1940-1983

1940-1983

OVERALL TRENDS

World War II merely arrested the decline in the percentage of females employed and this decline continued after 1945, reaching the lowest point in 1946 (see Figure 17). A steady increase followed up to 1959 to be followed by a decline again until a reversal of this trend occurred in 1965. In 1969, females, for the first time since 1933, constituted a majority of the teaching force, and by 1983 the percentage of females employed (60 per cent) was approaching the highest ever (61 per cent) reached between 1918 and 1920.

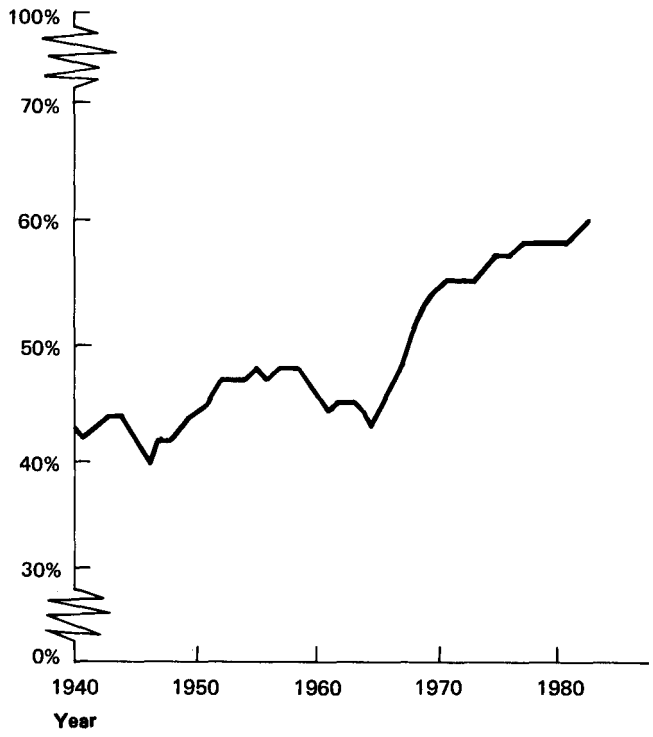

Figure 17: Percentage of female teachers in the teaching service, 1940-1983 (derived from Table 2)

FACTORS INFLUENCING EMPLOYMENT

Political Factors

Early in 1940, A. R. Drane, a female public servant in the Lands Department, requested that her employment be continued while her husband was overseas on war service. Because of its significance for the whole of the public service, this issue was referred to the Public Service Commissioner and then on to the State Cabinet'.

A female officer had to resign on marriage according to Regulation 53 unless the officer's Permanent Head recommended, and the Public Service Commissioner certified, that her continuance in public office was necessary in the public interest. Cabinet considered Drane's request on 14 May 1940 and decided that a female officer in this situation would have to resign and could not have her employment temporarily continued.

Shortly after this decision, the Federal Cabinet decided, when faced with a similar situation, that a female Commonwealth Public Service officer would be allowed to continue her employment in a temporary capacity. Responding to this decision, State Cabinet approved, on 27 June 1940, the same policy for State public servants as a war measure for the duration of the war. (The measure was implemented within - the provision of the *Public Service Acts* 1922-1924 which allowed a Public Service Commissioner to approve the temporary employment of a person for up to 12 months if it was in the public interest, and for a longer period of time with the consent of the Governor in Council). Because provisions of the *Public Service Acts* applied to teachers, the Public Service Commissioner's Department informed the Education Department of Cabinet's decision[2].

During the War, because of the large number of men who were absent, the Department became heavily dependent on married women teachers[3] (see Table 20).

With the War over, Cabinet reaffirmed, in 1946, the Regulation that female officers be required to resign on marriage with the exception of widows, divorcees and married women separated from their husband and not receiving financial support. Cabinet specifically instructed the Department of Education that it must endeavour to reduce

to the minimum the number of married female teachers in temporary employment[4].

For the following 20 years, the employment of married female teachers conformed to this policy. Married female temporary teachers were dismissed at the end of the year and, dependent upon the exigencies of the Department of Education, varying numbers were re-employed the following year (see Tables 17, 18 and 19).

The Parties in Opposition between 1953 and 1960 (both Liberal-Country Parties and Labor Party) each in turn attempted to embarrass the Government of the day by asking in Parliament at question time how many married women teachers were being re-employed. The implication was that the Government was failing to attract and hold enough males and single females[5].

The Opposition changed its tactics between 1961 and 1968 by asking how many married women were not re-employed. When first asked, this question was in the context of the number of alleged over-sized classes and then later in terms of the alleged injustice to married women teachers[6].

In the 1960s the Commonwealth and State Governments began to make changes which would lead to more women undertaking teaching as a life-long career. From 18 November 1966 married women in the Commonwealth Public Service were able to retain permanent status.

From 13 February 1969, the permanent head of a State Department could recommend the permanent employment of married female public servants after a consideration of the requirements of the Service and the suitability of the officer. Female teachers were given the opportunity to apply for permanent or temporary status. Permanent status was dependent on the applicant's efficiency related to experience[7].

As a result of the criteria applied, however, many of the women who applied for permanent status were refused. In 1970 about 30 per cent of those who applied were unable to gain permanent status[8]. It was not until 1973 that a change in policy made it easier for women to receive permanent status[9]. At the same time other changes in the State public service regulations considerably improved employment conditions for married women teachers.

