



SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**HISTORY
2006 TRIMESTER 2**

HIST 224: New Zealand Labour History CRN 1940

COURSE ORGANISATION

TEACHING STAFF:

Course Coordinator and Lecturer:
Associate Professor Melanie Nolan

Room: OK 504
PHONE: 463-6751
EMAIL: melanie.nolan@vuw.ac.nz

Other Lecturers: James Taylor
Room: OK423
PHONE: 463-6754
EMAIL: james.taylor@vuw.ac.nz

LECTURE TIMES: Mondays and Fridays 2:00 – 3:00 pm
VENUE Easterfield Lecture Theatre 206 (EA206)

PLEASE NOTE: TUTORIALS WILL COMMENCE IN THE SECOND WEEK OF TERM

TUTORIALS

There are three tutorial times to choose from; all tutorials are held in the Wood Seminar Room, 4th floor Old Kirk Building (OK 406)

Mondays 3.00 - 4.00 pm

Mondays 4.00 - 5.00 pm

Fridays 3.00 - 4.00 pm

Groups will be allocated in the first week and posted on the History notice board. Any changes to the tutorial programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the History notice board outside OK405.

OFFICE HOURS: Mondays 1.00 - 2.00 pm.
You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the History notice board.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is an introduction to New Zealand labour history. Topics covered will include an analysis of class as a social relation; the changing relationship between work and leisure; and occupational, social and political change in the 'long twentieth century'. New Zealand historians of late have concentrated upon race and gender. A recent article in the *New Zealand Journal of History* argues that 'class has [now] virtually disappeared from New Zealand historiography', and that historians of gender and race dominate (Vol. 38, April 2004). Since then, in 2005, four books were published on labour history in which class was central to the analysis: Fairburn and Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote*, Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a Working-Class New Zealand Family*, Nolan (ed.), *Revolution: The 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand* and Olssen and Hickey, *Class and Occupation*. This course considers the pattern of class in New Zealand historiography and the current concern of putting class firmly back at the centre of social commentary. In the process, students will be introduced to the methodologies employed by New Zealand labour historians. Indeed, students will be introduced to the research skills themselves.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

The History Programme seeks to produce graduates who can 'read with accuracy and discrimination; weigh up evidence; come to terms with conflicting or different arguments; formulate arguments convincingly and concisely; write in a clear, logical and lively way; present oral arguments with lucidity and conviction; use library resources efficiently and constructively; and understand the nature and development of history as a discipline'.

In particular **HIST224** is designed to achieve three objectives:

1. to introduce students to the historiography and the current debates in New Zealand labour history;
2. to introduce students to the sources and methods of analysis in labour history;
3. to encourage students to develop the ability to write, discuss and debate labour history

Students passing this paper should be able to identify the major theories, sources, methods and controversies in New Zealand labour history.

The lectures are designed to raise issues concerning the key patterns and processes in New Zealand's twentieth century labour and social history and historiography. The tutorial programme is designed to develop skills in reading, comprehension, analysis and criticism, together with those required for writing essays.

Texts and Course Materials

1. HIST224 Book of Readings, which can be purchased at the Student Notes Shop, Ground Floor, Student Union Building
2. **Copies of the following books will be on Closed Reserve but students should consider purchasing their own copy of the following Recommended Texts:**
Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005.
Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A collective biography of a New Zealand working-class family*, Christchurch, 2005.
Melanie Nolan (ed.), *Revolution: The 1913 New Zealand Great Strike*, Christchurch, 2005.
Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Dunedin, 2005.

These books can be purchased from Vicbooks located in the Student Union Building on Kelburn Campus. Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) and 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515

3. All students should have their own copy of *Writing History Essays*, which can be purchased at the Student Notes Shop, Ground Floor, Student Union Building.
4. As in most History Courses, effective use of library resources is vital to this course. There is no New Zealand labour history journal. However there are a number of specialist labour history journals which students may find useful. The VUW library holds most all these journals or you can have access them electronically online via VUW. Melanie Nolan (MN) has runs of some of these journals.

Australasia

Journal of Industrial Relations (Australia) 1959+ Electronic Access 1959+
New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations 1976+ Electronic Access 1976+
Labour and Industry (Melbourne) 1998+ Electronic Access 1998+
Labour History (Sydney 1963+) HD 4811

Britain

Labour History Review (1990) HD8388 S678 B & Electronic Access 2004+
History Workshop (1976+) D1 H674 & Electronic Access 1995+
Economic History Review (1927+) HC10 HER & Electronic Access
Saothar: Journal of Irish Labour History Society (1975+) (you will have to interloan)
New Left Review (1960+) HX3 N532 and Electronic Access
Social History (1976+) HN1 S678 & Electronic Access 1976+
British Journal of industrial relations (1963+) HD 4805 & Electronic Access 1997+
Historical Studies in Industrial Relations (Keele, UK) (1996+) MN has copies vol 1-16

US and Canada

Labor History (1960+) Electronic Access 1998+
International Labor and Working-Class History MN has Vol. 39+
Journal of Social History (1967) HN1 J87 & Electronic Access 1967+
Labor Studies Journal 1976+ HD4802 L123 & Electronic Access 1976+
Radical History Review (1975+) Electronic Access 2001+ New VUW acquisition 2006+
Labour/Le Travail (1976+) Electronic Access 1996+ MN has copies vol 20+)

ASSESSMENT

The course assessment is designed to assess analytical and writing skills as well as knowledge, understanding and critical appreciation of the topic area. It comprises:

1. Book review worth 30% due **Friday 18 August**
2. Essay worth 40% due **Monday 2 October**
3. Class test worth 30% **Friday 13 October** at lecture time (50 mins)

Assignments are to be put into the essay box at the History office, OK 405, 4th Floor, Old Kirk Building

Course Assessment

The book review is designed to develop student's ability to appraise the historiography and think critically about it. Students need to reveal evidence of critical thinking

The essay is intended to assess the extent of reading on a topic, the marshalling of evidence and the construction and development of a coherent argument within an essay context. Students need to reveal evidence of reading and an ability to make and sustain an argument

The end-of-course test assesses knowledge and critical appreciation of a range of topic areas. It will be based on the material presented in the course with particular reference to work covered in tutorials. Therefore Students are strongly encouraged to attend all tutorials.

Word limits

There is a 2,500-word limit for the two first assignments. It is most important that you **do not** exceed the word limit. Part of the task is that you write within the word limit. Students are advised that failure to keep to the word limit set for each assignment may have grade implications.

Workloads and Mandatory Course & Grade requirements

The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences suggests that students should be spending an average of 15 hours per week, including class contact hours, for a 200-level trimester course. This includes 2 hours of lectures and a 1 hour tutorial per week.

HIST224 students must regularly attend tutorials, submit both assignments, sit the final test and receive an overall pass grade. Students are required to gain an overall grade of C, 50%, for the work which is specified as contributing to this final grade. To pass the course, each student must satisfy the mandatory course & grade requirements, that is:

1. submit the written work specified for this course of a standard which indicates a genuine effort to complete the three pieces of written work set;
2. achieve a 50% pass rate, overall; and
3. Attend at least 8 tutorials.

Faculty guidelines permit you to miss up to 3 tutorials without penalty. Extra absences will result in a student failing terms, except in cases of serious illness (supported by a medical certificate), or serious personal crisis.

PLEASE NOTE: THERE IS NO PROVISION FOR MAKE-UP EXERCISES IN THIS COURSE TO COMPENSATE FOR ADDITIONAL ABSENCES EXCEPT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. You should allow for the possibility of unforeseen illness when using up your quota of permissible absences.

PLEASE NOTE that **20 October 2006** is the FINAL DATE on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme, since this is the date on which we must determine whether students have met the course requirements. This means that the provision for late submission with a penalty does not apply beyond this date. Permission to submit work after 20 October must be sought in writing from the Head of Programme, and will only be granted for serious medical reasons (supported by medical certificate), or in case of serious personal crisis.

NB: A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for a course, will receive a K grade for that course, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F).

PENALTIES

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

AEGROTATS

Please note that under the revised Examination Statute (Sections 6-10) students may now apply for an aegrotat pass in respect of any item of assessment falling within the last three weeks before the day on which lectures cease. In the case of **second** trimester courses in 2006, the starting point for this period is **Monday 25th September**

The following rules apply:

- where a student is not able to sit a test falling within these last three weeks because of illness or injury etc., an alternative test will be arranged where possible. If the student has completed in the view of the course supervisor, sufficient marked assessment relevant to the objectives of the course, an average mark may be offered. Where a student has an essay or other piece of assessment due in the last three weeks, and has a medical certificate or other appropriate documentation, the student will be given an extension.
- if none of the above is available to the student, e.g., if she/he has an ongoing illness, than an aegrotat will be considered. See Examination Statute 6-10 for a full explanation of the rules governing the provision of aegrotats in these circumstances.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly those regarding assessment and course of study requirements, and formal academic grievance procedures.

Student Conduct and Staff Conduct

The Statute on Student Conduct together with the Policy on Staff Conduct ensure that members of the University community are able to work, learn, study and participate in the academic and social aspects of the University's life in an atmosphere of safety and respect. The Statute on Student Conduct contains information on what conduct is prohibited and what steps can be taken if there is a complaint. For queries about complaint procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct, contact the Facilitator and Disputes Advisor. This Statute is available in the Faculty Student Administration Office or on the website at: www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/StudentConduct.

The policy on Staff Conduct can be found on the VUW website at:
www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/StaffConduct.

Academic Grievances

If you have any academic problems with your course you should talk to the tutor or lecturer concerned or, if you are not satisfied with the result of that meeting, see the Head of School or the relevant Associate Dean of your faculty. Class representatives are available to assist you with this process. If, after trying the above channels, you are still unsatisfied, formal grievance procedures can be invoked. These are set out in the Academic Grievance Policy which is published on the VUW website:

www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/AcademicGrievances.

Academic integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means **no cheating**. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. Plagiarism is **prohibited** at Victoria.

The University defines plagiarism as follows:

Plagiarism is presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not.

'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea, even if it is presented in your own style. It includes material from books, journals or any other printed source, the work of other students or staff, information from the Internet, software programmes and other electronic material, designs and ideas. It also includes the organization or structuring of any such material.

Plagiarism is not worth the risk.

Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct (www.vuw.ac.nz/policy/studentconduct) and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- suspension from class or university
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course.

Find out more about plagiarism and how to avoid it, on the University's website at:

www.vuw.ac.nz/home/studying/plagiarism.html.

Students with Disabilities

The University has a policy of reasonable accommodation of the needs of students with disabilities. The policy aims to give students with disabilities an equal opportunity with all other students to demonstrate their abilities. If you have a disability, impairment or chronic medical condition (temporary, permanent or recurring) that may impact on your ability to participate, learn and/or achieve in lectures and tutorials or in meeting the course requirements, please contact the Course Co-ordinator as early in the course as possible. Alternatively you may wish to approach a Student Adviser from

Disability Support Services to confidentially discuss your individual needs and the options and support that are available. Disability Support Services are located on Level 1, Robert Stout Building:

Telephone: 463-6070

Email: disability@vuw.ac.nz

The History Disability Liaison Person is Pauline Keating, OK 418, and can be contacted on 463 6760 or email pauline.keating@vuw.ac.nz

Student Support

Staff at Victoria want students' learning experiences at the University to be positive. If your academic progress is causing you concern, the following staff members will either help you directly or quickly put you in contact with someone who can.

