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ABSTRACT

Implicit in the human capital approach of 20th-century educational rhetoric in Australia was the belief that schools imparted vocationally useful cognitive skills beyond basic literacy and numeracy. These skills were believed to be transferable to the workplace and to increase the productivity of the individual to the benefit of society. For girls, the vocational preparation was more vocationally specific and trained them in skills transferable immediately to the work force. Girls were encouraged to make curriculum choices within the limited number of occupational positions and societal roles regarded as suitable for women. Job-specific training was complementary to the overall ideology of domesticity by providing skills for short-term employment prior to marriage. Development of commercial education in the state system opened up clerical work to the increasing number of youth staying on at school. The rapid expansion of secondary education facilitated the upward social mobility of the middle class. Young workers also benefitted from the salary rises and increased opportunities for advancement in what was considered higher status white-collar work. (YLB)

SCHOOLING FOR WORK:GENDER DIFFERENTIATION IN COMMERCIAL EDUCATION IN VICTORIA,AUSTRALIA.1935-1960

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Twentieth century educational rhetoric in Australia assumed the human capital argument that schools could and should produce skilled employees capable of meeting the demands of an ever increasingly complex and technologically advanced workplace.In 1903, five years prior to the establishment of a state system of secondary education in Victoria , the Fink Commission on Technical Education linked education,national economic growth and technical efficiency. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the link between education and better jobs was relevant only to the select group of middle class children or scholarship holders who completed a secondary education, generally boys entering the professions or commerce. By the twenties, they were joined by the children of farmers, excluded from agriculture as an occupation by mechanization, who increasingly used the state secondary system as a cheaper avenue than the private system ,to teaching, nursing and the public service. [1].

The evident consensus amongst business groups ,educators and politicians after 1945 regarding the benefits, both for nation and individual, of a secondary education beyond the legal school leaving age of 14 , was symbolic of their faith in the connection between economic growth and national maturity expected of a Western,industrial democracy. In a climate of post-war reconstructionist optimism in technological progress ,Elwyn Morey argued for increasing the compulsory school leaving age to 15:

> In industry,modern technogical developments demand higher standards of learning of all employees from foreman to workers....In short,education ,not mere literacy,is essential for technical efficiency.[2].

Discussions of the school -work transition were dominated by employer expectations regarding job specifics and needs,leading to a focus on 'adjusting youth for work' similar to the American life adjustment movement of the late 1930's. .[3].Implicit to the human capital approach was the belief that schools imparted vocationally useful cognitive skills beyond basic literacy and numeracy ,skills transferrable to the workplace and which increased the productivity of the individual to the benefit of society.

Economic and social reproduction theorists have countered such assumptions, stressing the importance of the affective , non-cognitive and attitudinal aspects of schooling .Such a thesis is also reminiscent of the nineteenth century view of mass elementary education as a social control mechanism ,and the late nineteenth century New Education philosophy of a balanced ,liberal education .In the latter case, the inclusion of both academic and practical subjects was justified on various grounds ranging from vocational utilitarianism,mental discipline, manipulative co-ordination ,to the desire to develop moral character by encouraging "diligence, perserverance, love of order, neatness, dexterity, caution,love of construction,a respect for the work of men's hands and a comtempt for wanton destruction."[4]. Schools in either thesis , by inculcating correct attitudes to work and the willingness to comply to hierarchical school organizations typical of the structures of labour processes ,effectively reproduced a malleable and submissive workforce. Resistance theorists have criticised such a simple correspondence between the organization of schools and the work place portrayed by the structural Marxists,suggesting greater significance should be given to the interaction between human agency and social structures and the inherent contradictions of the relationships between the family ,schools and work. Recognition of the dominance by a ruling class, perpetuated by cultural hegemony, still means the passivity of less powerful groups cannot be presumed.Finally, credentialists have suggested that levels of schooling merely indicate the trainability of youth ,regardless of cognitive content, as identifiers of like values and behaviours.If it is the affective rather than the cognitive learning experience in schools that is more valued by employers, the rhetoric of vocational utility is questionable as is the vocational content of schooling itself.Perhaps a general,liberal education can meet employer needs equally satisfactorily?[5]

This paper attempts to unravel the complexity of this school-work relationship in the field of state commercial education during a period of time when the Victorian economy was transformed from a semi-industrialized state to fully fledged welfare capitalism.Rapid industralization in the

1920's and after 1937 stimulated the development of interdependent financial and governmental infra-structures with a corresponding growth in an already expanding clerical market .(See Appendix 1) Australia latched onto the expansion of world markets in manufacturing,and underwent a period of economic transformation due to a favourable conjunction of circumstances --increased population through immigration and the accompanying economies of scale , coincided with the transition from intensive land settlement to manufacturing-based economic expansion.Both trends were evident in the mid war period but obviously accelerated with World War Two.Urbanization and a higher standard of living accompanied industrialization ,with nearly 70 per cent of the Victorian population in Melbourne by 1970.Economic and demographic change of such magnitude had obvious repercussions on the structure of the labour market ,social structures and relationships as well as attitudes to education.[6]

In an earlier period,the development of corporate capitalism and technological change in America from 1890 to 1920 had similarly transformed the composition and organization of the workforce,one consequence being the marginalization of juveniles in the labour force and increased retention in secondary education.Another was the growth of service industries,and clerical work in particular.Lazerson and Grubb have suggested that a general secondary education in the American comprehensive high school, meant both boys and girls acquired academic skills which were transferrable to clerical work[7].On the surface,the rhetoric of vocationalism in Victoria appears to assume such a transfer of cognitive skills ,with technological and industrial developments after World War Two being seen to demand a more highly educated worker.The question to be addressed in this paper is whether job specific skills were learnt in school, and whether employers perceived academic qualifications as indicating such skills or merely signalling trainability.For whom did the human capital model work?In many cases, the theory appears to be blind to the reality that for certain groups,such as early school leavers, education did not guarantee better jobs.Even when credentials could facilitate initial entrance into an occupation,

career structure,work practices, internal labour markets,regulations regarding experience and length of service, traditions and labour unions, acted as impediments to the advancement of members of certain groups.The paper seeks to address how class,gender or geographical location impacted the development of commercial education in Victoria and how the organization of the workplace ,the labour market, job entrance mechanisms and commercial education interacted, and in whose favour.

The Clerical Labour Market.

