternative re-organisation suggested, so that co-education could be retained, was that the Intermediate School be extended to cater for Form III, thus leaving a co-educational Senior College (*The Express*, April 4, 1958). However, this idea prompted little reaction other than tentative support in a Letter to the Editor from the Intermediate School Headmaster, who, however, noted that it was unlikely that this suggestion would be accepted locally or by the Government (*The Express*, April 9, 1958).

Other Letters to the Editor, in support of co-education, were written largely to refute those advocating single-sex schools. These, predominantly, focussed on particular points rather than seeking to establish broad reasons in support of co-education. For instance, the statement by one writer (*The Express*, April 9, 1958) that co-education was being "thrown out overseas" brought the response:

My study has given me the opposite information, that the whole world except France and Roman Catholic Holland is moving towards co-education.

(The Express, April 10, 1958)

The veracity of this claim is readily established through the literature which shows that at this time many countries such as Britain were moving towards co-education (e.g., Glennerster, 1966; Dale, 1969, 1971, 1974). This letter also commented on the forthcoming public meeting and deplored the situation in which three of the four speakers were laymen, suggesting that perhaps a Professor of Education could be invited. This plea for more expert opinion and research so that the public would be better informed was also made to the Board by Mrs. McDonald, herself a staunch supporter of co-education:

It was even more important that anyone who spoke on the matter spoke with knowledge. Many of the comments reported from local body meetings showed a woeful ignorance of the subject itself ... Education was a complicated subject and before anyone spoke on what type of school Marlborough should have, he should have done a considerable amount of reading and research

on the subject, and have discussed it with those specialised in educational matters.

(The Express, March 11, 1958)

Further calls for more information came from other co-educational supporters, although such requests were invariably dismissed by those in favour of single-sex schools who argued that outside evidence was irrelevant to the local situation. Other Letters to the Editor, while not explicitly supporting co-education, also deplored the lack of information and argued that what was available was biased towards single-sex schooling. For instance:

It is surprising how often a lot of noisy propaganda can cause a landslide of opinion in an unthinking public. A little more thought, a determination to know all the facts, and not be swayed by glib tongues that tell only one side of the question.

(The Express, May 14, 1958)

The case for single-sex schools having more tradition, better spirit, and being academically superior was also taken to task in the columns of *The Express*. One correspondent, in responding to views expressed in a previous letter by a Board member - Mr. Kibblewhite - who based his support for single-sex education on his own experiences at Christchurch Boys' High School, presented the following counter-argument:

(1) ...his [Mr. Kibblewhite's] school was not "cluttered up" (not my words) with a large percentage of pupils who were there under legal compulsion, and a bad influence on the school ... Here [Marlborough College], on the other hand, we have to take all and sundry, both boys and girls.

(2) Christchurch Boys' High School is a selective school, with no trades classes, so that boys stay long enough at school to become infused with its spirit and with its "school loyalty" (so glibly referred to recently as if it were the monopoly of single-sex schools alone). In our own College only one in 17 ever reaches the Lower Sixth, only one in four stays more than two years.

(3) Christchurch Boys' High School has a very big Upper Sixth Form, and in any school it is the Upper Sixth pupils who set the tone and gain for the school almost all its scholastic

honours, and (with the Lower Sixth) its smartness of bearing, its "pep" and its game honours. We have this year nine boys in the Upper Sixth, which is, I think, a numerical record.

(4) Finally, Christchurch Boys' High School is in a city which contains (omitting the separate girls' schools) five other big schools, so that the spur of competition would tend to prevent it from falling into lethargy. We have not such a spur, a circumstance I don't like, but apparently the segregationists do.

... One more point, and to my mind the most important... . At Christchurch Boys' High School ... I don't imagine that the pupils were subjected, through the press and other channels, to all the adverse criticism of themselves that has been raising its ugly head, intermittently for nearly ten years now. No school spirit could long survive an onslaught which keeps reminding them of their (alleged) inferiority compared with those of other schools, and keeps hinting to half of them that they would improve the place if they were taken away.

(The Express, May 21, 1958,
emphasis added)

Arguing a similar case, other correspondents noted that the majority of secondary schools in New Zealand were co-educational and that most of the single-sex schools had been established in the previous century. Indeed, one writer suggested that this information was ignored by the supporters of single-sex education as it illustrated that such schools were "at least 50 years behind the times" (The Express, May 28, 1958).

In opposition to Mr. Insull's use of roll numbers as justifying the urgent division of the College, some supporters of co-education engaged in a debate over whether the roll figures did justify either the split or the urgency. Support for their case was given by Mr. Currie, Board Chairman until August of 1958, who disputed the need for a second school during his address to the public meeting in April, and suggested:

An alternative to a second post-primary school is the extension, being investigated by the Education Department, of the

intermediate system to include third and fourth forms ... this would do away with the provision of secondary school facilities for those who would not use them to the end.

The present system of schooling is one of social promotion, the opposite is promotion by merit ... would it not be better if a test of merit was required to pass a child from primary education to the secondary schooling?

Is it not time we concerned ourselves with questions such as these rather than petty issues? At the moment highlighting the attention on co-education versus segregation is a small issue compared with the greater concern of grasping our opportunity to look at more constructive issues.

No survey for secondary school population in Marlborough has been made beyond 1962 ... until we have this survey we cannot pinpoint the time when the present College will be overtaxed.

(The Express, April 11, 1958)

Also during this meeting, Mr. Currie suggested that, due to the small numbers of potential boarders for a hostel, Marlborough would require a co-educational hostel first, then when numbers increased could move to single-sex establishments. However, it was the matter of the roll numbers which occupied more attention in the newspaper, particularly through the Letters to the Editor. One such correspondent, in two separate Letters, first noted that the removal of the intermediate pupils had created more than sufficient room for expansion for many years to come, while in his second he noted that some of the traditional schools, such as Auckland Grammar, were nearly double the 'ideal' size of 600 students (*The Express*, April 15, 1958; May 22, 1958). In this second Letter the writer also suggested that this larger size increased the proportion of senior students which contributed to the academic successes of such schools, while, in contrast, a smaller school would not have the numbers, attract the teachers, nor be able to offer the necessary courses.

However, Mr. Currie's view, and those who expressed similar concerns about the actual need for the second school were

dismissed, by Mr. Molineaux, as a "last-stage-backs-to-the-wall stand by the co-educationalists" and a "red-herring" (*The Express*, May 13, 1958). Nevertheless, Mr. Currie's remarks, and the considerable publicity given them, prompted Mr. Insull to produce statistics to show that, by 1963, the College would have over 1,200 students (see, Table 5) with the potential of continued steady growth from 1967 onwards (*The Express*, May 14, 1958). Despite the counter-arguments and Mr. Insull's statistics, the question of whether a second school was needed did cause some disquiet, particularly with the Marlborough School Committees' Association, the only sizeable group reported in the newspaper as supporting co-education. Following a meeting in May of 1958, this Association expressed concern about the lack of information provided in support of co-education and suggested that this imbalance should be remedied through the publication of "brief, but informative" statements about each type of school. This suggestion arose from an address by Mr. Hyndman, a Board member and proponent of co-education, in his capacity as Chairman of the Wellington Education Board. He also told the Association that:

Expressions of opinion through the newspaper and organisations such as Federated Farmers could have a misleading effect on the question of what type of school was required... .
The important thing was the provision of a hostel, and it made little difference what type of school is established.

..... There is something more wanted than all the propaganda that is going on to give the Board members an idea of what type of school is required - something more than a list of motions, and expressions that there is a landslide of opinion in favour of segregation.