	Staff member	Location
FHSS	Dr Allison Kirkman	Murphy Building, room 407
Law	Kirstin Harvey	Old Govt Building, room 103
Science, and Architecture and Design	Liz Richardson	Cotton Building, room 150
Commerce and Administration	Colin Jeffcoat	Railway West Wing, room 119
Kaiwawao Maori	Liz Rawhiti	Old Kirk, room 007
Manaaki Pihipihinga	Melissa Dunlop	14 Kelburn Parade, room 109D
Victoria International	Matthias Nebel	Rutherford House, room 206

The Student Services Group is also available to provide a variety of support and services. Find out more at:

www.vuw.ac.nz/st_services/

Email: student-services@vuw.ac.nz.

VUWSA employs two Education Coordinators who deal with academic problems and provide support, advice and advocacy services, as well as organising class representatives and faculty delegates. The Education Office is located on the ground floor, Student Union Building:

Telephone 463 6983 or 463 6984,

Email: education@vuwsa.org.nz.

Manaaki Pihipihinga Maori and Pacific Mentoring Programme

Academic mentoring for Maori and Pacific Students studying at all levels:

Weekly session for an hour with a mentor to go over assignments and any questions from tutorials or lectures. Registered students can use the facilities study rooms and computer suite, at any time, at Kelburn & Pipitea. There are mature student and post grad networks.

If you would like to register as a mentor or mentee please contact the coordinator at:

14 Kelburn Parade- back courtyard, tel. 463 6015 or

email: Maori-Pacific-Mentoring@vuw.ac.nz

LECTURE PROGRAMME

- Monday and Friday lectures are in Easterfield LT206 2-3.00pm
- **Tutorials are on Mondays or Fridays and in OK 406**
- The course is taught by Melanie Nolan with James Taylor taking the first two classes

Lecture Programme

Introduction

1. Monday 10 July: Film: 'The Hamer and the Anvill'
2. Friday 14 July: the Standard Story: 1890, 1912-13, 1935, 1951

The Language of Class in New Zealand?

3. Monday 17 July: What the New Zealanders were reading: Marx or Bellamy, George and Mills?
4. Friday 21 July: 1890 & the Maritime Strike

Class Still-born? The Un-Making of the New Zealand Working Class?

5. Monday 24 July: The Liberals 'in the interests of the community as a whole'
6. Friday 28 July: 'A Country Without Strikes'; A Social Laboratory?

A Social Laboratory or a battleground for Democracy?

7. Monday 31 July: The associational life of the ruling class
8. Friday 4 August: 1913

Class Solidarity? The Associational Life of the Working Class

9. Monday 7 August: To Join or not? The Working class and trade unions, friendly societies, prohibition movement, pacifist movement and the church.
10. Friday 11 August: New Zealand Labour Party, 1916

Working Life in New Zealand

11. Monday 14 August: Short Hours and Good Conditions?
12. Friday 18 August: The Depression

Mid-semester Break: 21 August to 1 September

Labour Comes to Power

13. Monday 4 September: The First Labour Government 1935-1949
14. Friday 8 September: Socialist on economics & conservative on gender?

Affluence and the Palaces of Consumption

15. Monday 11 September: Full Employment and, in 1953, the World's Third Highest Standard of Living?
16. Friday 15 September: Leisure and Spending

The Long Divisions

17. Monday 18 September: The Rise of a Middle Class, the White Collar Revolution and the Professionals
18. Friday 22 September: Equal Pay, 1960 & 1972

The Third Way

19. Monday 25 September: Whatever happened to the Wage-Earners' Welfare State? 1950s -1980s
20. Friday 29 September: 1984 and all that. Whatever happened to the NZLP platform, 'the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange'?

New Zealand Exceptionalism?

21. Monday 2 October: Something peculiar about working-class life in NZ?
22. Friday 6 October: Setting New Zealand in the Wider World

Conclusion

23. Monday 9 October: revision
24. Friday 13 October: Class test

Reading Lists for Lectures

These lists are bibliographies for the lectures and the essay questions for some of the essay questions below. Reference will be made to these works during lectures.

They **are not required reading lists!**

Do try to read something for each lecture. The works in bold with the asterisks are the most important; they are all on closed reserve. Some of them are reproduced in this course book, too.

Excellent general sources include:

G. T. Bloomfield, *NZ: A Handbook of Historical Statistics*, Boston, 1984

The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Vol. 1-5 which is online:

www.dnzb.govt.nz

A.H. McLintock, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2005, on-line

encyclopaedia, www.teara.govt.nz

Malcolm McKinnon, (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Auckland, 1997

Ministry of Culture and Heritage History Group, www.nzhistory.net.nz

The Official New Zealand Yearbooks, 1900-2005

VUW, HIST489 research essays are available from the History Dept secretary.

If you are having any difficulty locating material, ask Melanie Nolan.

Abbreviations:

NZJH *New Zealand Journal of History*

IL available through interloan, see MN

MN See MN for a copy

Lectures 1 & 2:

Robert B. MacBeth,

John E. Martin,

Pat Hickey,

John A. Lee,

Erik Olssen,

J. T. Paul,

William Pember Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1902.

The Standard Turning Points: 1890, 1912-13/1916, 1935, 1951

'The Rise of New Unionism and the Maritime Strike in Wellington 1890', HIST489 Essay, VUW, 1984.

'1890: A Turning Point for Labour' in Pat Walsh (ed.), *Pioneering New Zealand Labour History: Essays in Honour of Bert Roth*, Palmerston North, 1994, pp. 21-51.

Red Fed Memoirs: Being a Brief Survey of the Birth and Growth of the Federation of Labour from 1908 to 1915 and the days immediately preceding it, Wellington, 1925.

Simple on a Soapbox, Auckland, 1963.

'New Zealand' in M. Van Der Linden & J. Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, Leiden, 1990, pp. 609-21.

Building the New World: work, politics and society in Caversham, 1880s-1920s, Auckland, 1995, pp. 155-87.

Lest We Forget: An Industrial Milestone Passed, Dunedin 1907; *Our Majority: Some Dark Shadows and High Lights of Industrial History: A Souvenir of the Twenty-First Birthday of the Dunedin Tailoresses Union*, Dunedin, 1910; *The Tailoresses' Birthday: Twenty-one Years of Trade Unionism*, Christchurch, 1911; *A Trade Union's Coming of Age: The Tailoress of yesterday and To-day: The Canker and the Cure*, Auckland, 1911; *Our Majority: And the After Years-1889-1939; Some Dark Shadows and High Lights of Industrial History*, Dunedin, 1939; *After fifty years: being a passing record of early exploitation of women and later achievement by trade unionism in the Christchurch clothing trade*, Christchurch, 1940; *After forty years*, Dunedin, 1929.

- W. H. Oliver, 'Reeves, Sinclair and the Social Pattern' in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth*, Wellington, 1969, pp. 163-90.
- K. Sinclair, 'The Lee-Sutch syndrome: New Zealand Labour Party policies and politics, 1930-40', *NZJH*, Vol. 8, no. 2, October 1974, pp. 95-117.
- *W. B. Sutch, *The Quest for Security in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1963.
- , *Poverty and Progress in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1969.
- Lectures 3 and 4: The Language of Class in New Zealand at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries?**
- James Bennett, 'The Contamination of Arcadia? Class, Trans-national interactions and the Construction of Identity, 1890-1913', *NZJH*, Vol. 33, no. 1, April 1999, pp. 20-42.
- J. Boyd and E. Olssen, 'The Skilled Workers: Journeymen and Masters in Caversham, 1880-1914', *NZJH*, Vol. 22, no. 2, October 1988, pp. 118-34.
- C. Campbell, 'Parties and Special Interests in New Zealand, 1890-1893', *NZJH*, Vol. 4, no. 1, April 1978, pp. 41-5.
- Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier': An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940', *NZJH*, Vol. 9, no. 1, April 1975, pp. 3-21.
- , 'Social Mobility and Opportunity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, Vol. 13, no. 1, April 1979, pp. 43-63.
- , 'A Class-Divided Society?' in *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, Auckland, 1989, esp. pp. 116-56.
- Richard S. Hill, *Policing the Colonial Frontier*, Wellington, 1986.
- Melanie Nolan, 'Maritime Strike 1890, Australasia', in Neil Schlager (ed.), *St James Encyclopedia of Labor History Worldwide*, 2 vols., Gale Group, Chicago, 2003, pp. 587-91. (MN)
- W. H. Oliver, 'Reeves, Sinclair and the Social Pattern', in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth*, Wellington, 1969, pp. 163-78.
- Erik Olssen, 'The "Working Class" in New Zealand', *NZJH*, Vol. 8, no. 1, April 1974, pp. 44-60.
- , 'Social Class in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', in D. Pitt (ed.), *Social Class in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1977, pp. 22-41.
- , *A History of Otago*, Dunedin, 1984, pp. 104-13.
- Roberto Rabel, 'Class and party in New Zealand, 1887-90: A Critical Assessment', HIST489 Essay, VUW, 1977.
- H. O. Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present*, Wellington, 1973.
- J. D. Salmond, *Labour's Pioneering Days* in D. W. Crowley (ed.), Auckland, 1950.
- Keith Sinclair**, *New Zealand Fabian: William Pember Reeves*, Oxford, 1965.
- W. B. Sutch, *The Quest for Security in New Zealand 1840-1966*, Wellington, 1963.
- Claire Toynbee, 'Class and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, Vol. 13, no. 1, April 1979, pp. 65-82.
- J. E. Martin, 'Whither the Rural Working Class in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand?', *NZJH*, Vol. 17, no. 1, April 1983, pp. 21-42.
- J. Watson, 'An Independent Working Class?' in J. E. Martin and K. Taylor (eds.), *Culture and the Labour Movement*, Palmerston North, 1991, pp. 184-96.
- Robert Weir, 'Whose Left / Who's Left? The Knights of labour and 'radical Progressivism'', in Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor, (eds.), *On the Left: Essay on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2002, pp. 11-20.
- Lectures 5 and 6: Class Still-born? The UnMaking of the New Zealand Working Class?**
- Michael Bassett, *Sir Joseph Ward: a political biography*, Auckland, 1993.
- Michael Bassett, *Coates of Kaipara*, Auckland, 1995.
- James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, Auckland, 2001, especially ch. 1.

