



Pay Equity Claim

1. This document raises a pay equity claim under the Equal Pay Act 1972.
2. The claim is raised by:

The New Zealand Tertiary Education Union Te Hautū Kahurangi O Aotearoa Incorporated (TEU) (registered office - 204 Willis Street, Level 3, Te Aro, Wellington).

New Zealand Public Service Association Te Pūkenga Here Tangata Mahi Incorporated (PSA) (registered office - 5th Floor, PSA House, 11 Aurora Terrace, Wellington).

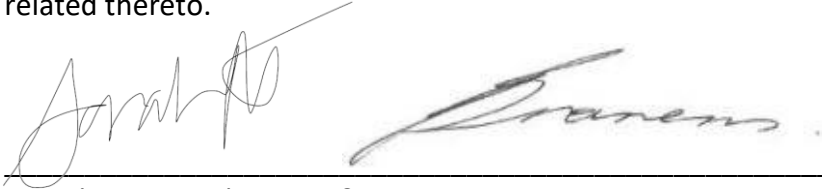
Tertiary Institutes Allied Staff Association Incorporated (TIASA) (registered office 1st Floor, 1122 Pukaki St, Rotorua).

3. The employers with whom the claim is raised are:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Vice-Chancellor | University of Auckland |
| Vice-Chancellor | Auckland University of Technology |
| Vice-Chancellor | University of Waikato |
| Vice-Chancellor | Massey University |
| Vice-Chancellor | Victoria University of Wellington |
| Vice-Chancellor | University of Canterbury |
| Vice-Chancellor | Lincoln University |
| Vice-Chancellor | University of Otago |

4. A notice to each of the employers of the employer's obligations under section 13K of the Act to enter a multi-employer pay equity process agreement with the other employers with whom the claim is raised is attached as **Appendix A**.
5. The work performed by the employees to be covered by the claim is clerical and administrative work carried out by persons having the classifications listed in **Appendix B** and materially similar work however described.
6. The information relied upon in support of the elements required for an arguable pay equity claim under s13F of the Act is set out in **Appendix C and Appendix D**.

7. The work performed by the employees covered by the claim is the same or substantially similar in that it is all clerical and/or administrative work or work closely related thereto.



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Date on which claim is made: 29 September 2022

Appendix A

Employer's obligations under section 13K of the Act to enter a multi-employer pay equity process agreement with the other employers with whom the claim is raised.

Each employer who receives a pay equity claim raised by a union or unions with multiple employers must enter into a single multi-employer pay equity process agreement for the purposes of deciding whether the claim is arguable and for the purposes of the pay equity bargaining process.

The multi-employer pay equity process agreement must set out—

- a) whether there will be 1 or more representatives for the employers and who that representative or those representatives will be; and
- b) how decisions relating to the claim will be made.

If the employers cannot agree on a multi-employer pay equity process agreement, any of them may apply to the Authority for a direction.

Appendix B

Administrator, Administration Officer; Administrative Assistant, Central Unit Assistant Adviser; Central Unit Administrator; Central Unit Coordinator; Office coordinator; Finance Administrator; Human Resources Administrator; Payroll Administrator; Payroll officer; Student Administrator, School Administration Assistant; School Administrator; School Resources Coordinator; Call Centre operator/ Contract centre & student advisor; Customer Service Administrator; Group Services Administrator, Group Services Coordinator, Administration Coordinator; Personal Assistant; Receptionist; Bookings coordinator; Finance Support Officer; Accounts Payable/receivable Officer; Distribution Services Administrator; Control and security Administrator; Research Administrator; Project Administrator; Admissions administrator; Programme Administrator; Enrolment and Records Administrator; Central Unit/Office Administrator; Student Registry Administrator; Programme Assistant; Evaluation Assistant; Information Administrator; Information Officer.

Appendix C

The information relied upon in support of the elements required for an arguable pay equity claim under s13F of the Act.

1. The claim relates to work that is or was predominantly performed by female employees (ref: EPA 1972, s13F(2)).

Information provided to the unions raising the claim in November 2021 by the universities, demonstrates women currently make up at least 70% of the overall workforce in the job titles/roles identified in Appendix B (see Table 1)¹. The data received also demonstrates that women make up the majority of those holding each job or work title.

| University | Female workers | Total workforce | Percentage female |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Auckland University of Technology | 439 | 559 | 79% |
| University of Auckland | 288 | 340 | 85% |
| University of Waikato | 171 | 201 | 85% |
| Massey University | 452 | 532 | 85% |
| Victoria University of Wellington | 244 | 300 | 81% |
| University of Canterbury | 321 | 400 | 82% |
| Lincoln University | 63 | 68 | 93% |
| University of Otago | 628 | 742 | 85% |

The gender makeup of the clerical and administrative workforce within universities is reflective of that within the broader labour market. For example, a pay and employment equity review of District Health Boards in 2007-2008 reported 93% of the clerical and administrative staff job-holders were women. More broadly, according to a 2015 report from Statistics NZ² 93.6% of all secretaries and keyboard operating clerks were women, 90.1% client information clerks were women, and 80.5% numerical clerks were women.

¹ Data received from universities came in different forms. Some universities provided detailed headcounts related to role titles and salary bands, others provided headcounts for clusters of roles including some that we would not deem relevant to this claim for gender pay equity for administration and clerical roles (e.g. ICT procurement consultant or career development advisor roles at Waikato University). Where we could disaggregate the data, we did not include headcounts for such roles. Managers, supervisors and team leader roles were also excluded from headcounts where possible because they are not subject to this claim.

This data, which demonstrates that the work covered by this claim is predominantly performed by women, accords both with the TEU, PSA and TIASA membership in this area of work.

2. The work covered by this claim is currently undervalued (ref: EPA 1972, s13F (3)).

Analysis of printed pay rates for clerical and administration work against actual pay rates for women and men suggest that there are disproportionate numbers of women in the lowest paid role categories in clerical and administration work. This indicates under-valuing of work areas which are more highly female-dominated.

While the tertiary education sector has a smaller proportion of employees paid in low paid occupations than the labour market overall (Pay and Employment Taskforce, 2004)³, the Public Service Association database indicates a number of female-intensive occupations which contain low paid employees in this sector including clerical / administration, telephonists, library assistants and cleaners/caretakers (Pay and Employment Task Force, 2004, p. 35).

The 2018 Public Service Workforce Data (SSC, 2018)⁴ information shows that clerical and administrative workers are the lowest paid occupation group within the Public Service. As it states, “Some of the lower and higher-paid occupations are more prevalent amongst certain gender or ethnic groups. The different occupational composition within the gender and ethnic groups will have an impact on their pay gaps” (p. 10). Moreover, “many public service occupations such as ‘Social Workers’, ‘Case Workers’ and ‘Clerical and Administration Workers’ also have a high representation of women in the wider labour market” (SSC, 2018, p.25). Te Kawa Mataaho, Public Services Commission remarked that although the gender pay gap closed between the review period 2015 – 2018, a factor that prevented it closing further “was that around 60% of the increase in female employment in the Public Service over the past year was in contact centre, social worker and clerical roles. These roles tend to pay lower salaries” (SSC, 2018, p. 30).

The enduring and current undervaluing of this area of work has been recognised and corrected in recent pay equity settlements relating to administrative and clerical work in other publicly funded sectors: District Health Boards (DHB) and State Schooling sector.

The DHB claim raised by the PSA found an undervaluing of administrative and clerical roles from entry-level clerical roles through to line management of administrative and clerical functional areas. The claim covered over 10,000 workers across 20 DHBs. The settlement included variable increases in pay rates of between 13-40% across 7 bands. The settlement also established a new national pay scale with yearly incremental progression through steps within bands/grades ([see DHB/PSA settlement here](#)).

A claim in State and State-integrated schools and kura raised by the New Zealand Educational Institute Te Riu Roa (“NZEI Te Riu Roa”) found a sex-based undervaluation of administrators’ work. Specifically, the investigation of the claim found that although the work of comparators

³ Pay and employment taskforce (2004). *Pay and employment equity in the public service and the public health and public education sectors*. Wellington: Pay and Employment Taskforce. Available: <http://cevepnz.org.nz/assets/Taskforce%20report%202004.pdf>

⁴ SSC (2018). *Our People: Public Service Workforce Data 2018*. State Services Commission. Available: <https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/public-service-workforce-data/>

required the same or substantially similar level of skills, responsibilities, conditions of work, or degrees of effort as the administration support staff covered by the claim, they were paid more⁵. The claim covered approximately 11,000 workers. A new “Administration Support Staff Work Matrix” has been developed as part of the settlement. Increases across seven grade levels ranged from 4%-30%⁶.