There is ample accommodation at Marlborough College to carry on for many years yet
Although the optimum roll level for a school roll was about 600, there were many schools in the country with a roll of 1100 or more. In view of the economic situation it might be five, six or seven years before a second college could be established.

(*The Express*, May 15, 1958,
emphasis added)

Mr. Hyndman went on to add that should two separate-sex schools eventuate that the present staff would have to go and only the Principal's job would be secure, and that this would create immense staffing problems. He recommended that the Association carry out a poll of all parents in an effort to ascertain their views on the issue. Further comments were also made at this meeting concerning the need for further and less-biased information, as the following report from *The Express* shows:

Public opinion was at present being swayed towards segregation by the reports in the press and the comments of the Principal ... said Mr. H. Cox (Bohally). Where people were not making up their own minds - the press was making them up for them. Mr. Insull had stated that Marlborough College 'is a school of co-existence', he said. 'That statement is a self-inflicted indictment of his own administration'. Mr. Insull was appointed as the Principal of a co-educational school and it was his job to run one.

He would like to see another public meeting called so that the facts on co-education and segregation could be given, said Mr. H.G. Pickford (Whitney Street). At the last public meeting three of the four speakers gave only one side of the question, and as a result motions carried by organisations since then had been based on a one-sided set of facts.

(*The Express*, May 15, 1958,
emphasis added)

The outcome of the Marlborough School Committees' Association meeting was that general support was given to co-education, but that the type of second school could only be determined by an informed public. It was therefore recommended that a poll of parents be conducted and that succinct statements of the arguments for both single-sex and co-education should be published in the newspaper prior to the poll. And finally, the meeting requested that Mr. Currie be encouraged to present his views on roll numbers and the need for another college in the newspaper. This he did, repeating that the Marlborough College could accommodate 1250 pupils without any increase in the number of rooms, and that the rooms currently reserved for evening trades' classes could be used to increase the capacity to

over 1300 pupils, which effectively took care of the projected roll figures given earlier by Mr. Insull. In his statement to the newspaper, Mr. Currie also noted that:

There is no optimum size set by the Department for a secondary school. The assumption of any optimum number for a school without considering the distribution according to years of attendance is purely superficial. The prime essential is to have the higher classes just large enough to form a class unit for each subject. In the period 1956-58 a total of 38 new post-primary schools have been built, 31 co-educational, 2 for boys and 5 for girls. Within the next 15 to 20 years over 100 post-primary schools will have to be built We would disillusion ourselves if we thought that we could hurry the Education Department into a decision regarding our secondary schools. The question of a hostel or hostels ... is an entirely separate issue from the provision second secondary school. Contrary to what the public has been led to believe, there is no reason why separate boys' and girls' hostels should not be provided (as they would have to be if the colleges were segregated) for a co-educational college.

*(The Express, May 21, 1958,
emphasis added)*

Mr. Currie's arguments were subsequently dismissed by Mr. Insull as "palpably absurd" (*The Express*, June 13, 1958). However, Board member, Mrs. McDonald, supported Mr. Currie's view that the provision of a hostel was not dependent on single-sex schools, and further, that the area had a better chance, because of numbers of potential boarders, for a co-educational hostel (*The Express*, June 10, 1958). These competing views produced a rather volatile Board meeting in June of 1958 at which much criticism was levelled at Mr. Currie, particularly by Mr. Molineaux (*The Express*, June 10, 1958). One correspondent to the Editor of *The Express* came to the defence of Mr. Currie:

If Mr. Molineaux spent some time at the College, other than at Board meetings, he would: (a) get to know the staff; (b) see where the taxpayers' money has been wasted; (c) find that the accommodation of the school is not used to its fullest capacity and can cope for several years to come; (d) see for

himself the ideal set-up of the present school to become a technical or agricultural school or, if segregation should come, the ideal girls' school.

(The Express, June 13, 1958)

This Letter produced a flurry of correspondence to the newspaper Editor in June of 1958. Several of these Letters noted, for instance the lack of academic qualifications of Mr. Currie and Mr. Hyndman compared with, by implication, those of Mr. Molineaux, a solicitor and Master of Arts graduate (*The Express*, June 17, 1958). Other writers made a plea for personalities to be kept out of the debate (*The Express*, June 19, 1958), and that qualifications were not the standard by which a Board member should be judged (*The Express*, June 19, 1958), while a final comment suggested that the real source of dissatisfaction was with the Principal and that the school should be investigated (*The Express*, June 19, 1958).

A further Letter to the Editor in support of co-education addressed the case of opinion in Christchurch, based on the view that this city and its schools were most often cited by the segregationists in support of their arguments. This correspondent noted; that most of the new schools in the city were co-educational; that the only recent single-sex school was an unpopular decision; that parents in a recent survey had voted overwhelmingly in favour of co-education; and, that research evidence disclaimed sex-differences in mental development (*The Express*, June 17, 1958). However, while no references to this research were provided, a study conducted in Christchurch by Thompson (1957) about this time suggests a rather contrary piece of evidence. Thompson's results indicated a nearly even distribution between those favouring co-education, those supporting single-sex and those having no preference, although there were indications that those favouring single-sex schools tended to come from the higher ranks of an occupational status scale. Indeed, Thompson's findings suggested that proximity of the school, rather than co-education/single-sex, was the determining factor in

parental choice of which school their children would attend.

It was also in June that the last published statements supporting co-education appeared in *The Express*. Both of these were in response to the pressure mounted, initially, by the Marlborough School Committees' Association. The first of these was an address by the Assistant-Director of Education, Mr. Wild, at the second public meeting in Blenheim to consider the type of secondary school needed in the district. After commenting on the small attendance, and suggesting that it indicated that the "majority didn't mind what type of school" was built, he turned to the issue of co-education:

After reading the papers he felt that the segregationists were having a major share of the say ... *I am on the whole a co-educationalist - I believe in co-education as a means of education at the adolescent age towards the full development of young people. Single-sex schools grew from the long-held belief in the inferiority of women ... The belief that women were not equal to men was not yet out of our systems. There were some who believed that if we gave women educational facilities, they should not be given with those for boys. The development of co-education is in line with the development of equal rights for women ...*

(The Express, June 19, 1958, emphasis added)

Mr. Wild went on to state that overall examination results were relatively similar for the two types of school, and that the so-called superiority of single-sex schools could be shown to be due to factors other than school type, such as size of senior classes and selection. He also commented that Marlborough could not expect to get a hostel within the near future and that single-sex hostels were possible with a co-educational school. He then said:

In determining the type of second post-primary school Marlborough is to have, it can be agreed that decisions reached on the grounds of administrative simplicity, ease of management, opportunities for men and women teachers and better football teams can be rejected The decision based

on what is best for the pupils is the most important. It could be agreed that both single-sex and co-educational schools could be good for scholarship, moral tone and discipline and that there was no need to pit one against the other. It could also be agreed that single-sex schools were traditional in British countries, and that co-education was growing in popularity with the emancipation of women. He could see no advantages for boys in single-sex schools, but for the girls there was possibly the chance to develop qualities of leadership ... As disadvantages there was the complete separation not only of the boys and girls, but also of the teachers. For boys there was the lack of a civilising influence given by the girls. There were also certain dangers of over-direction and over-management in a girls' school.

(*The Express*, June 20, 1958)

After noting the problems associated with staffing two single-sex colleges in Blenheim, Mr. Wild concluded his address by saying that above all else, co-educational schooling provided for social adjustment in society.

