

“It’s really obvious to see how Rangers has shaped me as a person”:

Exploring Notions of the Girl Citizen in Girl Guiding New Zealand’s Ranger

Programme 1968-2022

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on changes in the notion of citizenship for girls within GirlGuiding New Zealand's Ranger programme from 1968-2022. Citizenship and character education have always been defining features of the Guiding ethos, but between 1968 and 2022, there was a clear shift away from teaching specific skills towards a notion of neoliberal citizenship, which encompassed self-management and future-orientation. I used a mixed-methods approach comprising a content analysis of six Ranger programmes from 1968-2022, interviews with individuals involved in developing and delivering programmes at GirlGuiding, and focus groups with current Rangers. The content analyses showed a movement away from specific and technical skills, such as handcrafts, aviation, and farming, towards generalised "soft" skills, such as organisation, research, and communication. The interviews and focus groups supported this notion of neoliberal citizenship framing the current programme. I concluded that the primary way that the Ranger programme has changed over time is through a changing notion of citizenship: the programme has become more oriented towards producing a flexible, productive, and self-managing future-oriented neoliberal girl subject. However, there are also parts of the programme which contradict this – Rangers often cited "fun", "friendship", and "independence" as key parts of their experience, and these notions offered some opposition to the ideal neoliberal citizen. Overall, there is a pattern of neoliberal subjectification within the programme, but this straightforward reading is complicated by some potentially resistant areas of the programme and its execution.

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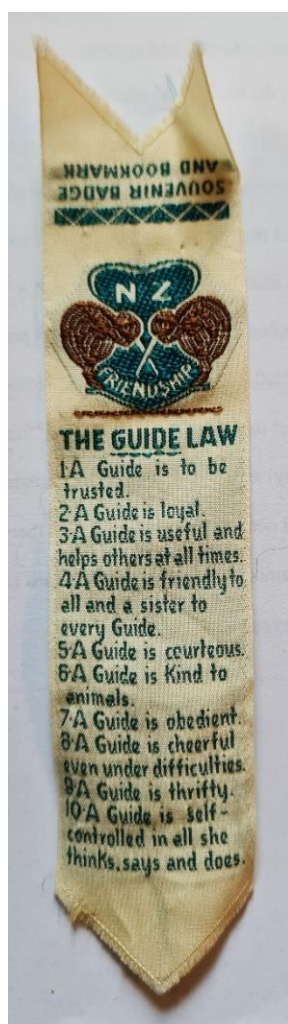
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Introduction

Mention “Girl Guides” to any woman in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and you are likely to get a positive response: “My daughter is a Guide”, “I was a Brownie in primary school”, or “My aunt is a volunteer, she loves it”. Guiding is a ubiquitous institution of gender in Aotearoa/New Zealand (NZ). I have volunteered for Girl Guiding for over two years, leading a Brownie unit of girls aged 7-9. In 2021, my grandmother, a leader and Provincial Commissioner in the 1980s-1990s, gave me a box of her old Guiding badges and her old “camp blanket”. One of the badges featured the Guide Law of the late 1970s/early 1980s (Figure 1), which seems to prescribe some potentially gendered characteristics to Guides.

Figure 1

A cloth badge showing the Guide Law, likely from the late 1970s or early 1980s



Thus, my volunteer work and family history came together to spark my interest in the history of Guiding in Aotearoa/NZ. My background in sociology led me to two questions: Is Guiding feminist? And: How has Guiding changed over time? These naturally evolved into other questions throughout my project, but they formed the basis of my interest.

The question of whether Guiding is feminist has always been an uneasy one for me. While offering girls a women-led place to learn and grow might seem inherently feminist, activities are not feminist just because women do them; it also depends on what ideas and ideologies are being transmitted. Guiding inevitably transmits ideas about girlhood and the “right” way or ways to be a girl. Anderson and Behringer (2010, p. 94) suggest that the Girl Scouts of the United States of America (GSUSA) provide a location where gender and girlhood are produced: “gender norms are produced and maintained in organizations... [therefore] an evaluation of the Girl Scouts organization’s potentially limiting or expansive configurations of girlhood is a first step toward understanding how this group shapes the realities of female youth.” Likewise, Halls et al. (2018, p. 257) suggested that the contents of British Girl Guiding handbooks “tell[s] an interesting story about what it means to be and to have been a girl.” Thus, an assessment of the activities offered by Girl Guiding at different times can contribute to understanding how the terrain of girlhood changes.

An Introduction to Girl Guiding in Aotearoa/New Zealand

GirlGuiding New Zealand (GGNZ) is a uniformed, single-sex youth organisation which provides programmes for girls and young women, typically aged 5-17.¹ The programmes are run by volunteers (numbering 1200 in 2020 - GirlGuiding New Zealand,

¹ Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in most countries are completely separate organisations from Scouts or Boy Scouts. This is the case in Aotearoa/New Zealand – GGNZ is not associated with Scouts New Zealand, which is a mixed-sex youth organisation offering similar experiences.

2020, p. 6) and supported by paid staff, many of whom are also women (although men and non-binary people can volunteer).²

The first precursor to Girl Guides in Aotearoa/NZ was the “Girl Peace Scouts”, which operated independently from British Guiding from 1907/08 until 1926. In 1923, the Girl Guides Association New Zealand (an offshoot of the British Girl Guides’ Association) started; in 2007, it rebranded as “GirlGuiding New Zealand”.

GGNZ’s mission is to “enable girls and young women to develop into confident, adventurous and empowered leaders in their local, national and global communities” (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2020, p. 2). This is achieved by engaging girls in “non-formal education” (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2022b, p. 11), mostly in weekly programmes (the traditional unit meeting³), as well as one-off events like camps, Jamborees, and one-day events. They also have analogous online programmes (“Explore”) for girls who cannot attend regular unit meetings. There are around 9,000 youth members in Guiding (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2020, p. 6). They range from ages 5-17 and are split into four sections: Pippins (age 5-6), Brownies (age 7-9), Guides (age 9-12), and Rangers (age 13-17). Each section has a programme of badges/awards/certificates⁴ and a system for awarding them. Members are not required to earn badges to remain in Guiding or progress to the next section.

My research focuses on the Ranger section for three reasons: it is the longest-running age group within Guiding,⁵ the age of the Ranger group enabled me to conduct research directly with Rangers, and the ages of 13-17 are particularly significant for the development

² Currently, there is no official position on non-binary and transgender youth within the organisation, although in my experience there is a general culture of inclusion. It is my understanding that GGNZ is currently working on policies around the inclusion of non-binary and transgender youth.

³ “Unit” is the current terminology for a regular meeting of girl members of Girl Guiding – historically, “troop” was also used, and GSUSA still uses “troop” for this.

⁴ From here onwards, I use “badges” to refer to all badges, certificates, and awards in the programme.

⁵ Although early in Guiding, all members were called “Guides” and the “Ranger” label came later.

of the self. The Ranger programme⁶ comprises many badges containing individual activities (“clauses”) that must be completed to earn each badge. The term “badges” refers to physical badges, either cloth or metal, that members are awarded in a ceremony, usually at the end of a term or year. These badges are pinned to a badge sash or tab, worn as part of the uniform, or sometimes sewn onto “camp blankets”: a woollen or fleece blanket used on camps and decorated with badges commemorating events, trips, and achievements. I focussed specifically on the badge clauses.

Figure 2 shows an example Interest Certificate (IC) from the 2015 programme, outlining the requirements for the “Future Prospects” IC (or “badge”). Each of the numbered boxes represents a single clause. Note that this certificate only requires eight of twelve clauses to be completed to earn the badge.

⁶ I use “programme” to denote all of the materials that outline how to achieve awards and badges in Guiding – it therefore refers to parts of handbooks, guidebooks, and other materials, but not to how the activities are/were actually executed in units.

Figure 2

A screenshot of a page from *Rangers: My Programme* (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 114), outlining the activities for the “Future Prospects” Interest Certificate

Future Prospects

Steer your career to new heights by exploring ways to enhance your future prospects. Get a chance to polish your interview skills, make your CV look good, and think about what to do with your well-earned cash.

Complete eight clauses.	
1 Work credentials Invite two or three people in the workforce to show you their curriculum vitae (CV). Talk with them about their education and work history, and what skills they believe were important in getting their current job.	7 Gap Year Find someone who has completed a gap year in voluntary service while abroad. Learn about exciting ventures through GirlGuiding and other organisations that you could do yourself.
2 First impressions Take part in a mock job interview. Prepare a mock CV, dress for the occasion and get someone who has experience in employing people to conduct the interview.	8 Job security Consider what protection there is for teenagers in employment agreements for part-time work. Role-play a job interview and discuss the workplace conditions, employment agreement and dispute resolution process.
3 What's on offer Search out three sources of job opportunities. Select one job that sounds really interesting to you and discuss with another person what skills you would need to do it and how you could gain them.	9 Save or spend Talk to a financial adviser about different investment opportunities such as term deposits, the share market, residential and commercial property, superannuation funds.
4 How Guiding helped Find someone who completed their Queen's Guide Award and is now in the workforce. Interview them on how the skills, knowledge and experience they gained from Guiding have helped them in their career.	10 Trade and exchange Find out about buying a used motor vehicle, change of ownership papers and registration. Visit a motor vehicle dealer, car auction or car fair. Look at the vehicles on display and find out what to look for in a used vehicle.
5 How the world has changed Talk to an older woman about what the world was like when she was growing up, including the education and work opportunities women had then.	11 Juggling act Imagine you are 28. Create a vision of what your life will be like – consider your job, time spent at work, non-work activities, salary expectations, married, children, in another country. Discuss this with an adult and ask them to share their views on job satisfaction and lifestyle compared with salary.
6 Changing the world Discover ways in which women are being empowered through business in third world countries and the effect this has on their economy. Share your findings in an interesting way.	12 Something different Visit a woman who is working in a non-traditional role. Talk with her about her experiences.

Figure 3 shows another example, the “Photographer” IC from the 1974 handbook, which requires the completion of all five clauses. There was also a “Photographer” badge in the 2003 and 2015 programmes, but the format was more like “Future Prospects”, with 12 clauses available, of which eight had to be completed. The clauses were updated to reflect changing technology, incorporating digital and film photography elements.

Figure 3

A scanned copy of a paragraph from the Ranger Guide Handbook (Wood, 1974, p. 93), showing the activities for the “Photographer” Interest badge

PHOTOGRAPHER

1. Demonstrate your understanding of the mechanism of your camera, lenses, shutter, stops and focusing device.

2. Explain briefly: Available light, depth of field, Flash (electronic and bulb), Back lighting, Time exposure.

3. Bring to the test 10 photographs or slides taken by yourself. Prints or slides to be mounted in any of the usual ways. The subjects to include at least 5 of the following: Interior, Portrait, Landscape, Marine, Architecture, Action shot, Table top, Natural History (including domestic animals).

Copy of a photograph or painting.

4. Diagnose common faults in composition and exposure, developing and fixing, from specimens of prints shown by Examiner.

OR

5. Take, edit, title and project 3 movie subjects in 8mm or 16mm gauge (colour or monochrome) of not less than 7 minutes duration each. The three subjects should show variety as travelogue, holiday film, simple acted story, nature lore or documentary.

A reasonably good standard of continuity, exposure and titles will be required.

Figures 4, 5, and 6 show stylisations of some current Ranger badges (the “Exploring Rangers” pin, Queen’s Guide Award, and badges for completing three, six, nine, and twelve ICs).

Figure 4

Stylisation of “Exploring Rangers” badge/pin, reproduced from Pukapuka Akoranga: Rangers Programme Book (*GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2022, p. 8*)



Figure 5

Stylisation of the Queen's Guide Award badge/pin, reproduced from Pukapuka

Akoranga: Rangers Programme Book (*GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2022, p. 18*)



Figure 6

Stylisation of the "Interest Certificate" (IC) 3, 6, 9, and 12 badges, reproduced from

Pukapuka Akoranga: Rangers Programme Book (*GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2022, pp. 10, 14, 19*)



My research focusses on the NZ Ranger handbooks from 1970 onwards because NZ Guiding first developed its own programme in 1970. Before that, the British programme and handbooks were used, although *The Dominion Guider* published NZ-specific information (Dawber, 2008, p. 62) – often related to the different natural landscape and incorporating Māori culture. The development of local programming in the 1970s was precipitated by a general international movement away from the centralised British programme and towards locally-developed programme materials, which started in the early 1940s with the first major overhaul of the British programme (Proctor, 2009, p. 118). It was further encouraged in Aotearoa/NZ by the second major overhaul of the British programme in the early 1960s, which rendered the previous materials outdated (Iles, 1977, p. 82). Thus, it was agreed that an NZ-specific programme would be developed, starting with Guides, then Brownies, then Rangers (Pippins did not yet exist). In 1969, an official alteration to the British Ranger programme was published (“The Ranger Guide Service Section: New Zealand Supplement”, The Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1969) to tide the Ranger section over until the

complete overhaul of the NZ Ranger programme followed in 1974 (“The Ranger Guide Handbook”, Wood, 1974). Since then, the Ranger programme has been overhauled every 8-12 years (approximately once per decade), with minor updates about every five years. Major revisions, indicated by a new handbook, occurred in 1984 (“The New Zealand Ranger Guide Handbook”, Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984), 1995 (“The New Zealand Ranger Handbook”, Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995), 2003 (“The Ranger’s Guide: Te aratohu mo nga Kaitiaki”, Guides New Zealand, 2003; and “A guide to Ranger Interest Certificates: Te aratohu mo nga tiwhikete whakatutukitanga a nga Kaitiaki”, Hogg et al., 2003), and 2015 (“Rangers: My Journey”, M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b). Between these major revisions, second (and sometimes third) editions of the handbooks were often released with minor changes, such as adding or removing a single clause within a badge or varying the requirements for completion.