In summary, the areas of work that are the subject of this claim are comparable across the public sector, the school system and the tertiary education sector and it has been agreed by a range of employers that these female-dominated roles are undervalued and a pay equity settlement has been agreed.

3. The work that is the subject of this claim has historically been undervalued (ref: EPA 1972, s13F(3)).

Little has been written about clerical and administration work in universities (Gornitzka & Marheim Larsen, 2004)⁷. In fact, while there is extensive research on the history and current practice of academic work, clerical and administration work within universities has been largely ignored. This in itself may point to attitudes consistent with the historical undervaluation of the work.

In Appendix D we have reproduced PSA research which discusses the historical undervaluing of clerical and administration work across the broader public sector (Christie, 2017)⁸. The following points are drawn from this research.

- The numbers of women clerical workers in New Zealand started growing in the 1890s. Women entering clerical work were not replacing men but were part of the expansion of clerical work.
- Women’s clerical work was segregated both vertically and horizontally. Clerical and administrative work became defined as “women’s work” over time due to increased feminisation (horizontal segregation) however even from the start, women were restricted to lower paid clerical roles with perceived lower status (vertical segregation/segmentation).
- The Public Service Commission took active steps to keep women in the low-paid, low status clerical roles including setting women’s wages at a reduced rate than their male counterparts. These steps were often fought by unions including the PSA.
- The idea that women worked temporarily before marriage was one justification for lower pay. Occupations with high numbers of young women tended to be seen as lower status and were lower paid. The marriage bar played a significant role in gendering clerical work.

⁵ NZEI (2022). *Pay equity and the school administration support staff claim*. NZEI Website. Wellington: NZEI. Available [here](#)

⁶ MOE (2022). *Administration support staff pay equity claim: Settlement implementation*. Wellington: Ministry of Education (MOE), NZSTA, NZEI. Available [here](#).

⁷ Gornitzka, Å. & Marheim Larsen, I. (2004). Towards professionalisation? Restructuring of administrative work force in universities. *Higher Education*, 47, p.455-471.

⁸ Christie, S. (2017). *The feminisation of the clerical workforce report*. Wellington: The PSA.

- Both the First and Second World Wars saw an increase in the number of clerical workers (roles taken up by women), but the Public Service Commission took steps to emphasise these roles were temporary. Women were also more vulnerable during the depression because their work was seen as temporary.
- In 1936 the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Act (ICAA) 1936 was brought into effect. As a result, the Arbitration Court fixed minimum wages for adult females at 47% of the male rate. In 1945 and 1949 the female rate was increased to 60% and 66% of the male wage respectively.

In 1938 the Arbitration court set minimum pay rates for male clerks at the same rate that had been established for skilled male workers. Franks (1994)⁹ notes,

“The court followed this relativity with remarkable consistency. For example, following its 1952 standard-wage pronouncement and its 1966 ruling in the printers' 'margins for skill' case, it set the top award rate for male clerical workers at about the same level as the general rate for tradesmen. In 1977, the last time the New Zealand Clerical Workers' award went to arbitration, the Industrial Commission again upheld this historical relativity” (p.195).

However, as others have noted in international settings, the entry of women into occupations that were once male preserves “has often been associated with a lowering over time of their pay and status” (Grimshaw & Rubery, 2007, p.2)¹⁰ (see also Reskin & Roos, 1990)¹¹.

Grimshaw and Rubery (2007) explained, “Clerical work, which was once both a male preserve and well paid, slipped down the occupational hierarchy; as the demand for such workers increased, employers turned to educated female labour as a group to be mobilised at lower wage levels (Crompton and Jones, 1984; Lowe, 1987)” (p.12), as was the case in Aotearoa New Zealand due to the lower minimum wages set for female workers by the Arbitration Court. In addition, “Women’s entry into clerical work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ... was associated with the displacement and upward social mobility of men and a declining valuation of increasingly feminised clerical work (Cohn, 1985)” (Grimshaw & Rubery, 2007, p. 94). In effect, as more women entered administration and clerical roles, the work became characterised as “women’s work” and therefore became regarded as not requiring equitable compensation with male-dominated areas of work.

In 1972 the Equal Pay Act came into effect leading to the abolishing gender-based pay scales for workers in New Zealand. In 1985 the Clerical Workers Association took a test case to the Arbitration Court under this legislation on behalf of its 30,000 members, 90% of who were women.¹² They argued that the “clerical rate had fallen in relation to rates for comparable

⁹ Franks, P. (1994). The Employment Contracts Act and the demise of the New Zealand Clerical Workers Union. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 28(2), p 194-210. Available: <https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/document.php?wid=714>

¹⁰ Grimshaw, D. & Rubery, J. (2007). Undervaluing women’s work. *Working paper series, no. 53*. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission. Available: http://www.njl.nu/uploads/Paper_2007_Jill_Rubery.pdf

¹¹ Reskin, B.F. & P. Roos (eds) (1990). *Job queues, gender queues: Explaining women’s inroads into Male occupations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

¹² *New Zealand Clerical Administrative etc IAOW v Farmers Trading Co Ltd* [1986] ACJ 203.

male-dominated occupations,” and sought that employers negotiate a pay equity claim (Parker & Donnelly, 2020)¹³. As Hyman (1993) reported:

The Grade 3 hourly rate in the Clerical Award, predominantly female, was 69% of the average male hourly wage rate in 1974. This ratio rose to 79% in 1979 with equal pay implementation but fell back to 72% by 1985. Its ratio to core carpenter and journeyman printers rates had returned by then to the 1973 figure (New Zealand Federated Clerical, Administrative and Related Workers Industrial Association of Workers, 1986) (p.48)¹⁴.

This case tested both the applicability of the legislation and whether it covered pay equity but was rejected by the Arbitration court in 1986, although the court noted that the Act was still alive (McGregor and Davies, 2018)¹⁵. As Linda Hill (1993) has noted, the decision of the court problematically did not interpret the criteria for work exclusively or predominantly performed by female employees or compare female clerical work pay with pay for predominantly male occupations as requested by the union (Hill,1993)¹⁶.

In 1990 the Employment Equity Act (EEA) was passed. The EEA provided for pay equity, equal employment opportunities and the establishment of an Employment Equity Office, with an Employment Equity Commissioner to oversee the performance and enforcement of the EEA. Ten claims were lodged under this Act. Each of these 10 claims alleged that their equivalent male counterparts were paid \$100 per week more than them. The EEA was repealed by the incoming Government after only three months. These claims were therefore not dealt with.¹⁷

The Employment Contracts Act 1991 changed the industrial landscape via labour market deregulation and the emphasis on individual employment contracts. As a result, there were limited opportunities to address systemic issues such as gender pay inequality.

In 2004 the *Pay and Employment Task force* (2004) released a report on the public services including the tertiary education sector. This Taskforce reported that in 2001 women were the majority of all staff in each type of tertiary institution included in the public education sector, ranging in 2001 from 66 percent in colleges of education to 54 percent in universities. Average ordinary time earnings data across the whole tertiary sector showed that in February 2003 women earned 80 percent of what men earned (Pay and Employment Task Force, 2004, p.26). More recent data regarding the average pay gap in the tertiary education sector is difficult to obtain.

¹³ Parker, J. & Donnelly, N. (2020). The revival and refashioning of gender pay equity in New Zealand. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 62(4), p. 560-581. Available:

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022185620929374>

¹⁴ Hyman, P. (1993). Equal pay for women after the Employment Contracts Act: Legislation and practice - the Emperor with no clothes? *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 18(1). Available:

<https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/nzjir/article/view/3841>

¹⁵ McGregor, J, & Davies, SG. (2018). Achieving pay equity: Strategic mobilization for substantive equality in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Gender Work Organisation*, 26: 619– 632.

Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12253>

¹⁶ Hill, L. (1993). The politics of equal pay. *Women's Studies Journal*, 9(2), 87–113.