Mr. Wild's theme of social adjustment was taken up a week later in *The Express* through the publication of an article by Dr. David Ausubel indicating that co-education was superior for social and psycho-social reasons in that it enabled better inter-sex relations (*The Express*, June 27, 1958). Dr. Ausubel's claims were supported by two local Primary School Headmasters who suggested, in an article in the newspaper, that the separation of boys and girls was "unnatural" and "unnecessary" (*The Express*, June 27, 1958). These teachers further noted that, as the vast majority of new schools were co-educational under the Department of Education policy of allowing parents to choose the type of school to be established, this indicated 'overwhelming support' for co-education in New Zealand. Finally, they also reported the results of a Christchurch study - while not cited this appears to be that conducted by Thompson (1957) noted above - which indicated that the type of school was well down on a list of considerations given by parents as determining their choice of school for their children. As the proximity of

the school was given a high priority by the parents in this study, the Headmasters suggested that the debate could be resolved by having two co-educational colleges, one at either end of town.

The final statement in *The Express* in support of co-education was that provided by Mr. Scott, Principal of Wellington Teachers' Training College. Mr. Scott's article, as has been previously noted, appeared along with Mr. Insull's paper on single-sex schooling just prior to the poll taken to ascertain the views of Marlborough parents on the issue.

Mr. Scott's article opened with the claim that the majority of secondary schools, and all primary and tertiary institutions were co-educational. On this basis, he argued that the onus of proof rested with the 'single-sexers':

They must show that their boys and girls will get a better all-round education - academic, cultural, social, athletic, moral - in separate schools than in mixed ones.

(The Express, June 28, 1958)

Such a task, according to Mr. Scott, was impossible. He elaborated:

Quite obviously the cultural and social education of boys and girls is impoverished by segregation; for much of what is essential to good feeling and good taste is lost when the two sexes are unable to share their experience...

And no evidence exists to my knowledge that single-sex teams ... from the co-educational schools are unable to hold their own with the teams from the single-sex schools when the numbers to draw from are comparable. ... the prospect of sometimes beating Nelson College seems a very flimsy and naive argument on which to base a case for the single-sex school.

Other facts being equal, a teaching staff consisting of men and women can be expected to be rather more competent than a staff of one sex only. Women on the average are better teachers of English and the languages than men; men on the average are better teachers of mathematics and science. The boys in a mixed school will tend to be better taught

in English and the languages, and the girls in mathematics and science, than either would be in a single-sex school.

The staff-room of a mixed school - and here the evidence is pretty convincing - is generally a pleasanter place than that of a single-sex school. There is no doubt that the presence of the other sex has a civilising influence on both men and women, and their attitudes to their work and the children they teach tend therefore to be keener, warmer and more humane. I do not see how the single-sexers can get past the undoubted fact that of those who have taught in both types of school the number preferring the co-educational greatly exceeds the number preferring single-sex.

My advice ... is to press for two co-educational schools in which (where it is appropriate) boys and girls can be together in study, games, and cultural and social activities. In an atmosphere in which each sex takes the presence of the other as natural and normal they can be expected to adjust themselves better to the demands of the adolescent world and in so doing develop habits of work and powers of concentration rather better than those of boys and girls in sex-segregated schools.

(The Express, June 28, 1958)

The Case for Co-Educational Colleges: Summary and Discussion

Mr. Scott's article brought the case for co-educational schools as the form of education for Marlborough to a close.

In summary, the case argued for co-educational schools was: the majority of schools in New Zealand were co-educational and the single-sex secondary schools were established in the nineteenth century and hence out-of-date; co-education enhances the social adjustment of boys and girls in society, and is a more natural form of education; it provides a better preparation for life, being a reflection of the wider social conditions which are also co-educational; the trend towards co-education was in line with the emancipation of women; and, the shortage of women teachers would cause problems for a girls' college in Blenheim.

This case, like its opposing argument for single-sex colleges, proceeded within a social context based upon a gender differentiated role and status hierarchy. In this light, certain of the claims made within the arguments in support of co-educational schooling reflect the ideologies and assumptions of this social context. For instance, it was stated, by Mr. Scott, that women taught English and the languages while men taught mathematics and science. This assumption of gender-based realms of expertise, given a co-educational school, could only reinforce further this dichotomy of subject specialisation. Indeed, no amount of better teaching, even were it possible, could counter the continued reinforcement of the division which would provide both sexes with the role model of women in the Humanities, men in the Sciences. Accordingly, this may be seen as providing a form of self-fulfilling prophecy (see, Shafer, 1976), an effective channelling into a specific subject area, based on gender, and a movement which tends to be even more pronounced in co-educational schools (see, Pont & Butcher, 1968; Ormerod, 1975; Finn, 1980; Harvey, 1980).

Similarly, the assumption that such schools provided 'better social adjustment' may be taken to mean that they fitted the students more 'adequately' into the gender relations of the society. In some instances this has led research into attempting to measure the role of the co-educational school in providing adjustment to society. In one such study, Atherton (1973) sought to measure the contribution such schooling made to the variable 'happiness in marriage'. The conclusion, reached on rather tenuous grounds (see, Cocklin, 1981b), was that co-education produced happier marriages. Other investigations have argued against single-sex schools on the basis that they produce various forms of social and sexual deviancy (e.g., Miller, 1967) which, in turn, support the view that 'better social adjustment' comes with co-education. Indeed, perhaps the most prolific researcher into co-education (Dale, 1969, 1971, 1974) also proceeded to assert the superiority of such schools for social adjustment. However, the one area

these studies fail to account for is that the school is located within a social context which establishes a specific view of the genders, or, in other words the underlying assumptions and ideologies.

Further, the assumption that co-educational colleges produced equality is also open to question. Studies conducted in areas with long traditions of co-education have suggested that they do little if anything to promote equality, and, indeed, may reinforce a status and role hierarchy more effectively than single-sex schools (see, Kadar-Fulop, 1973; Fredriksson, 1973; Eliou, 1975). Even the passing of the Sex Discrimination Act in Britain, for instance, did little towards ensuring equality within education (see, Weiner, 1977-78). Within the critical framework of the Marxist-Feminism discussed in chapter Three, most of the case for co-education can be dismissed as ensuring the perpetuation of the status-quo of gender relations. Indeed, the whole case for co-education has been seriously questioned (see, Wood & Ferguson, 1975; Shaw, 1976).

However, perhaps examination of the case 'for' co-education could be more fruitfully viewed as the case 'against' single-sex. It is apparent that much of the discussion in support of co-education was directed primarily at providing a rebuttal of the arguments put forward by the advocates of single-sex schools. For instance, the attempts made to reject the hostel/single-sex school linkage, and indeed even the need for a second school was questioned. Concern was also expressed about the information available only presenting one side of the argument, which in turn led to the public meeting addressed by Mr. Wild and the article by Mr. Scott as an attempt to redress the imbalance. This may then be seen as illustrating the competing ideologies within the society and the active role of those involved in creating and legitimating the dominant hegemony. It may further illustrate the patterns of rejection and contradiction as two competing views of reality seek to establish dominance.

Despite the pleas of those in favour of co-education for a more balanced view to be provided within the reports of the debate, it is apparent that the case for single-sex schools was more publicised, more vocal, and more accepted as the version of reality if the attendance at Mr. Wild's address is taken as an indicator of support for co-education. Accordingly, examination of the data will now seek to indicate the ways in which this particular view of reality was established in the dominant position. Within the perspective of power discussed in chapter Three, attention will focus on the role of the newspaper, then the Board, and, finally, those involved in the decision-making to illustrate the ways in which the control of information and its dissemination represented the legitimisation and reproduction of the case for single-sex schools, and, in turn, the social context.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The public were informed of the debate and issues predominantly through *The Express*, with some additional comments in other newspapers and through the various meetings held. Indeed, the newspaper's role in the debate was a central one, and one it was more than willing to accept (e.g., *The Express*, March 31, 1958). However, as previously suggested (p.128), this role may not have been as neutral as the Editor wished to argue (*The Express*, May 15, 1958). Further, through the reporting of the various meetings of both the Board and community groups, it is argued that the paper played, consciously or unconsciously, a crucial part in the ideological reproduction of the social reality. Accordingly, using the Editorials as an indication of the view of the paper as to the debate, attention will focus on the role the paper played during 1958.