The Ranger programme is structured around two awards: the Duke of Edinburgh Award (DoE) and the Queen’s Guide Award (QG).⁷ This has been the case since before 1970 and is reflected most clearly in the 1995, 2003, and 2015 programmes. In the 1970, 1974, and 1984 programmes, the Queen’s Guide was a significant part of the programme, but there were also other components, like the 8-point Challenge. The DoE is an international award administered by a separate organisation, but lots of the requirements overlap, and Guiding has been involved with DoE since its inception in the 1960s (Dawber, 2008, p. 111). The requirements for these awards generally centre around attaining other badges, which is why the programme is structured to encourage their achievement. I will not discuss the DoE further, as it is administered externally, but Figures 7, 8, and 9 show the requirements for the

⁷ The Queen’s Guide Award was launched in 1946 and was named for Queen Elizabeth II, who was a Guide and Ranger and then the patron of British Girl Guiding from 1953 until her death in 2022 (Girlguiding UK, 2006, 2022).

QG from 2015, 2003, and 1995. Generally, most Rangers are considered to be working towards the QG, even if they do not complete all the requirements. Both the DoE and QG are prestigious awards that Rangers may use on resumés/curricula vitae.

Figure 7

A screenshot of Rangers: My Programme (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 20), showing the requirements for the Queen's Guide Award




	<p>Pathway Badge</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring Rangers • Advocacy Certificate • Pathway to Leadership Certificate • Pathway to the Outdoors Certificate • Pathway to Safety Certificate
	<p>Peak Award</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold the Pathway Badge • 12x12 Challenge • Six Interest Certificates • Green Community Action
	<p>Queen's Guide Award</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold the Peak Award • 12x12 Challenge • Six additional Interest Certificates • Red Community Action OR Advocacy Project • Leadership Certificate • Special Activity • Queen's Guide Retreat

Figure 8

A scanned image from the New Zealand Ranger Guide Handbook (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 19), showing the requirements for the Queen's Guide Award

AIMING FOR THE PEAK AWARD OR QUEEN'S GUIDE AWARD?

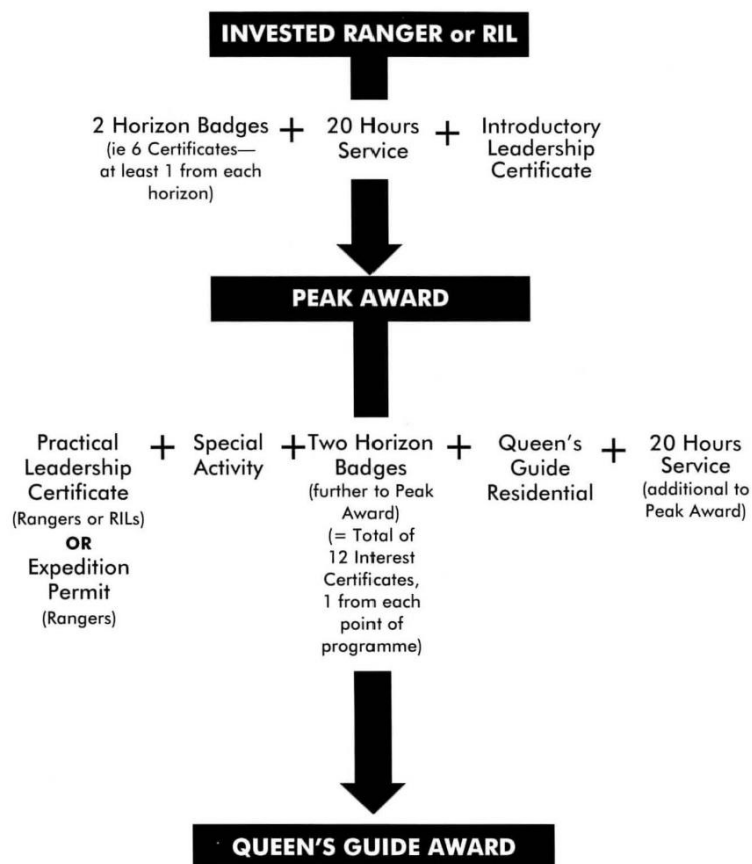


Figure 9

A scanned image of the Ranger's Guide (*Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 11*), showing the requirements for the Queen's Guide Award

**Aiming for the PEAK AWARD or the
Queen's GUIDE AWARD?**

▼

RANGER OR RIL

- Complete the promise activity. Be enrolled
- Complete the 12-Point Challenge for one year
- Complete 6 interest certificates - each from a different point of the programme
- Hold the Marketing Certificate for 1 year
- Complete 20 hours service
- Hold stages 1 & 2 of the Introductory Leadership Certificate

▼

PEAK AWARD

- Hold the 12- Point Challenge for the required number of years as stated on page 46
- Complete 6 additional interest certificates,(a total of 12 interest certificates, one from each point of the programme)
- Hold the Marketing Certificate for a second year, so that you have 2 certificates in total
- Complete another 20 hours' service,(a total of 40 hours, of which 20 must be for the same purpose, and 10 must be outside of school or Guiding)
- Complete the Practical Leadership Certificate OR undertake an Outdoor Leadership Certificate, including the preliminary requirements

Peak Award is a preliminary requirement for:

- Your Special Activity
- Your Queen's Guide Residential

▼

QUEEN'S GUIDE AWARD

Regarding how the programme works day-to-day, Rangers generally choose the badges and activities they will work on as a unit (in contrast to younger sections, where adult leaders do most of the planning). Many Ranger badges allow Rangers to design at least one clause. Most contemporary badges have many clauses, only some of which must be completed to attain the badge. In contrast, older badges sometimes have a limited number of clauses, all of which have to be achieved to attain the badge. The flexibility in the contemporary programme allows leaders and Rangers to choose interesting, accessible

activities and means that leaders and Rangers have a lot of influence over the activities and, therefore, over the gendered (and other) messages communicated.

My Research

My research focuses on a content analysis of the Ranger programme from 1968 – 2022, supported by interviews conducted with adults involved with GGNZ and focus groups held with current Ranger members of GGNZ. My research questions are:

1. How has the girl subject been articulated through the Girl Guiding NZ Ranger programme from 1968–2022?
2. How do the young people and adults involved in Girl Guiding understand the messages about girlhood within the programme?

Therefore, my research centres around what it means to be a girl within Girl Guiding.

The structure of my thesis is as follows. I first give a brief overview of the history of Girl Guiding (and Scouting) to contextualise my work. Then, in my literature review, I discuss academic work on Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting (GG/GS), both historical and contemporary. I also explore sociological and anthropological research that deals with girls' citizenship and the idea of the "ideal neoliberal citizen" because of its relevance to understanding the significant changes in the GGNZ programme from 1968 – 2022. The Methods chapter outlines my approach to answering my research questions. I completed content analyses of the badge topics, the verbs used in clauses, and the Promise and Law, along with interviews with adults involved in GGNZ in various capacities and focus groups conducted with current Ranger members of GGNZ. Next, in Findings about Girl Guiding Pedagogy and Experiences, I outline the bulk of my results, showing how the use of verbs within the programme has changed over time, exploring changes to the Promise and Law, and identifying the major themes arising from my interviews and focus groups. In the discussion, I explain my findings with reference to the concepts identified in my literature review,

particularly paying attention to the girl as a neoliberal subject. I also discuss participants' understandings of gender in Girl Guiding. I conclude that a primary driver of change in the GGNZ programme has been the transition to neoliberalism and a focus on girls' citizenship rather than changes to gendered activities resulting from second- or third-wave feminism, as I had initially expected given the literature. Finally, in conclusion, I draw key aspects of my research together and outline future research directions.

Chapter 1: History of Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting

Understanding the history of Guiding and Scouting is necessary to research GG/GS. In this section, I cover the beginning of the movement in general and the specific history of GG/GS in Aotearoa/NZ.

Aotearoa/NZ was the second country to have a Boy Scout movement (after Britain) and likely the first country to have a girl's Scout movement recognised independently from their unofficial membership in Boy Scouting (Iles, 1977, p. 2). The Boy Scout movement was started by Lord Robert Baden-Powell, a Colonel in the British Army during the Boer War. He wanted to produce a citizenship training manual for boys in light of his experiences during the war (Proctor, 2009, p. xviii). Thus, Boy Scouts began with the publication of *Scouting for Boys* (Baden-Powell, 1907) in six instalments throughout 1907-1908. The movement was a near-instant hit in Britain, with 10,000 members attending a rally at Crystal Palace in London in 1909 – some of whom were girls, which Baden-Powell, although surprised, reportedly welcomed (Mills, 2011, p. 545).

Simultaneously, the movement was exported overseas, particularly to Aotearoa/NZ. Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove, who served in the British Army with Baden-Powell (Iles, 1977, p. 2), brought the Boy Scout handbook to NZ and started a Scout movement in 1908, earlier than both the Girl Guides in Britain and the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts in America. His daughter Muriel and her friends were the first group to be part of the Boy Scouts in Aotearoa/NZ (Iles, 1977, p. 2), which prompted Cossgrove to write to Baden-Powell to enquire about a handbook for girls. When he was told that none existed, he and his wife, Selina Cossgrove, wrote a guide for girls titled *Peace Scouting for Girls* (Cossgrove, 1909). This formed the basis of the Girl Peace Scout (GPS) movement in Aotearoa/NZ. It differed very little from the Boy Scout materials, except some feminised skills were added: “home nursing, invalid cookery, care of infants, and female health care” (McCurdy, 2000, pp.

72–73). This starkly contrasted with the later British *Handbook for Girl Guides* (Baden-Powell & Baden-Powell, 1912), which considered camping dangerous for young women and made significant exclusions compared to *Scouting for Boys*. McCurdy (2000, pp. 79–80) highlighted how the GPS represented a specifically NZ form of femininity, complementary to NZ masculinity. Both masculinity and femininity in NZ differed from British ideas about gender, given the colonial context in NZ and the isolated, rural nature of the landscape.

In contrast, Britain saw a moral outcry over girls' joining Boy Scouts. Right from the start, British girls wanted to be involved in the Boy Scouts – they joined troops with their brothers, formed their own girls' troops, and joined the movement by using boys' names or initials instead of their own names (Proctor, 2009, pp. 4–5). It was estimated that 6,000 members of Scouting in Britain in 1909 were girls (Proctor, 2009, p. 7). In response to this interest and the concurrent public backlash about the impropriety of girls in the movement, Lord Baden-Powell asked his sister, Agnes Baden-Powell, to draw up a plan for a separate but complementary girls' movement, which became the first Girl Guide handbook: *The Handbook for Girl Guides, or How Girls Can Help to Build the Empire* (Baden-Powell & Baden-Powell, 1912). Girl Guides was a gender-appropriate alternative to the Boy Scouts, promoting both the resourcefulness and outdoor skills central to the Boy Scouts and feminine skills like homemaking (Proctor, 2009, pp. 9–10).

In 1910, there were around 300 GPS in Aotearoa/NZ (Iles, 1977, p. 2), aged between 12-20 (McCurdy, 2000, p. 62). By the time *The Handbook for Girl Guides* (Baden-Powell & Baden-Powell, 1912) was released in Britain in 1912, the NZ GPS numbered around 2000 with 350 adult volunteers (McCurdy, 2000, p. 64). Additionally, GPS units were reporting to Cossgrove from twelve states of the United States of America (USA) and Japan (Dawber, 2008, p. 21).

Thus, in Aotearoa/NZ, between 1910 and 1920, there were the GPS and Boy Scouts, both exclusively single-sex organisations led by Cossgrove. Simultaneously, Britain's original Boy Scout movement was expanding, and in 1912, the British Girl Guides started officially. During the First World War (WWI) and in the post-war period, Cossgrove faced pressure from the Baden-Powells, particularly Olave Baden-Powell,⁸ to fold his movement into the British movement, but he resisted. He valued the NZ flavour of the movement and believed NZ should retain its own movement rather than accept colonisation by the British Guides (McCurdy, 2000, pp. 140–149). However, the GPS had experienced a decline during WWI, as Cossgrove's attentions were largely upon the Boy Scouts. He was the official Scoutmaster for the Boy Scouts, but not GPS, which were run more haphazardly by local Scout-mistresses (McCurdy, 2000, pp. 132–135). Despite this, both the GPS and Boy Scouts contributed to the war effort in NZ, gaining them public appreciation and cementing Scouting as an institution in the public eye (McCurdy, 2000). Eventually, in 1918, the Cossgroves released *Fairy Scouts of New Zealand* (Cossgrove, 1918), a guide for younger girls (7-12) wishing to join the movement.