Margaret Power asserts that the development of the Australian economy ,especially after World War Two, was characterized by a segmented labour market. Women and girls, she argued,were disproportionately employed in the secondary labour market - that narrow range of occupations whose status ,rewards and promotion possibilities compared unfavourably with that cluster of jobs offering security of tenure, promotion, training and status which constituted the primary labour market,generally dominated by indigenous ,adult males. In this paper, I argue that two different labour market mechanisms operated in the commercial sphere which filtered youthful school leavers into different sectors of the clerical labour market.By 1900,clerical work for girls meant typing ,stenography ,filing, and by 1945, operating ledger and calculating machines .For boys it was usually the first step in the ladder to administrative or managerial status, or at least a higher level clerk,probably in the public service,insurance offices or banks.During the fifties, the numerical balance was altering significantly , without challenge to the managerial dominance of males, with increasing number of women assuming formerly male clerical positions. In 1911 only .7 percent of women in the Australian workforce entered clerical occupations.This reached 3.9 per cent by 1931 ,6.5 per cent in 1947 and 9.1 per cent in 1961

This paper contends that the increasing number of women in clerical work was largely a consequence of a number of interacting forces - the changing configuration of the workforce due to rapid industrialization ; the readiness of schools to respond to vocational requirements set by the

labour market ; parental pressure for the provision of commercial education ;the educationalists objective of increasing post-compulsory retention by making curriuclum more relevant; and finally because of the perceived 'appropriateness' of clerical work for women.[8.]

Traditionally,clerical work was a male domain in the nineteenth century.Lockwood describes the counting house of the English 'black coated worker'in which the most simple division was between employer,the book-keeper cashier,and the ordinary clerk.Within the intimacy of the counting house

> It was possible to see the particularism of the relationship between the clerk and the employer,the possibility of rising from one position to another ,and the largely individual and informal training within the counting house,served to strengthen the tie between the individual clerks and employers and thereby weaken the common interests among clerks as a body.[9.]

With the developing bureaucracies at the turn of the century, the counting house was replaced by the impersonality of the modern office with divisions of labour between males and females ,and greater job differentiation, usually rationalized as a distinction based on skill. As in England,Australian women by the early 1900's began to supplant males because of their cheapness and ability to do the same clerical labour, since compulsory elementary education meant every literate person was a potential clerk. With the advent of the typewriter a functional division of labour grounded on gender facilitated the promotion of males to supervisory capacities,and relegated women to the more routine mechanical and repititive functions on typewriters, at lower wages ,an appointment supposedly based on capabilities.The Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Service Administration in 1920-1 argued that despite the similarity of duties performed by males and females in the Public Service or the teaching profession,'experience throughout the world is that equal services are not rendered, owing to the fact that constitutionally women are unable.to give the same continuous effort as men'.In those positions for which women

'are particularly suitable,such as those of typist,telephonist, female sorter', and in the more routine duties of the junior clerk, women did discharge the same duties.But the report concluded:

> the employment of a junior male clerk on the duties of recording and indexing papers for a period of one or two years is desirable for the standpoint of training in office routine and procedures,his further retention in the work is unwise ,as limiting his training for other positions requiring initiative, and resulting in a loss of ambition, and combined with a feeling of dissatisfaction in his work environment.[10]

Job satisfaction or career opportunities were not esssential for young girls who did not have the responsibility of being the primary breadwinner.

With the shortage of male recruits in the post war period,such practices changed rapidly,indicating that it was a matter of employer preference and adequate supply of male recuits rather than ' natural' attributes which determined job suitability.A decision against an Equal Pay Case for women in the Queensland Arbitration Court in 1951 stated that it was inconceivable to employ males in clerical jobs and that the positions were 'undoubtedly peculiarly suited to female labour'.The claim for equal pay was defeated since women 'obviously did not produce the same profit in a position in which males were not usually employed'[11].Despite the lower wages than their male counterparts, clerical work for girls was preferable to domestic service,serving in a shop or working in a factory.

White collar work was still held to be an occupation with status although the relative status of the manual and service industries were not matched with a similar correspondence in material terms. Helen Hughes, an economist, argued in 1956 that industrialization had assisted the manual workers rather than the white collar workers in banks and insurance officers.This was not only in the case of actual earnings, but also in conditions."Many middle level administrative

workers average more hours than industrial workers, who enjoy three weeks holiday, long service leave; usually a privilege of white collar occupations ".[12] In Victoria, the clerical worker maintained position relative to the manual worker in the market situation in terms of wages and conditions until the late thirties.The salary differentials between skilled tradesmen and clerical workers in banks decreased such that skilled workers received greater renumeration,and clerical workers ranked more closely to manual workers,even the aristocracy of the banking and insurance clerks. As an explanation for the perceived higher status of the clerical worker in England, Lockwood argued that '"the clerks have enjoyed and continue to enjoy the greater chances of rising to managerial,quasi-managerial and supervisory positions than manual wage earners."That is, the work situation put administrative staff, even of low level, in a position of authority over manual workers.[13] A similar relationship existed in Victoria during the twentieth century. At the same time there was a parallel development of administrative hierarchies in the public service and larger firms which effectively deskilled other white collar workers by the 1950's by redefining and specialising their work situation.

The tradition of the office worker was the highly particularistic and individualised training in specific offices.This gave some autonomy, but also inability to determine work status. In the case of the manual worker the homogeneity of skills across work situations such as that of the fitter and turner and machinists, allowed for recognisable skills and standard renumeration.This had an impact on perceived status of the occupations and the nature of educational requirements.The undervaluation of formal preparation other than a general education for clerical work resulted,therefore, from the lack of greding of clerical labour within the male ranks in smaller firms. This was resolved in large organizations by the development of bureaucracy and strict procedures of seniority , as in Victoria in the Education Department and the Public Service after 1945.Amongst female clerical employees, more specific skills of typing and shorthand facilitated ranking in hierarchies and greater specialisation of labour, even in the early inroads of women into the occupation .Division of labour by gender, rationalised on the grounds of skill differentials and productivity ,institutionalised lower level clerical work as a female job by 1960.

The Growth of Commercial Education in Victoria.

Commercial education developed to meet these new demands. The unprecedented growth of private business and commercial colleges in the city of Melbourne since the establishment of Stott's Business College in 1883 which taught shorthand and introduced the typwriter.In 1936 there were 13 private commercial schools with over 123 teachers and an enrolment of 2378 males and 2533 female students. This growth was in response to the demand by business houses for trained clerks and stenographers since, as one business college prinipals stated, "the growing complexity of office routine in business has led to the evolution of a specialised education labelled commercial."[14.]