Initially, the Editor provided a delineation of the issue at stake:

While the [Board] Chairman, Mr. E.E. Currie, suggested that there were much broader issues involved than the narrow one of co-education

versus segregation and indicated at least five alternatives, it is fairly evident that the contest is on just that ground - as it has already been in a number of other districts.

(The Express, March 31, 1958)

These opening comments also supported the need for public participation and the view that the "choice belongs to the district". At the March Board meeting, upon which this Editorial was commenting, Mr. Conibear had been present and the Principal, Mr. Insull, was censured for his role in addressing various meetings. This criticism was based on the view that the Principal should have abided by the Board policy and that he should speak as a private individual rather than in his official capacity as Principal of Marlborough College (*The Express*, March 28, 1958). Commenting on Mr. Conibear's presence and Mr. Insull's censure, the Editorial in *The Express* on March 31, 1958, effectively established these two men as impartial and qualified speakers whose opinion was an important aspect of the debate:

The kind of information given the Board ... by Mr. O. Conibear ... is of real help, especially when it discloses how and with what results other communities have resolved what can become an exceedingly touchy problem.

In this context, by the way, the public will feel that neither they, nor the Board, should be deprived of the counsel that should be available from the Principal of the College. Any attempts to gag him would be most strongly resented, although it is implicit in the nature of his position and special qualifications that any recommendations he may express or imply should be accompanied by that impartial survey of all aspects which he is peculiarly equipped to make.

*(The Express, March 31, 1958,
emphasis added)*

This opening Editorial, then, provided the debate with a clear focus on single-sex/co-education and two, impartial, experts.

Subsequent Editorial comment further established these two

men as experts and congratulated those who had expressed opinions in Letters to the Editor, meetings and discussions as so far being "balanced, moderate, and factual" (*The Express*, April 9, 1958). A balance, moderation and factuality which has already been queried both in the present chapter and in chapter Two. However, it is in advocating attendance at the public meeting that an important statement is made:

Tomorrow night's public meeting ... should ... be made full use of as a well-timed and instructive forum. The speaking panel is well chosen to cover all aspects of these subjects with authority and there is to be ample time for questions.

*(The Express, April 9, 1958,
emphasis added)*

Through this Editorial the public were informed that the panel for this public meeting would provide the facts and would cover all aspects of the debate. As has been shown in the preceding sections of the present chapter, this was far from the case as the panel were biased towards single-sex schooling with three of the members having previously publicised their view of the debate. Indeed, this may be seen as indicating a certain lack of neutrality on the part of the paper. Moreover, the assumption may be made that by suggesting these panel members were experts and able to cover all aspects of the debate, the implication is made that the view expressed at this public meeting would represent the un-biased truth. Viewed in the light of the two preceding sections this implication would appear to be at least contentious.

Following the disclosures by Mr. Currie on accommodation at Marlborough College and the concern expressed about whether, in fact, a second school was required. the Editorial on May 15, 1958 expressed the concern that the debate may lose some of its impetus:

A deplorable result of this could be a lapse in public and parental interest and a setback to their slowly growing attention to

educational matters. It is to be hoped that this will not occur, for it could be disastrous if the whole business were dropped and the College were left to drift into the parlous state of overcrowding and inadequacy which so many schools have been allowed to reach. The accommodation position at this College may not be as bad as it is at some others, but who wants to mark time until it is? So, as we see it, the determination of the type of second school has lost none of its immediacy.

(The Express, May 15, 1958)

This Editorial also re-focussed the debate onto the single-sex/co-education issue, supported the move to survey parents, and repeated the offer of publication of views and stated the paper's impartiality. At a time when it may have been possible to have extended the debate to address wider issues of education and conduct a more thorough investigation, the Editorial effectively closed the debate back to the urgent need for a decision on the single-sex/co-education issue.

Within a month, the Editorial was suggesting that the issue had already been decided:

Marlborough's controversial issue, the second post-primary school, would almost appear to be settled if the decision is to be a simple majority one. From the published views and submissions the great mass of the bodies which sent in opinions ... favours separate-sex colleges.

For itself, although recording no conclusion the Board ... showed how it would vote - five in favour of segregated colleges, one in favour of co-education and two abstaining from a definite opinion.

Three factors need to be taken into account in considering the majority in favour of segregated schools. These are the swing in opinion of members of the Board; their right to come to a decision for the community as its elected representatives; and the opinions of town and country residents as presented by their various organisations.

Although a Board election now intervenes there may be few changes.

A point of interest is that the majority

of the local residents were educated under the co-educational system at Marlborough College. The so far over-whelming expression, therefore, in favour of separation from people whose loyalty to their old school is undoubted is a striking indication of public feeling.

(The Express, June 6, 1958)

This Editorial went on to suggest that, because of this overwhelming majority, the Department of Education should be advised of the community preference for single-sex colleges to be established as soon as possible. In outlining the support for each type of school, the Editorial selected only two examples in favour of co-education from the Letters to the Editor and the submissions to the Board, one of which was dismissed as being "by no means unanimous." Also the urgency to advise the Department of Education may be questioned as at this stage the ballot of parents, closure date for submissions to the Board, and the public meeting were all yet to come. Accordingly, this rush to a decision may have prevented a significant proportion of the local community from expressing their views on the issue.

A further indication of the Editorial directing the debate is an example of 'inaction'. While the Editorial strongly recommended that people should attend the public meeting in April, as noted above, the meeting addressed by Mr. Wild in support of co-education did not receive a mention. Indeed, the next Editorial concerning the issue followed the ballot of parents conducted by the Marlborough School Committees' Association, and commented that:

Support for the referendum was excellent - in fact exceptional

While the result shows a clear majority in favour of segregation - 1727 to 1223 - the verdict is not as positive as the aggregate of opinions communicated to the Board over recent months by a large number of organisations which have discussed the main issue and voted on it at their meetings.

All the same, the overall picture is clear

enough. It is that the majority want to see separate colleges ...

(The Express, July 14, 1958, emphasis added)

The Editor went on to state that, given this overwhelming support for single-sex schools, the Board should make their decision as soon as possible being guided by "balancing ... educational principles with the opinions submitted", then, having decided, urge the Department of Education to make an early start on the building of the new college.

Concluding this year of debate, the Editorial in *The Express* on December 10, 1958, took the Department of Education to task for their recently expressed concerns over the envisaged staffing difficulties for the girls' college. The Editorial also commented on the year of debate:

The people, having at the Education Department's insistence, indicated plainly that they want separate schools, will be in no mood to be humbugged.

This community was asked for its opinion; it gave it unequivocally. It has a solemn right to expect a great State Department to as unequivocally make good its word.

(The Express, Dec. 10, 1958)

The Role of the Media: Summary and Discussion

Although the focus in this section has been on the Editorial comment, the discussion will include the numerous other instances in which the paper has been cited and utilise the reports which appeared as representing an example of the power to define a particular social reality.

Chapter Three indicated a view of power which saw the ability to control information and so shape, influence and determine wants as exhibiting a supreme exercise of power. While the role of the paper in this process may have been neutral, it is apparent that much of the control and dissemination of views occurred through the various reports of meetings, comment on submissions and Letters to the Editor throughout this year of debate.