¹⁷ Hill, L. (2004). Equal pay for work of equal value: Making human rights and employment rights laws work together. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 21: 1-21. Available: <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj21/21-equal-pay-for-work-of-equal-value-pages1-25.html>

In 2004 the Pay and Employment Equity Unit was established in the Department of Labour. The group supported the work of tripartite pay and employment equity reviews across the broader State sector including in tertiary education institutions. Reviews were conducted across the Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics between 2007-2009. However, in 2009 the Government discontinued the Pay and Employment Equity (PAEE) Unit which in turn halted comprehensive PAEE reviews in all but one university. The disbanding of the unit has radically restricted the public information there is available about the valuing of clerical and administration work in Aotearoa New Zealand universities in the last decade.¹⁸

Massey University was the only university to conduct a full PAEE review in 2009-2010. The first report was published in 2011 and Massey has since published regular up-dates¹⁹. The gender wage gap was of primary concern in the 2009 assessment with a gap of 21.5%. This was much larger than the average Aotearoa New Zealand gender pay gap at the time of 12.5%. The report explained that the gap related to the nature of the workforce “where there are a larger proportion of men in academic, higher paid positions and a larger proportion of women in general staff lower paid positions” (p.15) which include clerical and administration workers. This description would be appropriate for all Aotearoa New Zealand universities then and today.

The report further noted that in 2009 most female-dominated roles (see Table 2) were located at middle or lower salary grades, stating:

Of the female dominated jobs, over 60% of the categories pay less than the average Massey university general staff wage...of the male-dominated jobs, over 60% of the categories pay more than the average Massey general-staff wage. (p.16).

Moreover, the report noted that employees in female-dominated jobs appear to have less opportunity for advancement (p.173).

Massey University set up a Pay and Employment Equity Implementation group to support the implementation of the action plan based on the review. After more than a decade of focussed work undertaken by Massey to progress gender pay equity, the overall gender wage gap in 2018 had reduced to 19.6% (Massey University, 2019)²⁰. The biggest reductions in the gender pay gap have been amongst general staff. In 2009 the gender wage gap amongst general staff was 17.2% but by 2018 the gap was 11%. This reflects slow positive progress though there remains persistent inequity.

Given the focus and attention of Massey University to address issues of pay equity, it is likely that the university has made better progress than some other universities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Even so, there remains a gender pay gap across all university staff and within general staff roles. Without active evaluation and intervention now, pay equity for the female-dominated roles of clerical and administration work remains an unacceptably long way off.

¹⁸ Hyman P (2010). *Pay and Equal Opportunity in New Zealand – Developments 2008/2010 and Evaluation in Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand 2010*. Labour, Employment and Work Conference Proceedings. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington. Available: <https://doi.org/10.26686/lew.v0i0.1717>

¹⁹ Massey University (2011, March). *Pay and Employment Equity Review Report and Action Plan*. Palmerston North: Massey university.

²⁰ Massey University (2019, Jan). *Pay and employment equity monitoring and analysis report*. Pay and Employment Equity Implementation Group. Palmerston North: Massey University.

| Table 2. Female- and male-dominated roles at Massey University in 2009° | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Female dominated | Male dominated |
| <i>Accounts clerk</i> | Accountant (General) |
| <i>Call or contact centre operator*</i> | Analyst programmer |
| Chemistry technician | Caretaker |
| <i>Clerical and administrative workers</i> | Developer programmer |
| <i>Clerical and office support workers</i> | Earth Science Technician |
| <i>General, Human resources and inquiry clerks</i> | Gardener |
| Librarian | ICT customer support officer |
| Library assistant | ICT managers |
| Office manager | ICT support Technicians |
| <i>Personal assistant</i> | Technicians and Trades workers |
| <i>Receptionist (general)</i> | |
| <i>Secretary (General)</i> | |
| Veterinary nurse | |

°Information replicated from Massey University (2011), p.173.

*Bolded and italicised roles relate to this claim for pay equity for clerical and administrative workers.

4. Sex-based systematic undervaluation of the work as a result of the dominant source of funding for universities (ref: EPA 1972, s13F(3)(e)(i))

A feature of the sector that has impacted the undervaluation of clerical and administration work is its reliance on government funding.

The tertiary education sector including the eight universities listed in this claim is part of the wider State Sector grouping within the Public Sector of Aotearoa New Zealand²¹. The Government of New Zealand has financial oversight of this sector such that the financial situation and performance of tertiary education institutions is included in the Financial Statements of the Government of New Zealand as part of the Government reporting entity under the Public Finance Act 1989.

Aotearoa New Zealand's eight universities are publicly funded, autonomous tertiary education institutions. They receive funding from a range of sources with the largest contribution (42%) coming from the New Zealand Government through tuition grants, Student Achievement Component (SAC) funding and Performance-Based Research Funds (PBRF). A further 28% is collected from student tuition fees and 30% from university research, commercialisation and other revenue. The ability of universities to increase funding from tuition fees is rightly constrained by the government through the Annual Maximum Fee Movement (AFM) (set at 1.1% in 2021)²².

²¹ Te Kawa Mataaho (2018). What is the 'public sector'? *Te Kawa Mataaho, Public Service Commission website*. Available: <https://www.publicservice.govt.nz/resources/what-is-the-public-sector>.

²² Universities NZ (2022). *How NZ universities are funded*, Universities NZ Website. Available: <https://www.universitiesnz.ac.nz/about-university-sector/how-nz-universities-are-funded>.

The workers performing the work that is the subject of this claim have in effect, been required to compete with other groups of workers within the sector for access to the limited funds available for remuneration increases.

As has been noted in other private and public sectors (e.g. Wichroski, 1994)²³, clerical and administration work is often “hidden” in universities and is not always seen as being central to the academic purpose of universities relating to teaching, learning and research. This has resulted in significant occupational segregation of university work such that female-dominated admin and clerical work has been overlooked in terms of priority for limited resources, particularly in relation to remuneration increases and investment of professional development (e.g., Rhoades & Maitland, 1998)²⁴.

Because clerical and administration work is predominantly performed by women and the work is often “hidden”, there has been systemic undervaluation of the work. The ability of universities to redress gender pay inequities will be reliant on adequacy of government funding.

5. Sex-based systematic undervaluation of the work as a result of common pay setting and pay progression approaches within universities

(Ref: EPA 1972, s13F(3)(e)(iv))

The parties have historically failed to properly assess the remuneration that should have been paid to account for the nature of work covered by this claim. Universities predominantly use market-based pay systems to determine remuneration levels. These pay systems are not transparent or open to scrutiny by workers and cannot be presumed to be free of assumptions based on gender. Indeed, even where there are no discriminatory factors found in formal pay systems, researchers have found bias in the way systems are used and actual compensation practices undertaken (Koskinen Sandberg, 2017)²⁵.

In the setting of wages and salaries, professional knowledge and expertise of diverse occupational groups of allied staff within universities, including clerical and administrative staff, is side-lined in favour of cumbersome job evaluation models administered by private companies and pay structures that obscure pay movements in individual rates and equity between employees. Lack of transparency in remuneration structures alongside individual negotiation of salary is recognised as a factor that can contribute to greater gender pay inequality (e.g. ABS, 2019)²⁶.

Furthermore, of the wage classification structures that apply to administration and clerical work contained within the various Aotearoa New Zealand university Collective Agreements (CAs), most have so-called “merit” bars and performance-based pay systems that seriously

²³ Wichroski, M.A. (1994). The secretary: Invisible labour in the workworld of women. *Human Organisation*, 53(1), p.33-41. Available: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44126557#metadata_info_tab_contents

²⁴ Rhoades, G., & Maitland, C. (1998). The hidden campus workforce:(De) Investing in staff. *Blue Collar*, 306(131,232), 42-8.

²⁵ Koskinen Sandberg, P. (2017). Intertwining Gender Inequalities and Gender-neutral Legitimacy in Job Evaluation and Performance-related Pay. *Gender, Work, and Organization*, 24(2), 156–170. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12156>

²⁶ ABS (2019), Employee Earnings and Hours, Australia , Data cube 2, table 1, Jan 2019, viewed 24 August 2021, Available: <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/labour/earnings-and-working-conditions/employee-earnings-and-hours-australia/latest-release>

constrain a worker's ability to progress through the wage structure. The requirements for performance-based/merit increases generally allow for supervisor/management discretion and assessment. For example, research in the University of Western Australia found that women professional staff (including clerical and administration staff) received lower discretionary payments than their male colleagues, revealing additional pay inequities to the on-average 12% pay gap within annual salaries for that university (Currie and Hill, 2013)²⁷.

Previous research has shown that the positive effect of performance pay on wages is restricted to high-wage workers (Fabling, Grimes, Maré, 2012²⁸; Rubery, 1995²⁹). Further, the effect of performance on high-wage workers is only apparent for men. Given the apparent absence of an effect on female wages and the concentration of prime-age men in the top quartile of the wage distribution, women on average, appear to benefit less from the operation of performance pay systems (Ibid.)

There has been a lack of effective bargaining because where the parties have reviewed the work of the subject of this claim, any parameters for remuneration improvements have been constrained by funding restrictions and market-based pay systems rather than by a proper gender-neutral assessment of the work.