However, Cossgrove passed away in 1920, and Olave Baden-Powell took the opportunity to create a separate Girl Guide movement in NZ, with the intent to eventually convert all GPS groups to Girl Guiding, as she had been trying to do since the 1910s (McCurdy, 2000, pp. 157–158). The Girl Guides Association New Zealand (GGANZ) was formed in 1923, registered with the British Girl Guides Association as an official branch of Girl Guiding. By 1926, the last GPS troops had disappeared, replaced by Guides; in 1928, GGANZ became a founding member of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl

⁸ Olave was Robert Baden-Powell's young wife, who took over the Girl Guides in the post-WWI period.

Scouts (WAGGGS), which formed in the wake of WWI as a natural outgrowth of the international cooperation of Guiding and Scouting groups during the war.

In the mid-to-late 1920s, involvement in Guiding in Aotearoa/NZ increased dramatically (Dawber, 2008, p. 44), becoming more formalised and similar to the British programme. It is unclear when GGANZ split from British Guiding or whether this was a formal decision rather than a natural evolution. British handbooks were used from the mid-1920s until 1970, and numbers broadly tended to increase, although there were periods of decline, such as after the Second World War (WWII) (Dollery, 2012, pp. 134–135). Numbers rapidly declined in the 1970s as baby boom members aged out of the movement (Dollery, 2012, p. 146). Internationally, Proctor (2009, p. 80) also attributed this decline to legislative changes that enshrined gender equality in pay, education, and other areas, so that girls had more leisure and work options; in NZ, the Equal Pay Act 1972 was passed. In 1976, Scouts New Zealand trialled admitting female Venturers (older teenagers) and made the change permanent in 1979, representing the broader trend towards inclusion of girls and women across many areas such as sport, leisure, and work (Dollery, 2012, p. 149).

The 1980s represented a significant shift in the economic climate of NZ, which was reflected in GGANZ's membership: many women now worked fulltime or were now in higher education. This cut into adult volunteers' time for Guiding, and volunteer numbers declined dramatically (Dawber, 2008, p. 183). GGANZ also lost government funding as neoliberalism curtailed public spending, meaning fundraising became important (Dawber, 2008, p. 178).

In 1991, the first strategic plan made explicit the previously implicit goals of Girl Guiding: retain girls and leaders, provide interesting programming for girls and leadership development for leaders, have an efficient structure, and remain financially viable (Dawber,

2008, p. 190). It also divided the organisation into operational and governance branches and restructured roles to reflect the increasing demands on women's time (Dawber, 2008, p. 187).

In the early 2000s, the transition towards a more business-like model continued, with the organisation becoming centralised into a National Office, which employed staff to help manage finances, legal requirements, and fundraising (Dawber, 2008, p. 208). Regular programme reviews continued, and "girl-led" (girls deciding upon and planning activities) became important.

This brings us to the present: Girl Guiding remains a semi-popular extra-curricular option for girls, with more than 11,000 girls currently involved in weekly Guiding meetings (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2020, p. 4). Major areas of the organisation, such as finances, national events, and collaboration with external organisations, are managed by staff, with 1,400 volunteers involved in running weekly meetings, organising events, and programme review (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2020, p. 5). GGNZ remains part of WAGGGS and is a member organisation of Sport New Zealand (Sport New Zealand - Ihi Aotearoa, n.d.). Girls still earn badges, and the programme has been updated over time to reflect society – for example, by adding clauses about new technology. The context I have presented in this chapter about the history of Girl Guiding in Aotearoa/NZ and the current structure of the organisation provides a basis for us to turn to academic studies on GG/GS to explore the ways that the practices, purposes, and values of the organisations have been researched.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses two relevant research areas: local and international research on (1) Girl Guides and Girl Scouts and (2) girls' citizenship. The second is relevant because of Guiding's emphasis on citizenship education. My review included some research on girls' organisations but did not focus on single-sex organisations except as they related to girls' citizenship.

Girl Guides and Girl Scouts Literature

There is little research on GG/GS, mostly from Britain and the USA. This likely reflects the sizes of GSUSA and British Girl Guiding (1.7 million members in GSUSA (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2021) and approximately 500,000 members in Britain (Girlguiding UK, 2019)).⁹ Most work on GSUSA is historical (i.e., including material from the twentieth century) (Anderson & Behringer, 2010; Auster, 1985; Hahner, 2008; Perry, 1993b, 1993a; Revzin, 1998; Rothschild, 1981; Swetnam, 2016; Tedesco, 2006), with some contemporary studies too (Denny, 2011; Goerisch, 2019; Goerisch & Swanson, 2015; High-Pippert, 2015; Taft, 2010). Almost all consider gender, generally by looking at how GG/GS transmits ideas about girlhood, particularly ideas about normative femininity and appropriate girlhood. Likewise, the work on British Girl Guiding is mostly historical, often looking at the colonial origins of the programme and the history of the movement (Alexander, 2009, 2017; Edwards, 2018, 2020, 2022; Gledhill, 2013; Halls et al., 2018; Mills, 2011; M. J. Smith, 2011). Outside of Britain and the USA, there is little research on GG/GS: mostly theses rather than published articles or books. Some of this work is focussed on gender (Kelly, 2015; Parsons, 2009), but much of it is not, such as Frey's (2020) article in *Performance Research* and Lalor's (2011)

⁹ GirlGuiding UK has more young people involved per capita than GSUSA (in Britain, approximately 0.75% of population in Guiding versus 0.5% of population involved in GSUSA (estimated using data from Office for National Statistics [UK], 2018; United States Census Bureau, 2020)).

thesis on education in Australian Guiding. There is almost no research on Guiding in Aotearoa/NZ, except for two PhD theses in history (Dollery, 2012; McCurdy, 2000).

Themes Within the Girl Guide/Girl Scout Literature

Two relevant themes reoccur throughout the GG/GS literature. The first is how GG/GS acts as a location for the transmission of gender norms and the content of those gender norms (i.e., what is considered appropriate and available to girls). The second is how GG/GS formed part of an imperial or colonial project, particularly in the early days of the British and American programmes, which is often related to the citizenship education aspect of Guiding. The prevalence of these themes results from the fields from which the literature is drawn – for example, imperialism is important historical context for GG/GS development. Similarly, gender studies research tends to focus on notions of femininity and gender roles as these are significant concerns for that discipline. Almost all the research related to one of these themes, although sometimes it focused on education unrelated to gender or citizenship.

Girl Guides/Girl Scouts as a Location for the Transmission of Gender Norms

Within the GG/GS research, GG/GS are assumed to transmit gender ideology to girls. While this is not always explicated, the assumption that girls learn about what it means to be a girl (or woman) in GG/GS underlies much research. For example, Halls et al. (2018, p. 264) said that the “history of Girl Guiding [is] riddled with explicit and implicit assumptions of what is ‘right’ and ‘appropriate’ for girls”, while Anderson and Behringer (2010, p. 90) suggested that “the Girl Scouts organization is able to influence how girls understand gender by creating a scope of appropriate girlhood realities for its members.” The underlying assumption is that the girl exists and is acted upon by the programme or organisation, but not that the organisation or programme has a role in creating the subject of the girl in and of itself, although some research does touch on this idea – for example, Halls et al. (2018) recognises that Guiding plays a role in creating the girl.

In investigating the gender ideology communicated to girls, many sources discuss the role of femininity and masculinity within the programme. Almost every source mentions tension between traditional and non-traditional femininity, although it is referred to in different ways; Rothschild (1981, p. 115) calls it “domesticity and feminism”, while Gledhill (2013, p. 78) says it is an “uneasy marriage of female independence and deference, and adventure and domestic humdrum”. The overall consensus is that GG/GS has always both reflected and challenged dominant gender norms by emphasizing traditionally feminine pursuits (such as homemaking and caregiving) while also allowing girls to engage in activities typically seen as more suitable for boys (usually outdoors, sports, higher education, careers, and science/technology). This is influenced by Auster’s description (1985, p. 366) of Girl Scout handbooks as “manuals for socialization” – a description referenced in many articles about GG/GS.

Revzin (1998, pp. 267–268) identified conflicts in gender ideology within Girl Scout literature in the 1910s-1930s: “A significant portion of the Girl Scout literature focuses on traditional notions of femininity” but also “contains a significant amount of material that challenges the more conventional feminine doctrine espoused at the time.” Perry (1993a), discussing the same period, also noted a similar contradiction between domesticity and non-traditional roles for girls in the programme, while Rothschild (1981, p. 115) identified two aspects of the Girl Scout programme: “traditional domestic tasks for women” and “practical feminism”. The idea that GG/GS has always contained both traditional and non-traditional activities for women, while useful, is limited by these articles’ focus on the early history of Girl Scouting and their failure to address the complexity of designating activities as “masculine” and “feminine”.

Several more recent studies on GG/GS include material from the entire 1900s, such as Anderson and Behringer (2010). They conducted the most comprehensive analysis of the

GSUSA programme, ranging from 1912-1999. They designated all badges within this period “masculine”, “feminine”, or “neither” and tracked how the proportions of activities changed over time. They concluded that the focus on traditionally feminine activities had declined over time but that GSUSA had always expanded the boundaries of girlhood. This analysis did not consider the epistemological implications of which badges they designated “masculine” and “feminine”. However, it did provide a useful overview of the types of badges available to girls in different periods and the possible reasons behind changes in the programme.

In contrast to Anderson and Behringer, who focussed on masculinity and femininity within the programme, Halls et al. (2018) conducted a content analysis of British Girl Guide handbooks from 1908 onwards, using an inductive approach to identify notions about girlhood in the handbooks. They concluded that the handbooks communicated certain notions about appropriate girlhood and identified three main strands: girls were perceived as less competent over time, girls were identified as distinct from boys, and core Guiding ideals remained the same over time (Halls et al., 2018, p. 259). They noted a change in the types of activity over time, with feminine activities peaking in the 1940s/50s and declining thereafter (Halls et al., 2018, p. 265). Despite the different methodological approaches, this finding parallels Anderson and Behringer: an early emphasis on feminised activities declined over time as expanded definitions of womanhood became more common in society.

Research on British Girl Guiding in the 1950s and 1970s also showed that GG/GS has historically been understood as feminine. For example, Mills (2011) explored the phenomenon of British girls who wished to join the Boy Scouts in the 1970s, even though Girl Guides was available to them (they eventually succeeded, as the British Scout Association opened to girls in several stages throughout the 1970s-90s). Mills speculates that their interest may have been related to perceived freedoms available to Scouts not available to Guides and links it to the “Women’s Lib” movement and their call for gender equality,

suggesting that these girls wished to be included in all areas of citizenship. Thus, girls negotiating inclusion in Scouting can be understood as potentially rejecting the narratives around femininity and womanhood presented by Guiding in favour of masculine or gender-neutral narratives within Scouting. Similarly, Gledhill (2013) explored how the British Girl Guides changed the programme in the 1960s to attract and retain girls. Research and popular cultural representations of teenagers informed these changes, so the programme became less formal and more feminised, to account for teenage girls' interests like fashion (Gledhill, 2013, pp. 71–72; Proctor, 2009, pp. 120–121). Thus, in the 1960s, the movement shifted towards being more “girl-led” rather than exclusively adult-led. Thus, Guiding promotes girls' interests, potentially forming a feedback loop on appropriate femininity and womanhood.

The theme of contrasting feminine activities in opposition to a notion of progressiveness (i.e., girls' doing traditionally masculine activities is more progressive than girls' doing traditionally feminine activities) continues in research on contemporary programming. Denny (2011) compared Girl Scout and Boy Scout handbooks from the 2000s, showing that the girls' handbooks emphasised working together and caring for others, critical thought, and independence, while Boy Scouts emphasised more independent activities and rote-learning over critical thought. Concurring with historical studies of Girl Scouts, they suggest that “the competing feminine and more progressive messages that exist in today's handbook have existed in the handbooks in one way or another since the organization's founding” (Denny, 2011, p. 41).

High-Pippert (2015) conducted a content analysis of GSUSA's National Leadership Journey books (books that outline badges and activities, published 2008-2010) for ideas relating to leadership. They concluded, opposing Taft's earlier analysis (2010) of Girl Scouts as a location for traditional service as future citizens, that the Leadership Journeys

encouraged girls to act as political citizens and promoted collectivism alongside notions of the girl as an individual leader (High-Pippert, 2015, p. 149). In contrast to High-Pippert's conclusion that GSUSA promoted both collective and individual leadership skills, Goerisch and Swanson's (2015) ethnographic study of GSUSA concluded that cookie-selling teaches girls gendered affective labour skills, demonstrating how GG/GS inculcates feminine gender norms. The differences between High-Pippert's and Goerisch's conclusions demonstrate how girls' experience of GG/GS can differ from the written programme content.

A notion of girls as “not boys” (Halls et al., 2018, p. 264) often underpins work on gender norms' transmission in GG/GS, which is unsurprising, given the origins of GG/GS as growing out of the Boy Scout movement. Overall, these studies generally considered the “girl” in GG/GS as a universal concept or developmental stage rather than a discursive construction.