The expansion of private business colleges after 1900 indicated the strength of the demand for vocational training not met by state educational institutions offering similar courses.In both Victoria and NSW, the high proportion of female enrolments in private business colleges prepared to pay fees indicated the value placed on office work.The cost of training also suggests that inroads into this profession, as with teaching , were largely by girls of lower middle class or middle class backgrounds.Despite their popularity with girls,these business schools perceived their task to be to prepare males for the commercial world. The curriculum offered a greater breadth of subjects to males than females, such as accountancy and law,which gave them access to the various public examinations of the Institutes of Law and Accountants. Alternative commercial training was available in the state or council controlled senior technical colleges, which offered full or part -time courses in book-keeping, accountancy,and associated business courses for a fee.[15]

There was a distinct pattern regarding the provision of state funded commercial education after the 1910 Educaiton Act which was impacted by class and gender.The establishment of the junior technical system in Victoria after 1912 to 'fill the gap' between elementary schooling and

vocational training in the senior technical colleges,offered alternative prevocational training primarily to boys entering apprenticeships.Girls sections , connected to four of the boys technical schools,offered domestic science and commercial courses .Single- sex Domestic Arts schools were established under the Act's provisions to provide domestic science training for the majority of girls .These schools were located in the western and inner working class,industrial suburbs such as Williamstown, Flemington, Brunswick, Footscray and Fitzroy,suburbs with the concentration of clothing,food processing and boot factories .Client demand and location did come to determine the curriculum , as certain of the girls schools moved away from the focus on domestic science towards commercial studies.This trend was officially institutionalized in 1929 when the Domestic Arts schools were renamed as Girls Schools. Two of the older, more established and prestigous MacRobertson and Canterbury Girls were fortuitously situated in the middle class eastern suburbs . A study in 1939 indicated that over a third of MacRobertson girl's parents were in commerce and nearly a half in professional or public service occupations.These parents were seeking job training for their daughters in clerical work because of its appropriate work situation.Similarly,parents from skilled industrial backgrounds with daughters at this school perceived a limited form of social mobility due to the status of white collar work. Children of working class parents were reliant on free places and scholarships in the fifties to enter technical or girls schools or business colleges for any form of vocational training. The coincedence between geographical location in the metropolitan area ,class and the nature of schooling available was further exacerbated with suburban and transport developments of the fifties.Inner city schools such as Collingwood Technical school ,being situated on the railway line ,catered for outer eastern suburban demands for clerical training.[16]

Shorthand ,typing and book-keeping were introduced into one of the first Victorian state secondary schools situated in the metropolitan area,Essendon High School, in1913 for the purpose of training commercial teachers.Thereafter ,the expansion of commercial education during the

1920's, either as separate commercial courses in junior technical schools, or integrated with mathematics and other subjects in many high schools, was facilitated.[17] By 1937, Business Principles and Practice were Intermediate and Leaving Certificate subjects in the public examinations, while Shorthand and Typing were recognised at Intermediate level in 1944. The growing popularity of commercial education was evident with 942 of the total 7597 external candidates at Intermediate Certificate level taking commercial subjects by 1950 [18] (See Table 1).

TABLE 1.

Number of Public Examination Candidates presenting for Commercial subjects and English. 1950.

Intermediate	Boys	Girls	Total	No Students.
Shorthand and Typing	15	927	942	
Commercial Pr. &Practice	842	972	1814	1814
English Express.	3814	3783	7597	
Leaving Certificate.				
Comm.Practice	297	210	507	
Comm Principles	525	277	812	820
English	2676	2236	4912	
			Total	2616

Source:

Handbook of Examinations 1949-1950. Melbourne University Press, 1951

The development of the commercial stream in the higher elementary schools in country areas did not reach full fruition until the fifties partly due to the lack of trained staff and equipment, but also because the high schools were seen to be the primary avenue to the professional and clerical jobs. Only with the consolidation of the higher elementary schools into multilateral district high schools offering professional, commercial, industrial, agricultural and domestic streams, was the provision of commercial education more common.

Education or Training?

The expansion of commercial education in the state secondary system was also a belated response to perceived competition with the private business courses for clients.The issue became one of the attractiveness of job specific training of the private colleges against what was perceived as an educationally preferrable approach ,with commercial subjects integrated into a general education.The latter approach was not only pedagogically sound but also served to encourage retention.An educationalist's view :

> Where the analytical and interpretative aspects of book-keeping and accounting are stressed in the classroom ,these subjects can be translated from the realm of vocational training to that of vocational education.Business principles,commercial law and to a lesser extent office routine,taught as a branch of social studies,should be justly classified as a branch of general education as distinct from specialised education[19].

This statement typified moves by 1950 to combat the specialist,narrow business education offered by the business colleges and expected by employers during the thirties. Post war curriculum discussions regarding the extension of post-primary facilities in commercial education focused on the principle of a general education for commerce,a principle obviously influenced by the English Carr-Saunders Report on Education for Commerce (1949) which opted also for vocational education in preference to vocational training:

> Vocational education is defined as the underlying principles and the background of commerce combined with such a treatment of certain subjects normally included in general education as will show their vocational bearing and thus stimulate the interest of students.This is distinct from vocational training defined as training in the skills and techniques of commerce or of allied professions for the purpose of making practitioners[20].

The reference group in this discussion was that of career oriented boys --those expected to enter the commercial 'profession '.This preference for vocational education over training

became confused with respect to the objectives and expectations of commercial courses for girls.Instead of a 'general education for commerce', there was an expectation that girls were 'competent practitioners' on exiting school.The Carr-Saunders Report had accepted,as did the Victorian commercial Teachers Association(VCTA), that in order to compete successfully with the business colleges offering job-specific skills for girls in typing and shorthand, secondary schools must offer similar provisions of vocational training so that girls had equal opportunities in the job market immediately on leaving school.In Victoria, the VCTA in 1953 argued that 'apart from the fact shorthand and typing are skills,a minimum proficiency which is necessary for office employment,it must not be forgotten that the departmental schools are in competition with the business colleges.'[21].

Competition with the business colleges was somewhat allayed after 1948 with only four of the larger business colleges gaining registration through the Council of Public Education . Registration became an issue during the thirties with many complaints to the Council regarding unethical practices in a time of few jobs, and lack of bona fide qualifications amongst the staff of various vocational guidance and business colleges.[22]The push for commercial education came from middle class parents who transferred their concern to government schools in the following decade as a cheaper avenue of vocational training.In particular, this is evident in the constant demands from country areas for the extension of commercial education into the higher elementary schools which reached a fourth year of secondary education,the call for higher levels of accreditation and inclusion of commercial subjects in the public examination system.[23].