In the same year, 1973, the Queensland Parliament established a Commission of Inquiry into the Status of Women in Queensland. The Commissioners were a male judge, a male magistrate, a female lawyer and a mother of four children. Their Report, tabled in July 1974, recommended removing legal and employment inequalities, including employment in education[10].

Three years later the Report of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships was presented to the Commonwealth Parliament. The Report stated that women were discriminated against in employment and their work undervalued or underpaid. It also pointed out that work was predicated on men's life patterns, on freedom from child bearing, and on ability to work; and that when women's work patterns were broken because of child rearing, penalties were imposed on them[11].

Faced with an over-supply of teachers in 1978, State Cabinet decided to implement an order of priority in the employment of teachers. Consequently, married women with husbands who worked were placed third on the list of those applying for teaching positions[12].

In 1981, Cabinet decided that married female teachers would no longer be placed into a separate category for employment. Henceforth, a higher priority was given to a first income-earner, irrespective of sex[13].

In 1982, the Commonwealth Government announced that it would legislate to prevent discrimination against women. This was a consequence of its action in 1980 when it signed a United Nations declaration condemning such discrimination[14].

Demographic and economic factors

Between 1940 and 1942, the school population dropped. In 1942 it reached its lowest point for 20 years but thereafter it increased, at first slowly, and then dramatically. By 1958 it was double, and by the mid 1970s, treble that of 1942 (see Figure 18).

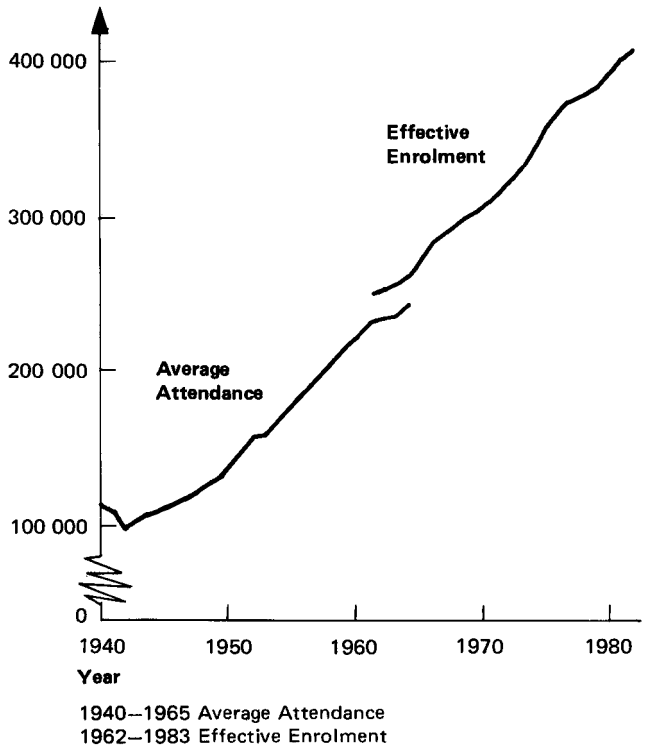

Figure 18: School population, 1940-1983 (derived from Table 1)

Rising birth rates and immigration were obvious reasons for this increase. Another reason was the technological demand for more skilled labour which resulted in the raising of the school leaving age in 1964 from 14 to 15 years, and higher retention rates of secondary school students. More comprehensive facilities provided by the Department of Education, such as special schools and preschools also played a part.

The increasing school population created a need for more teachers between 1942 and 1977. This need, not lessened during the recessions of 1952 to 1961/2, was heightened during boom periods when other occupations offering higher social and financial rewards attracted men away from teaching.

Other factors aggravated this need. During the 1950s, as a result of low birth-rates of the 1930s, the pool of teacher employment was very small. Furthermore, since the late 1960s, the Department has steadily lowered the pupil-teacher ratio. The demand for teachers created stronger employment opportunities for women, because it overruled earlier government policies and earlier social attitudes.

After 1946, the Department, for the following decade, temporarily re-employed, each year, up to 20 per cent of those married women teachers who had to resign at the end

of each year. Then this proportion began to increase, until by 1969, the year before the changes in the Public Service Regulations, less than 10 per cent of these women were refused temporary re-employment each year[15].

An economic factor was also involved in the retention of married female teachers. Since the end of the cheap pupil-teacher system, it became increasingly obvious that the high replacement rate of female teachers was costly, especially by the late 1960s when longer periods of pre-teacher education were introduced. By 1968, government spokespersons were frequently referring to enforced resignations of married female teachers as a loss to its investment in education. These spokespersons regarded this loss as a more important principle at stake than the previously dominant principle, that married women deprived single females of jobs[16].

Social factors

During this period some people still clung to the nineteenth century doctrine of 'women's sphere'. Writing in 1945, one male teacher stated, 'Girls spend too much time qualifying themselves for careers which are the prerogative of the male sex'[17] and in 1976 a Parliamentarian had no hesitation in saying' . . . basically I believe that a woman's place is in the home [18].

These attitudes, however, were less pronounced than before 1940. Furthermore, with the resurgence of feminism and the activities of the women's liberation movement in the late 1960s and 1970s, they came under strong attack. Many feminists claimed that females were indoctrinated by their parents, teachers, and the media to accept a role in which conformity, sexual attractiveness, and domesticity were stressed at the expense of ambition and intellectual achievement. Feminists believed that, while motherhood was important, women should not be confined to the one role of rearing children[19].