Girl Guides and Girl Scouts as Part of an Imperial/Colonial project

Some studies on the early days of Guiding did discuss the link between citizenship and gender norms, particularly as they related to imperialism or Americanisation projects. As discussed previously, Scouting began as an explicitly imperial project. This has been researched in connection to the Boy Scouts (see, for example, Macdonald, 2016) but also featured significantly in research on the early days of GG/GS. This occurs both in research on British Girl Guiding (“the [early British] scheme is underpinned by the belief that ‘every girl can be of use’ to the ‘great British Empire’” [M. J. Smith, 2011, p. 56]) and on GSUSA, as a force for the Americanisation of immigrants (Hahner, 2008; Tedesco, 2006). Smith (2011, p. 52) suggested that “the formation of the Guides... [was] grounded in notions of the part which women, and girls specifically, could play in the imperial project.” Alexander (2009) linked this to the outdoors, suggesting that camping was significant to the overall colonial character training of Guiding and Scouting (in Britain, Canada, and India).

In the American context, Tedesco (2006) and Hahner (2008) utilised handbooks from the 1910s-1930s to discuss how GSUSA Americanised immigrant girls by making particular efforts to reach immigrant families with the express intent of assimilating girls into American ways of life. They concluded that the project of Americanisation was closely tied to gendered ideals: girls should be well-versed in both proper domestic practices and American democracy (Tedesco, 2006, p. 352). Goerisch's (2019) contemporary ethnographic research on GSUSA examines how their "Operation Thin Mint" project (sending Girl Scout cookies to American military overseas) valorises the USA's international interventionist policies.

While neither British nor American analyses of imperialism or Americanisation, strictly speaking, apply to Aotearoa/NZ, given the different history of GG/GS here, the analyses of GG/GS as forces for imperialisation and assimilation do parallel some strategies and features of the NZ Guiding programme. Both strands of research can provide insight into how NZ Guiding operated to normalise colonial gender regimes in Aotearoa/NZ, and some of these ideas are touched upon in McCurdy's (2000) work.

Outside of the USA, Britain, and Aotearoa/NZ, Kelly (2015) and Parsons (2009) discussed colonialism in the Girl Guide movement.¹⁰ Kelly (2015) discussed how femininity and feminism were negotiated in the *Guías de México* (Mexican Girl Guides) from 1930 – 1980, including an analysis of the way that European and American Guiders imposed their gender ideals and how Mexican women and girls negotiated these in conjunction with the changing political landscape in México. Parsons (2009) discussed the nature of Girl Guiding in colonial Kenya and how it functioned first as a deliberately colonizing force but also became a source of political power for African women during the transition to independence

¹⁰ These were the only two relevant international sources that I identified, as other international sources were not focused on gender or colonialism. For example, Tillman (2015), Varpalotai (1994), Wang (2017), from Canada and China, were not discussed as they came from unrelated disciplines or did not discuss the programme or gender dynamics in GG/GS.

in the 1960s. Both Kelly and Parsons emphasise how GG/GS served the interests of colonisation but also functioned as a source of both empowerment (as in a sense of capability) and power (forming real political networks) for the women involved. They both also examine how GG/GS ideals were changed at the local level when imported from other countries, which parallels McCurdy's (2000) discussion of the unique nature of GPS in NZ.

From a global perspective, Proctor's *Scouting for Girls* (2009) discusses some broad trends through the history of GG/GS, while Wittemans (2009) discusses citizenship education in both the World Organization of Scout Movements (WOSM – the global body for Scouts) and WAGGGS, explaining how citizenship within Guiding is more flexible than in Scouting, as Guiding permits alterations to the Promise between organisations (such as the secularisation of the Promise) and by individual Guides, while WOSM does not (2009, p. 66). Broad global trends were increased war-related activities during the two World Wars (pp. 79-80), emphasis on internationalism following WWII (pp. 126-127), and an emphasis on girls' changing interests, such as the Women's Liberation movement, modern activities, and fashion from the 1960s onwards (pp. 116-121). These topics are picked up elsewhere in the literature, too – for example, Swetnam (2016) discussed a conservative attack on GSUSA due to their emphasis on global citizenship education, which was perceived as pro-Communist.

Girl Guides and Girl Peace Scouts in Aotearoa/New Zealand

In Aotearoa/NZ, there are only two academic sources on Girl Guiding, both PhD theses: *Feminine identity in New Zealand: The Girl Peace Scout movement 1908-1925* (McCurdy, 2000) and *'Making happy, healthy, helpful citizens': The New Zealand Scouting and Guiding movements as promulgators of active citizenship, c. 1908-1980* (Dollery,

2012).¹¹ McCurdy's history thesis examined the early NZ GPS movement and its takeover by British Girl Guiding, arguing that the GPS movement represented a specifically NZ (settler) notion of girlhood that was more outdoors-oriented and self-sufficient than British notions, and that the takeover by British Guiding represented a colonial endeavour to control femininity in NZ. Dollery's history thesis (2012) discussed Scouts and Girl Guides in NZ from 1908-1980, exploring how the two organisations provided citizenship education for NZ youth – primarily through cataloguing changes in the organisational structures. Neither interrogates the underlying concepts of citizenship or colonial gender relations implicit in their work, although both provide valuable historical context for my research. Besides these, Girl Guiding and GPS have gone largely unexamined in Aotearoa/NZ, except for a short section in *Women together: a history of women's organizations in New Zealand* (Bright, 1993). There are non-academic history books about Guiding, including national histories like *65 Years of Guiding* (Iles, 1977) and *Ambitious Fun* (Dawber, 2008) and local histories like *Please Come Prepared for Anything* (Cox, 1993) about the Otago region; all written by former or current Guiders. The national histories provided important context for the programme development and revisions and shed light on how the organisation has viewed itself over time.

Girls' Citizenship

Citizenship has always been “at the heart” of Guiding (Wittemans, 2009). Baden-Powell's aim to promote good citizenship in Scouts and Guides was always explicit in the

¹¹ Gooder's thesis (2005) catalogued many diplomas in Education and Recreation and Sports where Guiding was the case study (for example, Clay, 1980; Hume, 1958; McElwain, 1984). These materials mostly discuss specific aspects of the programme, such as *Say It with Games: A Handbook of Activities to Help Make Testwork for Brownie-Guides Stimulating and Interesting* (McElwain, 1984), so I did not include them.

handbooks and other texts,¹² and the Guiding Promise and Law are clearly related to notions of citizenship.¹³

Citizenship in Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting

Early Guiding's imperial nature and conception of citizenship were linked to its gender politics: girls were useful to the British imperial project because they would produce and care for healthy children – therefore, the programme emphasised caregiving, homemaking, and physical health (M. J. Smith, 2011). In NZ, there were similar notions about the importance of girls to the colonial project, although GPS was more permissive regarding outdoor activities than British Guiding (McCurdy, 2000, pp. 63–65). Warren (2012, p. 104) notes that although Guiding prepared girls for work as mothers and caregivers pre-WWI, the war upended these notions as girls worked not only as caregivers and homemakers but also in traditionally masculine roles, expanding the possibilities for good citizenship for girls. To this day, Girl Guides and Scouts worldwide proudly tout their contributions to war efforts as symbolic of the Guiding ethos (see, for example, Hampton, 2010; Iles, 1977, pp. 27–36). Citizenship in Guiding is thus deeply entwined with the organisation's colonial and nationalist history.

Edwards (2020, 2022) and Alexander (2017) acknowledge that Guiding's notion of citizenship encompassed more than just politics – for example, Edwards' work on environmentalism in Guiding materials in the 1980s shows how girls were encouraged to demonstrate their global citizenship through consumption. Likewise, Alexander discusses how Guiding's citizenship training in the 1920s-1930s encompassed five major areas: politics, health, cheerfulness, community service, and emergency preparedness. These

¹² For example: “the purpose of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement is to build men and women as citizens endowed with the three H's namely, Health, Happiness and Helpfulness” (Baden-Powell, 1934, p. 9).

¹³ The Promise is a spoken affirmation that participants make to become a member of Guiding; the Law is a list of guiding principles that are referenced in the Promise. I discuss further in Chapter 4.

demonstrate a persistent concern within Guiding with developing the whole self as a citizenship project.

Governmentality and the Ideal Neoliberal Citizen

Because of the focus on the whole self in Guiding, the notion of the citizen in this research is informed by Foucauldian ideas about neoliberalism, biopolitics, and governmentality (Foucault, 2008, 2009). In this conception, good citizenship is concerned with the self-management of all aspects of the self (neoliberal governmentality).

Governmentality refers to Foucault's (2009, p. 108) idea that indirect management of citizens is necessary for neoliberal governance, so governmentality is the creation of self-management within subjects. Oksala (2013, p. 41) explains that "neoliberal governmentality produces subjects who act as individual entrepreneurs across all dimensions of their lives". Giddens (1991, p. 14) similarly conceives of the subject under late capitalism through the lens of a "reflexive project of the self" – that is, the individual views themselves as a project to constantly be developed. Brown (2009, p. 42) discusses how the extension of neoliberal economic rationality into all aspects of life contributes to this, creating a neoliberal subject, who is solely responsible for their own choices and should act rationally to promote their self-interest.

Neoliberal governmentality underpins work done by later feminist scholars on "the girl as ideal neoliberal citizen", most notably by Harris (2004b) and McRobbie (2009), who suggest that the notion of the neoliberal citizen finds a particular home in the figure of the girl. Gonick et al. (2009, p. 2) trace the notion of the girl-as-citizen from the 1990s, linking the girl-power discourse that girls could be individually empowered and therefore "have it all" to the neoliberal imperative that girls *must* (and do) have "it all". Many scholars have linked neoliberal citizenship to girls (Banet-Weiser, 2015; Bent, 2013a; Caron, 2011; Gonick, 2022; Harris, 2004b, 2004a; Koffman & Gill, 2013; McRobbie, 2009, 2015; Oksala, 2013).

McRobbie makes the most compelling argument for why this notion of the ideal citizen is relevant to girls specifically: beginning with their girl-specific conception of Deleuze's luminosity in *The Aftermath of Feminism* (2009), but more clearly articulated in *Notes on the Perfect* (2015), they suggest that the figure of the "perfect" girl emerges at moments when feminism threatens to re-emerge, to reinforce the individuality of neoliberal girlhood and prevent collective political action. Some work on youth suggests that the neoliberal imperative to be successful affects both young women and men (Lesko, 2012, pp. 5–6), but it is clear from much of the work on girlhood that there are specifically gendered elements to the idealised girl citizen, such as appearance (McRobbie, 2015) and reproduction (Harris, 2004b).

Harris's work (2004b, p. 16) sets the tone for engagement with girls as neoliberal citizens. They describe the (implied white, middle-class, heterosexual) girl as an ideal neoliberal citizen: "flexible, individualized, resilient, self-driven, and self-made...". Taft (2014) likewise argues that girls are reified as ideal neoliberal citizens because they are seen as individually empowered, flexible, and entrepreneurial. This notion of the ideal neoliberal citizen thus represents an idealised figure or norm to which girls should aspire.

It is also important to consider how the idea of the "girl" is constructed as a universal period of development – Lesko (2012, p. 6) discusses the "biological" view of adolescence that positions adolescence as a period, underpinned by biological notions of puberty. This idea that girlhood is universal across all cultures and times is certainly present in much of the research on girlhood and GG/GS, which does not account for the notion that "girlhood" is a socially constructed period associated with specific ideas and narratives, such as Harris' (2004b) "can-do" and "at-risk" girls.

Three themes within the literature are salient to my research of the Ranger programme: firstly, the idea that the girl *as a future woman* is an example of neoliberal

citizenship; secondly, the relationship between idealised neoliberal citizenship and girlhood specifically; and finally, the role of “empowerment” and “confidence” in post-feminist constructions of the girl.

The Neoliberal Construction of the Girl as a Future Woman

The idea of the girl as a future woman is implicit in the notion of the ideal neoliberal citizen; Harris (2004b) makes this connection clear by drawing the line from the successful girl to the successful, law-abiding, working woman with a well-balanced family life, showing how citizenship relates to successful employment, heterosexual reproduction, and the nuclear family. This discourse is prevalent within the programme, as it is explicit about the future-oriented nature of the skills in the programme, although the idea of Rangers as future mothers is less present in later programmes.

Much empirical work on girls as neoliberal citizens focuses on how their future as productive women is articulated, often drawing on discourses about women “having it all”. For example, Banet-Weiser (2015) describes how girls’ empowerment organisations focus on creating empowered future women, while Goodkind (2009) discusses how adults involved in girls’ juvenile residential programmes believed their work could empower girls to have successful futures as mothers and workers. Likewise, Smith and Paterson (2018, p. 13) observe that government-issued handbooks for girls connect girls to their future adult selves (and describe this as neoliberal governmentality): girls are told that “strong women” exhibit self-managing behaviours. They further observe that “young women are increasingly expected to be autonomous and self-governing” but also “require guidance to follow the right path towards future ideal neoliberal citizenship” (L. Smith & Paterson, 2018, p. 13). Thus, the ideal neoliberal girl is a future woman who is independent, self-managing, empowered, and flexible.