The social, cultural and historical factors identified in sections 3 -5 above have contributed to an inability of the parties to properly assess the remuneration for these roles in a manner free of gender bias.

²⁷ Currie, J., & Hill, B. (2013). Gendered universities and the wage gap: Case study of a pay equity audit in an Australian university. *Higher Education Policy*, 26(1), 65–82. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1057/hep.2012.19>

²⁸ Fabling, R., Grimes, A., & Maré, D.C. (2012). Performance pay systems and the gender wage gap. *Motu Working Paper 1213*. Wellington: Motu Economic and Public Policy Research.

²⁹ Rubery, J. (1995). Performance-related pay and the prospects for gender pay equity. *Journal of Management Studies*, 32, 5, 637–54. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.1995.tb00792.x>

Appendix D

This Appendix reproduces research developed for the PSA about the undervaluation of female-dominated clerical and administration work.

The Feminisation and Segregation of the Clerical Workforce

Sarah Christie, December 2017

1. Executive Summary

This report is a synthesis of what has already been written about hospital clerical work and clerical work more generally. It focuses on the period before equal pay legislation.

- Very little has been written about hospital clerical workers. Clerical work has been ignored by the historians of hospitals.
- To learn the specific history of hospital clerical workers, the PSA would have to commission original historical research.
- The history of clerical work more generally can shed light on the general pattern of women's work and the impact this had on wage levels.
- The numbers of women clerical workers started growing in the 1890s. Women entering clerical work were not replacing men, but were part of the expansion of clerical work
- Women's clerical work was segregated. Women were restricted to lower status, lower paid clerical roles.
- The Public Service Commission took active steps to keep women in low-paid low status roles. These steps were often fought by the PSA.
- The idea that women worked temporarily before marriage was one justification for lower pay. Occupations with high numbers of young women tended to be seen as of lower status and were lower paid. The marriage bar played a significant role in gendering clerical work.
- Both wars saw an increase in the number of clerical workers, but the Public Service Commission took steps to emphasise these roles were temporary. Women were also more vulnerable during the depression because their work was seen as temporary.
- Legally mandated unequal pay was part of the reason that women clerical workers were paid less, but only part. The segregation of women to certain types of clerical roles, beliefs about women as temporary workers, acts by employers to enforce the temporary nature of women's work and the ideology of the breadwinner wage meant that equal pay would never have achieved pay equity.

2. Introduction

This report sets out what existing historical research can tell us about hospital clerical work and unequal pay. It focuses on the period before equal pay legislation to show the role that segregation, views about women's work, and the makeup of the workforce played in devaluing hospital clerical work.

The first finding is that there is little existing research on historical clerical workers specifically. The bulk of this report therefore focuses on clerical work more broadly with particular reference to the public sector in order to highlight the larger trends impacting female clerical workers within hospitals and health sector across this period. This report outlines how the two key processes of feminisation and segregation helped to realign and redefine clerical work in New Zealand between the late nineteenth and mid twentieth century.

In addition to the report itself, there is an appendix which addresses the role education played in the feminisation and segregation of the workforce. Understanding the role of education is useful in two ways. First, it underscores the role of the state in creating a gender segregated workforce. Second, it demonstrates that girls and their families took opportunities for a wider range of work when those opportunities was offered. In equal pay cases internationally, corporations have argued that segregation was a matter of women's choice, and this material undermines that argument. What is known about the history of clerical work in hospitals?

By the end of the twentieth century, clerical work within hospitals was predominantly undertaken by women. However, existing research provides no information about how this happened. It is possible that the feminisation of clerical work was slower to begin here than in some other sectors. In 1911 only the hospitals in the four main centres had more than 150 beds, while 71 percent of hospitals had fewer than fifty beds.³⁰ This suggests that larger administrative staffs were a later development.

Hospitals in colonial New Zealand were initially set up by local communities and run as fee charging and charitable institutions. Patients were charged for their care and those that could not afford to pay were covered by charitable donations, local rates and government subsidies. Women's roles in these institutions reflected the job opportunities available to women between the 1840s and 1880s. Women were hired in hospital laundries, kitchens, sewing-rooms and as general domestic servants?³¹ The establishment of Hospital Charitable Aid Trusts and Hospitals Boards from 1885 to run New Zealand's public hospitals coincided with a broadening of opportunities for middle class girls which resulted in women entering hospitals as nurses and clerical workers. Numbers of female clerical staff have not been collated for the various Hospital Boards but it would be expected that they mirrored the increasing numbers of young women entering the workforce as typists, telephonists, cashiers and ledger machine operators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

It was Social Security Act 1938 introduced by the Labour Government which promised free medical care for all New Zealanders that increased hospital bureaucracies and bought hospitals fully under government control. This meant that wages and employment conditions for hospital clerical workers were now set by central government and the State Service Commission. A system that persisted until the 1990s³².

This change meant that while there were peculiarities to clerical work within the hospital environment, events such as the introduction of the Government Service Equal Pay Act 1960 illustrate the shared history with the wider public sector.³³

³⁰ Derek Dow, "Springs of Charity?: The Development of the New Zealand Hospital System, 1876-1910," in *A Healthy Country: Essays on the Social History of Medicine in New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 48.

³¹ F. O. Bennett, *Hospital on the Avon: The History of the Christchurch Hospital 1862 - 1962* (Christchurch: North Canterbury Hospital Board, 1962), 257, 260 & 272.

³² Alice Silverson, ed., *The Last Thirty Years: The History of the Canterbury Area Health Board 1963 - 1993*, 27-28

³³ Linda Bryder, 'Hospitals', *Te Ara — Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/hospitals> (accessed 10 November 2017).

A survey of existing literature on health and hospital histories has uncovered almost nothing about hospital clerical workers. Some references to clerical work exist. For example ninety percent of telephone calls at Christchurch hospital in the 1950s went through manually controlled switchboards. References are made as to the problems of housing the copious amounts of paper patient records and of the processes of digitizing these from the 1970s.³⁴ Little, if any scholarly attention has been paid however to the clerical workers that undertook these tasks. To uncover their stories and understand the process of feminisation and segregation that depressed clerical workers pay within hospitals a larger project using primary sources would be required.

3. What is known about Gender and Clerical Work?

This wider history of clerical work is a story of increasing workforce participation by women as well as one of segmentation within the workforce and the establishment of secondary labour markets. Educational opportunities from the 1870s provided young women with the literacy and skills necessary to take advantage of a surge in clerical work as New Zealand became more urban. By the 1940s the experience of paid work had become almost universal for young single women. The feminisation of the labour force however was intimately connected with trends of labour force segmentation. Women's increasing participation in the workforce was limited to key sectors and occupations. Educational changes, workplace attitudes and government policies bought about and reinforced this segregation, while international events such as war and depression bought both opportunity for women as well as reinforcing limits on their workplace participation.

3.1. Feminisation

Young women began to enter the clerical workforce in New Zealand in significant numbers from the 1890s. In 1896 5.8 percent of the just over 8,000 clerical workers were female. By 1936 women numbered 40 percent of the clerical workforce.³⁵ From 1956 women made up the majority of clerical workers.³⁶ New Zealand's feminisation of clerical work followed similar processes in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia.³⁷

Young women's entry into clerical work was part of a wider social change that reflected women's increasing participation in the workforce more generally.³⁸ The growing cities of New Zealand were

³⁴ Silversen, 227-28 & 351.

³⁵ Bronwyn Karran, "She Stoops to Conquer: The Feminisation of the Clerical Workforce in New Zealand, 1890 to 1935" (University of Otago, 1991), 6.

³⁶ Population Census, 1956, Vol. IV. Industries and Occupations. (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1959), 95 & 118

³⁷ Gregory Anderson, ed., *The White-Blouse Revolution: Female Office Workers since 1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Samuel Ross Cohn, "Clerical Labor Intensity and the Feminization of Clerical Labor in Great Britain, 1857-1937," *Social Forces* 63, no. 4 (June 1, 1985): 1060-68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2578607>; Margery Davies, "Women's Place Is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force," in *Labor Market Segmentation*, ed. Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, and David M. Gordon (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1973), 279—96; Teresa Davy, "'A Cissy Job for Men; A Nice Job for Girls': Women Shorthand Typists in London, 1900-1939," in *Our Work, Our Lives, Our Words - Women's History and Women's Work*, ed. Leonore Davidoff and Belinda Westover (London: Macmillan Education, 1986), 124—44; Kim England and Kate Boyer, "Women's Work: The Feminization and Shifting Meanings of Clerical Work," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (December 1, 2009): 307—40, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20685389>; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Melanie Nolan, "Uniformity and Diversity: A Case Study of Women in Paid Labour, 1880-1939" (Australia National University, 1989).