Through focussing the issue on single-sex versus co-education it became possible to establish a case which suited the aims of the group seeking single-sex schools. For instance, linking the type of school to the hostel issue can be interpreted within this definition of power. There was a previously established desire in the district for hostels and a number of interest groups, especially the Federated Farmers, saw a definite need for boarding accommodation. Through the repeated references, both in the paper and at meetings, to the requirement that hostels could only be provided with single-sex schools this came to be viewed as representing 'reality'. The Editorial established Mr. Insull and Mr. Conibear as experts whose comments were then reflected in the many submissions made to the Board such as the hostel issue above.

Indeed, the decision to form single-sex schools may be seen to have been based on the manipulated consensus of those involved in the 'overwhelming' support for single-sex schools. For instance, the Federated Farmers came to see the separate-sex schools as allowing for hostels. On the other hand, the Old Boys' Association viewed single-sex schools as strengthening their group. Other groups and individuals were brought to the view of seeing benefits accruing to sporting contacts or academic results. All of these links were continually reinforced through the many reports and statements that were carried in the paper so ensuring as wide a distribution as possible. Accordingly, the paper played a crucial part in distributing the power to influence and determine wants.

This group can be seen as responsible for the support for single-sex schools as within the definition of power as they may have acted differently. For instance, it was apparent that Mr. Insull had access to the case for co-education prior to the publication of the articles which ensured that advantage went to the single-sex lobby. Also the selection of the panel for the first public meeting

could have ensured a balance of views. The inaction of the Editorial over Mr. Wild's visit can be similarly interpreted especially in the light of the support given to the panel at the first meeting.

Through this control of information this group were able to shape, influence and determine wants, or, in other words exhibit a supreme exercise of power. Whether the newspaper played an active role in this process remains conjectural although given the Editorial comments which provided a focus to the debate and earlier comments about the neutrality of the paper, some support is given for an active role.

The decision, however, was the Board's to make, and so the views they held on the issue must form part of the analysis of the power and ideologies and assumptions which guided this debate. Accordingly, attention will now focus on the role of the Board.

THE ROLE OF THE BOARD

An initial statement from the Board indicates the importance they allocated to the decision, and thereby the debate:

The decisions we make now are going to provide Marlborough's secondary education needs for the next 25 to 50 years ...

(The Express, March 28, 1958)

However, despite this attached importance, and their plea for a full discussion of the issue they were less willing to indicate their personal views on the issue. Indeed, other than Mrs. McDonald, Mr. Kibblewhite, Mr. Hyndman, and Mr. Currie who made some detailed comments most other Board members simply indicated support for one type or the other.

Mr. Hyndman remained a strong advocate of co-education throughout the period, 1946 to 1958. He saw co-education as the only alternative for Marlborough on the basis that

staffing would be easier and that, for educational reasons, it was in the best interests of the pupils. Mr. Hyndman also maintained that the decision was the Board's to make although it should be informed by an indication of public opinion. As to what he considered to be the best interests of the pupils no indication is provided.

Indeed, the only Board member to clearly indicate and support a stance was Mrs. McDonald. She had published a lengthy report setting out her views on the issue in recognition of her belief that all Members should publicly state their position (*The Express*, April 3, 1958). Mrs. McDonald, in this report, noted the inherent problems within the issue in that, while debate on it was endless, resolution came down eventually to a matter of preference, a preference, she advocated, to be based as far as possible on a wide reading, thinking and discussion around the topic. That she herself was willing to do this is indicated through the report in which she cites various research studies, positions in other countries, discussions with pupils and ex-pupils, as well as supporting her case with reference to the local situation. Co-education was seen by Mrs. McDonald to be the better system as it provided for social development, personal development, that it was more 'natural', and that it promoted sexual equality and the emancipation of women. Mrs. McDonald further suggested that the present Marlborough College suffered from the handicaps of a large roll and:

... secondly, his own persistent objection to the type of school of which he is Principal. As businessmen you will appreciate that none of you gives of your best or makes a complete success of any undertaking of which your whole heart and soul does not approve. I would say that when a co-educational school is in danger of degeneration into a state of mere coexistence then it is time for a stocktaking.

(The Express, April 3, 1958)

Mrs. McDonald's views in support of co-education were made abundantly clear and her case was well substantiated. Segregation, she argued, would set the clock back and

produce isolation of the pupils in an already geographically isolated area. Whether or not her views are acceptable, Mrs. McDonald alone substantiated her opinion and urged that the decision be based on a wider consideration than simple opinion. The response to her plea was a dismissal from Mr. Conibear who rejected it on the basis that overseas material was irrelevant, while the Board passed no comment.

The views of Mr. Currie - the Board Chairman until August, 1958 - have been previously indicated. He wished to extend the discussion beyond the single-sex/co-education issue and urged that as the roll numbers did not warrant a hasty decision that the Board take its time. However, his views on what became the central issue are unclear, other than some suggestions from one Informant that he was in favour of co-education. Mr. Currie was also concerned that public opinion was being swayed towards single-sex schools without a full consideration of the issue.

The only other Board member to express his views in any detail was Mr. Kibblewhite who did so through a Letter to the Editor (*The Express*, May 17, 1958) in which he stated that the issue between single-sex and co-education was irrelevant, for, as there were advantages and disadvantages in both types the issue could not be resolved on this basis. In Mr. Kibblewhite's view the concern was the prevention of an academic/technical dichotomy which would result from the establishment of two co-educational schools. This could only be achieved with single-sex schooling which had the additional advantages of; having better sports teams able to continue and expand interschool sporting contacts; avoid zoning; being able to offer a full range of courses; both schools would be of equal status and standing; continuation of present traditions; and, the strengthening of the Old Pupils' Associations. Therefore, he argued, single-sex schools were the logical development for the region.

Indications of the views of other Board members are more difficult to ascertain, for only those comments given during the special Board meeting to state views are available. From the report of this meeting (*The Express*, May 30, 1958) the following views can be established. Mr. van Asch supported single-sex schools as; pupils studied more seriously; discipline was easier; there was greater loyalty and pride in the school; and, hostels could be provided. Mr. Greig noted that, as the issue "was more vital", his views had changed and he now favoured single-sex schools rather than co-education. The reasons he offered were that his children, who had attended both types, favoured single-sex, that separation was the obvious move as a result of the district's development, and that it would avoid the status differences between the schools as well as the problems of zoning. Mr. Molineaux expressed concern at the way criticism was being directed at the Principal, the "most important thing in a school" who should be "sacrosanct." He noted that at 'his school' the Principal was "never discussed in the paper." Single-sex schools were supported, by Mr. Molineaux, as they better developed the "Christian virtues of honesty, loyalty and service", and, finally, that only with the establishment of such schools could hostels be provided. Mr. Sowman noted, that while he had been in favour of co-education previously, that as "half the College" was now segregated in its courses he favoured segregation. Finally, Mr. Bown simply noted his bias toward co-education but that "in some ways he was beginning to think in terms of separate colleges."

However, elections intervened and appointments were made to the Board in August which changed slightly the composition of the Board. The opinion of the new members, who replaced Mr. Currie, Mr. Greig, and Mrs. McDonald, can only be ascertained from comments they passed prior to the vote on the type of school to be established (*The Express*, Aug. 12, 1958). Mr. Davies stated that, based on his own experiences, he had always favoured co-education. Mrs. P. Jenkins supported co-education in principle but

felt that the community was "not ready" for it yet and so voted for single-sex schools. Finally, Mr. Burt commented that the staffing problem, which was a central concern at the meeting, would go and he voted in support of single-sex schools.

The Role of the Board: Summary and Discussion

Despite their importance to the debate, few indications of the views of these people are available, and what was given reflects the views previously noted for the two types of school. For instance, Mrs. McDonald emphasized the social advantages of co-education, while the men supporting single-sex schools placed an emphasis on the traditional values such schools developed. The dismissal of Mrs. McDonald's case may reflect her subordinate role and status on the Board, or, alternatively, may represent the rejection of the co-educational alternative by the majority of Board members.