Discourses positioning girls as neoliberal subjects are communicated across different spheres, and several authors have conducted empirical research into specific areas where girls (and sometimes women) are constructed as neoliberal citizens and the discourses at play in these areas. For example, Favaro (2017) investigates women's magazines as a location where women are constructed as self-responsible, active subjects; both Bent (2013a) and Koffman and Gill (2013) identified the "Girl Effect" discourse as a location where girls in the Global North are constructed as privileged individual subjects in opposition to girls in the Global South; Bent (2013b) suggests that in political sphere of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, girls are side-lined and included as tokenistic future women rather than as current girls or citizens; Goodkind (2009) researched how the staff at girls' juvenile transitional facilities communicated empowerment discourses to the girls; Taft (2020) discusses the discourses around celebrity girl activists that construct them as successful individual actors; Banet-Weiser (2015) investigates girls' empowerment organisations as locations where discourses about empowerment are communicated; Smith and Paterson (2018) identified government-issued handbooks for girls as vectors for neoliberal citizenship to be communicated to girls. These authors broadly concur about individual empowerment discourses – they are often tone-deaf to the real political issues that affect girls and are ineffective politically; I discuss this further in the section on "empowerment".

In contrast to the idea that all programmes for girls replicate notions of ideal neoliberal citizenship, Oinas' (2017) work on Nordic girls' programmes complicated the idea that these programmes are just neoliberal subjectification projects. They discussed how the adults encouraged girls to take their problems seriously and discover ways to contest the status quo, which operates in contrast to the idea that girls are future citizens rather than current political actors. The groups did not see "achievement" as important or inherently

good for girls, which was seen as oppositional to neoliberal notions of success (although the context of Nordic countries' welfare state policies plays a role here).

The Role of Gender in Neoliberal Citizenship

Surprisingly, the role of gender in idealised neoliberal citizenship is often not *emphasised* as central to neoliberal girlhood: in most work, a more general notion of neoliberal self-management prevails. Some authors discuss how gender operates as a function of citizenship, usually relating to reproduction, appearance, and affective management. McRobbie's article (2015) on the regulatory function of the "perfect" highlights feminised appearance, and Smith and Paterson (2018) acknowledge the gendered nature of advice about body confidence, hygiene, contraception, and emotional self-management. Harris (2004b, pp. 29–31) also discussed how reproduction is a central concern for the distinction between the "can-do" girl and the "at-risk" girl: the ideal neoliberal woman does not require economic support (from the state in particular, but also those around her) and simultaneously manages to care for a household and herself – and if she cannot achieve these two objectives, she delays childbearing until she can. The can-do girl epitomises neoliberal citizenship: she is self-managing and ready to attain success, while the at-risk girl relies on government intervention to support her because she does not leverage her opportunities and choices in the same way as the can-do girls. Thus, the can-do girl's delay of reproduction until she is well-educated, successful, and financially stable is specifically gendered. These connections to reproduction, appearance, and affective management are generally the extent of the evidence that idealised neoliberal citizenship circulates specifically around girls; it is not usually contrasted with how success or neoliberal citizenship functions for boys.

The aspirational norm of the girl as an ideal neoliberal citizen is often positioned in opposition to the figure of the girl as failed neoliberal citizen. Harris (2004b, pp. 14–28) articulates this idea by contrasting the can-do and at-risk girl, while McRobbie (2009, pp. 70–

83) articulates the differences between “phallic girls” who engage in masculine-associated behaviours like drinking, smoking, and seeking sexual pleasure, as contrasted with the luminous girl who attains success in work or education. Gonick (2022) also describes the different constructions of the “new girl”, the successful recipient of girl power, and “Ophelia”, the vulnerable adolescent girl lacking in self-confidence, as two sides of the same neoliberal coin. For example, Smith and Paterson’s (2018, p. 20) work on government-created handbooks for girls discusses the admonishments against failure contained in the books: “One way we become unhappy about ourselves is by playing the comparison game. Any time you’re tempted to compare yourself to others, STOP and consider who you are” (from two handbooks for girls, quoted in Smith & Paterson, 2018, p. 20). This plays into broader notions of self-management, as girls are made responsible for their emotions, choices, and successes/failures on an individual level.

Empowerment and Confidence

Empowerment is perhaps the most significant discourse where neoliberalism and girlhood overlap. Empowerment is closely related to neoliberal feminism and “lean-in” culture (Rottenberg, 2014, referencing Sandberg, 2013). Empowerment is best understood as an articulation of neoliberal post-feminist discourses around girlhood and a way that ostensibly feminist ideals are expressed in the era of neoliberalism (Rottenberg, 2014). Empowerment refers to a constellation of ideas broadly relating to the individual girl and their self-confidence and autonomy as an expression of feminine success (Goodkind, 2009, p. 414); it links to the girl-power discourses of the 1990s (Gonick et al., 2009). Harris and Dobson (2015, pp. 148–150) outline how “choice” and empowerment have become significant indicators of girls’ success in the post-feminist context and note that the emphasis on choice is representative of neoliberal ideology.

Empowerment is touted as the solution to disempowerment in various situations by many players in the field of girlhood, despite the often-structural origins of girls' disempowerment (Banet-Weiser, 2015; Goodkind, 2009). For example, Banet-Weiser (2015, p. 184) describes girls' empowerment organisations' "imagined subject" – girls who are self-entrepreneurs constantly monitoring themselves in a project of self-management. Goodkind (2009, pp. 417–420) discusses how adults who work with girls in juvenile transitional facilities articulate that the girls need to learn self-management skills and resilience because of the discrimination they will face in their lives, putting the onus on girls to be empowered in the face of structural discrimination. The reduction of structural issues to individual responsibilities as a neoliberal technique of governmentality for women specifically was a common thread through these critiques of neoliberal feminism.

An extension of the empowerment discourse as neoliberal governmentality is found in confidence (or self-confidence) discourses, a more specific and recent example of empowerment. It connects to the neoliberalisation of feminism and is also linked to the "Reviving Ophelia" discourse of the 1990s, which, following Mary Pipher's book (1996) of the same name, posited that girls take a massive self-confidence hit in adolescence from which they never recover (Gonick, 2022). Drawing on Foucault, Gill and Orgad (2015) describe confidence as a technology of the self that necessitates women's self-management. Confidence is often cited as a key outcome of girls' empowerment organisations (Goodkind, 2009; Taft, 2010). The literature on empowerment and confidence discourses does not map perfectly onto Girl Guiding – as Gill and Orgad (2015, p. 324) point out, Guiding is better known for promoting practical or hands-on learning. However, promoting practical skills in Guiding is often linked to empowerment through competence, and empowerment forms part of a constellation of neoliberal understandings of the Girl Guiding programme.

Gaps in the Literatures

There are several gaps in both literatures and between them. These gaps provide opportunities for bridging and filling in these areas of study, with my research functioning as an expansion of the research outside Britain/USA and a bridge between historical and sociological research on GG/GS.

Gaps in the Girl Guiding/Girl Scouting Literature

The most obvious gap in the GG/GS literature is the lack of research outside of Britain/USA, especially on contemporary programming or experiences; even in Britain/USA, there is little research on contemporary programming or experiences (High-Pippert, 2015 is an exception). A second noticeable gap is research that includes the voices of girls. Alexander (2012) discusses how girls' voices are often lost from archives as they are run by adults who tend to preserve official publications and records over the ephemera of girlhood. Equally, contemporary research rarely includes girls' voices directly – either because they analyse documents only (High-Pippert, 2015) or because they engaged in ethnographic observation of troops and did not interview girls directly (Goerisch, 2019; Goerisch & Swanson, 2015).

Gaps in the Girlhood Studies Literature

There is little work on neoliberal citizenship and governmentality within the girlhood studies literature, although I have canvassed several relevant sources. The work on how neoliberal citizenship is gendered is also fairly limited, although I reviewed some that showed the connections between ideal neoliberal citizenship and girlhood (Harris, 2004b; McRobbie, 2015; L. Smith & Paterson, 2018).

Gaps Between the Literatures

The gap between the two literatures is generative. Research on GG/GS rarely comes from girlhood studies (or from a broader gender studies/sociological perspective) – generally, research is historical or anthropological, although there are some exceptions (Halls et al.,

2018; High-Pippert, 2015; Taft, 2010). Conversely, studies on girls and girls' organisations (usually within girlhood studies or a broader sociological framework) rarely engage with GG/GS as an organisation for girls (Taft, 2010 is again an exception). This may be the case for a few reasons: the public perception that GG/GS must communicate normative femininity as a long-running girls' organisation. There is also the question of access – GG/GS tend to be quite insular, and most researchers who work with them have a pre-existing personal connection to the organisation, which perhaps limits research opportunities. Overall, there is little research on GG/GS from a sociological or girlhood studies perspective.

There is little work on the role of citizenship education within contemporary GG/GS – the existing research usually focuses on the nationalist and imperial nature of the organisation when it began. Research that includes programmes from after WWII rarely focuses on citizenship, although High-Pippert's (2015) article is one exception, as they consider what ideas about politics and leadership are communicated by the contemporary programme; Taft (2010) also considers how political citizenship is taught in GSUSA and other girls' organisations.

No research considers neoliberalism or neoliberal governmentality within GG/GS or examines how neoliberalism impacted programming, possibly because there is little research on GG/GS that includes programming after the 1960s. Even though there is some research on how girls' organisations function in relation to neoliberal governmentality (Banet-Weiser, 2015; Favaro, 2017; R. Gill & Orgad, 2015; L. Smith & Paterson, 2018 are just a few examples relevant to my research), this work rarely engages with GG/GS, except for a brief mention of Girlguiding United Kingdom's body confidence badge as illustrative of the "confidence cult" in Gill and Orgad (2015, p. 324).

Further, there is little consideration in the literatures of how self-responsible *and gendered* citizens are created. The gendering of citizenship typically considers girls as ideal

neoliberal citizens without investigating how girls' experiences differ from boys'. In contrast, the GG/GS literature often considers the girl as a natural opposition to the boy, likely because of the easy comparison between GG/GS and Boy Scouts (or mixed-gender Scouts). This leads to another gap: how each literature conceptualises the girl. The GG/GS literature implicitly assumes that the girl is a pre-existing self to be worked upon by external forces (i.e., GG/GS). In contrast, the neoliberal citizenship literature, drawn primarily from girlhood studies and sociology, positions the girl as a discursive construction, created by structures and institutions. There are some exceptions to this characterisation of the literatures: Halls et al. (2018) very clearly position the girl within Guiding as a discursive construction, while some empirical sources on neoliberal citizenship do veer into assuming the girls with whom they work are girl subjects independent of messages about girlhood (such as Goodkind, 2009). Thus, Halls et al. (2018) represent the only research that considers GG/GS as a location that creates an idea of the girl.

Conclusion

My research addresses some of these gaps. It takes place in Aotearoa/NZ, outside of the USA and Britain, where most research on GG/GS has been conducted. I have included girls' voices, which are missing from much GG/GS research, as Alexander (2012) pointed out. Looking at programmes from 1968-2022, I have also contributed to research on contemporary GG/GS programmes, which is currently limited.

My research fills the gap between GG/GS and girlhood studies, as it utilises sociological analysis to look at Girl Guiding, while much research on GG/GS only investigates the programme from a historical perspective. Using changes in the programme over time and interviews and focus groups with current members, I can balance a critical historical perspective with a girlhood studies-informed perspective.

Finally, by taking an approach which considers girlhood and the girl not as natural or universal concepts but as created by institutions (such as Guiding), I investigate how the programme functions to create self-responsible neoliberal citizens, thus linking Guiding's citizenship education to neoliberal governmentality and expanding the boundaries of research on Guiding.

Chapter 3: Methods

My research questions are: How has the girl subject been articulated through the Girl Guiding New Zealand Ranger programme from 1968–2022? And: How do the young people and adults involved in Girl Guiding understand the messages about girlhood within the programme?

Rangers is the Girl Guiding programme for young people aged 12 ½-17 – it continues from Guides (ages 9-12), but young people can join at any age. Historically, the age ranges for Rangers have been slightly different (in 1967, 14 ½ - 20 [Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1967, p. 80]; in 1984, 13 ½ - 19 [Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 3]; in 2015, 12 ½ - 17 [M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015a, p. 2]).¹⁴ They typically meet weekly during school terms in groups (called units) ranging from 2-50, with one or more adult leaders to facilitate. The overall goal for young people in the programme is to achieve the Queen’s Guide Award, which involves completing activities like community service, camping, and ICs. Rangers can simultaneously work towards the Duke of Edinburgh Award, which shares many achievements with the Queen’s Guide. The Ranger programme is intended to be completed over four ½ years, but young people can join and leave anytime.

I selected the Ranger section for my research because I needed to narrow the scope from the whole of Guiding to one section, given the large amount of data working with all four sections would have presented. Furthermore, Rangers’ age and developmental stage meant they had interesting notions of gender and identity and meant that I could research with them directly.

¹⁴ These are not the dates at which changes occurred, but the dates of the handbooks in which I found this information. I was not able to find out when each change occurred from the handbooks.

To answer my research questions, I utilised a mixed-methods approach, including both quantitative content analyses and qualitative empirical research. I conducted a content analysis of the Ranger programme from 1968-2022, composed of (1) coding at the badge level for topics and gendered categories (masculine/feminine/gender-neutral) and (2) coding at the clause level for verbs. I also completed (3) content analysis of the Guiding Promise and Law. To supplement my understanding of the programme, I conducted (4) focus groups with Rangers and (5) interviews with volunteers and staff members at GGNZ (and others involved in programme development).