- V. S. Clark, *The Labour Movement in Australasia: A Study in Social Democracy*, London, 1907.
- D. A. Hamer, *The Webbs in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1974.
- , *The New Zealand Liberals: The years of power, 1891-1912*, Auckland, 1988.
- Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *New Zealand Working People, 1890-1990*, Palmerston North, 1990.
- Miles Fairburn, 'Social Mobility and Opportunity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, Vol. 13, no. 1, April 1979, pp. 43-66.
- , *Nearly out of heart and hope: the puzzle of a colonial labourer's diary*, Auckland, 1995, esp. pp. 208-25.
- * ----, **'A Class-Divided Society?' in *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1930*, Auckland, 1989, pp. 116-56.**
- , 'The Farmers Take Over (1912-35)', in Keith Sinclair, (ed.), *The Illustrated Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1990, pp. 185-205.
- Henry Demarest Lloyd, *A Country Without Strikes: A Visit to the New Zealand*, New York, 1900.
- , *Newest England: Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand, with Some American Comparisons*, New York, 1901.
- Albert Métin, *Socialism Without Doctrine*, translated by Russel Ward, Sydney, 1977.
- Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, Christchurch, 2000, ch. 2, 'Protective Labour Legislation', pp. 41-68.
- * **W. H. Oliver, 'Reeves, Sinclair and the Social Pattern', in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth*, Wellington, 1969, pp. 163-90.**
- Erik Olssen, 'The Working Class in New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 8, no. 1, April 1974, pp. 44-60.
- , 'Social Class in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', in D. Pitt (ed.), *Social Class in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1977, pp. 22-41.
- , *Building the New World*, Auckland, 1995.
- , 'God's Own Country 1900-1906' in Judith Binney, Judith Bassett, Erik Olssen, *The People and the Land: Te Tangata me Te Whenua*, Wellington, 1990, pp. 253-75.
- Len Richardson, 'Parties and Political Change', G. W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edn, Auckland, 1992, ch. 8.
- Harris Weinstock, *Report on Labor Law... in foreign countries*, Sacramento, 1910.
- Lectures 7 and 8: A Social Laboratory or a Battleground for Democracy**
- James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A history of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, esp. Ch. 3, 'Trouble in Paradise', pp. 87-120.
- Jeremy Breecher and Erik Olssen, 'New Zealand and the United States Labour A View from the Workshop Floor', in Jock Phillips (ed.), *New Movements: Zealand the United States in Comparative Perspective*, Wellington, 1989, pp. 96-112.
- Conrad Bollinger, *Against the Wind: the story of the New Zealand Seamen's Union*, Wellington, 1968.
- Henry Broadhead, *State Regulation of Labour and Labour Disputes in New Zealand: A Description and a Criticism*, Christchurch, 1908.
- Miles Fairburn, 'The Farmers Take Over' in Keith Sinclair (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1996, pp. 185-209.
- Peter Franks, *Print & Politics: A History of Trade Unions in the New Zealand Printing Industry, 1865-1995*, Wellington, 2001, chs. 5-8.

- David Hamer, 'Centralization and Nationalism (1891-1912)' in Keith Sinclair (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1990, pp. 125-52.
- Ralph Hayward, 'William Pember Reeves, The Times, and New Zealand's Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1900-1908', *NZJH*, Vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 25-69.
- Richard Hill, *The Iron Hand in the Velvet Glove*, Wellington, 1995, esp. 'A Most Arduous Time for the State: The Great Strike, 1913', pp. 304-24.
- James Holt, *Compulsory Arbitration in New Zealand: The First Forty Years*, Auckland, 1986.
- F. M. J. Irvine, 'The Revolt of the Militant Unions: a Study of the Trade Union Revolt Against the Arbitration System in New Zealand, between 1906 and 1913, with particular reference to the part played by the Federation of Labour', University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1937. (IL)
- Le Rossignol and W. D. Stewart, *State Socialism in New Zealand*, New York, 1910.
- H. D. Lloyd, *A Country Without Strikes*, New York, 1900.
- John E. Martin, 'Control in the Shearing Shed: the introduction of Machinery and Changing Workplace Relations in New Zealand', *Labour History*, no. 62, May 1992, pp. 71-90.
- , *Holding the Balance: A History of New Zealand's Department of Labour, 1891-1995*, Christchurch, 1996.
- Jim McAloon, 'Workers' Control and the Rise of Political Labour, Christchurch, 1905-1914' in John E. Martin and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *Culture and the Labour Movement*, Palmerston North, 1991, pp. 142-63.
- , 'A Political Struggle: Christchurch Labour Politics 1905-1913', *NZJH*, Vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 22-40.
- S. Mills, 'The Trades and Labour Councils, 1891-1991: The Myth of Moderation', Massey University, 1977. (IL)
- D. Naughton, 'The Anti-Arbitration Campaign of 1927-1928', Auckland, 1974. (IL)
- R. K. Newman, 'Moderates and Militants in the New Zealand Labour Movement', Christchurch, 1948. (IL)
- New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 9, 1984, special issue: 'Symposium: Technological Change and Industrial Relations', pp. 145-216.
- Melanie Nolan and Pat Walsh, 'Labour's Leg Iron? Assessing Trade Unions And Arbitration in New Zealand', in Pat Walsh (ed.), *Trade Unions, Work and Politics: The Centenary of the Arbitration System*, Palmerston North, 1994, pp. 9-37, and appendices pp. 199-204.
- *Melanie Nolan** ***Revolution: the 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand, Christchurch 2005, has a good bibliography of work on 1913, especially theses.***
- Erik Olssen, *The Red Feds: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and the New Zealand Federation of Labour 1908-1913*, Auckland, 1988.
- , 'Railway Workers and Scientific Management', in John E. Martin and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *Culture and the Labour movement*, Palmerston North, 1991, pp. 128-48.
- Len Richardson, 'Coalminers, arbitration, and the workplace', *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 12, 1987, pp. 169-74.
- Bert Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: past and Present*, Wellington, 1973.
- F. W. Rowley, *The Industrial Situation in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1931.
- Fran Shor, 'Bringing the Storm: Syndicalist Counterpublics and the Industrial Workers of the World in New Zealand, 1908-1914' in Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *On the Left: Essay on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2002, pp. 59-72.

- R. C. J. Stone, 'The Unions and the Arbitration System, 1900-1937' in *Studies of a Small Democracy: Essays in Honour of Willis Airey*, Hamilton, 1963, pp. 210-20.
- David Thomson, 'Society and Social Welfare' in Colin David and Peter Lineham (eds.), *The Future of the Past: Themes in New Zealand History*, Palmerston North, 1991.
- A. Williams, 'Industrial Militancy in New Zealand: the Contributing Influence of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, and its Administration, 1894-1908', Palmerston North, 1976. (IL)
- , 'Spelling, Go-Slows, Gliding Away and Theft: Informal Control Over Work on the New Zealand Waterfront, 1915-51', *Labour History*, no. 63, November 1992, pp. 100-14.
- Lectures 9 and 10: The Associational Life of the Working Class**
- B. M. Brown, *The Rise of the New Zealand Labour Party: A History of the New Zealand Labour Party from 1916 to 1940*, Wellington, 1962 (based on his 1953 MA thesis VUW, 'The New Zealand Labour Party, 1916-1935').
- *Tom Brooking, Dick Martin, David Thomson and Hamish James, 'The ties that bind: persistence in a New World industrial suburb, 1902-22', *Social History*, Vol. 24, no. 1, January 1999, pp. 55-73.**
- O. J. Gager, 'The New Zealand Labour Movement and War 1914-18', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1962. (IL)
- Anthony R. Grigg, 'Prohibition, the Church and Labour: A Programme for Social Reform, 1890-1914', *NZJH*, Vol. 15, no. 2, October 1981, pp. 135-54.
- *Barry Gustafson, *Labour's path to political independence: the origins and establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party 1900-19*, Auckland, 1980, ch. 11, 'Wowsers and papists: religion and the rise of Labour', pp. 120-31.**
- Paul Husbands, 'The People of Freeman's Bay, 1880-1914', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1992. (IL)
- D. Keen, 'Feeding the Lambs. The Influence of Sunday Schools on the Socialization of Children in Otago and Southland 1848-1902', Ph.D., University of Otago, 1998. (IL)
- John E. Martin, 'Labor History in New Zealand', Country Report, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 49, Spring 1996, pp. 166-79.
- Malcolm Maclean, 'Wellington's Class Prison, Holloway Road, 1919-1939: Steps toward an analysis of the material basis of working class daily life', MA thesis, VUW, 1994.
- Melanie Nolan and Pat Walsh, 'Labour's Leg Iron? Assessing Trade Unions and Arbitration in New Zealand' in Pat Walsh (ed.), *Trade Unions, Work and Politics: The Centenary of the Arbitration System*, Palmerston North, 1994, pp. 9-37, and appendices pp. 199-204.
- *Melanie Nolan *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand working-class Family*, Christchurch, 2005.**
- W. H. Oliver, 'Reeves, Sinclair and the Social Pattern' in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth*, Wellington, 1969, pp. 163-90.
- Erik Olssen, 'Historiography of the New Zealand labour movement, 1880-1916', *Historical News*, 37, August 1978, pp. 1-5.
- , 'The Origin of the Labour Party: A Reconsideration', *NZJH*, Vol. 21, no. 1, April 1987, pp 79-96.
- , 'New Zealand' in M. Van Der Linden & J. Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, Leiden, 1990, pp. 609-21.
- Erik Olssen & Len Richardson, 'The New Zealand Labour Movement, 1880-1920' & Erik Olssen, 'The New Zealand Labour Movement, 1920-40' in Eric Fry (ed.), *Common Cause*, Wellington, 1986, pp. 1-15 & 16-26.
- History*, Vol. 4, no. 4, 1959, pp. 361-6.
- Robin Ormerod, 'The Churches' Responses to Social Problems in Wellington 1888-1901', HIST489 Essay, VUW, 1984.

- Mark Pearson, 'Residential Segregation and the Labour Vote in New Zealand Towns, 1925', HIST489 research essay, VUW, 1983.
- William Pember Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1902.
- Len Richardson, 'Parties and Political Change' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, (2nd edn.), Auckland, 1992, pp. 201-29 (fp 1981).
- H. O. Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: Past and Present*, Wellington, 1977.
- J. D. Salmond, *New Zealand's Labour's Pioneering Days*, University of New Zealand (Otago), 1924, Auckland 1951, (fp 1949).

Lectures 11 and 12: Working Life in New Zealand

- Stephen Barnett and Richard Wolfe, *At the Beach: The Great NZ Holiday*, Auckland, 1993.
- Judi Boyd and Erik Olssen, 'The Skilled Workers: Journeyman and Masters in Caversham, 1880-1914', *NZJH*, Vol. 22, no. 2, October 1988, pp. 118-34.
- G. W. Clinkard, 'Wages and Working Hours in New Zealand, 1897-1919', *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1919, Wellington 1919, pp. 860-935.
- Caroline Daley, *Leisure and Pleasure: Reshaping and Revealing the New Zealand Body, 1900-1960*, Auckland, 2003, esp. ch. 7.
- Bronwyn Dalley, *Living in the 20th Century: New Zealand history in Photographs, 1900-1980*, Wellington, 2000, ch. 2.
- L. S. Hearnshaw, *Hours of Work in War Time*, Wellington, 1942.
- Kevin Hince with Kerry Taylor, Jacqui Peace and Michael Biggs, *Opening Hours: History of the Wellington Shop Employees Union*, Wellington, 1990.
- Lloyd Jones and Bruce Foster, *Last Saturday*, Wellington, 1994.
- Kevin King, 'The Growth of Commercial Activities in New Zealand Cities 1953-1958', *New Zealand Geographer*, 18, August 1962, pp. 50-71.