Employer expectations ,of which parents were apparently aware,largely influenced the nature of commercial training/education offered in state and private systems .The gender-specific designation of jobs and skills in the workplace were translated into differentiated curriculum for boys and girls in secondary schools.Overall,the commercial stream in the high schools was of

lower status than the professional, but sex-differentials operated within the manual arts and commercial streams as well --differentials which were reflective of the segmented labour market.For example,in a multipurpose high school in the large provincial town of Shepparton, the cohort who undertook the commercial course at D form(third year of post-primary)in 1939 dropped science and geography from the 'professional' course to take up book-keeping and shorthand.But the girls also dropped algebra to undertake the near-mandatory typing.Forty-two percent of girls at Shepparton High at D and C(fourth year) levels took this commercial course compared to sixteen percent of the boys.Generally the boys took the professional course regardless of whether they intended to enter a profession,commerce, the public service or go farming[24]. George Baker Smith ,for example, attended his local high school only one year in 1938 in order to gain a grounding in English and mathematics so he could be employed as a clerk[25]. Girls tended to select a professional course if they intended to continue to Leaving Certificate ,probably to take up teaching.Generally,boys of lesser academic ability selected the commercial course, whilst girls of disparate abilities undertook commercial training as a vocational safeguard,if marriage did not eventaute.[26]

Opting for the commercial rather than a professional course was a response to employer expectations that girls at job entry levels had already acquired the skills of typing and shorthand.Boys chose the general business courses such as Commercial Principles and Practice ,which led onto higher education and was a background for on-the-job training.Few boys elected to do stenography and virtually none typing.[27]Since shorthand and typing were treated as one subject in the final examinations,girls were locked into completing more hours on their commercial training and were consequently excluded from the science and maths mainstream as well as the more general commercial principles.The male orientation of this course and the dichotomy between' inculcating concepts' and training 'competent practitioners' is evident in the early 1950's debate amongst the professional associations regarding the nature of commercial education.With the Carr-Saunders Reports adopted as general guidelines, a Report of the Commercial Principles and Practice Group and the VCTA in 1953 agreed that

> The present tendency is to make this subject a social study.The Principles section deals chiefly with correspondence,common documents and commercial institutions.The Practice section includes topics which will of value immediately upon leaving school.e.g. financial statements,and we hope farm accounts for rural lads.....the modern method and approach to Commercial Practice does help the students to develop a logical attitude to the solution of problems.[28]

Twice as many boys as girls sat for Commercial Principles in the external Leaving examination in 1950 although the same number sat for the Commercial Practice at this level.[29]Most girls did both subjects but only half of the boys felt the need for the application side offered in Practice.The explanation appears therefore to lie in the principle/practice dichotomy and the little concern indicated by boys regarding immediate transferrability of specific job skills such as accountancy into employment situations.

The gender specificity of the commercial stream was also evident in the retention levels and importance of certification.Two years of book-keeping ,shorthand and typing were generally considered sufficient training for girls to obtain jobs compared to a three years general commercial education for boys.In 1950 over 850 boys and 970 girls sat for the external Intermediate Examinations in commercial subjects and 500 boys and 270 girls at Leaving Certificate level.[30]In fact,higher qualifications worked against girls in clerical work because they lacked experience.One girl stayed on to Form 5 and ended up being a punchboard operator in Health Benefits Association whereas her girlfriend left at Form 2 and had become a receptionist by then[31].Even when girls left school a year earlier,they had lower expectations to continue their studies than boys for whom further study was often a prerequisite for job advancement.[32] Advancement and training for females was through job experience alone, the result of luck rather than planning,although more likely in smaller firms requiring diverse skills. Lyn,in her first job at Foy and Gibsons retail store had begun without any training but "you learnt just being there.I used to file the dockets ,worked in the stationary department.Mrs Harris showed me how to work the printing machine...mostly I used calculating machines."[33].

This pattern of course selection based on vocational relevance was further confused by the rural-urban differences.Surveys of course selection in some rural high schools, as distinct from the larger provincial highs,indicated that girls opted for the professional courses in preference to the commercial ,and vice-versa for boys. A closer study of the occupational distribution of the township gives some explanation.Due to the paucity of clerical opportunities in smaller towns boys, particularly prior to World War Two, tended to gain the highly valued clerical positions in banks.Girls with vocational aspirations and generally from financially able families, looked to teaching and nursing, thus requiring professional courses,and were often required to leave home . In these smaller towns,boys did perceive some value in the accounting and book-keeping aspects of the commercial courses if they intended to return to the land.For many girls, though, the lack of job opportunities ,money,and the lure of big city life were not enough to entice them to leave home, and many remained within the familial home as unpaid domestics or as housekeepers with a local family until marriage.[34]

As in the city,clerical work in the more rapidly expanding rural areas ,was more open to girls during the fifties since more lucrative or acceptable employment existed for young males.Such was the case in the Latrobe Valley region,the developing centre of the power industry in Victoria.One local observed that "although prospects on the clerical side are better than on the trade side,the youth of Traralgon are technically minded and routine clerical work has little attraction for boys"[35]. With the high status given the trades in an technological and highly industrialized region,girls gained access to previously male dominated occupations.

The Vocational Imperative.

Decisions about the type and length of post-primary schooling therefore,were largely determined by gender,class,familial attitudes and traditions, and the nature of the educational provision.A sociological study of rural towns in 1944 elicited opinions regarding education.One response stated:

> It seems to me that there is an awful waste in secondary education.The kids learn stuffthey are not interested in and that they forget as soon as they leave school,and they are not taught what is going on in the world around them.[36]

This was further modified by local wisdom ,perceived vocational relevance of a course,and the constraint of which forms of education were accessible. It was common for the students to leave school with just a Merit Certificate or at fourteen after one years high school. Surveys of pupils' and parents' reasons for selecting specific courses in country and urban multilateral high schools in th e mid-thirties and the early fifties illustrated clearly that the primary motive was to be trained directly for the job.This vocational imperative dominated parents' and students' educational decisions,but for girls was an even closer horizon.

> Their utilitarian outlook to education is the outstanding feature of the answers (to the survey).....the feeling that schools should provide them with vocational preparation which they realise they need.The regard of the commercial course as purely vocational is fostered by the attitude of the secondary school to this course (as lower status)...Without saying,they and their parents possess an entirely utilitarian view of education.There is among them the everpresent necessity to go to work and be self-supporting and help the family.....The influence of the home environment and attitudes is here of paramount importance.[37]

This attitude had not altered considerably for many in the working class by 1960. Lyn Woodward left Fitzroy High School,centre of an inner industrial suburb where her parents worked in leather factories, at the end of Form 2 .Her parents saw litte value in education and she said, "I was no good at school....it was the time when everybody went for a job.Your mum went with you,I went and got a job on the clerical staff of Foys and Gibsons chain retail store in the office".[38]. Girls frequently took up commercial courses at business colleges or the nearby Catholic college if the local high school did not offer these.Elizabeth Sharp's parents encouraged her to enter for a scholarship to the Metropolitan Business College because

> this would be the type of job good for me.Fit you for a practical life, they said.I didn't want to go into an office yet I thoroughly enjoyed the colege and they found me a job in a solicitor's offuce within the twelve months and I've been doing it ever since[39].

Not all girls were that fortunate.Pat Saunders finished a commercial course at Senior Technical College in the same year and entered the office as a junior typist. "To be a secretary one had to be experienced.I never became a secretary until ten years later."[40].