Indications of power relations are even more difficult to establish. Other than Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Currie, there are no reports of Board members speaking on the issue to any groups. However, perhaps a brief outline of some biographical details may help indicate a basis for their views and realms of influence they may have had.

THE DECISION-MAKERS

The appointment of Mr. Insull to the position of Principal of the co-educational Marlborough College in 1946 has been shown to have had a considerable bearing on the following 13-years in the history of this school. Indeed, as Informant D suggested, it was a major determinant of the ensuing events:

When he was appointed to Marlborough College there was considerable argument and I think the deciding factor, primarily with the Board Chairman, being that Mr. Insull was a Lay Preacher in the Anglican Church. His idea was that we would grow to be a famous boys' school as long as we got rid of the girls. His big argument to the local population was

that, if we had a single-sex school we could take Nelson College on on equal terms and claim for the local farmers sons who normally went over the hill. In this way it would gradually increase the stature of the school and he would become the famous headmaster of a famous boys' school.

(Informant D)

Mr. Insull's interest and involvement with religion is indicated through his support for State Aid to Church Schools and his attempts to have a full-time Religious Instructor appointed to Marlborough College. Indeed, that he was associated with the New Zealand Council of Christian Education since its inception suggests a man with "strong Christian principles" (*The Express*, Aug. 8, 1964). His own education was at a boys' college and he taught at Hastings High School, Christchurch Boys' High School and Cathedral Grammar in Christchurch prior to his 18-year term as Principal at Marlborough College. His sporting interests included rugby, athletics, swimming, life-saving, and bowls, interests he continued to pursue in Marlborough being on various sporting bodies. Indeed, his insistence that boys should play rugby and criticism of those who did not indulge in the 'manly' sport indicated a strong support for his view that physical development was a desirable characteristic of boys.

During his period in Marlborough, Mr. Insull also served as an executive member of the Chamber of Commerce, President of Rotary, Patron of the Old Boys' Association, as well as his involvement in the Parent Teachers' Association. He was a staunch supporter of the Old Boys' Association recommending its revival in 1946 and suggesting its activities would be even more important once the boys' college was established. Mr. Insull was also a strong advocate of the Cadet Scheme in schools and opposed any moves at stopping the programme.

Mr. Insull's views on education emphasized the importance of the 3R's and virtues of loyalty and discipline. However, possibly of greater importance was his membership of

organisations such as the Masonic Lodge, Rotary, and Chamber of Commerce which established links through which he could distribute his view in support of a boys' college.

Mr. Shand, the local Member of Parliament, was educated at boys' colleges - Timaru Boys' High School, St., Andrews, and Christs' - which may account for his strong and vocal support for single-sex schools. He was a "great personal friend of Mr. Insull (*The Express*, Dec. 11, 1964), indicating a further realm of influence and contact between these two leading supporters of single-sex education.

The Editor of *The Express*, Mr. S.I. Vercoe, was educated at Marlborough College, being admitted in 1918. He joined the paper in 1919, and was also active in sports bodies, Old Boys' Association, Masonic Lodge, and Blenheim Parish.

Mr. Hyndman, a local businessman, was a Board member from 1941 until he retired in 1961. He was also a member of the Wellington Education Board, from the 1940's, and was President of this Board for 14 years until resigning from this position and the Board in 1964. He also served on the Wellington Teachers' Training College Board, Secondary Schools Board's Association and the Wellington College Board of Governors.

Mr. Currie did not attend secondary school and arrived in Blenheim in 1923. A former Post Office Staff member, he took up farming in the 1940's. He served as a member of the Marlborough County Council and Marlborough Hospital Board and was also a representative on the Wellington Education Board. For a period of five years he served as Chairman of the Marlborough Electorate branch of the National Party. He was also involved with Federated Farmers and the Masonic Lodge. As a Government appointee he was replaced on the Board just prior to the vote being taken on the type of school in August, 1958. No reason is given for why he was replaced, although just prior to this Mr. Currie was elected to the Wellington Education Board.

Mrs. McDonald, M.A., was an ex-teacher at the College (1936-1938), and was, along with Mr. Molineaux, one of the two academically qualified Board members. She was elected as a Parents' Representative and was a member of the Parents' Association from 1946 to 1948. No further details are available for Mrs. McDonald other than that she resigned from the Board just prior to the vote on the type of school, perhaps because of the many criticisms of both herself and other Board members, such as Mr. Currie, during the debate of 1958.

Mr. Molineaux, M.A. (Hons.), LL.B., took his honours degree in psychology and education at Canterbury University. An ex-pupil of Christs' College he also taught there for two years while at University. He served with the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia where he was responsible for the administration and control of native education for three years. He practiced Law in Blenheim and was Crown Solicitor and Crown Prosecutor. Mr. Molineaux was the only Board member, other than the Chairman, to serve on all the Board sub-committees in one year. Informant E suggested that Mr. Molineaux was a member of the Masonic Lodge and that a number of discussions occurred there between himself, Mr. Molineaux and Mr. Currie on the issue of the second college.

For the other Board members information is even more sparse. Mr. Sowman was an Old Boy of Marlborough College and Deputy Mayor of Blenheim. Mr. Davies had been a Mayor of Picton, was a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and President of the Marlborough Labour Representative Committee. Mrs. Jenkins, Dip. Home Sci., was the wife of a local Medical Practitioner, and later was appointed a Justice of the Peace. Mr. Burt was a retired primary school teacher, and Mr. Greig was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Mayor of Picton.

The Decision-Makers: Summary and Discussion

Without being able to fully substantiate much of this

information which was gleaned from a variety of sources, including the newspaper and various interviews, and not being able to clearly indicate membership of various groups, a full examination of the distribution of power remains impossible. However, it is evident that the people on the Board came from high status positions within the local community, held various positions on other Local Bodies and a degree of links through other organisations. These conditions probably provided them with a means of distribution of their views well beyond the Board.

Whether the changes that occurred in the Board just prior to the vote on the type of school to be established represent a power play to increase support for single-sex schools is beyond the evidence. As indeed is whether it made much difference to the final outcome. It is more apparent that the role of power was more concerned with ensuring that the public were brought to see the advantages in defining reality in terms of the single-sex schools.

SUMMARY

This chapter completes the fulfilment of the two objectives of the present study. Through the critical examination of the social context it has been demonstrated that a particular view of women, as a subordinate domestic group, existed within a male defined hegemony which established this situation as natural. These underlying assumptions and ideologies then provided a background to the content and direction of the debate.

From the critical analysis of the debate, in particular as it occurred during 1958, the concepts of power and ideology and hegemony have been utilised to demonstrate the way a particular view of reality was reproduced and legitimated.

Through the control of information a manipulated consensus

was established resulting in the acceptance of this definition of reality as in the best interests of the community, thereby illustrating the definitions of hegemony and power demonstrated in chapter Three.

Accordingly, while single-sex schools were established, they were based on patriarchal relations within an ideology of naturalism, thereby ensuring that, in particular, the status-quo of gender relations was maintained.

Analysis of single-sex schooling must proceed, especially in the historical context, to locate the underlying rationale for its formation. It is through the use of a critical perspective, such as that of the Marxist-Feminist framework, that insight into these facets of educational decision-making may be gained.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to achieve two objectives: to provide an in-depth and systematic account of secondary education in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958, focussing particularly on the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling; and, to examine critically the ideologies and assumptions underlying the single-sex/co-education debate in Marlborough from 1946 to 1958.