I conducted a quantitative content analysis to provide quantifiable data about how the programme changed. I opted for a quantitative content analysis over other methods because of the uniqueness of my data (instructions for activities rather than narratives or interviews). Content analysis classifies data through inductive or deductive approaches (Cho & Lee, 2014, p. 3), while quantitative content analysis involves systematically coding and quantifying aspects of the data (Huxley, 2020, p. 2). In contrast, qualitative content analysis identifies themes in the data based on implicit and explicit meaning (Cho & Lee, 2014, p. 4). I considered some approaches which fall under qualitative content analysis, such as discourse analysis/critical discourse analysis and thematic analysis but decided against them. Discourse analysis (while a contested category) centres around a critical analysis of the language used within texts, taking context and implicit meaning into account (Farrelly, 2020, p. 3), while thematic analysis focuses on inductively developing themes from data by identifying both explicit and implicit ideas in the data, centring around the main concept of the research (Braun et al., 2019, p. 845). An effective discourse analysis (or thematic analysis) on Ranger handbooks would have involved a comprehensive look at all badges and clauses and at the context of the handbooks and their presentation, which was more data than I had time to address given the constraints of a one-year mixed-methods research project. Overall, I wanted

to focus on the explicit meaning of the clauses, as they were direct instructions, so I opted for quantitative content analysis, counting the number and type of verbs in the programme.

I included qualitative data from interviews and focus groups to explore the programme and how Rangers and adults interpret it. The different conclusions of Goerisch and Swanson's (2015) and High-Pippert's (2015) studies demonstrated that the interpretation of programmes certainly impacts the messages girls receive from GG/GS. Interviews and focus groups were necessary to address my second research question, provide insight into reasons for changing the programme, and explore how Rangers thought about and interpreted it.

Thus, I utilised a mixed-methods approach, with the quantitative analysis of the programme serving as a backbone and the interviews and focus groups providing context and meaning to the quantitative analyses, allowing me to add richness and depth to my research. Hesse-Biber (2010, p. 4) termed this approach "complementarity", where the data forms chosen addressed different possible answers to the research questions. In this case, the focus groups and interviews provided detailed insight into contemporary Guiding, which was useful in interpreting the quantitative data. Mixed-methods research often provides more in-depth and comprehensive research than "monomethod" approaches (Adu et al., 2022, p. 323).

Content Analysis of the Ranger Programme

I gathered data from handbooks (referred to as "programme books" or "guidebooks" at various points in Guiding history) by digitally scanning pages that contained information about badges and badge clauses from all handbooks across all sections (Pippins, Brownies, Guides, and Rangers), supplementary materials (e.g., guides containing instructions for specific activities), and some leader books. I included only books that contained badge clauses. I used Annabel Gooder's *New Zealand Guiding Publications: An Annotated Bibliography* (2005) to locate the relevant documents to identify publications containing

badge clauses from 1969-1990. I accessed these books through Cynthia Landels, who maintains unofficial Guiding archives at the Auckland Guide Centre. She also helped me identify books and documents outside the scope of Gooder's thesis, particularly British handbooks before the NZ programme was developed and post-1990 handbooks. I also obtained recent handbooks from the University of Auckland library and the public Auckland Libraries and digital copies of programme materials from 2011 onwards directly from GGNZ. Overall, I identified over 90 handbooks, guidebooks, manuals, programme books, supplements, guidelines, leader guides, and documents containing programme information for all Guiding sections in NZ from 1909 – 2022.

Badges and clauses generally comprised about half, sometimes less, of each book, with the rest being general information about Guiding, including the structure of the programme, the Promise and Law,¹⁵ and the history of the organisation; general life advice; and instructions or suggestions for activities to fulfil clauses. I opted to include only the programme material (badges and clauses) because clauses are direct instructions for activities and therefore are the most direct way that ideas about girlhood are communicated; Auster (1985) called Girl Scout handbooks “manuals for socialization” because they directly communicate gendered norms and expectations. I also included the Promise and Law as they provide the overarching direction for Guiding. Of course, the rest of the content in the books included fascinating material about gender and girlhood, often including explicit discussions about how girls should behave or implicitly focussing on topics that were considered

¹⁵ As discussed in the Context section, the Promise and Law provide the moral foundation of Girl Guiding. The current Promise reads, “I promise to do my best, to be true to myself and develop my beliefs, to live by the Guide Law, and take action for a better world” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 15). Previous iterations included reference to God, the Queen, and “my country.” The Law currently reads, “As a Guide, I will be honest and trustworthy, be friendly and cheerful, be a good team member, be responsible for what I say and do, respect and help other people, use my time and abilities wisely, face challenges and learn from experiences and, care for the environment” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 16).

interesting to girls. However, I excluded this content to investigate what Rangers were told to do directly and explicitly through the badge clauses, as these instructions contained ideas about what was considered both appropriate and important for girls to learn or do. This complemented the focus groups and interviews, as Rangers and leaders are often familiar with the clauses as they comprise the day-to-day activities.

After canvassing all material, I reduced my project's scope to focus on the NZ Ranger programme from 1968-2022 due to the volume of material. I chose Rangers rather than any of the younger sections because I wanted to conduct focus groups with girl members as they would hopefully offer insight into my research questions. Furthermore, I anticipated that there would be more literature about teenagers as opposed to younger girls to support my research. I used handbooks from 1968-2022 because the first alteration to the British Ranger programme for NZ Rangers was written in 1969 (The Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1969) as a supplement to the 1968 British programme (Carter, 1968/1970), while the first complete Ranger programme for NZ was written in 1974 (Wood, 1974). Thus, I included Ranger programmes from 1968 – 2022, including the earliest NZ and the last British programmes for comparison. I included materials through 2022 to make the work as up-to-date as possible and to align with the experiences of the Rangers that I interviewed so that I could capture how girlhood is currently imagined within Girl Guiding.

This 1968-2022 period included major revisions approximately every decade (1974, 1984, 1995, 2003, and 2015) and sometimes second and third editions released between major revisions. After reviewing the differences between first and subsequent editions, I opted to include only first editions in my analysis because the changes between programmes

were typically minor. Therefore, data were taken from seven programmes – 1968-1970,¹⁶ 1974, 1984, 1995, 2003, 2015, and 2020-2022. The 2020-2022 “programme” is not a full programme but comprises several badges released independently of a programme review (for example, “Heart, Body, and Mind” [2020], “Growing the Future” [2021], and “Te Ao Māori” [2022]). These badges were subsequently included in the 2022 programme update.

These data were then utilised in two ways. The first was at the badge level, coding the badges into topics and the topics into masculine/feminine/gender-neutral categories; the second was at the clause level, coding based on the verbs used in selected clauses. Finally, I conducted a content analysis of changes to Promise and Law over time, with iterations taken from each programme book.

Badge Analysis

To get a broad sense of the topics in the programme and how these changed over time, I coded the badges into topics. This was intended to shed light on the types of activities seen as appropriate and relevant for girls and give an overview of the programme since 1968. I opted to do this coding at the badge level rather than at the clause or instruction level because of the sheer size of the programme (528 badges in total, most with 8-12 clauses, with most clauses containing more than one instruction, giving a conservative estimate of more than 10,000 instructions); Anderson and Behringer (2010), studying GSUSA handbooks, also coded for topics at the badge level. Badges are typically narrowly focused on one or two areas, so it was straightforward to categorise them in most cases.

¹⁶ The 1968-1970 programme is labelled as such because the first edition of the handbook was published in 1968, followed by the “Ranger Guide Service Section: New Zealand Supplement” in 1969, and a second edition in 1970. The 1970 edition was where the badge clauses came from as it was the only edition I could obtain.

Each badge was coded into two topics because most dealt with more than one topic, and I wanted to capture the full range of topics in the programme. I included the following badges:

- Interest Certificates (all programmes¹⁷), including Whānui badges (2003, 2015),
- Service Certificates (1974, 1984),
- Leadership Certificates (all programmes except 1984),
- Pathway Certificates (2015),
- Advocacy and Community Action Certificates/Actions/Projects (2003, 2015),
- Commonwealth Award (2003, 2015),
- Investiture badges (all programmes),
- Faith-based badges (1968-70, 1974, 1984),
- Service badges (1968-70, 1974, 1984),
- Ranger Challenges (1968-70).

I excluded:

- Any badge that did not include actual activities as clauses (some required other badges or holding qualifications from, e.g., Surf Lifesaving),
- The 12x12 Challenges (2003, 2015), 12-Point Challenges (1995), and 8-Point Challenges (1974, 1984) because they intentionally covered many topics,
- Permits (e.g., for Boating) because their primary purpose is to meet legal risk management requirements (all programmes),

¹⁷ Parentheses indicate the programme iterations in which that badge category was found.

- Air, Sea, and Land Ranger tests (1968-70, 1974) because the Air/Sea/Land divisions were discontinued before the 1974 programme (Dawber, 2008, p. 123), although Sea Ranger tests remained in the programme in 1974,
- Ranger Wings when they were listed outside the Interest Certificates (1984, 1995),
- The Duke of Edinburgh Award (all programmes), because it is administered by an external group and because it mainly requires other badges/qualifications,
- Queen’s Guide Award (all programmes) and associated badges like the Peak Award (1995, 2003, 2015) because they mainly require the Ranger to earn other badges, so their scope is too broad for my analysis.

The topic categories were developed through both a deductive and inductive approach. I began with a list of topics that I thought would be relevant. These were drawn from Anderson and Behringer’s (2010) similarly positioned analysis of GSUSA¹⁸ and from the IC categories assigned by Girl Guiding.¹⁹ After familiarising myself with the badge titles, content, and position in the programme, I revised some categories, providing a more granular breakdown, and added other categories to capture activities and themes not adequately covered by the original categories.

The badge topics were then categorised into “masculine”, “feminine”, or “gender-neutral”, drawing on Anderson and Behringer’s methods (2010) in order to shed light on whether the proportions of each have changed over time. This was potentially a crude tool, given that individual activities within each badge could be masculine, feminine, or gender-

¹⁸ Their categories were: Arts and Crafts; Camping and The Outdoors; Environmental Awareness and Conservation; Food Preparation; Health and Fitness; History and Community; Home, Family, and Childcare; Learning About Girls and Women; Media and Communication; Money and Business; Personal Growth and Relationships; Plants and Animals; Safety and First Aid; Science and Technology; Sports and Leisure; and World Knowledge and Exploration (Anderson & Behringer, 2010, p. 101).

¹⁹ In the 1995, 2003, and 2015 programmes, Interest Certificates are divided into 12 categories. The names of the categories change over time, but I summarised them as: Outdoors, International, Environment, Citizenship, Creative, Future, Community, Hobbies, Guiding, Health, Heritage, and Faith.

neutral, independent of the badge topic itself (as Anderson and Behringer noted). This categorisation is also possibly crude, given varying ideas about defining “masculine”, “feminine”, and “gender-neutral”. However, as I discuss in the next section, the programme’s size prohibited analysis of each clause. For this masculine/feminine/gender-neutral categorisation, capturing the whole programme via the badges was more important than examining it at the clause level.

Badge topics were sorted as masculine if they were a traditionally masculine field (for example, science and technology), as feminine if they were a traditionally feminine field (for example, homemaking and cooking), and gender-neutral if they did not fit either category or fit into both categories. This followed Anderson and Behringer’s (2010) methods, which (while occurring at the clause level) identified feminine badges as emphasizing “traditional strengths and capacities of women related to the care of home and family or to traditionally feminine careers” (p. 95), masculine badges as “related to the outdoors, technical or mechanical work, science and industry, or business and civic leadership” (p. 96), and gender-neutral (“other”) badges as “not clearly gendered, such as music, art, and reading, or... the requirements were [a] combination of feminine and masculine roles or activities” (p. 96). The full list of topics and explanations is presented below in the categories “Masculine”, “Feminine”, and “Gender-neutral”.

Masculine Badge Topics

1. **Aviation:** Before the badge programme was overhauled in 1974 to create the NZ programme, there were three Ranger sections: Air, Sea, and Land. “Aviation” refers to badges about planes, flying, and related topics. There were many more of these in early programme iterations as they declined dramatically after the Air Rangers programme was stopped.

2. **Boating:** Badges about boating or other sea- or water-related skills. This was included separately from “Outdoors” because of the aforementioned Sea Rangers section. Like “Aviation”, the number of these badges decreased over time.
3. **Leadership:** Badges that emphasise leadership skills like managing others, planning, and instructing others.
4. **Politics:** Badges about political issues like international relations, civil rights and responsibilities, and election processes.²⁰
5. **Science:** Badges that emphasised observational skills related to the natural world or experimentation.
6. **Technology:** Badges that involve technical knowledge of equipment. This is not limited to computers and related topics but includes most aviation, photography, and audio-visual badges.²¹

Feminine Badge Topics

7. **Arts and crafts:** Badges that emphasise arts and creativity, including visual and performing arts, and badges about crafts such as knitting and needlecraft.
8. **Caregiving:** Badges that teach caregiving skills, usually about childcare, but some older badges include caring for the elderly and disabled people.

²⁰ I did consider whether “Politics” might be “Gender-neutral”, as it does not have a particularly strong association with masculinity, but decided to categorise it as “Masculine”, given that research on girls’ citizenship and political activity suggests that traditional political participation has been considered masculine or “for boys” (for example, Caron, 2011; Taft, 2014); likewise, data suggest that far fewer women hold political office compared to men (United Nations, Economic and Social Council, 2021).