The extent to which secondary education was vocationalized in the minds of the parents and students was illutrated clearly in the controversy over the type of shorthand to be taught in state high schools.In 1923,Misses C.and B.Dacomb proposed a simplified version of shorthand as an alternative to the complexities of Pitmans' notation. By 1933,the success of the pilot schemes at Wesley private school ,Coburg and Essendon High Schools due to the relative ease and shorter learning time characteristic of the Dacomb method convinced many teachers of its value.[41] The war accentuated the need for speed of training. Hence by 1941,the Dacomb system had officially replaced the Pitman method in all state high schools despite opposition from within the teaching ranks as well as parent bodies.Technical schools meanwhile retained Pitmans. Opposition over the next twenty years to the Dacomb system was based entirely on vocational , not educational grounds:that Pitman's was used universally in offices,business and the public service and therefore Dacomb experts were disadvantaged.[42] Departmental enquiries of potential employers placated the concern of educators regarding learning processes ,but not concerned parents anxious about their childrens' employment prospects. A Public Service Commissioner predicted that "Dacomb will make greater inroads into the Pitman offices as time goes on,especially as it is now being taught in so many schools."[43] Yet complaints from the more vocal middle class parent organisations and individuals were to continue well into the sixties.Ballarat School Advisory Council contended in 1944 that

> Pamela Morton,a member of the well known Ballarat family and competent in the Dacomb system was appointed to a clerical position in the office of the State Electricity Commission,but only after her father gave an undertaking that she would attend night classes in Pitman's shorthand.Her appointment was to be cancelled is she did not become proficient in three months.[44]

A departmental survey indicated that most business houses used Pitmans but the employers would not discriminate against Dacomb trained stenographers who were suited for general office work rather than personal secretaries[45]. The changing organization of work in the larger offices during the fifties reduced the issue of stenographic skills, as will be argued later.

Demand Factors in the Workplace:

The differing notions of what represented appropriate forms of commercial education for girls and boys is better understood after investigating of the entrance mechanisms into the clerical occupations,career structures and employer expectations.Channelled since Grade VI into gender-differentiated occupational streams,girl's expectations regarding work were further influenced by vocational guidance and information regarding work which specified what was'female work' and what, more importantly, was not.Boys had access to a wider range and variety of occupations and also to those positions which offered greater security and career advancement within banks, insurance offices,the Public Service,the railways to name a few of the major employers.Girls were ineligible to even enter for the public examinations for clerks into the public service, being given access only to stenographic and typing jobs, or temporary positions as sorters, attendants and nurses.[46] Once in the office,stereotypic notions of male and female career cycles further limited opportunities for girls' advancement beyond certain ceilings in the office hierachy, or excluded them altogether from entering those internal career ladders which had greater rewards and long term benefits.

Employers were surprisingly in agreement regarding their expectations about young female employees.A survey of forty-seven large firms in 1937 including Myers,Australian Mutual Provident Insurance,the Herald and Argus daily newspapers ,International Harvester amd Kayser Knitting and Hosiery Factories determined that the employers expected girls to be trained in the modern techniques of typing and shorthand and even calculating machines.....skills not required or even considered to be necessary for males entering the same firm at the same age. Employers argued that girls lacked career orientations and "had no real vision of business for they only look ahead to the time when they will leave the business world and commence home life."[47] One businessman commented :"Boys are expected to grow up with the business.Girls are expected to

remain in the same position until they drop off into the troubled sea of matrimony."[48] Working on this assumption, employers were reluctant to invest time, money and effort into on-the-job training for girls and therefore selected them on their displayed skills and not potential trainability. This disregarded typical job search patterns where both young male and female workers frequently changed jobs in the first years of employment and girls stayed in the labour market up to eight years prior to marriage.[49] For boys, a career path was presumed --or as one manager said:

> Businessmen would make the general aim of commercial training for boys fitting managerial and executive postions while they think of girls as only worthy of high-grade office positions as stenographers and book-keepers.[50]

This clear demarcation and division of labour based on gender is well evidenced in the position of the clerk. Whereas a typist was always perceived as a female, so the clerk in the thirties was a male. Employers stated without question:

> We believe that a clerk is self made according to his inherent initiative and ability, but these facilities under normal circumstances can certainly be developed and guided by means of special training in business subjects prior to entrance into the office.[51]

Few employers trusted schools to impart specific job knowledge for clerks. Rather, preference was for a general liberal education until at least Intermediate level and preferably Leaving. Chamber of Commerce surveys in 1935 and 1951 indicated little change in the essentials required--English was considered of absolute importance and if possible literature as well. The later survey recommended that "a broad course capable of illustration of experience and observation of pupils and based on the structure of the business world and how it operates, the principles and interpretation of accounts" rather than specific business training such as accountancy[52]. Boys, it was asserted, should gain training at work only after a liberal education in school:

> As for the more utilitarian subjects like accountancy, economics and civics I am of the opinion that these should only come after a boy has been thoroughly grounded in the elements of more cultural subjects and they can be acquired on leaving school.[53]

Common to all such employer interviews from the depression period and into the fifties was the focus upon the attitudinal amd behavioural characteristics of the employee. "While the general consensus of opinion stresses the need for a general education,the importance of character and personality were recognised as one of the main requirements in the case of both boys and girls,although the letter need specialised training as stenographers ,such training not being necssary for a boy."[54] Baxter considered that employers stressed schools as character building institutions:

> With its stress on character and individuality and in the atmosphere of good secondary schools, the boy or girl had opportunities for the development of character,traits in leadership,alertness,calmness,in the social life ,the sports and the clubs.....[55]

The Chamber of Commerce again lamented in 1951 over the difficulty of selecting high standard juniors as the standards of grammar,spelling,and writing were not as good as the previous generation, and the"attitude towards work smacked of laziness,irresponsibility,and lack of interest --the savoir faire entirely lacking".[56] Whilst boys were expected to indicate initiative , the feminine charactersitics viewed favourably were related to appearance, neatness and loyalty.One description of the stenographer...the highest in the clerical ladder for girls -- indicates these values:

> A stenographer should have certain skills and a certain standard of morals thus preventing her becoming a machine.Therefore educators were required to develop commonsense,accuracy, alertness, initiative ,tact and balance.[57]

Concern was that office workers be honest,loyal ,discreet, reliable,and cheerful and that the training aspect was secondary.

Whilst unskilled girls entering the workforce were initially prepared to make the tea and lick stamps,there can be no assumption that girls fitted the stereotype of the passive office worker.Pat Wignall quickly became dissatisfied with typing and filing once she learned basic office procedure . She realised there was little advancement and so looked around.Similarly, Lyn

Woodward ,when requesting she be paid the award rate after 18 months with Foy and Gibsons retail chain store was "hauled over the coals by her boss". So she left and went into clerical work in insurance,and then later became a doctor's receptionist. Joyce Garth found little use of her stenography, so shifted to Civil Aviation to work in a typing pool under a 'lady boss ' who distributed the work until her skills were recognised and she became personal secretary to a Manager[58].