³⁸ The trend of increasing labour force participation by women is strongly evident despite the changes to census descriptions and processes during the nineteenth and early twentieth century that make undertaking direct intercensal comparisons difficult. For a detailed breakdown of women's total workforce participation by census (until 1971) see Gordon Carmichael, "Post-War Trends in Female Labour Force Participation in New Zealand," *Pacific Viewpoint* 16, no. 1 (May 1975): 80. Also valuable is Lisa Davies and Natalie Jackson,

eager for employees to fill the expanding factories and offices.³⁹ Office work offered a clean and respectable alternative to the isolation and long hours of domestic service or the unpleasant conditions and low wages of factory work. The attraction of office work to young women is demonstrated by the increase in the numbers of young typists at the same time as the number of young women willing to undertake domestic service declined.⁴⁰

Office work was primarily undertaken by young single women. From 1891 to 1921 census data shows over 60 percent of female clerical workers were between fifteen and twenty-five years of age. They were also primarily unmarried with most young women leaving the workforce upon marriage. There was however also a small but growing group of women, most of whom had never married who made a career in the office.⁴¹

While clerical work offered young women a cleaner and usually better paid alternative to domestic or factory work, female clerical workers were predominately employed as 'low paid, low level workers'.⁴² Assumptions that young women would only be in the workforce temporarily until they married and were not providing for dependents helped to reinforce structures of separate male and female wage scales and positions where women had few opportunities for advancement.

3.2. Segregation

Women's entry into clerical work was part of a general expansion of this sector rather than a replacement by young women of the male workforce. Women's entry into clerical work aligns with the development of the tertiary sector in New Zealand.⁴³ The expansion of the clerical workforce occurred at the same time urbanisation and modernisation brought about increases in employment opportunities in the public service, commercial and professional sectors. Between 1900 and 1906 the number of male clerical workers increased by thirty percent, with twenty five percent of these working within the Public Service.⁴⁴

As women entered the clerical workforce they neither replaced male jobs nor were taken on with the same remuneration and conditions as their male counterparts. This resulted in women becoming 'disproportionately distributed across occupations (horizontal segregation) and disproportionately concentrated in lower grades of work, as defined in terms of skill, prestige, responsibility and remuneration (vertical segregation).⁴⁵ The expansion of clerical work therefore provided opportunities for both men and women but saw them become segregated into different roles within the clerical workforce.

Mechanisation of the office with the introduction of the typewriter and expansion of the sector lead to a proliferation of job divisions within clerical work. By 1936 99 percent of stenographers and typists were women. Fifty one percent of female clerical workers were concentrated in just four jobs

Women's Labour Force Participation in New Zealand: The Past 100 Years (Social Policy Agency/Rōpū Here Kaupapa, 1993).

³⁹ Chris Brickell, *Teenagers: The Rise of Youth Culture in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), 72-73.

⁴⁰ Deborah Montgomerie, *The Women's War: New Zealand Women 1939 - 45* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), 182.

⁴¹ Shannon Brown, "Female Office Workers in Auckland 1891-1936" (University of Auckland, 1993), 153.

⁴² Karran, "*She Stoops to Conquer* 27.

⁴³ Tom Brooking, "Economic Transformation," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand* 2nd Edition, ed. Geoffrey Rice (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), 232.

⁴⁴ Karran, "*She Stoops to Conquer* 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

(cashier, bookkeeper, stenographer or typist and office machinist).⁴⁶ In comparison jobs reserved for men often increased in prestige or underwent a process of professionalization. In the twentieth century bookkeeping, once a clerk's role became split into professional accountancy which was dominated by men and the more routine procedures of bookkeeping and adding machine work which came to be associated as women's work.⁴⁷

3.3. Clerical Work in the twentieth century

3.3.1 . Early Civil Service

The processes whereby segmentation and segregation of the workforce was reinforced and formalised can be seen with in the Public Service. Paternalistic attitudes towards women and a belief that they were less capable workers combined with a desire to protect the male breadwinning worker. This lead to policies that placed formal limits on the feminisation of the workforce and restricted women to roles that were paid less, offered little or no advancement opportunities and were often more tenuous.

At the turn of the century, young women had started to enter the Civil Service in small numbers, Records from the 1890s show the Civil Service employed women, including married women, in a range of traditionally female roles such as 'mental' hospital nurses and domestic occupations. In 1901 the first three 'cadettes' had been appointed to the service after passing the Civil Service Junior Examination. By 1913 the Civil Service employed thirty-six female clerks, forty 'typistes' and seventy-five shorthand 'typistes'.⁴⁸ The Commission and the subsequent decisions and policies of the first Public Service Commissioner, Donald Robertson placed limits on this burgeoning feminisation of the Service.

The Hunt Report was released in 1912 and aimed to put the public service on a more professional footing. It contended that female officers were 'good steady workers' but in their opinion could not 'stand the strain of a rush or pressure of work in the same way that men can.'⁴⁹ This they believed justified setting women's wages at a reduced rate. The Public Service Association (PSA) and senior female clerks demanded equal treatment for 'female employees of equal competence with male employees', but the Commissioner set lower maximum salaries for women than for men.⁵⁰ The PSA were also worried at the deflationary impact on all wages that lower wages for female workers would have. They also argued that the Service would face an increasing number of female employees due to the fact that the 'use of machines in clerical work had given opportunity for the more extensive employment of females in the Service.'⁵¹

The Commission also sought to restrict the positions that women were able to occupy within the Service. The Hunt Report stated that,

female offices, as a rule, do not readily take responsibility in the way that men do: but this of course would be met when promotions were being made. It would probably be found that they

⁴⁶ Ibid., 28.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁸ Roberta Nicholls, "The PSC and the Equal Pay Campaign," in *The Quest for Efficiency - The Origins of the State Services Commission*, ed. Alan Henderson (Wellington: State Services Commission, 1990), 248.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 247.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 248.

⁵¹ Ibid., 249.

would not rise so high in the Service as the male officers. Except, perhaps, in exceptional cases, the bulk of them would remain in the lower classes.⁵²

The prevailing belief was that marriage and motherhood were the inevitable and desirable future for young women. Any time spent in the paid workforce was therefore viewed as temporary and for the purpose of providing 'luxuries.' This view culminated in the decree that young women were no longer eligible to sit the Civil Service entrance examinations and that upon marriage they were required to resign, with exemptions requiring the approval of the Commissioner.⁵³

3.32. The Great War

The Great War 1914 — 1918 increased opportunities within the workforce for young women. The increase of female clerical workers during the war was part of the longer term upward trend of the feminisation of clerical work but the war gave the numbers an undeniable 'bump'. Vacancies created by young men enlisting combined with the expansion of the state bureaucracy during war to create a labour shortage especially in the Post and Telegraph and Defence Departments. Reacting to this 'emergency' situation the Commission readmitted women to the Public Service entrance examinations. Prior to the war there were 1,826 female public servants, by March 1918 this had more than doubled to 4,153.⁵⁴ Departments that had resisted employing women were 'utilizing women for work such as assisting auditors, ledger work and other minor accounting and clerical work.'⁵⁵ Anticipating that this was an impermanent situation many of the new positions created were on temporary conditions reflecting the continued nervousness of both the Commission and the Public Service to increasing feminisation.

An example of attitudes towards wartime feminisation can be seen in the telegraph department. There was concern from male employees when in 1917 it became obvious that 'lady telegraphists' were being employed as permanent staff. The heads of the Post and Telegraph Department complained that increasing numbers of lowly paid female workers would lower the status and wages of jobs across the board. There was concern that women were unable or unwilling to do certain hours and duties and as a result would 'monopolise the best hours and lightest work' and take career opportunities away from young telegraph messenger boys.⁵⁶

Following the war the Commission sought to reassert the position of male workers. The Commission worried that young men would find their route to a career blocked by competition with young women who were unlikely to stay beyond twenty-five and that men were unlikely to accept having women promoted above them. In response the Commission gave female clerks and typists smaller salary increases than their male counterparts in salary re-grading in 1919. The PSA successfully challenged this.⁵⁷

3.3.3. The Depression

Segregation and the belief that women's work was temporary meant that government policy during the depression targeted women workers. Wartime increases had seen

⁵² Ibid., 247.