²¹ I also considered whether the recent emphasis on girls and women in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) meant that “Science” and “Technology” should be considered “Gender-neutral”, but concluded that the traditional associations of “Science” and “Technology” with masculinity were more significant, since the girls/women in STEM movement is a reaction to male-dominated fields, and the gender gap in STEM research remains unclosed (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2019).

9. **Cooking:** Badges where activities about making food are a major focus.²²
10. **Guiding:** Badges about Guiding traditions or international Guiding.
11. **Health:** Badges that focus on health-related topics such as fitness, first aid, sexual health, and reproductive health, mostly introduced in 1995.
12. **Homemaking:** Badges about housework, hosting, and keeping a home running. This was separated from “Cooking” because some badges focus on cooking but do not necessarily connect it to home management (e.g., “International Cuisine”, “Faith Thru Food”).
13. **Interpersonal skills:** Badges that emphasise interaction with others, specifically to gain skills, as most badges require discussion with other Rangers/leaders/younger Guides).²³
14. **Physical appearance:** Badges that emphasise outward appearances, like make-up or clothing. This was a small category.
15. **Women’s lives:** Badges that discuss history or activities specific to women (e.g., feminist history, menstruation).

Gender-Neutral Badge Topics

16. **Animals:** Badges primarily about animals, including farming and animal husbandry in early programmes and pet care in later programmes.

²² While cooking has traditionally been associated with women and the private sphere, there has been a recent movement towards masculinity, with, for example, male celebrity chefs. I opted to designate it “feminine” for this research owing to the long history of understanding cooking as women’s work.

²³ I considered whether “Interpersonal skills” should be categorised into “Gender-neutral”, but drawing on Denny’s (2011) conclusion that group work and interpersonal skills were feminised within Scout programmes, I placed “Interpersonal skills” in “Feminine”. Also, given that Guiding itself relies largely on women’s volunteering their time to manage groups, I thought it was appropriate to categorise it thusly.

17. **Camping/tramping:** Badges dealing with outdoor skills and practices like pitching tents and fire safety. This was included separately from “Outdoors” because camping is significant in the programme.
18. **Culture/history:** All badges that deal with cultural and historical knowledge. Examples might include learning about the culture of another country, Māori culture, the history of the local area, or the history of art. Although these may seem to warrant their own categories, in practice, the two topics were mostly intertwined, with clauses requiring Rangers to learn about differences between cultures/countries phrased almost identically to clauses asking Rangers to learn about history.
19. **Environment:** Badges focussing on the environment and the threat of climate change or biodiversity loss, and science related to the environment.
20. **Faith/spirituality:** Badges that dealt explicitly with religion and spirituality.
21. **Fun:** Badges with no purpose except for girls to enjoy them, usually things like reading or skating.
22. **Future-focused:** Badges that prepared girls for life as adult citizens, typically including activities like voting, money management, and finding employment.
23. **Global:** Badges concerned with international events or cultures from countries outside Aotearoa.
24. **Outdoors:** Badges that are intended to take place outdoors. This overlaps with other categories but also includes topics like fishing, outdoor sports, and meteorology.
25. **Personal values:** Badges that emphasise girls’ learning, discussing, and deciding on their opinions about specific topics. These often highlighted topics like relationships or body modification.
26. **Practical life skills:** Badges that teach practical skills, like mechanical repairs or cleaning skills.

27. **Safety:** Badges that have safety practices as a significant portion of the clauses.
28. **Service:** Badges that emphasise giving time and work to others.²⁴
29. **Sports:** Badges that include physical activity, like team sports or individual sports like swimming and running.²⁵
30. **Te Ao Māori:** Badges that focus primarily on Māori culture and worldview. I separated this from “Culture/History” to track the number of badges that explicitly emphasised Te Ao Māori (approximate translation: the Māori worldview). Given the context of Aotearoa/NZ as a colonised country, tracking the amount of the programme concerned with Māori culture and people was important to me (in addition to considering how these perspectives were represented, which is covered in the section on Othering).

The list of coded badges was then used to generate a graph of topics as a percentage of each programme iteration (see Figure 13 in Findings about Girl Guiding Pedagogy and Experiences) and graphs highlighting how specific groups of topics have changed over time (see Figures 15 and 16 in Findings about Girl Guiding Pedagogy and Experiences). Data were presented as percentages rather than absolute numbers because the number of badges in the programme varied from iteration to iteration. The absolute number of badges in the programme increased over time, with the notable exception of the 1984 programme, which almost halved the number of badges in the programme as many ICs were deleted – see Table 1.

²⁴ I considered whether “Service” should be “Feminine”, given the association between women and volunteer and unpaid domestic and care labour, but placed it in “Gender-neutral” as I considered the history of Scouting and Guiding, which have both placed significant emphasis upon serving communities.

²⁵ I considered whether “Sports” should be masculine but given that the gender gap in physical activity has recently closed (Sport New Zealand, 2022), and the long history of netball and other sports for women in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I designated it gender-neutral.

Table 1

Number of badges analysed in each iteration of the Ranger programme²⁶

Year programme or programme components released	Number of badges analysed
1968-1970	77
1974	76
1984	35
1995	99
2003	116
2015-2022	125

Selection of Badges and Clauses for Verb Analysis

To better understand the activities and skills emphasised by the programme at different times, I also analysed the verbs used in the badge clauses. Due to the size of the dataset, I opted to sample badges to represent the whole programme. I sampled at the badge level (selecting whole badges) rather than at the clause level (choosing one or two clauses from each badge) to provide a more in-depth picture of the overall programme. Particularly in the later programme, there is a pattern to badges, with most badges having clauses related to community service, Te Ao Māori, field trips, trying a new activity, and similar. Therefore, sampling at the clause level would have risked over-representing one of those actions.

I sampled from the ICs (along with Service Certificates and faith badges) because most of the (written) programme is made of ICs, and they are the most consistent part of the programme outside of the Queen’s Guide Award. The 1995, 2003, and 2015 programmes all had ICs divided into twelve sections, which were roughly analogous to one another from programme to programme (for example, the 2015 “Discover the World” category was equivalent to the 2003 and 1995 “International” category). I utilised these categories in my sampling. The 1968-70, 1974, and 1984 programmes did not divide the ICs into categories,

²⁶ For the badge analysis, I grouped the 2020-2022 badges and 2015 badges into one programme iteration, because the small number of badges in the 2020-2022 group (6) meant that they would not present a good comparison to the other programme iterations.

so I allocated those Interest and Service Certificates to categories based on continuity with later programmes or the topic. The 1968-70, 1974, and 1984 programme iterations also included Service Certificates. I included the Service Certificates and faith badges from 1968-70, 1974, and 1984 in this analysis because they had clear lineages to later ICs.

I sampled two badges from each of the twelve sections for each programme iteration. For the clauses, I separated the 2020-2022 badges as their own programme iteration as some of them are intended to replace badges in the 2015 programme (“Te Ao Māori” replaces “Māoritanga” [GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2022a], “Prepared and Ready” replaces “Civil Defence” [Auckland Emergency Management & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2021]). To capture both consistency and change within the programme, I sampled one badge that was consistent across time in each section and one new badge in each section that was introduced in each programme iteration – for example, in the “Heritage” section, in each programme iteration, I sampled the Te Ao Māori-related badge and a new badge, like “NZ Heritage” (1984) or Suffrage (1995).

The criteria for selecting the consistent badge lineage were as follows.

1. The most consistent badge lineage was the one that existed in the highest number of programme iterations.
2. If more than one existed for the same number of iterations, I excluded any that included a Whānui badge because the Whānui badges are smaller in scope than ICs.
3. If there was still more than one possible choice, I excluded badge lineages with ambiguity around continuity (this primarily applied to the aviation and boating badges which were eventually folded into one badge each after the Air and Sea Rangers were closed down).

4. If there was still more than one possible choice, I excluded badge lineages that became non-ICs later in the programme (the Commonwealth Award became a non-IC in 2003).

5. If there was still more than one possible choice, I excluded badge lineages which switched sections between iterations.

6. If there was still more than one possible choice, I chose the first badge lineage when the lineages were sorted alphabetically by the earliest badge in the lineage.

The criteria for selecting a new badge in the 1968-1970 programme iteration were as follows. All the 1968-70 programme badges were considered new, so I chose the badge that persisted for the fewest iterations after 1968-70. If more than one badge persisted for the same number of iterations, I followed the exclusion criteria for subsequent programmes (3a to 3d in the following list).

The criteria for selecting a new badge from subsequent programmes were as follows.

1. A new badge was a badge that had never existed in the programme before. A badge was not new if it had been deleted and then re-introduced or if it had changed names but had the same content.

2. If more than one badge was introduced in a programme iteration, I chose the badge that persisted for the longest in the programme after its introduction.

3. If more than one badge persisted for the same number of programme iterations, I excluded badges in the following order.

a. “Dabbler” badges (ICs that include a selection of clauses from other ICs).

b. Then badges which became non-IC badges later in the programme.

c. Then Service Certificates (unless all possible badges were Service Certificates).

- d. Then badges that switched categories at some point in their lineage.
4. If there was still more than one possible choice, I chose the first badge when the badges were sorted alphabetically.

This process was followed to keep the selections consistent and somewhat random so that a variety of verbs were represented. Table 2 shows that badges are typically retained rather than deleted (except for the 1984 programme), suggesting consistency over time. However, new badges have been an important programme feature, with each iteration including several. Notably, 1995 has a high proportion of new badges compared to the other iterations; this is partly because the 1984 programme was small but also because four new IC sections were introduced in 1995 – “Faith”, “Heritage”, “Health”, and “Guiding”.

Table 2

New, deleted, and consistent badges over time

Type of badges	1968-70	1974	1984	1995	2003	2015	2020-22
New badges	73	19	13	59	26	19	4
Deleted badges	0	11	52	6	18	30	0
Consistent badges	0	54	23	36	84	81	2

Table 3 below shows the badges sampled; N/A indicates no badge fits the criteria.

The full content of the analysed badges is available upon request – it has not been included as an appendix as it is 83 pages long.

Table 3*Badges sampled for clause analysis*

Section	Type	1968-1970	1974	1984	1995	2003	2015	2020-2022 (only new badges)	Total badges
Outdoors	Consistent	Campcraft	Campcraft	Lightweight camp	Lightweight Camping	Lightweight Camping	Lightweight Camping	N/A	6
	New	Skier	Orienteering	Canoe	Cycling	Action Outdoors Dabbler	Horse Trekking	N/A	6
International	Consistent	International Knowledge	International Knowledge	International	International Awareness	International Awareness	International Awareness	N/A	6
	New	Senior Interpreter	N/A	Asia-Pacific	Travel	WAGGGS	Gap Year	N/A	5
Environment	Consistent	N/A	N/A	Conservation	Conservation	Conservation	Conservation	N/A	4
	New	N/A	N/A	N/A	Global Awareness	Environment Aotearoa	Sustainable Living	Growing the Future	4
Citizenship	Consistent	Citizen	Civics	Civics	Local and Central Government	Holding Office	Governance	N/A	6
	New	N/A	Safe Driving	N/A	Social Issues	Contemporary Dabbler	Carpe Diem (Seize the Day)	N/A	4

Section	Type	1968-1970	1974	1984	1995	2003	2015	2020-2022 (only new badges)	Total badges
Creative	Consistent	Art	Art	N/A	Visual Arts	Visual Arts	Visual Arts	N/A	5
	New	Handwork	Photographer	Public Relations	Sports "Try It"	Leisure Dabbler	Audiovisual	[ME]dia Aupaho	7
Future	Consistent	Chef	Chef	N/A	Catering	Catering	Chef 101	N/A	5
	New	Home Management	Public Speaking	Becoming Independent	Getting On with Others	Future Focus Dabbler	Sorted	N/A	6
Community	Consistent	Civil Defence	Civil Defence/ Emergency Management	Be Prepared	Civil Defence	Civil Defence	Civil Defence	Prepared and Ready	7
	New	Service to the Handicapped	N/A	Working with the Elderly	Indoor Adventure	Into the Future	Dollars for Charity	N/A	5
Hobbies	Consistent	Astronomer	Astronomer	N/A	Astronomy	Astronomy	Astronomy	N/A	5
	New	Meteorology	Horsewoman	N/A	Computer	Technology Dabbler	Treasure Hunter	N/A	5

Section	Type	1968-1970	1974	1984	1995	2003	2015	2020-2022 (only new badges)	Total badges
Guiding	Consistent	N/A	N/A	N/A	Guiding	Guiding Promotion	Be Seen Guiding	N/A	3
	New	Local Knowledge	N/A	N/A	Promise and Law Dabbler	Promise and Law Outdoors	Sisters in Guiding	N/A	4
Health	Consistent	N/A	N/A	N/A	Making the Most of Yourself	Making the Most of Yourself	Making the Most of Yourself	N/A	3
	New	N/A	N/A	N/A	Women's Health	Natural Health	Sexual Awareness	Oi Period!	4
Heritage	Consistent	Maori Culture	Maori Culture	Maori	Maori	Māori	Māoritanga	Te Ao Māori	7
	New	N/A	Polynesian Culture	NZ Heritage	Suffrage	That's Entertainment	Kiwi Innovation	N/A	5
Faith	Consistent	Duty to God	Duty to God	Faith Awareness	My Faith	My Faith	My Faith	N/A	6
	New	N/A	N/A	N/A	Peace	Faith Thru Food	Living the Promise and Law	N/A	3
Total badges		16	15	13	24	24	24	5	121

Verb Analysis

I initially wanted to conduct a content analysis focussing on femininity and masculinity within the programme to see how the proportion of traditionally feminine and traditionally masculine activities has changed over time, similar to Anderson and Behringer's (2010) analysis of the Girl Scout programme. However, after I began work from this angle, it became apparent that effectively defining masculine and feminine activities was difficult; changing societal contexts meant that traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity did not adequately capture contemporary aspects of the programme. Also, the context of Guiding's being girls-only meant that activities could be perceived as feminine even if they would not be in a mixed-gender context; it seemed reductive to assess all examples of "cooking" in the programme as feminine, given that cooking might be equally emphasised in the Scouts. Regarding the changing contexts in society, the shift towards pushing girls into STEM means that it is potentially no longer straightforward to categorise science clauses as "masculine." Furthermore, definitions of masculinity and femininity are complicated because masculine traits and activities are implicitly understood as more valuable than feminine ones.