By the 1950's clerical work was becoming increasingly differentiated as offices became larger and work more specialised to speed up procedures.This had impact on the hiring practices of employers and the career ladders for female clerical labour. A study of 282 employers including the Commonwealth Public Service, a large employer ,used only 12% of its female clericals staff as stenographers.Most large offices were restructured so that only a third were assigned to typewriting duties and at least three-quarters of the girls were not required to write any shorthand at all.Office technology in the form of mechanical recording devices was only used in 10% of firms surveyed[59]. A typical case was that of Joyce Garth who left school at Form 3 due to her mother's illness.

> I liked the idea of typing...the thought of using a machine. So mum sent me to Stotts Business College in 1946. It would have cost her a bit. I finished the course in 10 months. Then Stotts got me a job at the Australian Wool Board.I started off at the bottom of the ladder- at the switchboard. I had to learn it on the spot, just as I learnt the addressograph and roneo machines.....but I never used my shorthand very much.[60]

Such findings did little to challenge the assumptions underlying girls training in typing and shorthand in schools.

An excellent example of the changing nature of the clerical labour market and job structures is the State Savings Bank--a government owned , competetitive bank and large employer of clerical staff. As early as 1934,the State Banks managerial staff had been influenced

by the 'new Gospel of Business' The manager wrote in The Savings Weekly how the "coming of the science of management in this century makes an advance comparable only to the coming of the machine in the last"[61].The editorial went on to appeal to a common interest between management and labour in the face of the new threat of fascism.The rhetoric of management was present but not practised until after the war.In the thirties ,male clerks were recruited from the state high and private schools between the ages of 15 and 17 with either Intermediate or Leaving Certificates. They were then encouraged , in line with the trend for advancement through self funded part -time training ,to undertake business and accountancy courses at private business colleges to prepare for the Institute of Acccountancy examinations , the necessary qualification for promotion.Only in the post -war period when labour was short were male clerks offered incentives to undertake the Accountancy Diploma at the banks expense.But the low rate of completion of such courses led to the establishment of bank training schools in 1956 in areas such as Accountancy, Office and Staff Management.[62]

Female employees were recruited in the early period merely on the basis of age and the ability to pass speed and accuracy tests in typing and shorthand, regardless of educational qualifications. When necessary , age requirements were also ignored ,as during the war , when all applicants were accepted.By the 1950's there was a rationalisation of the selection criteria reflective of the changing skill requirements of the workplace with typing pools, increased filing and general clerical work . [63]. Newly recruited girls were no longer automatically appointed as typists or trainees, but remained as sorting clerks until their training as either typists, stenographers or general clerical work was determined from their observed capabilities . The war had seen an influx of female staff on a temporary basis, the majority being in the 18 to 30 age group and married, whilst school leavers were placed immediately in permanent positions.The persistent shortage of clerical applicants led to a recruitment drive and publicity campaign by banking officers in 1957 looking specifically for married women and girls as the

best available labour pool for clerks,formerly a male post.Whereas 22.5% of staff in banks were female in 1950,by 1978 this had doubled to 46.3%.Most males had found more lucrative jobs elsewhere and any males in the bank had been promoted to middle management.Many banking officers entered the schools prior to the end of the academic year and recruited girls before they completed their certificates.Educational qualifications meant little, and once placed in a specific job category there was no vertical ladder of promotion for women other than small pay increments for experience. Separate career ladders existed for males and females,the latter being recruited with lower entrance qualifications ,with fewer grades in advancement and inevitably paid at lower rates than males.Training programs initiated in 1957 were equally discriminatory with males entering managerial training programs whilst females remained as tellers or were trained in customer relations and office routine.[64]

Banking ,as did insurance,retail and other clerical occupations, expanded considerably during the fifties. Over six per cent of the female workforce entered banking in 1951 and by 1956 this had risen to seven per cent, double the number in the 1920s. This expansion in banking was the consequence of increased availability in consumer credit and home ownership. Mechanization accompanied this expansion with the introduction of ledger machines in the 1950's into larger retail and corporate companies.Margaret recalls her mother ,'a working woman , a stenographer and private secretary,which was also unusual in those days...',sending her to interview with Shell Co. in 1949.Margaret was 'put in a section with a dozen girls who taught me the job.The management must have sensed I had some aptitde and so decided to send me to become a ledger machine operator.'[65]But this was the extent of her 'advancement' until she married 6 years later. Clear skill differentials developed with 'mental' activity such as carried out by tellers being male dominated whilst the machines were considered female work.

The business colleges were decreasing in popularity with schools now taking over the training functions and the development of skill hierachies in the larger office complexes deskilling the female clerical worker through increased specialisation. Whereas over five percent of female school leavers in 1934 took an interim training course at a business college before entering employment,rising to nearly ten percent by 1939, only two or three percent attended business colleges in 1956[66].The development of on-the-job training programs to update specific skills such as in typing ,were increasingly available in large firms,such as Myer Emporium, during this period since the demand for stenography and even typing decreased relative to the increase in lesser skilled,more general clerical tasks such as filing.It was easier to sort and training girls in specialist positions after recruitment.[67].

Conclusion:

Schools were preparing youth for these clerical positions in commercial and public service occupations by offering more than functional literacy and numeracy.For girls, this preparation was more vocationally specific by training them in skills transferrable immediately to the workforce, partly because of the reluctance of employers to invest in on-the-job training for short term employees, and partly out of parental pragmatism for short term ,inexpensive vocational education.Schools responded by offering commercial education more because educators believed that increased post-compulsory education was necessary to develop broader cultural and citizenship roles, and argued schools should compete with alternative,vocational training facilities for clients. The function therefore of schooling for this particular population of commercial students highlights the differential experience and vocational relevance of schooling for girls where the content and process, as well as the final product in terms of both cognitive and behavioural skills,were important.At the same time,the implicit and explicit structures and processes of this form of schooling largely predetermined

the work options and life chances of girls by encouraging them to 'make curriculum choices' within the limited number of occupational positions and societal roles regarded as suitable for women.