- W. E. Murphy, *History of the Eight Hours' Movement [Australasia]*, Melbourne, 1896.
- Charlotte Macdonald 'Strangers at the Hearth: The Eclipse of Domestic Service in New Zealand Homes, 1830s-1940s', in Barbara Brookes (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: house History People*, Wellington, 2000, pp. 41-56.
- John E. Martin, *Holding the Balance: A history of New Zealand's Department of Labour 1891-1995*, Christchurch, 1996.
- Margaret McClure, 'Body and Soul: Heroic Visions of work in the late nineteenth century' in Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (eds.), *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural history*, Auckland, 2000.
- Melanie Nolan *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and The State*, Christchurch, 2000.
- Jean-Marie O'Donnell, 'Electric Servants' and the Science of Housework: Changing Patterns of Domestic Work, 1935-1956', in Barbara Brookes et al (eds.), *Women in History 2*, Wellington, 1992, pp. 168-83.
- Jock Phillips. 'Men, Women and Leisure Since the Second World War', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (eds.), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland, 1999, pp. 213-33.
- Evan Roberts, 'Our Forty Hour Week'. The Struggle of Retail Employees to Restrict Trading Hours and Its Influence on Union Character', HIST324 essay, 1997. (MN).
- Evan Roberts, 'Gender in Store: The Politics of Salespeople's Working' Hours, and Retail Unions in New Zealand and the United States, 1930-1960', *Labour History*, no. 83, 2002, pp. 107-30.
- *Bert Roth,** *Days of Action: May Day-Eight Hour Day - Labour Day, Wellington, 1998 (fp 1990).*
- Jean E. Sharfe, 'The Canterbury Workers' Educational Association: the Origins and Development 1915-1947', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1989. (IL)

- James Watson, 'The history of Leisure, recreation and tourism in New Zealand' in Harvey Perkins and Grant Cushman (eds.), *Leisure, Recreation and Tourism*, Auckland, 1993.
- James Watson, 'Crisis and Change: Economic Crisis and Technological Change in New Zealand between the World Wars', University of Canterbury, Ph.D. thesis, University of Canterbury, 1984. (IL)
- , 'No Mean City? Christchurch's Labour City Council During the Depression, 1927-35', *NZJH*, Vol. 23, no. 2, October 1989, pp. 121-41.

Lectures 13 and 14: Labour Comes to Power

- Annabel Cooper & Maureen Molloy, 'Poverty, Dependence and Women: Reading Autobiography and Social Policy from 1930's New Zealand', *Gender & History*, Vol. 9, no. 1, April 1997, pp. 36-59.
- Miles Fairburn, 'Why did the New Zealand Labour Party Fail to Win Office until 1935?', *Political Science*, Vol. 37, no. 2, December 1985, pp. 101-24.
- Miles Fairburn and Stephen Haslett, 'The Rise of the Left and Working-Class Voting Behaviour in New Zealand: New Methods' in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Spring 2005, Vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 523-55.
- , 'How Far Did Class Determine Voting in New Zealand General Elections, 1911-1951?', *NZJH*, Vol. 39, no. 2, October 2005.
- , 'Cleavage within the Working Class? The Working-Class Vote for the Labour Party in New Zealand, 1911-51', *Labour History*, no. 88, May 2005, pp. 183-213.
- Barry Gustafson, *Labour's path to political independence: the origins and establishment of the New Zealand Labour Party, 1900-19*, Auckland, 1980.

- P. J. O'Farrell, 'The Formation of the New Zealand Labour Party', *Historical Studies - Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 10, no. 38, 1962, pp. 190-202.
- J. Y. Hunt, 'The Development of the Labour Party of New Zealand as a Political Organisation from 1913 to 1919', University of Auckland, 1977.
- Steve McLeod, 'Did Farmers Really 'Lurch towards the Left' in 1935? Reassessing the Election of New Zealand's First Labour Government' in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen, *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 141-74.
- Melanie Nolan, 'A Class Romance?' A review of Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *New Zealand Working People 1890-1990, People's History*, no. 5, Nov 1990, pp. 7-11.
- E. F. Paddock, 'Labour as a Force in Politics in New Zealand', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1932. (IL)
- J. R. Powell, 'The History of a Working Class Party, 1918-1940', MA thesis, VUW, 1949. (IL)
- *Erik Olssen, 'The Origins of the Labour Party. A Reconsideration', *NZJH*, Vol. 21, no. 2, April 1987, pp. 79-96.**
- Erik Olssen & Len Richardson, 'The New Zealand Labour Movement, 1880-1920', & Erik Olssen, 'The New Zealand Labour Movement, 1920-40' in Eric Fry (ed.), *Common Cause: Essays in Australian and New Zealand Labour History*, Wellington and Sydney, 1986, pp. 1-15, 16-26.
- Len Richardson, 'Parties and Political Change', in W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (eds.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1981, pp. 197-225.
- Ben Schrader, 'Labour at Home: The First Labour Government and the Familial Suburban Ideal', in Barbara Brookes (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: History, houses, people*, Auckland, 2000; see also Penny Isaac and Erik Olssen,

- , 'The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme: The Discourse of the Slum'.
Kerry Taylor and John E. Martin (eds.), *Culture and the Labour Movement: Essays in New Zealand Labour History*, Palmerston North, 1991.
- Kerry Taylor, 'Our Motto, No Compromise': The Ideological Origins and Foundation of the Communist Party of New Zealand', *NZJH*, Vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 109-23.
- Jack Vowles, 'Ideology and the Formation of the New Zealand Labour Party', *NZJH*, Vol. 14, no. 1, 1982, pp. 39-55.
- S. Wigglesworth, 'The Depression and the Election of 1935', MA thesis, VUW, 1954.
- Women and Labour**
- Vanya Bootham, 'Women Political Candidates in New Zealand General Elections 1919-1951', HIST489 research essay, VUW, 1989.
- Ann M. Burgin, 'Women in Public Life and Politics in New Zealand', MA thesis, VUW, 1967.
- Liz Gordon, 'A Place in the Sun: Women in the New Zealand Labour Party', unpublished manuscript, 1988. (MN)
- J. M. Grady, 'The Reds Who Made the Beds: The Attitude of the Communist Party of New Zealand Towards Women, and its Work Amongst Women in the Period 1933-39', MA (Hons.) research essay, University of Auckland, 1983. (IL)
- L. Hall, 'Red Diaper Kiwis: Communists and the family', Hons. research essay, VUW, 1993.
- Melanie Nolan, 'Employment Organisations' in Anne Else (ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand: Nga Roopu Wahine o te Motu*, Wellington, 1993, pp. 193-235.
- , *Breadwinning: Working Women and the State*, Christchurch, 2000. Esp. chapters 2, 5, 6 & 8.
- , 'Gender and the Politics of Keeping Left: Wellington Labour Women and their Community 1912-1949', in Barbara Brookes and Dorothy Page (eds.), *Communities of Women: Historical Perspectives*, Dunedin, 2002, pp. 147-61.
- Elizabeth McCombs, *Women and the Labour Movement*, Wellington, 1933.
- E. W. Plumridge, 'Labour in Christchurch: Community of Consciousness, 1914-1919', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1979. (IL)
- Connie Purdue, *Women in the Labour Cause: The History of the Auckland Women's Branch, New Zealand Labour Party, 1925-1975*, Auckland, 1975.
- John Roberts, *Martyrdom of Women: The Story of a Century's Struggle by Working Women of Great Britain and New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1946.
- Mary C. Rodden, 'Women and the Labour Movement 1910-1918', BA (Hons.) long essay, University of Otago, 1976. (IL)
- W. B. Sutch, *Women With a Cause*, Wellington, 1973.
- Lectures 15 and 16: Postwar Affluence and the Palaces of Consumption**
- Paul Dalziel and Ralph Lattimore, *A Briefing on the New Zealand Macroeconomy, 1960-1990*, Auckland, 1991.
- W. T. Doig, *A Survey of Life of New Zealand Dairy Farmers*, DSIR Bulletin 75, Wellington, 1965 (fp 1940).
- Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Gardens of fire*, Auckland, 1993.
- , 'The Girls can't get out', [The 1947 Ballantynes fire], *New Zealand Geographer*, pp. 42-52.
- Margaret Nell Galt, 'Wealth and Income in New Zealand c.1870 to c.1939', Ph.D. thesis, VUW, 1985.
- R. Gosset, *The History of Mrs Pope Ltd*, Christchurch, 1979.
- Gary Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand*, Cambridge, 1985.
- J. K Hunn, Report on Department of Maori Affairs with statistical Supplement, *AJHR*, 1961, G10.

- P. Issac, 'No Room for Luxuries?' Aspects of Life in a Working-Class New Zealand Community', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1998. (IL)
- Malcolm Kay, *Inside Story of Farmers': First complete record of the marvellous growth of Laidlaw Leeds and the Farmers' Trading Co Ltd, Auckland NZ, Auckland, c.1954.*
- Helen Laurenson, *Going Up, Going Down: New Zealand Department Stores, Auckland, 2005.*
- Jim McAloon, 'No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, 1840-1914' in *No Idle Rich*, Auckland, 2002.
- Julia Millen, *Kirkcaldie & Stains: a Wellington story*, Wellington, 2000.
- Gordon Parry, *Retailing Century: The First 100 Years of the DIC Ltd, Dunedin, 1984.*
- Margaret Paul, *Calico characters and their clientele: a history of A & T Inglis department store, Dunedin, 1863-1955*, Nelson, 1998.
- Katie Pickles, 'Workers and Workplaces - Industry and Modernity' in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (eds.), *Southern Capital: Christchurch Towards a City Biography, 1850-2000*, Christchurch, 2000, pp. 138-61.
- Keith Rankin, 'New Zealand's GDP, 1853-1939', *Review of Income and Wealth*, Vol. 38, 1992, pp. 49-69.
- Helen Reilly, 'Electrifying Wellington: How Street Lights and trams transformed the Capital, 1905-1930', PBHY510 research essay, History, VUW, 2003.
- Evan Roberts, 'From Mail Order to Female Order? The Work Culture of Department Store Employees in New Zealand, 1890-1960', HIST489 Essay, VUW, 1999.
- E. Roberts, 'Don't Sell Things, Sell Effects: Overseas influences in New Zealand department stores, 1909-1956', *Business History Review*, no. 77, Summer, 2003, pp. 265-89.
- Evan Rogerson, 'Cosy homes multiply: A Study of suburban expansion in Western Auckland 1918-31', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1976.
- W. Rosenberg, 'Full Employment: The Fulcrum of Social Welfare' in A. D. Trlin (ed.), *Social Welfare and New Zealand Society*, Wellington, 1977, pp. 45-60.
- Danielle Sprecher, 'The Right Appearance: Representations of Fashion, Gender, and Modernity in Inter-war NZ, 1918-1939', MA, University of Auckland, 1997.
- K. A. Tucker, *Milne and Choyce: One Hundred Year Business History, 1867-1967*, Auckland, 1968.
- Lectures 17 and 18: The Long Divisions**
- Frazer Andrewes, 'The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit: White-collar masculinity in post-war New Zealand' in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomery (eds.), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland, 1999, pp. 191-212.
- Michael Biggs, 'Female Clerical Workers in the 1920s and 1930s', HIST489 Research Essay, VUW, 1990.
- *Peter Brosnan, David Rea and Moira Wilson, 'Labour Market Segmentation and the State: the New Zealand Experience', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, no. 19, 1995, pp. 667-96.**
- Shannon R. Brown, 'Female Office Workers in Auckland 1891-1936', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1993. (IL)
- Megan Cook, 'Gender and Paid Work in New Zealand, 1950 to 1972', MA thesis, University of Otago, 2000.
- Lisa Davies with Natalie Jackson, *Women's Labour force participation in New Zealand: the past 100 years*, Population Studies Centre at the University of Waikato, 1993.
- Graeme Dunstall, 'The Social Pattern', in W. H. Oliver with B. R. Williams (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1981, pp. 396-429.
- Peter Franks, 'Organising the 'Unorganisable': The Formation of Clerical Unions and the Labour Press', in Kerry Taylor and John E. Martin (eds.), *Culture and the*