The first chapter of this report discussed the debate over single-sex and co-educational schooling in New Zealand and indicated some of the historical background to this debate. Following this, the early development of secondary education in Marlborough was presented as providing a background to the formation of the objectives. This chapter concluded with the outlining of the objectives, their justification and the selection of the methodology. Also discussed were the problems inherent in the data, especially in using newspaper clippings as a source of information about a historical period. However, similar difficulties apply to all historical analyses based on the accounts of people in the past in assuming that such accounts are a neutral and valid account of what happened.

Chapter Two presented an overview account of the period of investigation in approximately chronological order so as to provide an insight into the events and debate over single-sex/co-educational schooling which occurred. From this account indications were provided of the underlying assumptions and ideologies which characterised this extensive period of debate and controversy. As these obviously directed and determined the debate and its eventual outcome in the decision to form single-sex schools, it was suggested that these required critical examination.

The third chapter sought to establish a basis from which

this critical analysis might proceed. Reflecting the writer's predispositions and the lack of focus upon girls in education evident in the literature, the direction of analysis was selected, namely, that attention should focus on the assumptions and ideologies concerning women and girls within this debate. Accordingly, two perspectives were examined, first the normative which was seen as unsatisfactory through its determined view of the role and status of women. This led to the adoption of a Marxist-Feminist framework from which a critical analysis might proceed. However, due to the dearth of similar researches, both focussing on the girls and attempting to present a detailed examination of an educational decision, this theoretical perspective and framework must be recognised as in its embryonic stages.

Chapter Four then applied this perspective and framework through an analysis of the social context and the debate itself. The year 1958 provided the focus for this examination as it was the year the debate reached its climax with extensive discussions in the newspaper, at meetings, and in submissions to the Board. From this analysis it was apparent that the dominant view of women in the society was as subordinate in status and destined for a domestic role. As the debate proceeded from these assumptions, it was suggested that such an analysis had, at least, important implications for the present-day support for single-sex education of girls, in that it indicated the need to consider the basis upon which the setting-up of such schools was justified.

Although problems occurred with the data, the bias apparent, and the obvious gaps in the account, and then with the setting up of a theoretical perspective, the objectives were fulfilled. As well, the study has indicated the nature of the decision-making process which then affected successive generations of secondary students; will hopefully provide a starting point for further investigations into such decision-making; and, provides some insight into the use of the revisionist perspective and Marxist-Feminist framework.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AITKEN, J. (1980) *A Woman's Place?* Auckland: Heinemann.
- APPLE, M.W. (1979) *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- ATHERTON, B. (1973) Co-education and single-sex schooling and happiness of marriage. *Educational Research*, 15(3), 221-226.
- BATTERSBY, D. (1982) *The Question of Co-Education: Progress Report; Working Paper 3*. Massey University: Education Department.
- BENSEMAN, M., HANCOCK (1978) Knowledge and control: A feminist perspective. *Delta*, 23, 43-53.
- BENSON, J.K. (1977) Organizations: A dialectical view. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 22, 1-21.
- BERNSTEIN, R.J. (1976) *The Restructuring of Social and Political Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- BESSANT, B. (1976) Domestic science schools and woman's place. *The Australian Journal of Education*, 20(1), 1-9.
- BUTCHERS, A.G. (1929) *Young New Zealand*. Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie.
- BUTCHERS, A.G. (1930) *Education in New Zealand*. Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie.
- BUTCHERS, A.G. (1932) *The Education System*. Auckland: The National Printing Co., Ltd.
- BYRNE, E.M. (1975) Inequality in education - discriminatory resource allocation in schools? *Educational Review*, 27 (3), 179-191.
- BYRNE, E.M. (1978) *Women and Education*. London: Tavistock.
- CHESSON, R.A. (1977) Women's position and girls education in New Zealand. *Delta*, 20, 23-31.
- CLARRICOATES, K. (1981) The experience of patriarchal schooling. *Interchange*, 12(2-3), 185-205.
- COCKLIN, R.B. (1981a) *Secondary Education: Sexes Together or Apart? An Annotated Bibliography*. Paper presented to the Marlborough Colleges Board, 13 August 1981.

- COCKLIN, R.B. (1981b) *Single-sex or Co-education: The Case of the Secondary College*. Paper presented at the Third Annual Conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 4-6 December.
- COCKLIN, R.B. (1982a) *Single-sex and Co-educational Schooling: A Review of Research; Working Paper 2*. Massey University: Education Department.
- COCKLIN, R.B. (1982b) The single-sex/co-education debate. *Delta*, 31, forthcoming.
- COCKLIN, R.B., VINCENT, C., & BATTERSBY, D. (1982) *Schooling, Women and Patriarchy: A Review of Recent Research; Working Paper 1*. Massey University: Education Department.
- COSER, L. (1977) Georg Simmel's neglected contributions to the sociology of women. *Signs*, 2(4), 869-876.
- DAKIN, J.C. (1973) *Education in New Zealand*. Auckland: Fullerton.
- DALE, R.R. (1969) *Mixed or Single Sex School, Vol. I*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DALE, R.R. (1971) *Mixed or Single Sex School, Vol. II*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DALE, R.R. (1974) *Mixed or Single Sex School, Vol. III*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DALE, R.R. (1975) Education and sex roles. *Educational Review*, 27, 240-248.
- DAVIES, L., & MEIGHAN, R. (1975) A review of schooling and sex roles with particular reference to the experience of girl's in secondary schools. *Educational Review*, 27(3), 165-178.
- DEEM, R. (1978) *Women and Schooling*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DEEM, R. (Ed.)(1980) *Schooling for Women's Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DELAMONT, S. (1980) *Sex Roles and the School*. London: Methuen.
- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1962) *Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer.

- DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1974) *Educational Planning in Blenheim: Proposals for Organization from Form I.* Wellington: Government Printer.
- DWYER, C.A. (1973) Sex differences in reading: An evaluation and a critique of current theories. *Review of Educational Research*, 43(4), 455-467
- DWYER, C.A. (1974) Influence of children's sex role standards on reading and arithmetic achievement. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 66(6), 811-816.
- ENGELS, F. (1968) In K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Works*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- FINN, J.D. (1980) Sex differences in educational outcomes: A cross-national study. *Sex Roles*, 6(1), 9-26.
- FINN, J.D., DULBERG, L., & REIS, J. (1979) Sex differences in educational attainment: A cross-national perspective. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49(4), 477-503.
- FREDRIKSSON, I. (1973) Sex roles and education. *International Review of Education*, 19(1), 64-76.
- GAMARANIKOW, E. (1978) Sexual division of labour: The case of nursing. In A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (Eds.) *Feminism and Materialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- GIROUX, H.A. (1979) Schooling and the culture of positivism: Notes on the death of history. *Educational Theory*, 29(4), 263-284.
- GIROUX, H.A. (1980) Beyond the correspondence theory: Notes on the dynamics of educational reproduction and transformation. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 10(3), 225-247.
- GLENNERSTER, A. (1966) Comprehensive reorganisation - will there be more co-educational schools? *Where*, 26, 16-18.
- GRAMSCI, A. (1971) *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. Translated by G. Hoare and G. Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- GREENFIELD, T.B. (1979) Organization theory as ideology. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 9(2), 97-112.
- HARRIS, K. (1982) *Teachers and Classes*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- HARVEY, T.J. (1980) Girls and physical science. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 4(3), 29-36.
- INSULL, H.A.H (1949) *Marlborough College at the Crossroads*. Unpublished paper. Blenheim: Marlborough College.
- IRVING, J. (1976) Co-educational or single-sex schools? A review of the literature. *Set*, 1, Item 9.
- KÁDÁR-FÜLÖP, J. (1973) Women's education in Hungary. *International Review of Education*, 19(1), 109-115.
- KEEVES, J. (1973) Differences between the sexes in mathematics and science courses. *International Review of Education*, 19(1), 46-63.
- KELLY, A. (1981a) Choosing or channelling? In A. Kelly (Ed.) *The Missing Half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- KELLY, A. (1981b) Science achievement as an aspect of sex roles. In A. Kelly (Ed.) *The Missing Half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- KELLY, E. (1981) Socialisation in patriarchal society. In A. Kelly (Ed.) *The Missing Half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- KESSLER, S.J., & MCKENNA, W. (1978) *Gender*. New York: Wiley.
- KUHN, A. (1978) Structures of patriarchy and capital in the family. In A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (Eds.) *Feminism and Materialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- KUHN, A., & WOLPE, A.M. (Eds.)(1978) *Feminism and Materialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- LAVIGUEUR, J. (1980) Co-education and the tradition of separate needs. In D. Spender & E. Sarah (Eds.) *Learning to Lose*. London: The Women's Press.
- LUKES, S. (1974) *Power: A Radical View*. London: MacMillan.
- MACDONALD, M. (1980a) Schooling and the reproduction of class and gender relations. In L. Barton, R. Meighan, and S. Walker (Eds.) *Schooling, Ideology and the Curriculum*. Barcombe: Falmer Press.