⁵³ Ibid, 248.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 251.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 250.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 250-51.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 251.

temporary staff in the Public Service rise to a peak of 2,089 in April 1919. In response to the economic recession of 1921 the Public Service issued instructions for reducing staff that stated that temporary staff, most of whom were women, were to be let go first, followed by women who were 'performing duties which might reasonably be undertaken by males'. By November 1921 the number of temporary staff had fallen to 583, Women were once again excluded from cadetships. Shorthand typists and typists were employed on temporary contracts only and a new level of temporary office assistant was created to deal with routine office duties.⁵⁸ Both men and women had their salaries cut.

Out of these conditions however came a greater awareness for the rights of female workers to be treated the same as their male counterparts. Although it was widely believed that married men still required higher wages to support their dependents, women's groups, church organisations and the Labour movement all protested the inequity of women's wages being subjected to the Unemployment and Relief Tax (1d for every 6s 8d) while being excluded from relief under the same conditions as single men. Women were instead forced to rely on applications to Women's Unemployment Committees (WUC) or charitable organisations for aid.⁵⁹

Initially the incoming Labour government in 1935 brought about little change, but the introduction of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Act (ICAA) 1936 had a substantial impact on women clerical workers. As a result of the ICAA the Arbitration Court issued a general wage order that fixed minimum wages for adult females at 47 percent of the male rate (£1 16s for female workers and £3 16s for male workers).

Despite fears that raising the female basic wage would encourage married women into the workforce and dissuade single women from marriage and a family the Minimum Wage Act of 1945 increased the female rate to 60 percent of the male wage and a further amendment in 1949 raised it further to 66 percent of the male wage.⁶⁰ Increasing wage parity started to undercut the primacy of the male breadwinner wage but still left unchallenged the realities of a separate and segmented workforce where women were concentrated in select sectors and roles and participation in the workforce was seen as temporary and a precursor to a domestic role supported by a male breadwinner.

3.3.4. War Again

The outbreak of war again in 1939 created another surge in demand for female clerical workers. Again government departments needed to fill positions left vacant by men recruited into the armed forces at the same time as expanding their wartime duties. Departments such as the Post Office and the Railways absorbed a large number of female workers. The ranks of female shorthand typists and office assistants in the public sector saw a dramatic increase from 2,013 in 1939, to 3,200 in 1942 and reaching a zenith of over 7,000 female staff in 1944.⁶¹ Opportunities also opened up in the private sector in areas such as distribution, finance and retail. White-collar occupations were not usually protected as essential industries and as such some lost up to 10 percent of their male workforce.⁶² The Bank of New Zealand while maintaining a workforce of roughly the same size

⁵⁸ Nicholls, "The PSC and the Equal Pay Campaign," 256.

⁵⁹ Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), 170-71.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁶¹ Nicholls, "The PSC and the Equal Pay Campaign," 254.

⁶² Montgomerie, *The Women's War*, 66.

increased the proportion of female workers from 4.6 percent in 1939 to 30.5 percent in January 1945.

⁶³

This larger female workforce population was made up of women at different stages in their work and life cycle. Some who already had jobs at the outbreak of war stayed in them longer both out of a sense of duty and the fact that with so many young men overseas marriage and starting a family was often delayed. Some married women were forced into becoming the family breadwinner, while some were young school leavers entering the workforce for the first time. ⁶⁴

Again the increase in demand for women's clerical labour did not challenge the segmented nature of the workforce. Women were primarily recruited into jobs that were seen as temporary and already part of a secondary labour market of lower paid jobs in a limited range of occupations. The greater demands for female clerical labour provided many women working in domestic service the opportunity to leave behind its long hours, isolation and hard manual work for low pay. The proportion of women wage earners in domestic service fell from 32 percent in 1936 to only 13.5 percent by 1945. Deborah Montgomerie has argued that the war 'reshuffled' the female labour force within a secondary market of 'female occupations' rather than a general broadening of what constituted acceptable 'women's work'. Jobs that were filled by women were often downsized or re-categorised so that they had less responsibility and maintained the gendered division of work. ⁶⁵

There was a strong cultural emphasis on the temporary nature of wartime conditions. Women's increased participation in the paid workforce was categorised at the time as a temporary necessity despite the long trajectory of women's increasing participation. In order to limit the challenges to the established gender order both men and women, employee and employer saw changes in the workforce as temporary and structured within a broader framework of voluntarism and 'pitching in' towards a national war effort. ⁶⁶ Women taking on work with the Post Office were required to sign statements acknowledging their jobs as temporary. ⁶⁷ That many women saw their war time work as place-holding, both within their own lives and as temporarily filling a position until a soldier returned to 'claim' it, is reinforced in the oral histories conducted by Helen May. ⁶⁸

This assumption of the temporary nature of women's wartime work was demonstrated by the Head of the Social Security Department when he noted that while women had 'filled supervisory clerical positions 'intelligently, diligently, efficiently', with the end of the war they could now be relieved by returning male staff. ⁶⁹ Following the end of the war women did in fact leave the workforce in order to fulfil family aspirations put off during the war. At the Bank of New Zealand twenty percent of their female workforce (145 women) had resigned between April 1945 and February 1946. In 1945 women made up fifty-nine percent of the clerical workforce but by 1951 this had shrunk to forty-six percent. This was to prove a temporary retreat however. By 1956 women again made up a majority of the clerical workforce at fifty four percent and this continued to climb, reaching sixty-one percent in 1971. (See Figure one).

Despite the limits placed on women entering and remaining in the workforce during the war there was still a sense by many that they had proven their worth and there were increased calls for equal

⁶³ Meeting — 21st February 1946, Board of Directors Minute Book, February 1945- January 1947, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 63

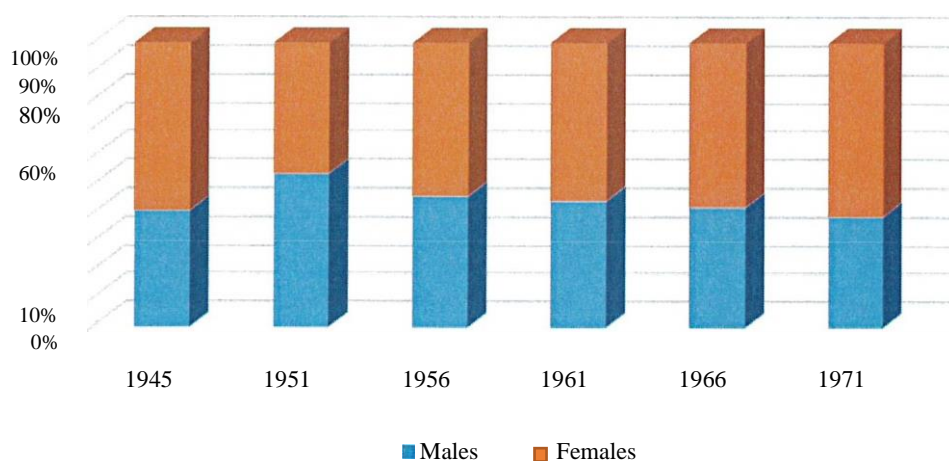
⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 31,

⁶⁸ Helen May, *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pākehā Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992), 35.

⁶⁹ Nicholls, "The PSC and the Equal Pay Campaign," 257.

pay for equal work. This was especially true amongst the small groups of women within the civil service that had taken on roles of more responsibility and tasks previously conducted by men. For the majority of female clerical workers however the prospect of equal pay for equal work (as opposed to equal value) held out little prospect of change, positioned as they were in overwhelmingly female dominated occupations. As a result calls for equal pay initially received little grass-roots support amongst female clerical workers. Changes in the post-war period however produced what Megan Cook has described as a paradigm shift in the ideologies about work in New Zealand and calls for equal pay were tightly intertwined with these.⁷⁰

Figure One. Male and Female Clerical Workers as a Percentage of Clerical Workforce (Data from NZ Population Census)



3.3.5. A New Era?

It was era of post-war prosperity that in many ways brought about significant changes to the female clerical workforce and their conditions and opportunities. Women in post-war New Zealand negotiated a bundle of contradictory and changing ideas about femininity and women's roles. On one hand the post-war zeitgeist emphasised female domesticity: the idealisation of motherhood and the home, On the other hand economic pressures were pushing women into the workforce, Labour remained in short supply following the war, Skilled clerical workers were in demand. Shorthand typists were added to the list of desired occupations for assisted immigrants and hostels were maintained in Wellington in order to attract young typists to move there for work. It quickly became clear that large numbers of workers, primarily women, brought into the Public Service during the war on temporary contracts would be needed indefinitely. The Public Service Amendment Act 1946 provided a pathway to permanent status for these workers and in 1947 the marriage bar was lifted.⁷¹

Married women remaining in, and returning to, the workforce became as Michael Carmichael described a 'genuine social revolution gradually gathering momentum'.^{72,73}

Married women as a percentage of the female labour force jumped from 17.5 percent in 1945 to 32.8 percent a decade later in 1956 and continued to climb throughout the 1960s to reach 49.9 percent in

⁷⁰ Megan Cook, 'A History of the Campaign for the 1972 Equal Pay Act' (University of Otago, 1994), 52—53.