Such job specific training was complementary to the overall ideology of domesticity as it provided skills for short term employment prior to marriage, and in particular, for those women who did not work after marriage.D .Spearitt's Australian Council of Educational Research study in 1956 pragmatically argued:

> As one-third of the girls are married at 20 years and three quarters are married before they turn 25,there is obvious ample justification for the inclusion of homemaking courses for all secondary school girls unless the skill and knowledge required can be reckoned to be acquired more effectively by home instruction or in post-school life.This is not, as some claim,limiting the vocational opportunities for girls;every vocational opportunity is equally available to them and to boys in terms of academic courses available. Rather it is a realistic acceptance that the major interest of many older adolescent girls and young women is that of making a home.[68]

His study of the educational and occupational destinations of Victorian adolescents indicated that it was more likely for women working in the manufacturing industry in the 18 to 20 age group to remain in employment after marriage compared to those in clerical work.[69] The tendency for young women in clerical work to contribute less to the familial income after marriage than their counterparts in manufacturing is some indication that perhaps these same women ,many who underwent additional vocational training at business colleges, came from ,and married into, a financially secure situation. But financial security during the fifties is not necessarily the primary indicator of class as it had been in the thirties due to the rising standards of living of the population in general . There was little discrepancy between the wages of skilled and unskilled manual workers ,semi-professsionals and skilled tradesmen .The difference lay in peer influence, geographical location and familial occupational traditions, all factors of class, which

influenced vocational aspirations and attitudes to education .Certainly ,the development of commercial education in the state system which offered comparable vocational training as the colleges ,opened up clerical work to the increasing numbers of youth staying on at school.Young workers had also benefitted from the salary rises and increased opportunities for advancement in what was considered higher status white collar work during the fifties. Hughes, an economist,noted: "Adolescents who were more likely to become apprentices in the 1930's are becoming bank clerks,those who might have been bank clerks are becoming teachers ."[7C.]

Schooling for the early school leaver generally had little relevance in terms of training in specific jobs skills or content. But a paradox existed in terms of the clerical labour market.Here,employer preferences were not only gender oriented but assumed a transferrability of cognititve skills from school to work. .An educational certificate in a commercial course signalled specific training in job skills for girls and potential trainability for boys .The sorting into vocationally oriented girls, technical and high schools ,and then streaming into courses, a process legitimated by the concept of merit and the concept of equality of opportunity through differentiated curriculum, meant that the expansion of secondary education during the fifties in fact exacerbated the gender differentiation and vocational orientation of schooling. It also largely pre-empted the necessity for vocational guidance because it effectively slotted the school leaver into a labour market segmented by sex and class .What vocational guidance was available discouraged girls from entrance into male professions and occupations.That this concentration of girls in commercial courses acted as a constraint on possible careers was of little significance in a society which viewed any female employment as a temporary phase prior to marriage,and which was ultimately rationalized as individual choice.

The rapid expansion of secondary education during the fifties did facilitate the upward social mobility of the petite bourgeoisie. Whereas in the twenties, it had been the children

of the independent farmer who looked to primary teaching as a necessary alternative to farming,it was the small traders , skilled and semi-skilled workers of the urban sprawl of the fifties who now perceived the white collar occupations of teaching and clerical work to be suited to their children,particularly their daughters. The upper middle class and professionals chose not to enter these 'lower' status professions, when medicine, law, accounting and business were so readily monopolised by members of their ranks,positions often acquired through birth rather than an achieved .The rhetoric of vocationalism depicted the experiences of the lower middle classes for whom longer periods of schooling had come to bring greater monetary rewards. A sound general education for the boys , and vocationally specific skills in typing and stenography for the girls ,meant that there was a transferral of cognitive skills as well as behavioural attributes acquired in school ,into clerical work.For the majority, those of the working class, the education-work nexis lacked concrete reality. Academic knowledge or basic skills meant little to the factory worker. On the surface the promises of liberal capitalism worked for all and became universally accepted as conventional wisdom,because of the artificially high level of employment resulting from the post-war boom, an economic phenomenon which lasted until the early 1970's,when youth began to be excluded from the full -time labour market by structural change.

TABLE 1.

Women in Different Occupational Groups as a Percentage of Women in the Workforce or Aged 15 Years and Over.

	1911	1921	1931	1947	1961	1966	1971
Professional, technical	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.2	4.3	4.9	5.3
Managerial	2.1	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.6	1.8
Clerical	0.7	1.8	3.9	6.5	9.1	11.3	12.5
Skilled	6.1	4.6	2.3	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.8
Semi-skilled	2.7	3.2	4.6	5.8	6.6	8.1	7.3
Unskilled	10.5	0.5	9.0	5.2	6.6	8.1	7.3
Unspecified	0.3	0.4	0.7	1.2	0.6	1.1	1.7
Unclassified	1.8	1.5	1.3	-	-	-	0.8
In Workforce	27.1	25.3	26.5	25.1	29.0	35.2	37.1
Not in Workforce and aged 15 years or over	72.9	74.7	73.5	74.9	71.0	64.8	62.9
Number in 1000's in Workforce or aged 15 years and over	1459	1833	2373	2856	3652	4079	4553

Note: Slight inconsistencies exist in the occupational classifications arising from chaned from one census to the next in occupational categories used.

Source: J.P.Keeves and A.Read, IEA (Australia)Report 1974:6. ,Sex Differences in Preparing for Scientific Occupations.ACER, Dec. 1974 ,Table 1.p. 5. The Table utilised CBCS Bulletins and F.L.Jones,"Occupational Change in Australia,1911-61.",Indian Journal of Sociology,Vol 2, pp.123-36.

NOTES

1. The Commission on Technical Education,Second Report,(Fink Report)Melbourne,Victorian,Government Printer.1903.p. 4 .

2. E.Morey,Raising the School Leaving Age, Australian Council of Educational Research, Melbourne,1946.p. 5.

3. Australian Council of Educational Research, The Adjustment of Youth:A study of a social problem in the British,American and Australian communities., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1951,p. 1.The study stated that some adjustments of the individual to adult life 'require more rapid and thorough adaptation than do others...the transition from school to work are amongst the chief of these.'The connections between the Victorian educational rhetoric and push for vocational guidance and the life adjustment movement in the U.S.A. are exemplified in this study.

4. R.J.W.Selleck, The New Education.The English Background 1870-1914., Pitman , Melbourne, 1968,pp. 11,106,109.

5. For a summary of these positions see H.Giroux, "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 53 , no.3, Aug. 1983,pp. 257-93.The credentialling argument is presented in I.Berg,Education and Jobs:The Great Training Robbery. ,Beacon Press,Boston, 1971.