Such expectations were encouraged by the wider provision of child care facilities, and more importantly, the effective control of fertility. These changes enabled more women to see a job as a life-long occupation and not just a stop gap between school and marriage[20]. Such expectations were also encouraged by increasing social acceptance of the two-income family, which accompanied the development of a society dependent on the consumption of products.

These changing social attitudes are reflected in the percentage of females in the work-force. In 1966, 27.3 per cent of females were in the Queensland work-force, and by 1982 this had increased to 36.2 per cent[21].

However, it may have been the case that attempts to eliminate the sex-stereotyping of occupations has worked more in the favour of men than women. As unemployment levels rose, many traditional female occupations such as nursing and kindergarten teaching have become more attractive to males, while females have still not been very well accepted into traditional male occupations[22].

A more specific analysis of changing social attitudes towards the employment of female teachers is pertinent. During the war years (1939 to 1945) the Department dropped its *in loco parentis* approach. In 1940, L. D. Edwards, the Director of Education, praised the female teachers who willingly and cheerfully accepted service in those isolated parts of the State previously regarded as undesirable for women[23], and in 1943, A. Jones, the Minister, said that these women were doing 'a real war job'[24].

The QTU in 1941 opposed the transfer of female teachers under 19 years of age to schools with less than four staff members. It maintained that these females needed the guidance and advice of their parents, and that there were risks for them in going to isolated districts. After 1942, the Union dropped this opposition because of the exigencies of the War[25].

The Department's employment of married women teachers during the War seems to have been generally accepted by the community as a necessary temporary measure[26]. The QTU at first looked upon this practice with disfavour, but during the grim war years they were forced to accept it. The editor of the *Queensland Teachers Journal,* however, did not agree that females would be very successful in taking the higher grades normally taken by men. He also claimed that it was 'unfair to ask women to impose on boys of certain age, for example, that discipline of which this country has, perhaps, seen too little in the past and which it needs now, and which it will need in the future'[27].

One female educationist, Joan Pigram, writing in 1944, was more generous in her assessment of female teachers. She claimed that women on the average were better than men, and that they could teach successfully from the kindergarten through to the highest grades of secondary education[28].

After the War, for over a decade, public opinion held that teaching was a temporary occupation for females before their marriage. The continued employment of married female teachers was seen as an expedient forced on the Department as a result of a shortage of teachers[29]. The Minister of Education, George Devries, assured the public in 1953 that the State government would not employ married women teachers unless absolutely necessary[30].

Within the QTU, some teachers renewed their antagonism towards married female teachers. At the QTU Annual Conference of 1948, a motion was passed which deplored the Department's policy of employing married women teachers not obliged to be self-supporting. A QTU spokesperson discussed this decision with the Minister on 19 March 1948 and again on 1 September 1949, and claimed that permanent teachers resented the preferential treatment that married females received in transfers, and that single females resented being excluded by married females from bigger centres such as Brisbane, Gympie and Bundaberg[31]. George Daughtrey, the General Secretary of the Union, also expressed this opposition as late as 1955[32].

Such attitudes were reflected in a report by a Departmental committee in 1952 which acknowledged that the employment of married female teachers had alleviated the shortage of teachers, but advising that such practices should not be used extensively. The task of the Committee was to inquire into ways and means of overcoming the shortage of teachers in Queensland State primary schools. (The Department of Public Instruction, the Public Service Commissioner's Department, and the QTU were represented on the Committee[33].)

Many married women resented these attitudes and they defended, via the press, the employment of married women teachers. They pointed out that women took transfers before they were married, had more experience with children, and were a welcome help at a time of teacher shortages[34]. One woman, who did not identify herself as a teacher, asked in a letter to the editor of *The Courier-Mail* why married women teachers should be subjected to such veiled insults as those made by Devries and Daughtrey. She advocated that married women teachers should form a union of their own and get 'temporary classification' deleted from their appointments[35]. These teachers, however, made little effort to combine to defend their interests,

either inside or outside the QTU. They feared that any militancy might result in victimisation by the Department[36].

During the early 1960s, attitudes to married women teachers began to change, especially in the QTU. Apart from wider social reasons, a possible more specific reason was that large numbers of young unmarried teachers annually entered teaching and constituted a constantly replenished pool for transfers. This relieved the pressure on married females accused of creating difficulties for the transfer system. The QTU, at first, urged that, while there was a teacher shortage, married women should not be dismissed. In 1964, the editor of the *Queensland Teachers' Journal* asked, 'is marriage a crime?'[37]. By 1965 it was Union policy that women should not be compelled to resign on marriage[38].

In 1975, International Women's Year, feminist efforts to influence social attitudes to female teachers reached a high point. In that year, A Status of Women Committee was established within the QTU. In the following year, 1976, a Women's Action Program and a Feminist Teachers Group were formed. The program was assisted by a grant from the Australian Schools Commission, through the Australian Teachers Federation[39].

Part of the program was the temporary appointment within the QTU of Sylvia Innes who was responsible for the interests of female teachers and combating sexism in schools. A series of articles were published in the *Queensland Teachers' Journal* on feminist issues concerning teachers. Issues such as promotion and superannuation were raised but the main thrust of the articles seemed to have been aimed at eliminating sexist attitudes in schools[40]. During the 1980s. a QTU Sexism in Education Committee followed up earlier initiatives in these areas. Among the women teachers prominent in these activities were Margaret Parkinson, Mary Kelly, Carmen Smith and Judy Atwood with QTU research officers, June Anstee and Jenny Hughey.