- Anna Green, *Labour Movement: Essays in New Zealand Labour History*, Palmerston North, 1991, pp. 104-20.
- Bronwyn Karran, *British capital, Antipodean labour: working the New Zealand waterfront, 1915-1951*, Dunedin, 2001.
- Howard Lee, 'She Stoops to Conquer: the feminisation of the clerical workforce in New Zealand, 1890-1935', long essay, History Dept, Otago, 1991. (IL)
- , 'The Credentialed Society: A History of New Zealand Public Examinations, 1871-1990', Ph.D. thesis University of Otago, 1991.
- , 'The New Zealand Junior Civil Service Examination Reconsidered: a study of the changing function of a competitive examination, 1900-1912', *History of Education Review*, Vol. 16, no. 2, 1987, pp. 57-68.
- Grant McCall and John Connell, *A World Perspective on Pacific Islanders Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA*, Sydney, 1993.
- Roy McLennan and David Gilbertson, with Peter Ritchie, *Work in New Zealand: a portrait in the '80s*, Wellington, 1984.
- *Paul Meredith Meuli, 'Occupational Change and Bourgeois Proliferation: a study of new middle class expansion in New Zealand, 1896-1926', MA thesis, VUW, 1977.**
- Melanie Nolan, *Breadwinning: New Zealand Women and the State*, Christchurch, 2000.
- Melanie Nolan with Shaun Ryan, 'Transforming Unionism by Organizing? An examination of the gender revolution in New Zealand trade unionism since 1975', *Labour History* (Sydney), no. 84, May 2003, pp. 89-111.
- Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Otago, 2005.
- Patrick J. Ongley, 'Migrant Labour in New Zealand: the political economic of Maori and Pacific Island Labour,' 1990.
- David Pearson and David Thorns, *Eclipse of Equality: social stratification in New Zealand*, Sydney, 1983.
- Keith Rankin, 'New Zealand's Labour Supply in a long term perspective', Auckland, 1990.
- P. M. Revell and Peter Brosnan, 'New Zealand Labour Force Participation: the Ninety Years to 1981', *New Zealand Journal of Industrial relations*, no. 11, 1986, pp. 77-89.
- Len Richardson. *Coal, Class and Community: The United Mineworkers of New Zealand, 1880-1960*, Auckland 1995.
- Bert Roth, 'White Collar- Meek or Militant?', *New Zealand Libraries*, Vol. 37, October 1974, pp. 225-34.
- G. Warburton, 'The Attitudes and Policies of the New Zealand Labour Movement Towards Non-European Immigration, 1878-1928', University of Canterbury, 1978. (IL)
- Lectures 19 and 20 The Third Way**
- Michael Bassett, *Confrontation '51: The 1951 Waterfront Dispute*, Wellington, 1971.
- Peter Bates, *Labour 40 years on: The Labour Party 1935-1975*, Wellington, 1975.
- Tom Bramble (ed.), *Never A White Flag: The memoirs of Jock Barnes, Waterfront Leader*, Wellington, 1998.
- Toby Boraman, 'The New Left in New Zealand', in Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *On the Left: Essay on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2002, pp. 117-32.
- J. Boston and M. Holland, *The Fourth Labour Government*, Auckland, 1987.
- J. Boston, J. Martin, J. Pallot, J. and P. Walsh, *Public Management: the New Zealand Model*, Auckland, 1996.
- Jo Burton, 'Patterns of Continuity and Change: Continuing Trends in New Zealand Labour Relations and Industrial Legislation, 1968 and 1991', HIST489 Essay, VUW, 1995.
- Francis Castles, *The Working Class and Welfare: Reflections on the Political Development of the Welfare State in Australia-New Zealand, 1890-1990*, Wellington, 1988.

- Francis G. Castles, Rolf Gerritsen & Jack Vowles (eds.), *The Great Experiment: Labour Parties and Public Policy Transformation in Australia and New Zealand*, Auckland, 1996.
- Patricia Caughley, 'Ideology Change in the New Zealand Labour Party', MA thesis, VUW, 1966.
- *Margaret Clark (ed.), *The Labour Party after 75 Years*, Wellington, 1992, (Occasional publication, Victoria University of Wellington. Dept. of Politics, no. 4).**
- , *For the record: Lange and the fourth Labour Government*, Wellington, 2005.
- Brian Easton (ed.), *The Making of Rogernomics*, Auckland, 1989.
- Steven Fielding, 'Labour Party: continuity and Change in the Making of the new Labour, 2002.
- Emma Francis, '1949: The Year Labour Turned its Back on Tradition - The Introduction of Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime', unpublished HIST489 research essay, VUW, 1989.**
- David Grant, *The Big Blue: Snapshots of the 1951 Waterfront Lockout*, Christchurch, 2004.
- Andrew Gregg, 'Panic Attacks: The New Right, Media and Welfare Reform in New Zealand, 1987-1998', MA thesis, VUW 2004.
- B. Jesson, *Fragments of Labour*, Auckland, 1989.
- H. Katz, 'The Decentralization of Collective Bargaining: A Literature Review and Comparative Analysis' *Industrial and Labour Relations Review*, 47, no. 1, 1993, pp. 3-22.
- John Marshall, *Memoirs: Vol. 1, 1912-1960*, Auckland, 1983.
- Revolutionary Workers' League, *Truth About Labour* (first version by Daphna Whitmore in *Craccum*, April 1989), Auckland, 2005.
- Brian Roper, *Prosperity for all? Economic, social and political change in New Zealand since 1935*, Victoria, 2005.
- H. O. Roth, *Trade Unions in New Zealand: past and Present*, Wellington, 1973, 'The Walsh Era' pp. 65-80.
- Dick Scott, *151 Days: New Zealand Waterside Workers Union (Deregistered)* Auckland, 1952.
- Keith Sinclair, *Walter Nash*, Auckland, 1976, esp. pp. 287-303.
- Marcia Spencer, *The Incoming Tide: Sir William Sullivan and the 1951 Waterfront Dispute*, Wellington, 1998, esp. pp. 144-63, 164-206.
- P. Walsh, 'The Rejection of Corporatism: Trade Unions, Employers and the State in New Zealand, 1960-1977', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1984.
- , 'Pay Fixing Reform in the New Zealand Public Service', *NZJH*, Vol. 25, no. 1, 1989, pp. 18-40.
- , 'An "unholy alliance": The 1968 Nil Wage Order', *NZJH*, Vol. 20, no. 2, 1994, pp. 178-93.
- D. C. Webber, 'Trade Unions, the Labour Party and the Death of Working-Class Politics in New Zealand', MA, University of Canterbury, 1976.
- Alexander Trapeznik and Aaron Fox (eds.), *Lenin's Legacy Down Under: New Zealand's Cold War*, Dunedin, 2004.
- Lectures 20 and 21: New Zealand Exceptionalism**
- James Bennett, 'Rats and Revolutionaries': *The Labour Movement in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1940*, Dunedin, 2004.
- Peter J. Coleman, *Progressivism and the World Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State*, Kansas, 1987.
- D. Denoon and P. Mein-Smith, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*, Oxford 2000.
- *Miles Fairburn, 'Is there a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?' in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (eds.), *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Dunedin, 2006, pp. 143-66.**
- Eric Fry (ed.), *Common Cause: Essays in Australian and New Zealand Labour History*, Sydney, 1988.
- Dolores Janiewski and Paul Morris, *New Rights New Zealand: Myths, Moralities and Markets*, Auckland, 2005.

- L. James and R. Markey, 'Class and Labour: The British Labour Party and the Australian Labor Party Compared', *Labour History*, no. 90, May 2006, pp. 23-41.
- Neville Kirk, *Comrades and Cousins: Globalization, workers and labour movements in Britain, the USA and Australia from the 1880s to 1914*, London, 2003. (include NZ from time to time)
- Pat Moloney, 'State Socialism and William Pember Reeves: a Reassessment', in Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor (eds.), *On the Left: Essay on Socialism in New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2002. pp. 39-57.
- Melanie Nolan, 'The High Tide of a Labour Market System: The Australasian Male Breadwinner Model', *Labour and Industry*, Vol. 13, no. 3, April 2003, pp. 73-92.
- , 'Comparative and Transnational Perspectives on New Zealand Labour History', *Labour History*, no. 88, May 2005, pp. 233-42.
- B. Scates 'Gender, Household and Community Politics in the 1890 Maritime Strike in Australia and New Zealand', in R. Frances and B. Scates (eds.), *Women, Work and the Labour Movement in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand*, special issue of *Labour History*, no. 61, November 1991, pp. 101-22.
- G. Patmore. Editorial', *Labour History*, no. 86, May 2004, pp. v-vi.
- Marian Sawyer, *The Ethical State*, Melbourne, 2003.