6. W.A.Sinclair,The Process of Economic Development in Australia., Cheshire, Melbourne, 1976,Chapter 7,.The entrance of women in commercial work was evident in the 19th century in New South Wales ,with 1.6% of the female age group of 20 to 24 years in 1891 increasing to 3.1% in 1901 and 5% in 1911.This work was centred on offices,whilst book keeping and most ledger work were reserved for male clerks.The success of women in private offices assisted in their acceptance into the public service.But the early telephonists were initially women,the connection between routinized mechanical work already established and consolidated with the introduction of the typewriter. See C.C.Garner, "Educated and White Collar Women in the 1880's", in E.Windschuttle,(ed),Women,Class and History,Feminist Perspectives on Australia.1788-1978.Fontana Collins,Melbourne, 1980,pp.124-5

7. On the marginalization of youth in U.S.A. see S.Troen, 'The Discovery of the Adolescent by American Educational Reformers,1900-1920 ; An economic perspective',in L.Stone(ed.),Schooling and Society:Studies in the history of education, New York, 1976; W.Norton Grubb and M. Lazerson,'Education and the Labour Market:Recycling the youth problem.' in H. Kantor and D.Tyack(eds.), Work,Youth and Schooling.Historical Perspectives in Vocationalism in American Education. ,Stanford University Press,Stanford,1982, pp.110-41. Lazerson and Grubb suggest that in the American context since the 1920's that the general academic curriculum of the high school has in fact trained school leavers in job-specific, transferrable skills foor those entering clerical work. For the American experience of the sex-segmentation of office work,see J.M.Matthaie,An Economic History of Women in America:Women's work and the sexual division of labour and the development of capitalism.,Schocken Books, New York, 1982,Chapter 9,pp.187-235.

8 M.Power,'The Wages of Sex',Australian Quarterly,Vol 46,no 1,March 1974, pp.2-15; M.Power,'Woman's Work is Never Done - by Men:A socio -economic model of sex-typing in occupations', Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol 17, 1975, pp. 225-239; M.Power,'The Making of a Womans Occupation', Hecate, Vol.1, no. 2, 1975, pp.25-33. For an analysis of the development of the segmentation into three distinct labour markets in post war USA after initial stages of proletarianization and homogenization.Segmentation involved the divergence between primary and secondary jobs, and within the primary sector between independent (managerial,professional) and subordinate (skilled trades,unionized), see D.M.Gordon,R.Edwards & M.Reich, Segmented Work,Divided Workers:The historical transformation of labor in the United States, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp 15-17.

9. D.Lockwood,The Black Coated Worker:A study in class consciousness., George Allen & Unwin, London, 1958, p.22; For s tudy of the entrance of women into office work in England see O.G.Pickard, 'Office Work and Education.1848-1948',Vocational Aspect,Vol.1.,no.1,Sept. 1948.pp221-43; O.G.Pickard, 'Clerical Trade Unions and Education for the Office Worker',Vocational Aspect, Vol. 2,no.4,May 1950,pp101-111.

10. Report of the Royal Commission on Public Service Administration,Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers,1920-21,Vol.3,pp.75-7.The following positions were listed as being suitable for famales -clerk, postmistress, telegraphist, typist,telaphonist, checker, sorter and supervisor in the above class of work.

11. E.Ryan and A.Conlon,Gentle Invaders:Australian women ar work.1788-1974., Nelson, Sydney, 1975, pp 147-50.

12. H.Hughes, 'The White Collar Profession', Teachers Journal, Vol 39, no. 1, 1956,pp. 355-6.

13. Lockwood,pp. 68,128.

14. For a discussion of the early period see D.Davis, Seventy Five Years of Commercial Education in Victoria. 1850 - 1925, M. Ed.,Melbourne University, 1965, p.3. The Senior Technical colleges offered full time and part time courses in Book keeping, Shorthand, arithmetic, commercial correspondence, commercial geography, commercial history, civics,economics ,office routine and business methods,commercial law.

15. N.Williamson, 'Her Natural Destiny': The Education of Girls in New South Wales, 1848-1912. University of Newcastle ,Ph.D., 1983, pp.320-2.

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See E.V.Rowe,The Place of Girls Schools in the Education of Victoria,Unpublished B.Ed. Investigation,Melbourne University,1939; On the coincedence between class and location see L.F.Jones ,'Social Ranking of Melbourne Suburbs', Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3,no.1,1967,pp.97-116. Jones study of Melbourne based on 1961 Census data indicated a clear concentration of ethnic groups in working class jobs.Further,using various indicators of social class,prestige and power,Jones' ranking indicating high socio-economic and low ethnicity, placed inner industrial suburbs such as Fitzroy,Collingwood,Northcote as lowest in 133 on both counts.By contrast,eastern suburbs such as Balwyn,Malvern and Hawthorn ranked in the first twenty.See also P.

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18. See Schools Board, Handbook of Examinations 1949-1950; Melbourne University Press, 1951, p52. External candidates refer to those studnts attending Class B schools. All schools offering the High School Courses prescribed by the Schools Board were accredited by Inspectors as Class A or B . Class A schools were able to offer internal assessment except for the end of Sixth Year, whilst Class B students sat for a common, externally assessed examination written by the Schools Board.

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20. Board of Education, Report of a Select Committe in Education for Commerce., (Carr-Saunders Report),HMSO.,London,1949 ,p.24.See S.Gainsborough,'Englisj Junior Commerical Schools and Commerical Department of an American Vocational-Technical School ',Vocaitonal Aspect, Vol.2, no.5,Nov.1950,pp. 167-84. for a comparison between the Aermican vocational training commercial education in specific skills and the English general educaiton for commerce.

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25. A.D.Spaull, 'At School In Victoria:An Oral History.' Paper presented to the ANZ History of Education Conference,Melbourne University,May 1984, p.16.

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27. Report of the Victorian Commercial Teachers Association,(unpub),MacRobertson High School,Melbourne,6 November, 1953 , p.4

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38. Woodward Interview.

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51. Muirden,p. 11.

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53. Archer,p.13.

54. Baxter,p23.

55 Baxter,.p.22.

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68. Spearitt, p. 85.

69. Spearitt,p.55

70. For a contemporary analysis see M.Davies,'Women's Place is a the Typewriter:The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force', in R.Edwards,M.Reich,and D.Gordon,(eds) Labour Market Segmentation. Lexington,Mass,1975;L.Valli,'Becoming a Clerical Worker:Business education and the culture of feminity" in M. Apple and L.Weiss (eds), Ideology and Practice in Schooling. Temple University Press,Philadelphia,1983; S.Taylor, 'Reproductions and Contradictions in Schooling: the Case of Commercial Studies', British Journal of Sociology of Education,Vol. 5, no. 4, 1984 ; D. Butler, 'Sexism and Secretarial Studies', Social Alternatives , Vol. 2, no. 1, 1981. pp 16-19; R.Sweet, 'An Analysis of the Australian Labour Market for Typists, Stenographers and Secretaries',Research Report, Nov. 1983; R. Sweet, 'The New Marginal Workers: Teenage Part-time Employment in Australia in the 1970's', Research Report, Feb. 1980; G.Burke, 'Facts and Faith in the Economic Analysis of Teenage Employment', in D.S.Anderson, & C.Blakers (eds), Youth, Transition and Social Research, A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1983.