In 1976 a survey was made of the attitudes towards teaching of female students at the Kelvin Grove College campus. Their attitudes reflected the changing community attitudes. The female students entering teaching no longer saw teaching as a stop-gap career. The general consensus of opinion was that teaching was a well-paid, secure job that would provide a life-long career[41].

In 1978 the Department of Education followed more closely developments in the area of equal employment opportunities for women in education. Consequently, a research officer in Curriculum Branch was given responsibility for following and reporting on developments in this area.

At the fourth annual conference of the Townsville Regional Group of the Australian College of Education held in 1982, a workshop group stated that no educational system could afford to ignore the huge pool of potential leadership ability that women teachers represented, and this group put forward the following solutions and approaches to the problem[42]:

- The QTU had an obligation to press for positive discrimination.
- Women should be actively encouraged to participate in special administration and leadership training and to seek positions of administrative responsibility.
- Dependence of the promotional system on the transfer system should be minimised by offering incentives for teachers to seek appointment to remote schools.
- The promotional system should have flexibility to accommodate the absence of women during the child rearing years between their mid-20s and mid-30s.
- Employing authorities should eliminate sexual bias in the interviewing of women applicants for promotion.
- The vocational aspirations of female students should be broadened and raised.
- Because of the historical disadvantagement of women, a case existed for positive discrimination for women in terms of professional training, development and preparation for positions of administrative responsibility.
- Every school with an enrolment of over 300 pupils should have one woman and one man occupy the positions of principal and deputy principal.
- Employing authorities should enlist the help of consultants to change existing attitudes of men and women which would hinder the implementation of the above policies.

TRAINING

There has been an overall increase in the percentage of female students receiving Departmental teacher training scholarships (see Figure 19, Table 4). The decrease during 1952-1953 and 1960-1 reflected economic recessions when more males were attracted to teaching, and the increase after 1962 reflected more buoyant economic conditions.

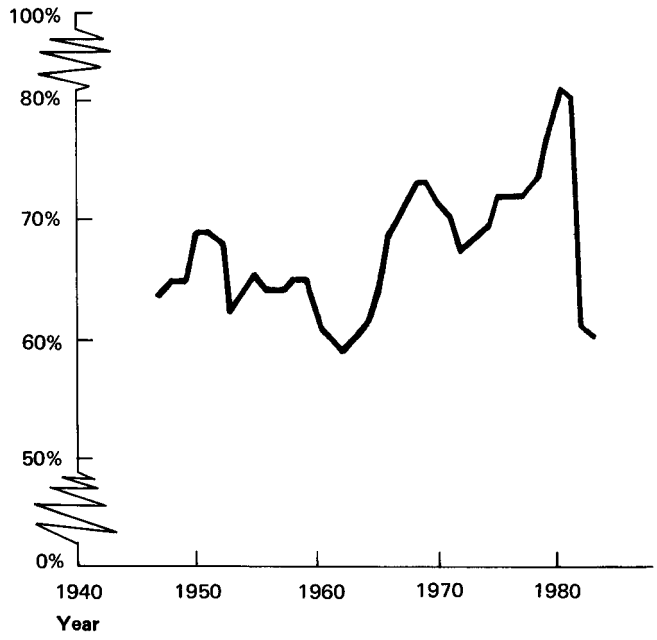

Figure 19: Female students as percentage of total students receiving Departmental scholarships for teaching training, 1947-1983 (derived from Table 4)

After 1963, the Department found it necessary to make secondary teaching scholarships to the University available to females as well as males to help cope with the rapid increase in secondary schools enrolments. Females made further advances when the *Public Service Act Amendment Act* of 1969 allowed them to keep their scholarships if they married while they were at teachers colleges.

The rapid increase in the percentage of females after 1972 can be partly explained by changes in policies. Up to 1972, the Department had given scholarships to some men whose academic standards were below those of some women who failed to obtain scholarships. This policy was designed to ensure that there were enough unmarried males

for remote areas and to maintain a reasonable male-female ratio[43]. After the teachers colleges became autonomous in 1972, the Department gave teacher scholarships to students in order of academic merit irrespective of sex. Another contributing cause could be that career opportunities for the more intelligent women have shrunk faster than those for the more intelligent men, during the current period of economic difficulties.

After 1976 when the number *of* scholarships was progressively reduced, students doing pre-teacher courses at tertiary institutions were no longer guaranteed employment on graduation. However, practically all teachers who graduated at the end of a year, and who were prepared to serve anywhere in the State, received offers of teaching positions before the end of June of that year[44].

In relation to examination results a study, based on students record cards at the Kelvin Grove College of Advanced Education, published in 1974, concluded that, in the preceeding year, female students were more successful than male students[45].

QUALIFICATIONS

The number of unclassified teachers rose temporarily during the War years, but after 1946 declined to such an extent that the statistics were no longer recorded in the Annual Reports of the Secretary for Public Instruction (see Tables 7 and 8). Thus a large pool *of* unqualified, low paid female teachers was almost eliminated. Female teachers continued, generally, to have lower qualifications than male teachers (see Tables 10 A and B).

EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED FEMALES

The number *of* married women teachers in the Department rose dramatically from 2.9 per cent of all female teachers in 1940 to 49.5 per cent in 1979. By 1979, of all teachers, male and female, three out of 10 were married women (see Tables 2 and 19).

Up to 1969, those married women who returned to teaching after an absence of three years were temporarily classified as ATPs (Assistant teachers on probation). Even though many of these were experienced teachers, some head teachers treated them as though it was their first year *of* teaching. This was a source *of* much resentment[46].

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE TEACHERS IN VARIOUS TYPES OF SCHOOLS

Primary Schools

The percentage of female teachers in primary schools rose after 1950 (see Table 11). Most continued to teach the lower grades but an increasing number took higher grades. Those who taught the older boys were subjected to less public vocal opposition than occurred before 1940.

One leading educationist who publicly voiced opposition to this situation was Henry Schoenheimer, a former Queensland teacher. In 1972 he expressed the fear that primary schools were over-feminised, and that the children would suffer because of the lack of father figures. He claimed that females were less committed to their careers and education[47]. Schoenheimer's assertions prompted a Queensland MLA to make a similar claim[48]. Several years later, *The Courier Mail* reported a male primary school teacher as saying that Queensland boys would develop into `sissies' if taught solely by female teachers. He was also dismayed that female teachers supervised 'boys' sports such as football and cricket[49].

Preschools

The kindergarten movement up to recent years had been the exclusive preserve of females. Only females attended the Brisbane Kindergarten Teachers College which was also staffed by females. By the time State preschools were established in 1973, the belief that the education of the very young should be left to females, was no longer an unquestioned dogma. By July 1983, 42 (5 per cent) of the 899 teachers in preschools were men.

Special Schools

By the 1970s, the belief held in the past, that females had superior aptitudes to males in handling handicapped children, was no longer widely supported. The rapid expansion of special education over the last decade resulted in a greater proportion of male teachers entering this field. In July 1983, 28 per cent of the teachers in special education were men.

Secondary Schools

It may readily be seen from Figure 20, that (except for the period 1951 - 1957, and during 1971 female students have constituted a lower percentage of secondary school teachers than males. In 1983, *of* a total 13 442 female teachers, 4146 (31 per cent) were teaching in secondary schools, and of a total 8974 males, 4452 (50 per cent) were teaching in secondary schools (see Table 9).

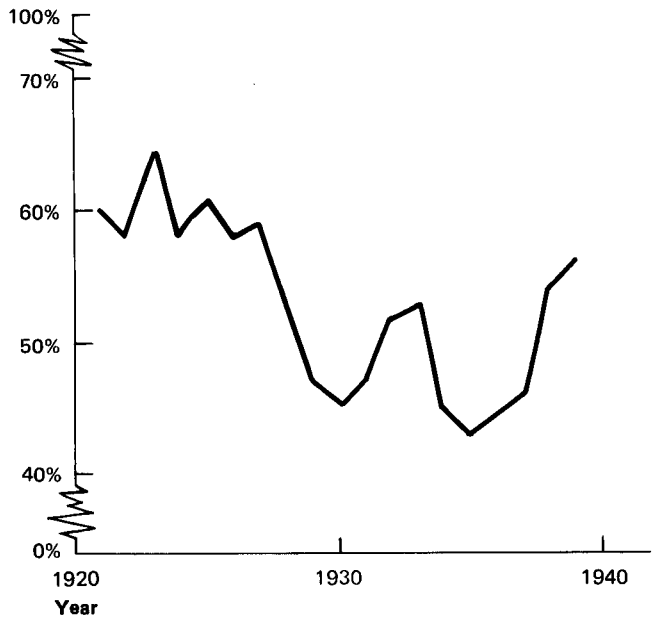

Figure 20: Female secondary school teachers as percentage of total secondary school teachers, 1940-1983 (derived from Table 9)

PROMOTION

General Developments

Up to the mid-1960s, the promotional avenues for female teachers remained much the same as before. The underlying principle seemed to be that females were not to be placed in a position of authority over men.

An analysis of the daily press and the *Queensland Teachers Journal* suggests that up to the mid-1960s, female teachers and the QTU did not campaign actively to change this situation. The principle of increasing the number of girls and infants schools was a dead issue and females generally accepted that men should be in charge of mixed schools.

Temporary employment and equal pay appeared to be more important issues to female teachers.

For the positions of principal (head teacher) it continued to be the accepted practice that female teachers were limited to one-teacher schools, girls and infants schools, and certain special schools. For the position of inspector they were limited to the field of home science. The wording and structure of salary awards spelt out these limitations quite clearly.

At least two factors bolstered this situation and blocked females from other positions of authority. Firstly, seniority was tied to the rates of pay and the female rate in all categories was lower than the male rate. Secondly, females had to resign on marriage and become temporary teachers. These factors also discouraged many females from acquiring necessary further qualifications[50].

The QTU did, however, make consistent efforts to increase the avenues of promotion to females where there was no competition with males. During the 1940s and 1950s, it tried to persuade the Department to create the position of female inspector of infant schools and classes and during the 1960s campaigned for the appointment of senior mistresses. During the mid-1970s, anti-discriminatory policies dealing with promotion were incorporated into general QTU policy[51]. In the absence of strong pressures from female members of the QTU, these policies held a low priority in QTU affairs.