⁷¹ AJHR (1947) H-14, 7 and Nicholls, 'The PSC and the Equal Pay Campaign,' 258.

⁷² Carmichael, 'Post-War Trends in Female Labour Force Participation in New Zealand,' 81.

⁷³ Nolan, Breadwinning, 207.

1971. The increasing availability of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s allowed women more choice in planning the timing and size of their family, which in turn gave them more control over decisions to re-enter the workforce. Younger average ages of marriage meant that more women had completed their child-rearing by younger ages than previous generations and were in positions to take advantage of increased part-time employment or return to work full-time. Melanie Nolan also argues that rising costs of living helped motivate women to seek work, even though it was often lower paid and within the secondary labour market. Nolan argues that while the government saw married women as a reserve labour army and encouraged returning to work in certain occupations to ease labour shortages, other policies had had an effect on reducing state support for women at home. As Nolan points out, the relative value of the family benefit had declined over time and while government rhetoric was in support of female domesticity, they did little to support women's roles as caregivers, most notably their inaction to address domestic aid requests"

Evidence from the census results suggest however that the trend for married women to return to the labour force was not evenly distributed across the workforce. Clerical workers had relatively low rates of married women workforce participation in comparison to manual, service or agricultural jobs. Variation is apparent across the clerical workforce as well. In 1961 only 24.5 percent of stenographers and typists were married while 37.1 percent of cashiers and bookkeepers were.⁷⁴ A decade later a clear shift was evident. Even though clerical work still remained a job more likely to be done by single women, married women now made up 41.8 percent of stenographers, typists and punching card machine operators. Due to the fact that clerical workers accounted for over a third of female workers, clerical work was now the largest employer of married women.⁷⁵ Increasing participation made a further lie of the idea of males as sole family breadwinners and bought into sharper relief the different opportunities within the workforce for men and women.

The other 'social revolution' of the post-war years was the urbanisation of the Māori population. As more young Māori women sought work in the cities there was a corresponding increase in Māori women taking on clerical jobs. Clerical work was still overwhelmingly Pākehā but there was a steep increase in the numbers of young Māori women entering the office. In 1945 Māori women made up only 0.4 percent of the female clerical workforce. By 1971 this had increased to 2.7 percent, increasing from 177 workers to over 3,038, approximately one third of whom were under twenty. Between 1956 and 1971 the proportion of the female Māori workforce who laboured on typewriters, ledger machines and punching card machines doubled. Despite these increases by 1971 clerical workers accounted for only 14.6 percent of the Māori female workforce while the percentage of non-Māori women involved in clerical work was 34.3 percent.⁷⁶ The closure of the native school system and the introduction of School Certificate had brought more young Māori women into contact with a clerical education. Although there was still a strong push from the State to encourage young Māori women into areas such as factory work and psychiatric nursing, some government departments such as the Post-Office took out advertisements directly targeting Māori girls to take up clerical roles.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ New Zealand Population Census, 1961, Vol.4 Industries and Occupations (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1965), 9.

⁷⁵ New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971, Vol. 4 Industries and Occupations (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1974), 12.

⁷⁶ New Zealand Population Census, 1945, Vol III, Māori Census (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1950), 41; New Zealand Population Census, 1956, Vol. VIII Māori Population and Dwellings (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1960), 23; New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings 1971, Vol.8 Māori Population and Dwellings (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1974), 12 & 88.

⁷⁷ Megan C. Woods, "Integrating the Nation: Gendering Māori Urbanisation and Integration, 1942-1969," 2002, 196-, <http://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/4352>.

4. Conclusion

On the eve of the campaign for equal pay the clerical workforce was clearly demarcated according to gender. Young women leafing through recruitment brochures or position vacant ads were well aware that their options in the workplace were very different from those open to their brothers. The booklet *Careers for Girls: A Guide in Choosing a Career* published in 1946 by the New Zealand Education Department provided an outline of thirty-five occupational areas that were 'open' to women.⁷⁸ The underlying message was that what lay beyond these limits was effectively 'closed' to the reader. Sewing trades, service roles, teaching, medicine and care roles, artistic occupations, and shop and office work dominated the list. For the girls who were aiming at a university degree, careers such as Journalism, Law and Architecture were offered as areas where exceptional girls could challenge boundaries. It was clearly stated to these young women however that there were limited opportunities if not outright prejudice to their participation in these occupations. The public service, the country's largest employer with over forty government departments, did not mention cadet-ships, but outlined the various clerical roles girls could aim for such as in the typing pool, the telephone exchange, as machinists and for an elite few, secretaries.

Clerical work offered status and an image of glamour. Hours and wages were usually better in comparison to other occupations such as domestic service or factory work. Women learnt new skills as a range of new machines, the typewriter, the Burrough's adding and ledger machines and dictaphones began to revolutionise the office. The feminisation of the office — the 'white blouse revolution' — was extended by the labour demands of two world wars and a post-war economic boom. This is a story however of both expansion and limitation. Gendered assumptions that saw women as unable to take the strain of the paid workforce and a belief in the inevitability of marriage and motherhood justified workplace restrictions and prohibitions that reinforced women's time in the paid workforce as temporary. Educational reforms that helped expand access to the office also became a gendered conduit from the classroom to behind a typewriter. Segregation and belief about women's capacity in the workforce both contributed to a legal unequal pay scheme. Despite significant changes in the relationship between women and the workforce in the last fifty years, the legacies of segmentation and historical attitudes to women and work can still be seen in continued pay inequities and undervaluing of clerical work.

⁷⁸ *Careers for girls; a guide in choosing a career* (Wellington: School Publications Branch, New Zealand Education Dept, 1946).

Appendix D.1.

Education — Opportunities and Segregation

The feminisation of clerical work had come about because at every stage young women took advantage of the opportunities that were before them to advance their own aspirations. As educational opportunities expanded from the late nineteenth century young women and their families sought out a general and clerical education in the hopes that it would parlay into workforce opportunity. However, education could also promote a gender segregated workforce.

Education initially provided young women with the opportunity to take advantage of the growing demand for clerical workers but also came to reinforce the idea of clerical work as women's work. Historian Melanie Nolan has charted the way in which education acted as a mechanism for women's entry into the office in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Victoria, Australia. She proposes that there existed a relationship between educational reform and the ability of new groups of young women to take advantage of new opportunities within the workplace.⁷⁹ Within New Zealand the Education Act 1877 provided all children of the colony with free, compulsory and secular access to a primary level education, although its uptake was uneven and gendered. Girls were more likely to be enrolled later and withdrawn earlier, although they did progress through the standards at a faster rate than their brothers.⁸⁰ Increased availability of primary schooling combined with an increasing number of new girls' secondary schools established from the 1870s in major centres. These catered to the professional and middle classes who had the inclination and financial ability to procure an academic education for their daughter.⁸¹

Reforms in education at the beginning of the century again opened up educational opportunities but also lead to divisions between academic and vocational training. In 1903 the Liberal Government opened the way for both girls and boys to attend secondary school based on credit and achievement. Two years free secondary schooling was allocated to all those who passed the Proficiency Exam at the end of primary school, although families still had to pay upfront and apply for a reimbursement of their children's fees. Girl's schools had from the beginning been proud of their academic focus and were anxious about a diversification in their curriculum as a result of extending the student base.⁸² Christchurch Girl's High School, which had been established in 1877, responded to popular demand and introduced commercial subjects to its curriculum in 1907. In 1918 however the Board of Governors introduced a 'side school' in Avonside in order to provide a specific site for teaching vocational subjects,⁸³ This highlights both the popularity and desirability amongst many young women and their families for a commercial education as well as the wish by educators to maintain a distinction between a more valued academic tradition and a 'secondary' vocational education. Girls who had been to academic secondary schools still sought clerical training by attending night classes at Technical Colleges or attending courses at private commercial colleges. From the turn of the century technical schools had developed as an alternative post-primary option, focused on gaining practical vocational skills. Students and their parents saw the potential opportunities offered by a commercial education and in 1908 more than half of the 2,000 students eligible for free places in

⁷⁹ Nolan, "Uniformity and Diversity: A Case Study of Women in Paid Labour, 1880-1939.", 204

⁸⁰ Margaret Tennant, "Natural Directions: The New Zealand Movement for Sexual Differentiation in Education during the Early Twentieth Century," in *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/ Port Nicholson Press, 1986), 87—88.