Timelines

Labour Politics

1867	Manhood Suffrage
1879	Working Men's Political Associations in Otago and Wellington
1884	Trades and Labour Councils' parliamentary committees
1887	first assembly of the Knights of Labour formed
1890	Liberal government sympathetic to labour elected and several unionists enter Parliament.
1893	Universal Suffrage Otago Trades and Labour Council establishes Workers' Political Committee
1894	I C and A Act
1889	Liberal-Labour Federation
1901	Formation of Socialist Party
1904	Formation Political Labour League
1905	Formation of Independent Political Labour Party
1906	New Zealand Workers' Political Association (Liberal-Labour)
1908	first Labour Representation Committees formed in Wellington and Auckland
1910	Trades and Labour Council's Labour Party formed Trades and Labour Councils' Federation
1912	Unity Conference and United Labour Party of New Zealand formed
1913	Unity Conference United Federation of Labour formed Social Democratic Party formed
1916	First New Zealand Labour Party government
1921	Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ) formed
1928	CPNZ joins Comintern
1935	Labour Party elected
1936	The CPNZ conference accepts the "United Front" policy
1943	Labour Party split with J A Lee's post-expulsion Democratic Soldier Party

1957	Second Labour Government
1972	Third Labour Government
1984-1990	Fourth Labour Government
1999 -	Fifth Labour Government

Unionism

1885	first New Zealand Trades and Labour Congress
1889	Maritime Council formed
1894	Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration (IC and A) Act gives protection to unions
1908	Federation of Miners formed
1909	national Federation of Labour 'Red Federation' formed
1910	Shearers Union launches the Maoriland Worker but loses control to the FOL
1911	FOL membership doubled 6124 to 13971
1912	Labour Disputes Investigation Act
1913	United Federation of Labour formed
1919	Alliance of Labour formed
1921	I C and A Act amendment to provide for GWO
1921-24	New Zealand Shearers amalgamated with the AWU
1930	Alliance of Labour's Open Conference of Industrial Unions in Wellington
1936	I C and A Act amendment restored compulsory arbitration and instituted compulsory unionism
1937	Federation of Labour formed
1939	Emergency Regulations provided for special war suspensions of labour legislation
1950	militants walk out of Waterside Workers Union & form TUC
1961	I C and A amendment introduces qualified preference in place of compulsory unionism
1973	Industrial Relations Act
1987	Labour Relations Act New Zealand Council of Trade Unions formed
1990	Employment Contracts Act

Industrial Relations

1890	Maritime Strike
1891	Bureau of Industries formed (it became Labour Department in 1892)
1908	Blackball Strike
1912	Waihi Strike
1914	General Strike
1923	Seamen's strike
1924	Railwaymen's strike
1928	National Industrial Conference
1932	Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act removes compulsory arbitration Arbitration Court cuts award rates by 10%
1936	Factories Act amendment provides for 40-hour week and 8-hour day
1940	Economic Stabilisation Conference
1942	Emergency Manpower Regulations Economic Stabilisation
1951	Waterfront Dispute
1968	Nil Wage Order
1982-84	Wage and price freeze
1984	Economic Summit Conference i.e. Tripartite Wage Conference: FOL, govt, Employers' Fed

Social

1885	Hospital & Charitable Aid
1894	IC and A Act
1898	Old Age Pension
1900	Workers Compensation for Accident Act
1905	Workers Dwellings act
1910	National Provident Fund
1911	Widows Pension
1914	Taxation exemptions for families
1915	Workers Educational Association formed
1926	Family Allowance means-tested

1928	Reform Cabinet considers a compulsory national social insurance
1930	Unemployment Board established under Unemployment Act
1932	Riots/Disorder in New Zealand's four main cities
1933	Peak of unemployment
1936	State Advances Corporation Unemployment Board replaced by Labour Department employment promotion service Invalid Pension
1937	Social Security Act
1940	Conscription introduced
1946	Family Benefit all-inclusive & universal
1948	Economic Stabilisation Act 1948 attempted to make the wartime regulations permanent
1950	Govt announced withdrawal of most of the subsidies on essential commodities eg coal
1973	Domestic Purposes Benefit
1976	Matrimonial Property Act 1976 providing for an equal division of the matrimonial property.
1977	1979 Family Support
1990	ECA

Labour, religion and temperance

1847	Sale of Spirits to Natives Ordinance
1873	Licensing Act & amendments
1881	Licensing Act Sunday trading banned
1885	WCTU formed close relationship to tailoresses union
1886	NZ Alliance formed
1893	Stout's bill fails
1894	Local Option: Prohibition/Reduction/ Continuance (Prohibition. required 60% majority)
1905	Vote prohibition, 50/>60
1908	Vote prohibition, 50/>60; 12/76 districts -> 'dry'
1910	'Simple Majority' bill fails; 60% still req.
1911	first national poll: 55.8% for prohibition

1914 Cleary and *Tablet* versus Bible-in-schools movement
 1917 Six o'clock closing
 1917 Father Kelly & *Tablet*
 1918 Licensing Amendment Act
 national continuance/state control/ prohibition & simple
 majority decisions
 1919 April temperance referendum & Dec general election: 3263 votes
 short 50%

Women and Labour

1873 Employment of Females Act regulated women's factory working
 hours
 1889 Tailoresses unions formed
 1890 Sweating Commission
 1891 Factories Act
 1892 Servants' registry Offices Act
 Shops and Shop-assistants Act 1892 providing seats for women
 1894 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act empowers the
 Arbitration Court to take the sex of the
 worker into consideration in the compulsory arbitration system
 which was established
 1894 Grace Neill appointed first female factory inspector
 1895 Women's Employment Bureau established
 1904 Women's Employment Bureau in Wellington closed
 1896 Harriet Morison appointed the second female factory inspector
 1908 Women's Employment Bureaux re-established in four centres &
 Morison is transferred
 1910 Barmaids required to register under Licensing Amendment Act
 Margaret Scott Hawthorne, the only female factory inspector,
 resigns in 1910
 1912 Formation of Housewives Unions
 1918 Labour Party adds clause for 'perfect equality between the sexes
 in every department of public life' to the party's platform.
 1919 Female factory inspectors appointed in Auckland, Wellington,
 Christchurch & Dunedin

1920 Differentiated Bonuses
 Women's Employment Bureaux closed
 Wellington Women's Branch of the Labour Party formed
 1922 General Wage Order
 1927 Inaugural Women's Labour Party Conference held for two days
 preceding NZLP conference
 1929 second Women's Labour Party Conference
 1931 Third women's labour Party Conference
 Official Women's Unemployment Committees established under
 Unemployment Act
 1932 Women exempted from legislation effectively abandoning
 compulsory arbitration
 1933 Elizabeth McCombs elected to parliament
 1936 Basic Wage the male breadwinner wage
 1938 Labour Party Women's Advisory Committee established
 1945 Minimum Wage Act: female rate = 60% male rate
 1946 Home Aid Service established
 1947 Amendment Min Wage Act: female rate = 63% male rate
 1949 Amendment Min Wage Act: female rate = 66%
 1960 Government Services Equal Pay Act
 1966 National Advisory Council for the Employment of Women
 established
 1972 Equal Pay Act
 1977 Human Rights Commission Act 1977
 1980 Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act
 1982 Protective Labour Legislation restricting women's nightwork
 repealed
 1986 Clerical comparable worth
 1990 Employment Equity Act
 1991 Employment Equity Act repealed

Loyalist Labour?

1915 National Registration
 1949 Referendum; Military Training Act established compulsory
 military training

1958	Compulsory military training abolished	1981	The Holidays Act (1981) maintained the rights of workers to minimum of eleven Statutory Holidays and three weeks of paid annual leave.
1961	Compulsory Military Service Act restored compulsory military training	1990	Shop Trading Hours Act repealed
1972	Compulsory Military Training abolished		

Leisure, the rise of the weekend & the paid-holiday

1840	8-hour day for Parnell & Wellington carpenters
1857	8-hour day for Griffin and the Auckland Carpenters and Joiners
1882	Demonstrations in Auckland and Dunedin in support of the legal enforcement of the eight-hour day
1882+	Eight hour bills fail regularly
1890	Maritime Council calls for Eight Hour Act and institutes "a general holiday" to be known as Demonstration Day, 28 October, the anniversary of its founding in 1889,
1891	Factories Act provided inter alia that women and workers under 18 were entitled to five holidays
1894	Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act enabled unions to apply for awards to Arbitration Court; a number won working week of forty-eight or even fewer hours, with penal rates for overtime.
1920	Anzac day became a holiday.
1936	40-hour week, 5-day
1936	Factories Act provided eight public holidays: Christmas Day, Boxing Day, New Years Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Anzac Day, Labour Day, and the sovereign's birthday.
1944	Annual Holidays Act provides two weeks annual leave for all workers
1955	Public Holidays Act was passed to transferred falling on weekends & Monday-isation of provincial anniversary days
1965	Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration amendment Act: 2 January becomes tenth statutory holiday.
1973	Waitangi day becomes public holiday
1974	three weeks paid annual minimum holiday entitlement.

Class Notes

1. CLASS ANALYSIS

Class analysis is most common analysis you will come across in your reading of New Zealand Labour History. But what is class analysis?

There are two main theoretical traditions within class analysis:

1. Karl Marx
2. Max Weber

According to these two theorists class structure has emerged over time, although they differ on the sources of this social structuring.

1. Marxist Models: Class-Divided Society

Karl Marx 1818-1883; his writings include writings:

International Publishers of New York undertook a massive 50 volume collection of Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels' writings in 1975. The set collects in one place an English version of everything written by Marx and Engels.

Karl Marx & Frederick. Engels, *German Ideology, part 1*, Moscow, 1964 (fp 1846).

----, *The Communist Manifesto*, (with an intro by A.J. P. Taylor) Middlesex, 1967, (fp 1848).

----, *The eighteenth brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, London 1945, fp 1852.

Karl Marx, *The class struggles in France, 1848-1850*, New York, 1964.

----, *Grundrisse*, St. Albans, Hertfordshire, 1973 (fp 1957-8).

most relevant parts have been published separately as *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, E. J. Hobsbawm (ed.), London, 1964.

----, *Preface to A Contribution to Critique of Political Economy*, 1859.

----, *Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, 1964.

----, *Capital : a critical analysis of capitalist production*, 3 vols.

Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, trans, Frederick Engels (ed.), Moscow, 1974.

Interpretative works:

M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, Cambridge, 1948.

Gerald Cohen, *Marx's Philosophy of History: a Defence*, Oxford and New York, 1978.

See W. L. Adamson, A Review of Cohen, Rader and Shaw, *History and Theory*, 19/2, 1980, pp. 186-204.

Davif Duquette, 'A Critique of the Technological Interpretation of Historical Materialism', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 22, 1992.

E. J. Hobsbawm, 'Karl Marx's Contribution to Historiography', in Robin Blackburn (ed.), *Ideology and Social Science: Readings in Critical Social Theory*, London, 1972, pp. 265-283.

*David McLellan, *Karl Marx : a biography*, (3rd edn.), London, 1995, (fp 1975)

Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg (eds.), *Working Class Formation*, Princeton, 1986.

Melvin Rader, *Marx's Interpretation of History*, Oxford, 1979.

William H. Shaw, *Marx's theory of History*, Stanford, California, 1978.

1. Marx's Theory of Historical Development: Succession of socio-economic formations

Marx divided world history into successive modes of production

Primitive Communism---ancient soc---feudalism---capitalism---dictatorship of proletariat---communist:

from primitive communism to ancient society,

from ancient society to feudalism,

from feudalism to capitalism &

from capitalism to dictatorship of proletariat

& finally from the dictatorship of the proletariat to communism.

(There was an alternate route, that is, the Asiatic mode)

Each successive mode of production represented greater technological control over nature.

How did these modes of production change?

Marx suggested society was made up of two components:

1. Productive forces
 1. instruments & objects of production
 2. labour power, scientific & technical knowledge
2. Relations of production
 1. work relations
 2. ownership relations

Forces of production came in to conflict with the relations of production over time; this was the motor of social and political change. Over time there was a:

1. increasing growth in technology
2. growth of proletariat
3. growing emmiseration of the proletariat
4. growing % of capital tied up in fixed assets & the rate of profit falls
5. growth in cut-throat competition

Debate amongst Marxists centre upon:

- i. Is Marx laying down a single path which all societies must follow?
- ii. Is his theory 'scientific'. Did he think it could predict future developments? Can it?
- iii. If Marx's chronology and typology are wrong, as a number of historians and theorists have argued, can we modify the chronologies and typologies to be consistent with the principles underlying his theory of history?
- iv. Is there a Marxist theory of history?