The Department made another important break in the tradition of not appointing females to posts of responsibility over males in 1968 when Dorothy Camp was appointed Deputy Principal of a high school with a mixed staff. This appointment led Peter Wood MLA, to ask the Minister for Education in State Parliament whether women would, thereafter, be appointed principals of State high schools and primary schools other than girls and infants schools. The Minister replied that suitably qualified women applicants were eligible for appointments to any position in the teaching service[52]. The phasing-in of equal pay between 1968 and 1971 eliminated a major obstacle to female teachers becoming suitably qualified to apply for posts of responsibility.

Position of Principal

An overall analysis

The percentage of schools (including one-teacher schools) with female principals continued to decline (see Table 13.) In 1940, 20 per cent of all principals were females. By 1983, six per cent of all principals were females. A decrease in the overall number of principals' positions following the closure of smaller primary schools affected the promotional prospects of females more than males. In 1940, 55 per cent of male teachers were in charge of a school, and in 1983 only 14 per cent were in charge. In 1940, 17 per cent of female teachers were in charge of schools, and in 1983 less than 1 per cent (0.6) were in charge.

Primary Schools

An important aspect of promotion in primary schools during the last four decades is related to two changes that have taken place. One is the reduction in the number of small schools and the other is the increase in the number of large schools.

This process has created strong competition for the lowest rung of the promotional ladder - the one-teacher school. Up to the 1930s, a majority of these schools had females in charge (see Tables 13 and 14). By 1980 this situation had changed completely. Of the 111 Class VI (the lowest class) schools, 15 had female principals. An analysis of Table 15 shows that the progress of females into the top three grades has thus been limited. In 1967, 24 females were principals of the 422 Class I - III (the highest) schools, all of which were girls and infants schools. In 1980, the number of Class I - III schools had increased to 535 but the number of female principals in these schools had decreased to 21, 18 of whom were in charge of girls and infants schools.

This trend continued into 1983. In that year, the primary schools were divided into five classes instead of six. Of the 585 Class I, II and III principals, 20 were females. Furthermore, while the one remaining girls and infants school remained in the hands of a female principal, seven of the 15 infants schools had passed into the hands of male principals.

Secondary Schools

With the appointment of the first female to the position of principal of a mixed high school in 1976, female teachers now had opportunities which did not exist before. An analysis of statistics shows that this potential is still to be realised. In 1951 there were 18 high schools. Two of these (11 per cent) - the Domestic Science High School, and the Maryborough State High School for Girls (both now closed) - were under the charge of females. In 1983, of the 162 principals, five (3 per cent) were women[53].

Special Schools

Because of the educational theories of the time, the first Opportunity School (a school for intellectually disadvantaged children) was staffed before 1940 by females, with a female principal. Before 1940, however, a small percentage of opportunity classes in schools were conducted by male teachers. During the 1960s and 1970s, more male teachers moved into this area of special education which by 1983 had become the Special Education Branch, covering a much wider range of disadvantaged children. By 1983, male teachers constituted 28 per cent of the total special education teachers and occupied 80 per cent of the principals' positions, most of which were in the largest schools[54].

Senior Mistresses

Prior to 1961, in most primary and secondary schools, a female teacher was unofficially given certain responsibilities for female students and was referred to as the Senior Mistress. In 1954, an 'official' senior mistress, Ruth Don, was appointed to a particular school, the State Commercial High School. The school had a male principal but nearly all the students were girls. This remained the only official position of Senior Mistress until 1961 when senior mistresses (with a more limited role) were appointed to various State high schools. In 1969 the position of senior mistress was made a classified position. A classified position of senior mistress was created in the primary school in 1972. In 1974, the Departmental *Handbook of Administrative Procedure in Secondary Schools* added to the traditional responsibilities of the Senior Mistress. The Handbook stated that she should be part of the administrative team and should be involved in policy making within the school[55].

Senior mistresses were quite eager to expand their responsibilities[56]. While most women welcomed this promotional avenue, one criticism was that the role of senior mistress appeared to represent acceptance of the sex role stereotype[57]. A further development with the position in the primary school was its replacement, in 1982, by the

position of Assistant Principal (Senior Primary); available to both males and females.

Infant Mistresses

It had been the practice for a long time in larger mixed primary schools for a female to be given the unofficial responsibility of supervising infant classes. In the mid 1950s, these females were rewarded for their additional responsibility with an allowance. Then in 1972 a classified position of Infant Master/Mistress was created. In 1982 this position was replaced by that of Assistant Principal (Junior Primary), available to males as well as females[58].

Inspectors

In the past, the Department occasionally required head teachers of infant schools to act for a limited period of time as temporary advisors to infants schools and classes. Mary Agnew, for example, acted in this capacity in 1903 as did Agnes McKenna from 1953 to 1955. The first inspector of infant schools and classes, Irene Murray, was appointed in 1960[59].

In 1974, the first female District Inspector (Primary), Lillian Shelton, was appointed. By 1983, there were three female District Inspectors (Primary) - Lillian Shelton, Hilda Rose and Merle O'Donovan. Rose and O'Donovan had previously been appointed as inspectors of infants schools and classes, a designation which no longer exists. These three inspectors and three Inspectors of Secondary Schools (Home Economics), Audrey Lawrie, Jan Hannant and Shirley Weier, made a total of six inspectors, the highest positions held by women in the Department of Education. Since there were approximately 70 inspectors in 1983[60], women have slightly improved their positions in this field since 1919 when there was one female inspector out of a total of sixteen.