⁸¹ Ruth Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 1900-1975* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1985), 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 35.

technical classes were studying commercial subjects.⁸⁴ Young women and their parents took advantage of expanding educational opportunities and pursued commercial training by the avenues open to them believing it accorded them opportunity in the paid workforce. As a result a new community of educated young women developed at the same time employers were looking to increase their clerical workforces.⁸⁵

From the turn of the century, office work offered some young domestic servants or factory workers an alternative, especially if their parents were able and prepared to cover the costs of their education. Young women saved their wages and attended night courses at the new Technical Colleges and at a selection of private commercial schools such as Gilby's Commercial Colleges. The social revolution of the 1890s however was the entry of middle-class daughters into the paid workforce where previously their labour had been employed at home,

Assessing parental occupations of students taking a commercial course of study at the Seddon Memorial Technical College between 1906 to 1936 Brown found girls drawn from a variety of backgrounds. Annie, a daughter of a Member of Parliament attended in 1906 alongside Minnie a grocer's daughter and Audrey, the daughter of a Devonport clerk. Middle-class occupations (such as white-collar workers and tradesmen) predominated across this period but semi-skilled or unskilled workers were also represented such as gardener John Jackson whose two daughters Louisa and Ella were both enrolled in the commercial course in 1926.⁸⁶ The desire of parents to provide commercial training for their daughters and the trends for increased and broadened workforce participation, speaks to changing ideas about the purpose of education in relation to daughters and the role families saw for daughters within the family economy,

If clerical work was opening up opportunities to young women from a range of class backgrounds the feminisation of clerical work in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was overwhelmingly a Pākehā phenomenon. Māori in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were still predominately concentrated in rural areas while the burgeoning clerical workforce was part of New Zealand's urban growth of the period. Separate education systems of Native Schools and church boarding schools meant that few young Māori girls were exposed to the same technical education that was available to Pākehā girls in the cities. The emphasis at both state and church schools at this time primarily focused on instilling Pākehā defined practical domestic training, although Māori communities continually advocated for boarder educational opportunities.⁸⁷ The boarding schools such as Queen Victoria, Hukarere and Turakina combined domestic science with academic subjects such as Latin, Arithmetic and Geography and sought to encourage students into roles such as teaching and nursing where it was believed they could benefit their communities. From the 1920s there was a small but growing number of young Māori women who were passing external examinations such as School Certificate and the Public Service Examinations that would give them greater access to clerical jobs.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Barbara Day, "Women in Technical Education: An Historical Account," in *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992), 72.

⁸⁵ Brown, "Female Office Workers"; Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 19m-1975*; Karran, "She Stoops to Conquer; Shaw, "More than the Ordinary Domestic Drudge: Women and Technical Education in Auckland 1895-1922," *History of Education Review* (Australian & New Zealand History of Education Society (ANZHES)) 38, no. 1, accessed July 12, 2015, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA199989746&v=2.1&u=otago&it=r&p=AONE&sw=w&asid=b4c6bd7f6021c65797a1ef3bb5122bad>.

⁸⁶ Brown, "Female Office Workers," 155—60.

⁸⁷ Rochelle Mackintosh, "'Being Māori' and 'Being Successful' - Māori Girls' Educational Success at Secondary School" (Massey University, 2004), 19.

⁸⁸ Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 19m-1975*, 166-67; Judith Simon and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

The education system that provided an avenue for women into clerical work also came to reinforce the gendered differentiation that developed in the workplace. Initially both young men and women learnt typewriting and shorthand. By 1915 however girls outnumbered boys in the commercial classroom by two to one.⁸⁹⁹⁰ As girls became the majority of commercial students clerical work was redefined as 'women's work' and given a biological determinist justification. George George, Director of the Auckland Technical School claimed in 1912 while given evidence to the Cohen Commission into Education that girls were 'admirably adapted' to typing because it was a 'class of work that does not require a tremendous amount of brains. '61 This argument was part of a wider social concern by a group of influential educators, politicians and social reformers about racial purity and social degradation that lead to worry over the degenerative impact of education and the workplace on young women who they viewed as future mothers.⁹¹ In 1916 the Minister for Education, J A Hanan accepted the necessity and inevitability of young women in the workforce but believed that this should be a hiatus before embarking on their 'natural' and inevitable future as a wife and mother:

Let us give our girls a good education, even a temporary occupation in the business or industrial world, but let us act so that we and they may realize that not even the lawyer, doctor, statesman, or merchant has a calling so richly fruitful as the mother of a good home.⁹²

This social anxiety saw compulsory Home Science introduced into the curriculum for girls' who held free places at secondary school. For a minimum of three hours a week they were to be taught: home economic and hygiene, cooking, laundry, needle-craft and home nursing"⁹³This assumption that young women's time in the workplace was temporary and biologically ordained helped to justify the segregation of women into a secondary labour market where pay was less and promotional opportunities extremely limited.⁹⁴

The Labour Government's educational reforms of the 1930s and 1940s were built around the central tenant of 'equality of opportunity.'⁹⁵Once again educational reforms helped to make a commercial education more accessible while at the same time producing unintended consequences that reinforced gendered divisions within the workforce. The Labour Government's first step to broadening access to post-primary education was the abolition in 1937 of the Proficiency assessments at the end of Standard 6/Form 2. The dropping of the Proficiency examination changed the role of secondary education.⁹⁶⁹⁷ Now, progression to post-primary education was automatic, separated from systems of financial or academic selection. The role of post-primary education was to be transformed into a single system that aimed at preparing all children 'for adult life as responsible citizens. '68 The raising of the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen in 1944 cemented the new role of secondary education for all students after primary school.

⁸⁹ Day, "Women in Technical Education: An Historical Account," 72.

⁹⁰ A-IHR (1912), E-12, 166.

⁹¹ Tennant, "Natural Directions," 89—91.

⁹² AJHR (1916), E-1A, 8.

⁹³ Day, "Women in Technical Education: An Historical Account," 72.

⁹⁴ Karran, "She Stoops to Conquer," 88.

⁹⁵ Graeme Dunstall, "'The Social Pattern,'" in *The Oxford History of New Zealand - Second Edition*, ed. Geoffrey Rice, Second Edition (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), 466.

⁹⁶ C. E. Beeby, *The Biography of an Idea: Beeby on Education*, Educational Research Series, No. 69 (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1992), 137.

⁹⁷ Michael Bassett and Michael King, *Tomorrow Comes the Song: A Life of Peter Fraser* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000), 143.

A universal post-primary school system required a new curriculum in an attempt to address both the needs of students and the needs of a post-war economy. The reform of the School Certificate following the 1944 Thomas Report provided a new qualification that incorporated commercial subjects and extended access to a larger number and boarder range of girls as part of their free and compulsory education. The new School Certificate qualification was a balance of general and academic study with vocationally directed options. Students were to complete two years of compulsory study, referred to as 'the common core'. The core aimed to provide all students with a basic education that allowed them to be fully rounded and knowledgeable citizens, and as a base for further study, either vocational or academic. Bookkeeping and Typing and Shorthand were included in the list of examinable subjects for School Certificate, alongside the newly introduced Commercial Practice, which aimed at providing some knowledge of business principles and procedure.⁹⁸

The initial intention was that these reforms would allow students to pick subjects based on personal interest and ability. Instead options calcified into differentiated and gendered streams of study. New IQ tests were used to separate students into streams based on academic ability, overriding any preference or aspirations of the students themselves. Pressures of expanding school rolls combined with unchallenged assumptions about girls' abilities and workforce opportunities meant that girls were channelled into either a professional/academic, commercial or domestic course of study while their brothers were directed into professional or technical courses.⁹⁹ These divisions in turn reinforced stratification within the workforce. Girls who did domestic subjects or left school early usually found work in the service or manufacturing industries. Girls completing an academic course were directed into teaching, nursing or for the exceptional few university. For the remainder it was hoped to provide them with a good general education and access to basic training in commercial subjects to fit them for life in an office. The reforms of the 1940s set the pattern of education for two decades until it was challenged by 2nd wave feminists in the late 1960s.

⁹⁸ "The Post-Primary Curriculum: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Minister of Education in November, 1942" (Wellington: New Zealand Department of Education, 1959).

⁹⁹ Day, "Women in Technical Education: An Historical Account," 74.