There has also been much criticism of Marx's theory of historical development. A number of questions are usually asked about the extent to which history does not follow the theory:

1. conditions stop the 'law' from operating?
2. forces are frozen by past and there is much 'carry-over' between modes of production?
3. it's possible to miss stages?

But biggest dilemmas surround:

2. Base & 'Superstructure' in Marxist history

'Base' & "Superstructure' in Marxist history ie the relationship between the relations of production & the political, legal & ideological 'superstructures'. Great Debate over the nature of historical materialism & what Marx meant by it. Contention revolves around whether or not Marx was a technological determinist?

- i. What is the balance of freedom and determinism in Marxist theory? What is the primacy thesis?
- ii. what is the relationship of the individual to society in Marxist theory?
- iii. Was Marx an economic determinist?

3 main positions or stories to tell:

1. dialectical development
2. organic totality: independent & interpenetrate
3. fundamentalist (... in the last analysis) Causal determination or the 'primacy' thesis

Is the 'trick' is to let productive forces enjoy explanatory power while avoiding giving them a determinist one?

Two points should be stressed:

- i. Marx himself was not an economic determinist and certainly not a 'crude' economic determinist as writings - particularly of the Stalinist and Cold War polemics - have suggested. His writings are open to interpretation but he believed that social institutions were relatively independent of the economy which is encapsulated in 2 metaphors of base & superstructure & dialectical materialism. Cohen embraces only the "technological" label & avoids (without foreswearing the determinist one (see p.29, n. 147).
- ii. Everyone with any sophistication is agreed: It should be clear that change doesn't follow automatically from changes in the economic structures. Class struggle

occurs & the active intervention of human beings is necessary.

So where does class struggle come into it? That leads us to the third major aspect of Marx's work.

3. **Marxism & class: the role of class conflicts and 'internal tensions'.**

Marx was primarily interested in the analysis of social organisation into social classes under capitalism. Four main contentions:

i. Class defined by relations to means of production

Marx defined class in relation to the ownership of capital & means of production. According to his analysis there were two classes:

1. those who own property, ie the capitalist class
2. those who were propertyless, ie the proletariat

For Marx, the basis model of such societies is of a two-class structure

ii. Increasing impoverished proletariat: Expropriation

Marx predicted that eventually in a mature cap system there would be only capitalists & a proletariat. Capitalists were impelled to create profit by exploiting the proletariat. Capitalists only paid workers a proportion of the wealth they created & they expropriated the remainder. Marx believed that the proletariat would become increasingly impoverished.

iii. Increasing class consciousness

Workers would develop class consciousness in their impoverishment. They would become aware of their economic exploitation at the hands of capitalists & develop from a class 'in itself' to a class 'for itself'. They would be prepared to challenge capitalists & would change society in the process.

This class conflict or contradiction at heart of class society also suggests a theory of social change. Marx argued that class struggle is 'motor of history'; the rising capitalist class overthrew the feudal aristocracy & they would be similarly displaced in their turn by the working class. In capitalist society, Marx suggested that, other things

being equal, society will become polarized with the developing class formation.

iv. False Consciousness

False consciousness was the term used by Marxists to describe the situation where proletariat fails to perceive what they believe to be 'true nature' of its interests & doesn't develop a revolutionary class consciousness.

There is a huge debate between the Marxists, modern and neo-Marxists over the issue of class, class formation and class consciousness:

i. Where do modern Marxists place occupations such as professions and management which do not fit into Marx's two-class model of proletariat and capitalist class? What about other 'ommissions' and 'ambiguities' such as women? Some neo-Marxists and Marxist-feminists have tried to redefine the model. See for example E. O. Wright and his work on the contradictory class positions.

- ii. Is class conflict or class struggle the motor of history? Why haven't the predictions been realised?
- iii. What are alternative non-Marxist approaches to the study of class?

4. **Marxist historical writing**

Whatever its faults, Marxism has been influential. It has had a major impact on New Zealand Labour Historiography:

- i. directly with the massive Marxist history of the police by Richard Hill and J.C. Beaglehole's *New Zealand. A Short History*, London, 1936.
- ii. Indirectly with a tendency to identify the working class with productive labour, that is labour devoted to making things &, thereby, adding value to raw materials. This added value created by manual labour is appropriated by capitalists & distributed in part to white collar workers who created no value. Marxist theory says that production is far more important than tasks of distribution & exchange, paid employment more than unpaid. White collar workers, for example, that is, the largest contemporary group of

women workers, is not in focus. No hope of a revolution from them. ie, Marxism has determined our standards of what is 'the working class'. Attention is given to the politically-conspicuous who helped form the Labour Party or participated directly in the great national confrontations. Secondly, labour history tends to be interested only in specific relationships of paid labour. Marx argued that there were two politically significant classes: cap. & proletariat. He predicted that wage labour would homogenize as capitalism developed. Traditional privileges of skilled workers would be undermined by creation of various reserve armies of labour of unemployed & of those willing to work for less than subsistence wages. If one takes view, then you focus on marketplace & give it priority over other sources of attitudes & behaviour.

Debate amongst Marxist historians about their writings tend to centre on:

1. How congruent is Marx's own historical writing with our understanding of Marxist theory? How far can historians 'wander' from Marx's views and still be Marxist? . Does the best Marxist history take Marxism with a 'grain of salt'?
2. Are Marxist histories' strengths or weaknesses anything to do with Marxism or are they the result of how they fare in a 'conventional historical critique'?

2. Weberian Models: Class-Stratified Society

Max Weber 1864-1920; his writings include:

- Max Weber, *Economy and society; an outline of interpretive sociology (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft)*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (eds.), (trans. Ephraim Fischhoff et al) New York, 1968, fp 1922.
- , *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, (trans. Talcott Parsons), London, 1930.
- , *The sociology of religion*, introduction by Talcott Parsons with a new foreword by Ann Swidler. Boston 1993.
- , *The Russian revolutions*, Gordon C. Wells and Peter Baehr (eds.) & trans., Cambridge, 1995, fp 1905.

----, *Essays in sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. & trans., New York 1958.

----, *Basic concepts in sociology*, H.P. Secher. (trans.), New York, 1962.
Edward Shils (ed., and trans.), *Max Weber on universities: the power of the state and the dignity of the academic calling in Imperial Germany*, Chicago 1974.

Interpretative works on Weber:

***Randall Collins, *Weberian sociological theory*, Cambridge UK, 1986.**

Johannes Weiss, *Weber and the Marxist World*, London, 1986.

1. Weberian idea of rationalisation. No imminent collapse of capitalism.

Weber was critical of Marxist analyses of the imminent collapse of capitalism. He denied the possibility of developmental laws in sociology. Weber implicitly presented rationalisation as the master trend of Western capitalism society. Rationalisation is the process whereby every area of human relationships are subject to calculation & administration.

2. Weberian idea of the Role of Culture. Subjective orientation of individuals

Weber's emphasis on the role of culture especially religion, in shaping human action appears to be a refutation of economic determinism. Sometimes the differences between the two are crudely portrayed as the importance of 'subjective' orientation of individuals cf. to the analysis of 'objective' structural effects in Marxism. One source of rationalization in Western society lay in cultural change brought about by Protestant ethics. Protestantism was not a direct cause of capitalism, but it did provide a culture which emphasised individualism, hard work, rational conditioning & self-reliance. The ethic had an 'affinity' with early capitalism, but Weber thought that

advanced capitalism society would no longer require any religious legitimacy.

3. Weberian Status Groups and Markets

Weber's account of status groups & markets appears to be counter to Marx's emphasis on economic class & relations of production. Three Principles

1. Class Defined by Various Principles of Stratification

Weber defined principles of stratification according to economic differences of market capacity that gave rise to different life chances;

- i. Capital was one source of market capacity & led to class. Thus, property-owners were a class & propertyless were another class - as Marx stated.
- ii. Skill & education, ie those skills were scarce on market, constituted a separate stratification principle
- iii. Social honour or status were also determinant.

2. Four 'Classes'

Thus Weber distinguished four 'classes'

1. propertied class
2. intelligentsia; administrative & managerial class
3. traditional petty bourgeois class of small businessmen & shopkeepers
4. Working Class

3. Class Conflict

"Class conflict was common & was most likely to occur b/t groups with immediately opposed interests, for example, between workers & managers rather than workers & capitalists."

4. Weberian History

1. Post-Weberian, (anti-Marxist), Postwar American Sociologists saw their society as classless. Class was diluted or people were declassed. The idea of a classless society was wildly popular & influential in the 1950s. Many historians were of the opinion NZ equalitarian and classless society although class was a player... had to rediscover poverty in the 1970s.

2. British Sociologists saw society as divided into social groups or a multiplicity of classes. At first manual/non-manual divide proliferated to a "Weberian approach". Then there was criteria allowance for a multiplicity of classes based on different levels of markets rewards, different types of work situations & different combinations of the two. This means that identifying just a few major classes is a matter of interpretation rather than being self-evident & objectively-determined.
3. This developed in 'Weberianesque' categorisations. A very popular division was to divide populations into three classes: working, intermediate & upper. It is almost a conventional sociological model of British class structure:
 1. Manual Workers are placed in working class
 2. Low-level non-manual workers, such as clerks & lower technicians in intermediate or middle class
 3. Managers admin & professionals in upper class. (A few sociologists place clerical workers in the working class, though this is not sociological convention and there is a huge debate over this.) Certainly the basic Weberian principle underlies this work: status as a variable cannot be reduced to class. If one takes a Weberian position as did C. Wright Mills in 1951 & David Lockwood in his 1958 study of black-coated workers, then, while shop & office workers' objective position has determination, still important status differences between groups of white collar & blue collar workers.
4. And beyond Weber
Many now utilise an ancestor of Weberian analyses: a continuum of rankings rather than broken 'class'. People are ranked on a whole variety of factors unrelated to economically-defined class, such as occupation, religion, education, ethnicity. Weber's notion of status has been developed into a multi-dimensional approach which treats social status & prestige as an independent fact which dilutes or even replaces economically-determined class. Most occupational rankings schemes used in studies of inequality assume simply that occupation could be ranked as "better" or worse" than others according to income & prestige incumbents received.

TUTORIAL PROGRAMME

Week 1: NO TUTORIAL but you will be working on the Standard Story of New Zealand Labour History

Monday 10 July: Film: 'The Hamer and the Anvill'
Friday 14 July: Teasing out the Standard Story of New Zealand Labour History

Fill out Tutorial preference sheets
Fill out Worksheet on Standard Story of New Zealand

Reading from Texts:

Melanie Nolan, 'introduction: Is there a 'typical member' of the Working Class' in *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch, 2005, pp. 13-33; and also 'The Jacks and their International Socialist Vision' pp. 53-85.

Week 2: The Language of Class in New Zealand? Historians changing her or his mind and patterns in the historiography

What is class? Is class a useful term to apply to New Zealand historically? Have historians applied it to New Zealand history? How have historians such as Miles Fairburn, Melanie Nolan, Erik Olssen changed their views on class in New Zealand in the last two or three decades?

Reading:

David G. Pearson, *Johnsonville: continuity and change in a New Zealand Township*, Sydney, 1980, pp. 167-83, ch. 9 'Class, Community and Change'.