There were two other posts held by females in 1983 which had a classification equivalent to that of inspector. They were Senior Advisor, Division of Preschool Education, held by Ursula Modder, appointed in 1973, and the Supervisor of Music Section, held by Ann Carroll, since 1979.

Classified Positions

Women have made some progress between 1970 and 1983, in that they doubled their percentage - from 12 per cent to 26 per cent - of the total classified positions (see Table 16). This increase was caused by an increase in the number of classified positions, especially that of Senior Mistress. In 1983, 5 per cent of women teachers held classified positions compared to 3 per cent in 1970. In 1983, 22 per cent of male teachers held classified positions, the same as in 1970.

Decline in the Promotion of Females

Many observers, including female teachers themselves, have been aware of their eroded chances of promotion. The Report on the Status of Women in Queensland, 1974, stated that there were many women with leadership qualities who should be participating in decision-making structures, including the Department of Education. It also stated that young female teachers saw the teaching profession as male-dominated at the top and entered by men less academically qualified than women. The Report stated that this was not conducive to high morale among women teachers, and recommended that the Department of Education encourage women teachers to seek higher qualifications and senior posts[61].

While the Department progressively removed major barriers to women's promotions, the proportion of women promoted to senior positions continued to decline into the 1980s. They tended to move into the more recently created school middle management positions, such as Senior Mistresses and Subject Mistresses, and not into principals' positions. Furthermore, it became Departmental practice to appoint only males to Class 6 primary schools - and so setting them on the promotional ladder as principals. So while males were appointed in the natural course of events, females had to apply for Class 6 schools.

A number of reasons have been put forward for the lack of success of females during the last decade. Some commentators believed that society was responsible because it conditioned women to hold low expectations and therefore avoid positions of authority[62]. In addition, married male teachers were released from home chores and so had more time than female teachers to improve their academic qualifications[63]. Another explanation was that society expected women to stay with or follow their husbands and so they could not always accept higher positions because they lacked mobility[64]. Referring to this problem of the need to accept transfers as discriminating against females, one bitter female teacher in 1976 warned other women, 'If you can't marry a househusband, girls, then stay in your place - and you know where that is - in kitchen classrooms of Queensland'. She also posed the question, 'Are women teachers destined to be a plebian passing parade, incidental to a masculine power struggle?[65]. Another societal expectation contributing to the situation was that women, and not men, were expected to stay at home during the infancy of children. Married female teachers were often forced to miss meetings and study classes because they had to be home when their school-age children were at home. As a consequence of these factors, but females were automatically excluded from this avenue of promotion[68].

Another body of opinion blamed females themselves. 1974, noted that there was an underlying male attitude, unsupported by evidence, that women were not capable of making rational decisions in decision-making structures[67]. Some female commentators blamed male teachers and administrators, organised into various male 'buddy' systems based on membership of certain religious groups, clubs, old boys associations or even of informal groups meeting at favourite watering holes. Ambitious male members of such a group were helped up the promotional ladder by the group, but females were automatically excluded from this avenue of promotion.

Another body of opinion blamed females themselves. Women, it was said, did not apply for positions, did not take an active interest in the QTU through which they could help to remedy any forms of discrimination still remaining, and did not learn the informal steps towards promotion, such as attending seminars and joining professional associations[69].

There have been some who laid the blame for the situation at the door of the Department of Education. These accused the Department of discriminatory practices. In 1980, a QTU research officer claimed that there were only two female principals of high schools yet many more were qualified for this position and were applying for these positions[70].

SALARIES

Equal Pay

A salary scale awarded in 1945 meant female salaries relative to those for men, were worse than they were 20 years earlier (see Table 18)[71]. Equal pay once more became a hotly

pursued issue in many QTU branches[72]. The most active supporter of the principle of equal pay during the 1940s and 1950s was Ruth Don who, in 1951, became the first (and only) female president of the QTU.

The newly elected President of the QTU in 1951, Ruth Don. She was a persistent advocate of equal pay.

At the 1945 QTU Annual Conference, Ruth Don put forward a strong case for this principle which was part of Union policy. A minority group at this Conference made an effort to give the union policy of equal pay a higher priority. They moved, 'that we as a Union approach the Arbitration Court to grant equal pay for the sexes and this be the only claim taken to the Court at the time'. During the debate on the motion, the general attitude of the speakers including that of the General Secretary, George Daughtrey, was one of acceptance of the status quo. The motion was lost[73].

Another effort was made at the 1947 Annual Conference to ensure that the QTU made an effort to secure equal pay from the Arbitration Court. In support of such a move, a Mr Pehrson said that the Mackay Branch believed not only that women teachers did as much work as men but that they did more. The effort was successful and in 1948 the Union once more put forward a case for equal pay before the Arbitration Court. Don presented the main case. The Court refused the application. Though female teachers' margins were improved by 1 per cent, they still lagged behind the margin relativity of 1924. Later, in the 1960 award, a principle was established that females would receive 90 per cent of the male rate[74].

The issue remained almost dormant until 1962 when representatives of various unions, including the QTU, met to campaign for equal pay. *A Queensland Teachers Journal* editorial supported this campaign. The editorial pointed out that 31 countries had ratified the Equal Remuneration Convention drawn up by the International Labour Organisation, that some countries were already giving female teachers equal pay; and in New Zealand and New South Wales equal pay was being phased in. The editorial also implied that women teachers were not very active within the Union on this issue[75].