- MACDONALD, M. (1980b) Socio-cultural reproduction and women's education. In R. Deem (Ed.) *Schooling for Women's Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MACKINTOSH, M. (1977) Reproduction and patriarchy. *Capital and Class*, 2, 119-127.
- MACK, A.J. (1962) *An evaluation of co-educational and single-sex post-primary schools, with reference to actual academic achievement and assumptions concerning academic, social, and cultural standards*. Unpublished Diploma of Education Thesis, Auckland University.
- MCDONOUGH, R., & HARRISON, R. (1978) Patriarchy and relations of production. In A. Kuhn and A.M. Wolpe (Eds.) *Feminism and Materialism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MCGUINNESS, D. (1975) The impact of innate perceptual differences between the sexes on the socializing process. *Educational Review*, 27(3), 229-239.
- MCLUHAN, M. (1951) *The Mechanical Bride*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE REGISTER (1950) Blenheim: The Marlborough Express.
- MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE REGISTER: SUPPLEMENT (1960) Blenheim: The Marlborough Express.
- MEAD, M. (1949) *Male and Female*. New York: William Morrow.
- MEIKLE, P. (1964) Co-education, school discipline and pupil responsibility. In *The Currie Report: A Critique*. Wellington: Association for the Study of Childhood.
- MIDDLETON, S. (1980) The covert curriculum as a source of inequality for women in schools and higher education. *Delta*, 27, 28-37.
- MIDDLETON, S. (1982) Sexual apartheid or androgyny? Four contemporary perspectives on women and education. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 17(1), 57-67.
- MILLER, D. (1967) Adolescence - are co-educational schools preferable? *Where*, 34, 15-16.
- MILLETT, K. (1971) *Sexual Politics*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.

- MINOGUE, W.J.D. (1965) Universal secondary education in New Zealand. In G.Z.F. Bereday and J.A. Lauwerys (Eds.) *The World Year Book of Education* (1965). London: Evans.
- MITCHELL, J. (1971) *Woman's Estate*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MURDOCH, J.H. (1943) *The High Schools of New Zealand*. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- MURPHY, R.J.L. (1978) Sex differences in examination performance: Do these reflect differences in ability or sex-role stereotypes? *Educational Review*, 30(3), 259-263.
- NEWSOM, J. (1948) *The Education of Girls*. London: Faber and Faber.
- OAKLEY, A. (1972) *Sex, Gender and Society*. London: Maurice Temple Smith.
- OLLERENSHAW, K. (1961) *Education for Girls*. London: Faber and Faber.
- ORMEROD, M.B. (1975) Subject preference and choice in co-educational and single-sex secondary schools. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 45, 257-267.
- PARKER, L.H. (1975) *Co-education as a Sociological Phenomenon - a Female Perspective*. Unpublished Paper. James Cook University: Australia.
- PONT, H.B., & BUTCHER, H.J. (1968) Choice of course and subject specialisation in seventeen Scottish secondary schools. *Scottish Educational Studies*, 1(2), 9-15.
- RICKS, F.A., & PYKE, S.W. (1973) Teacher preceptions and attitudes that foster or maintain sex role differences. *Interchange*, 4(1), 26-33.
- SAMPSON, S. (1976) Egalitarian ideology and the education of girls. *The Australian Journal of Education*, 20(1), 10-20.
- SARAGA, E., & GRIFFITHS, D. (1981) Biological inevitabilities or political choices? The future for girls in science. In A. Kelly (Ed.) *The Missing Half*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- SARAH, E., SCOTT, M., & SPENDER, D. (1980) The education of feminists: The case for single-sex schools. In D. Spender and E. Sarah (Eds.) *Learning to Lose*. London: The Women's Press.

- SARUP, M. (1978) *Marxism and Education*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- SAUNDERS, F.E. (1975) Sex roles and the school. *Prospects*, 5(3), 362-371.
- SCHLOSSER, L., & ALGOZZINE, B. (1980) Sex, behaviour and teacher expectancies. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 48(3), 231-236.
- SCOTT, M. (1980) Teach her a lesson: Sexist curriculum in patriarchal education. In D. Spender & E. Sarah (Eds.) *Learning to Lose*. London: The Woman's Press.
- SHAFER, S. (1976) Socialisation of girls in the secondary schools of England and the two Germanies. *International Review of Education*, 22(1), 5-23.
- SHAW, J. (1976) Finishing school. In D.L. Barker and S. Allen (Eds.) *Sexual Divisions and Society*. London: Tavistock.
- SHAW, J. (1980) Schooling for girls, or mixed schools - a mixed blessing? In R. Deem (Ed.) *Schooling for Women's Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- SHUKER, R. (1980) New Zealand's educational history: A revisionist perspective? *Delta*, 27, 38-47.
- SHUKER, R. (1982) *In search of the elephant: A beginner's guide to marxism and education*. Paper to the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 3-5 December.
- SIMMEL, G. (1911) *Philosophische Kultur*. Leipzig: Werner Klinkhardt.
- STOLLER, R.J. (1968) *Sex and Gender*. New York: Science House.
- SUTHERLAND, M.B. (1981) *Sex Bias in Education*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- TENNANT, M. (1977) Natural directions in the New Zealand movement for sexual differentiation in education in the early twentieth century. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 12
- THOMPSON, R.H.T. (1957) Co-education: A survey of parental opinion. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 9(1), 58-68.

- TROW, M. (1957) Comment on participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. *Human Organisations*, 16(3), 33-35.
- WEINER, G. (1977-78) Education and the Sex Discrimination Act. *Educational Research*, 20(3), 163-173.
- WHITCOMBE, J. (1980) The promotion of women in the teaching service. *Set*, 2, Item 6.
- WILLIAMS, R. (1976) Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory. In R. Dale, G. Esland, and M. MacDonald (Eds.) *Schooling and Capitalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WOLPE, A.M. (1974) The official ideology of education for girls. In M. Flude and J. Ahier (Eds.) *Educability, Schools and Ideology*. London: Croom Helm.
- WOLPE, A.M. (1977) *Some Processes in Sexist Education*. London: Women's Research and Resource Centre.
- WOOD, R., & FERGUSON, C. (1974) Unproved case for co-education. *Times Educational Supplement*. 4 October.
- YOUNG, M.D., & WHITTY, G. (Eds.)(1977) *Society, State and Schooling*. Guildford: Falmer Press.