Miles Fairburn, 'A Class-Divided Society?', in *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900*, Auckland, 1989, pp. 116-56, 280-86.

Jim McAloon, 'Class in Colonial New Zealand. Towards a historiographical rehabilitation', *NZJH*, Vol. 38, no. 1, April 2004, pp. 3-21.

Reading from Texts:

Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 7-14, 'Introduction'.
Melanie Nolan, 'introduction: Is there a 'typical member' of the Working Class' in *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch, 2005, pp. 13-33.

Week 3: Class Still-born? Egalitarianism and the institutions that cut across class: New Zealand mentality or central concepts in people's thinking

What is egalitarianism? Did New Zealand have a class system? What is the benchmark of class that we have in mind when we talk about a class system?

W. H. Oliver, 'Reeves, Sinclair and the Social Pattern' in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth*, Wellington, 1969, pp. 163-78.

Leslie Lipson, *The Politics of Equality. New Zealand's Adventures in Democracy*, Chicago, 1947, ch. 1, ch. 15, pp. 1-12, 481-503, 507.

Reading from Texts:

Miles Fairburn and S. J. Haslett, 'Stability and Egalitarianism: New Zealand, 1911-1951', in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 15-34.

And

Lydia Bloy, 'Class' in the Eye of the Beholder in 1930s and 1940s New Zealand Society', in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 175-91.

Week 4: Revolution: Taking class history seriously?

Why was there a Great/General Strike in New Zealand in 1913? Did New Zealand catch an international wave or were there indigenous reasons for the strike? Why was there a wave of industrial disorder in the capitalist world after the turn of the 20th century? How does looking at visual material help us reassess the nature of the 1913 strike?

James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001, esp. Ch. 3, 'Trouble in Paradise', pp. 87-120.

Reading from Texts:

Melanie Nolan, '1913 in retrospect: a laboratory or a battleground of democracy?', in Melanie Nolan, (ed.), *Revolution: The 1913 Great Strike in New Zealand*, Christchurch, 2005, pp. 21-40.; James Taylor, 'Contemporary Media Portrayals of the 1913 Dispute', pp. 142-63.

Seren Wendelken, 'Visual Constructs of Wealth in the *Maoriland Worker*, 1911-12;

'Cartoon and Intertext' in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 193-216.

There is an exhibition, 'Strike 1913: War on the Wharves' at the Wellington Museum of City and Sea, 15 August to 12 November

Week 5: Class Solidarity and the Associational Life of the Working Class: Church sources?

Was working-class culture 'defensive', 'enclosed', 'conservative', 'fatalistic' 'passive', 'consolatory', 'corporate', 'myopic', 'safely residual', 'tamed & legitimate' and or 'shorn of associations'? Was the associational life of the New Zealand working class vibrant?

Why did the working class show a preference for reformist rather than more militant or revolutionary forms of political action? Can churches be described as working-class institutions?

John Stenhouse, 'Christianity, Gender, and the Working Class in Southern Dunedin, 1880-1940', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 30, no. 1, February 2006, pp. 18-44.

Reading from Texts:

John Stenhouse, 'Church, Occupation and Class in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1940', in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 51-74.

Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch, 2005, pp. 86-111, ch. 4 'The Margarets: The Working Class and 'the other world'.

Week 6: Working Life in New Zealand: *New Zealand Census*

How can we measure change in people's working life? What are the problems associated with the census data? How does comparative statistics help us?

Barbara Brookes, Erik Olssen and Emma Beer, 'Spare Time? Leisure, Gender and Modernity' in Barbara Brookes, (eds.), *Sites of Gender*, Auckland 2003, pp. 151-189.

Evan Roberts, 'Gender in Store: The Politics of Salespeople's Working Hours, and Retail Unions in New Zealand and the United States, 1930-1960', *Labour History*, No. 83, 2002, pp. 107-30.

Reading from Texts:

Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Otago, 2005, pp. 91-115, ch. 4 'New Zealand's Changing Occupational Structure 1901, 1926 and 1936' and ch. 6 'The Reification of Categories', pp. 147-154.

Mid-semester Break: 21 August to 1 September

Week 7: Why did it take so long for Labour to Come to Power? Electoral Geography

Why have there been varying interpretations as to why the NZLP did not gain political power until 1935? Why did so many working people vote for 'the Tories'? What are the problems with dealing with electoral geography?

Miles Fairburn 'Why did the New Zealand Labour Party Fail to Win Office until 1935?', *Political Science*, Vol. 37, no. 2, December 1985, pp. 101-124.

Miles Fairburn and Stephen Haslett, 'Cleavage Within the Working Class? The Working-Class Vote for the Labour Party in New Zealand, 1911–51', *Labour History*, no. 88, May 2005, pp. 183-213.

Reading from Texts:

Steve McLeod, 'Did Farmers Really 'Lurch towards the Left' in 1935? Reassessing the Election of New Zealand's First Labour Government' in Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen, *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005, pp. 141-74.

Week 8: Half Gallon, Quarter-Acre, Pavlova Paradise: Affluence and the Palaces of Consumption: Highly visible workplaces

In 1950, New Zealand boasted the third highest standard of living in the world, as measured by per capita gross domestic productivity, and many claimed that it had the 'best way of life'. By 1987, this had fallen to 23rd in the OECD. Why do labour historians tend to want to disaggregate national statistics over standards of living and critically assess measurements? Why not accept that we were on the 'sheep's back' in the 1950s and 1960s. Shouldn't we simply concentrate on the cultural results of affluence such as the rise of 'palaces of consumption'?

Helen B. Laurenson, *Going up, going down: the rise and fall of the department store*, Auckland, 2005.

Miles Fairburn and S. J. Haslett, 'The New Zealand Social Structure, 1911-1951: Did it become more Middle Class?', *New Zealand Sociology*, Vol. 20, no. 1, 2005, p. 20-41.

Reading from Texts:

Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Otago, 2005, pp. 117-45, ch. 5 'The Local and the National: An Occupational Classification for Caversham, South Dunedin, and St Kilda'.

Week 9: The Long Divisions: piecing together the changes

What was the extent of occupational change in the twentieth century? How have work and workers changed? Why do we have no history of the white collar revolution in New Zealand? Why do we not have a history of work?

Bronwyn Dalley, 'All in A Day's Work. Paid and Unpaid Work', *Living in the Twentieth Century: New Zealand History in Photographs, 1900-1980*, Wellington, 2000, pp. 22-63.

Graeme Dunstall, 'The Social Pattern' in W. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1981, pp. 397-429, 506-10, 545-48.

Reading from Texts

Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch, 2005, pp. 155-78, ch. 7 'The Franks: The Rise of the Middle Class and a Managerial Vision'.

Week 10: The Third Way: Establishing benchmarks

What kind of party is the NZLP in which the rich seemed to have done well in New Zealand under the 4th and 5th Labour governments? Whatever happened to the party based on unions? Was the NZLP ever 'that' radical? Is it the case that it has always been a cacophony or is it the case that it is pale reflection of its original left origins?

Barry Gustafson, 'Coming home? The Labour Party in 1916 and 1991 compared' in Margaret Clark (ed.), *The Labour Party after 75 years*, Wellington, 1992.

Revolutionary Workers' League, *Truth About Labour* (first version by Daphna Whitmore in *Craccum*, April 1989), Auckland, 2005.

Reading from the texts:

Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A Collective Biography of a New Zealand Working-Class Family*, Christchurch, 2005, especially chapters on Jack and Jim

Week 11: New Zealand Exceptionalism: Summing it all up

What was exceptionalism? Labour historians often work with international models. Was there anything distinctive, peculiar or 'exceptional' about the New Zealand experience?

Miles Fairburn, 'Is there a Good Case for New Zealand Exceptionalism?', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (eds.), *Disputed Histories. Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Dunedin, 2006, pp. 143-67, 259-65.

Erik Olssen, Tom Brooking, Brian Heenan, Hamish James, Bruce McLennan and Clyde Griffen, 'Urban society and the opportunity structure in New Zealand, 1902-22: the Caversham project', *Social History*, Vol. 24, no. 1, January 1999, pp. 39-54.

Reading from the Texts:

Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Otago, 2005, pp. 9-28, 'The Caversham Project and its Study Area'.

Week 12: Essay Due and Class Test: No Tutorials this week

ASSIGNMENTS

1. **Book review** **worth 30%**
due Friday 18 August
Word limit 2,500 words

Write a book review and critically review one of the following publications. These books are very recently published, so it is doubtful that you will find a published review before you complete your own assignment.

Miles Fairburn and Erik Olssen (eds.), *Class, Gender and the Vote: Historical Perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin, 2005.

Melanie Nolan, *Kin: A collective biography of a New Zealand working-class family*, Christchurch, 2005.

Melanie Nolan, (ed.), *Revolution: The 1913 New Zealand Great Strike*, Christchurch, 2005.

Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand Reality*, Dunedin, 2005.

2. **Essay** **worth 40%**
due Monday 2 October
Word limit 2,500 words

Answer one of these questions, in most cases, using the reading lists above:

1. What is wrong with the clear progressive historiographical story about the New Zealand work class and labour's path to political independence and the establishment of a welfare state celebrated in

four steps: 1890, 1912/13, 1916 and 1935? (Lectures 1 & 2: The Standard Turning Points: 1890, 1912-13/1916, 1935, 1951)

2. How do historians explain the emergence of the language of class in New Zealand at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries? (Lectures 3 and 4: The Language of Class in New Zealand at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries?)

3. What is Erik Olssen referring to when he refers to the 'unmaking of the New Zealand working class in New Zealand historiography? (Lectures 5 and 6: Class Still-born? The UnMaking of the New Zealand Working Class?)

4. James Belich noted in his general history that while 1913 was not the Russian Revolution, it does seem to have been something rather closer to a class war than most historians allow. Why has 1913 been relatively neglected in the historiography? (Lectures 7 and 8: A Social Laboratory or a Battleground for Democracy)

5. Should historians concentrate upon trade unions as the main associational life of the working class in the first part of the twentieth century New Zealand? (Lectures 9 and 10: The Associational Life of the Working Class)

6. In what ways have historians argued that work was humanised in New Zealand by the mid-twentieth century? (Lectures 11 and 12: Working Life in New Zealand)

7. Critically assess the historiographical debate over why the New Zealand Labour Party was not elected to government until 1935? (Lectures 13 and 14: Labour Comes to Power)

8. Is there any problem with how historians have measured the affluence of New Zealand workers and their internationally high standard of living in the 1950s? (Lectures 15 and 16 Affluence and the Palaces of Consumption)
9. Have labour historians concentrated on the change of work and underemphasized the change in workers during the twentieth century? (Lectures 17 and 18: The Long Divisions)
10. Why has there been so little consideration of working class politics in the later Twentieth Century in the historiography? (Lectures 19 and 20 The Third Wave)
11. In what ways have historians argued that New Zealand was exceptional or peculiar in international terms? (Lectures 20 and 21: New Zealand Exceptionalism)
12. Or, in consultation with Melanie Nolan, you may write your own question that concerns material covered in the course.

You might, for instance, wish to write an essay on how work has changed in the twentieth century for a particular group of workers, for instance, domestic servants or professionals. As this is a 200-level essay, it will be based on published sources.