By 1966 female teachers were receiving equal pay in most English-speaking countries[76]. In that year, Jack Christiansen, at the Annual Conference of the QTU, said that while the QTU had made some efforts to obtain equal pay, as a member of the Union for 23 years, he could not recall the Union making any sustained effort. The Conference resolved that a case would be presented to the Premier, but the Premier referred the matter to the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Commission[77].

The QTU application for equal pay to that Commission was heard in 1967. It was successful. In support of a majority judgment, Commissioners A. M. Taylor and P. J. Self stated[78].

> In our opinion, no narrow meaning should be given to the work 'same work'. It seems to us that the Legislature has expressed its will in clear and simple language, and that this Commission should not endeavour to discover small and unimportant differences in work which, in the ordinary sense, and on the evidences adduced, is substantially the same. In our view, the work of the school teacher is to teach and instruct the class to which he or she has been assigned. The work under the Award in question is the same, although the particular problems may well be different, depending on the grade the teacher is, at the time, called upon to teach.
>
> This decision granting equal pay was phased in over the next four years so that from the beginning of 1971 it was fully operative.

Married Women's Salaries

When married women were first re-employed on a temporary basis in 1940 they were all paid the same rate, which was that of the lowest rank of the promotion scale - Assistant Teacher on probation. In 1942, the following concession was made (and remained in operation until the changes made in 1969)[79]:

- that teachers on re-admission to the teaching service within three years of resignation shall be re-admitted at their previous classification rates of salary;
- (a) that teachers who had been out of the service for three years or more shall, on re-admission, be paid the basic wage salary and engaged for a probationary period of not less than six months,
  (b) that, if the District Inspector's report be satisfactory, the teacher shall be given credit for previous service and her salary shall be adjusted to the classification rate payable in terms of the Teachers' Award.

This meant that a female whose absence from teaching exceeded three years would, on re-entry, spend six months probation on a ATP salary before returning to her previous classification salary.

Because of continual resignations imposed by the Department or family circumstances, many married women missed out on other benefits, such as paid holidays in January and long service leave. One female married teacher recalled that she had taught for 21 years and had not earned any long service leave[80].

Superannuation

One of the conditions of employment for all teachers has been contributing towards a superannuation fund. Some aspects of the superannuation scheme were regarded as discriminatory against females[81]. This issue stirred some teachers into action over recent years.

The QTU's Sexism in Education Committee made this a major issue in 1981 and rallied considerable support to remedy what they regarded were discriminatory provisions of the superannuation scheme. Supporters included members of all political parties[82].

Zone Allowance

Female teachers made further efforts to obtain equal district (zone) allowances. A motion supporting this principle was raised at the 1941 QTU Annual Conference, but failed after opposition by the General Secretary, Daughtrey. In 1949 a similar motion was lost when fear was expressed that the result would be that the men's rate would be lowered to the women's rate[83]. It was not until equal pay was introduced that zone allowances also became equal.

LEAVING THE SERVICE AND RETURNING

From 1942 to 1945 the percentage of females leaving the service rose and then levelled off until a further sharp rise between 1957 and 1965, followed by a steady decline to 1982 (see Figure 2.1). A feature of the higher percentage of female teachers leaving the service during the period 1957 to 1977 is the higher percentage, compared to any other period since 1902, returning to work during that period. In 1970, the Research and Curriculum Branch published the results of the follow-up study of entrants to courses of teacher education in 1957. This study referred to the increasing trend in Australia for married women to return to work at about the age of 35. The study also suggested that the average length of total service given by married female teachers might ultimately to approximate more closely that given by male teachers[84].

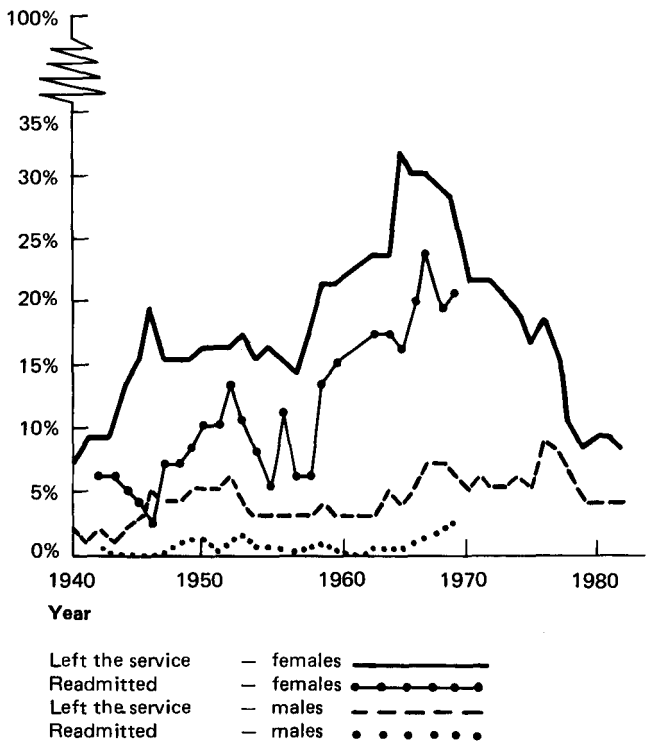

Figure 21: Proportions of teachers leaving the service and proportions readmitted to the service by gender, 1940-1982 (derived from Tables 17 and 18)