Therefore, I focused on the activities that Rangers were asked to do. The badge clauses' most obvious and unique feature is that they are direct instructions. Thus, I decided to focus on how verbs were used and how this changed over time, as the verbs represented actions that Girl Guiding considered important and appropriate for girls.

Clauses in badges typically describe an action that a Ranger must take to gain the clause. Two examples are: "Be able to do one of the following: (a) Plait a food basket or similar object. (b) Know a modern Maori [*sic*] action song or poi..." (The Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1969, No. 6: Service and Interest Certificates) and "Learn about what farmers do to become sustainable, and how they look after the land by going on either a real-life farm tour, a virtual farm tour, or jumping on a video call with a farmer" (GirlGuiding

New Zealand & Lincoln University, 2021, p. 7). Each clause was coded based on the direct instructions in the clause – i.e., verbs in the simple present tense. Examples, clarifications, or suggestions in the present continuous tense were excluded. From the two examples, the verbs coded were “be able to”, “plait”, “know”, and “learn.” The examples of “going on a tour” and “jumping on a video call” were not coded. These coding categories were then inductively sorted into broad categories. Table 4 shows the categories and the verbs coded into each category. There were 382 verbs in total, with 2723 occurrences in the dataset.

Verbs that stipulated how a clause should be carried out, such as “Check first if council permission is required” (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 174), were excluded because they did not constitute an activity to be completed.²⁷ They comprised a relatively small part of the dataset (32 occurrences out of 2723). The copula verbs “be” and “become” were also excluded (21 occurrences), except “Be able to”, because they did not describe an activity but rather a state of being (this is in line with the methodologies of Hourigan, 2021 and Johnson and Young, 2002).

²⁷ The full list of verbs excluded for this reason is: “Acknowledge”, “Agree”, “Assume”, “Check”, “Complete”, “Ensure”, “Include”, “Incorporate”, “Reduce”, “Remember”, and “Take [into account]”.

Table 4*Verb categories*

Category	Description of category	Examples of verbs in category	Number of occurrences in data
Knowledge	Demonstrating their pre-existing knowledge or skills. Typically associated with the earlier programmes.	Know, list, name, recite, show, understand.	443
Discovery	Research, discovery, and learning activities. Typically associated with later programmes.	Discover, evaluate, find out, research, think about.	541
Interaction	Working with others, talking to people and organisations outside Guiding, and teaching younger children.	Ask, attend an event, give presentation, discuss, interview, make a speech, negotiate, promote, teach, visit.	611
Choice	Choosing parts of the programme.	Choose, decide, and select.	39
Judgement	Studying the world and making judgements about it.	Collect, find, look, put together, rank, study, take note.	98
Organisation	Planning, organisation, and execution of activities and events.	Budget, execute a plan, prepare, set up, stage an event.	171
Creation	Imagination and invention. Creating physical items like art or objects.	Brainstorm, create, design, illustrate, imagine, produce, write.	183
Service	Helping and giving service to others or the community.	Assist, do service, help, raise funds, support.	90
Participation	Taking part in activities, trying, or participating. Specific outcomes are not required. Typically associated with later programmes.	Try, take part, have a go.	113

Category	Description of category	Examples of verbs in category	Number of occurrences in data
Action	Non-specific hands-on activities such as building, making, or cooking and activities requiring a specialised skill, such as mounting a horse or icing a cake.	Splice (a rope), cater, erect (a tent), babysit.	265

I chose this method for the badge clauses because they are a unique form of data. Other content analyses about gender often analyse data like children's fiction, music videos, magazines, and advertisements (for example, Velding, 2017; Wallis, 2011; for a comprehensive discussion of similar research, see Hourigan, 2021, pp. 377–378). These studies typically focus on differences in the actions or emotions of male and female characters or underlying discourses communicated in the text. Given that these media types are intended to tell a story, they differ from the badge clauses, which are direct instructions to Rangers. I wanted to utilise this feature of the data and investigate the content of these instructions, which show what was valued by the programme creators and what activities were considered appropriate for girls.

Similar methods focussing on language, particularly the gendered use of verbs, have been carried out by Hourigan (2021) and Johnson and Young (2002). They were both primarily interested in gendered differences in advertising for boys and girls and used a comparative approach to identify differences. Both used the idea that gender is socially constructed, especially through language, as methodological justification, which is one reason that I opted for this methodology too. My methodology differed slightly from theirs, as both were comparative analyses of material targeted at girls versus boys, and their materials did not exclusively constitute direct instructions (although Hourigan's work included some). By not taking a comparative approach, I could not draw distinctions between activities exclusive to Guides and those shared with Scouts (i.e., I could not identify activities that did not appear

in the Scout programme as I did not analyse it). The value of a gendered comparison in Aotearoa/NZ is also limited given that Scouts is mixed gender rather than boys-only. However, by focusing on Guiding exclusively, I was able to conduct an inductive analysis, and therefore, my methodology aligns closely with work in girlhood studies which usually focuses on girls and their experiences (some examples are Anderson & Behringer, 2010; L. Smith & Paterson, 2018; Taft, 2014).

Content Analysis of the Promise and Law

The Promise and Law are the overarching guidelines for Girl Guiding. The Promise is a spoken affirmation that participants make during a ceremony as part of the requirements to become a member of Guiding; the Law is a list of characteristics that a member of Guiding should espouse (see Tables B1 and B2 in Appendix B for the full text of the Promise and Law). The Law is referenced in the Promise, and they form the basis of the citizenship education within Scouting and Guiding, having been part of Guiding and Scouting since their beginnings (Baden-Powell, 1907).

While mixed-gender and Boy Scouting is very strict about the Promise and Scout Law, with every member organisation of WOSM using the same Promise and Law (with approved translations), Guiding is more flexible (Wittemans, 2009, p. 66). Each member organisation sets its own Promise and Law, although they, broadly speaking, retain similar character. One of the major (and most controversial) changes has been the secularisation of the Promise and Law (Proctor, 2009, p. 13). Although Guiding has always been ostensibly non-denominational and open to people of all religions, the Promise and Law previously included reference to “God”. In NZ, this reference was removed in 1999, when the Girl Guides Association New Zealand (GGANZ) rebranded to Guides New Zealand and the organisation generally updated and modernised its language (Dawber, 2008, pp. 204–205).

I opted to conduct a content analysis on the Promise and Law because they are central to citizenship and character development in Guiding. I was primarily interested in the changes to the Promise and Law and how these might align with changes in the programme. To conduct this analysis, I made copies of the relevant pages from each programme book included in my content analysis. While this provided me with the Promise and Law that was in use at the time of publication of each programme book, it does not include data about when the changes were made, as these were in GGNZ's national meeting minutes and published in *Te Rama* (the Guiding magazine) – neither of which were sources that I used, because they were difficult to find and did not contain badge clauses. Despite this, having the Promise and Law associated with each programme still provides a good snapshot of the changes over time and allows me to align them with changes in the programme.

I collated the changing Promise into a table (Table B1 in Appendix B), with each row representing one line of the Promise. I grouped together ideas that appeared similar into “strands”, even if the wording changed over time. This allowed me to identify which ideas had been added and removed in each programme iteration (although, as I noted, changes to the Promise and Law were not necessarily aligned with Ranger programme iterations). I did the same for the Guide Law (Table B2 in Appendix B).

I then conducted a content analysis of the information in the Promise and Law, identifying the ideas communicated by each “strand” and how the language changed. This allowed me to draw conclusions about the changing context and purpose of the Promise and Law in Guiding and relate these to changes in the programme.

Interviews

To give context to the content analysis and better understand why decisions around programme content were made, I conducted interviews with volunteers and staff members at GGNZ (and others involved in programme development). This was initially intended to

provide context for historical decisions. However, I was, unfortunately, unable to interview anyone involved in past programme development, as many of them are no longer involved in Guiding, have since passed away, or did not respond to my initial contact about my research. Nevertheless, current volunteers and staff members provided insight into recent pedagogical decisions, which provides helpful context for the most recent programme and may be extrapolated in limited ways to previous programme iterations.

I interviewed six people in total: Karen, current Programme Developer at GGNZ; Gina, Ranger leader and 2023 Ranger Programme Review lead (volunteer role); Nicola, a Ranger leader who played a significant role in the development of the recent “[ME]dia/AUpaho” badge (a collaboration with AUT [Auckland University of Technology]); Julie, a current Ranger leader; Christine, a long-term volunteer who worked on one of the early programme books (although not for Rangers); and Janet, who was involved in developing one of the badges collaborating with an external organisation.²⁸

Participants were recruited via direct recruitment – either a staff member from GGNZ or I contacted participants. Recruitment was simplified because I am an active member of Girl Guiding – I run a Brownie unit (7-9-year-olds) in central Auckland, so I am an insider to the organisation, which granted me access that an external researcher likely would not have received. My status as an “insider” allowed me to connect with staff members and volunteers more easily, but I do not believe that participants felt pressured to participate, as I did not know most outside of the research (except for Nicola, whom I knew through GGNZ in her capacity as a former Brownie leader), I do not hold a paid role in the organisation, and some people did decline to participate for various reasons.

²⁸ Some participants requested to be recognised with their real name and role; to preserve the anonymity of those who chose a pseudonym, I have not noted which names are pseudonyms.

The complexity of the “insider”/“outsider” relationship in research has been explored in depth by many researchers (see Mercer, 2007, pp. 3–4 for an overview), with many identifying that it is not a simple dichotomy and instead operates on a continuum (Mercer, 2007) and across many axes of identity (Acker, 2001). In my work, the definition of insider is straightforward, given that I am working “inside” an organisation of which I am a part, rather than trying to determine insider status based on identity. However, the insider-outsider positioning is still not a simple one in the specific context of GGNZ: for example, I am an insider to Girl Guiding as a broader organisation because I am a volunteer leader, but I was never in Guiding as a girl (including Rangers); nor am I a Ranger leader, so I operated somewhere between an insider and an outsider with regard to the Rangers and Ranger leaders, as I had no participatory experience of the Ranger programme. I will return to my insider status when I discuss my data analysis.

Interviews were conducted in person or via Zoom, depending on the interviewee’s preference, and lasted between 25 minutes and one hour. Interviews were semi-structured, with a list of questions guiding the discussion; the structure provides a framework for discussion but also flexibility to change topics with participants (Kallio et al., 2016, p. 2955). I chose interviews for my research with the volunteers and staff members because I wanted to learn about specific areas of the programme and history from each interviewee, so a focus group would not have suited a targeted conversation, while a written survey would not have allowed me to pursue topics with participants as they arose organically. Interviews are commonly used within organisations or institutions to provide in-depth information.

Focus Groups

I conducted two focus groups with Ranger members of GGNZ (ages 13 – 18) to gather Rangers’ perspectives on the programme. The intention was to understand how Rangers themselves interpreted the programme and its gendered messages. The inclusion of

Rangers was also more broadly informed by a feminist research perspective, drawing particularly on girlhood studies, which emphasises the inclusion of girls' voices in research about girls (as discussed by L. M. Brown, 2008).

I recruited Rangers via GGNZ-managed Facebook groups for leaders, as I was not permitted to email Rangers or parents directly due to GGNZ's policies. I also directly contacted Ranger leaders that I know through Girl Guiding. In my messages, both in Facebook groups and directly via email and private messages, I asked leaders to distribute a message advertising my focus groups to their Rangers. I followed up with posts on several closed GGNZ groups for Ranger, Brownie, and Auckland leaders. My position as an active member of GGNZ with connections to some leaders likely smoothed recruitment.

I recruited 17 Rangers for two focus groups, although more than 30 contacted me to express interest. Some were unavailable at the set times or did not respond after I provided them with the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form.

Focus groups were conducted on Zoom during the July 2022 school holidays. Both focus groups lasted approximately an hour. One had eleven Rangers, the other six. I chose focus groups to engage with the Rangers to engage with more participants in a limited timeframe (school holidays) and so that participants could "bounce" off each other to provide more depth. Given the potential power dynamics between me, an adult leader, and teenage participants, I also anticipated that a focus group might make the participants more comfortable than a one-on-one interview (Wilkinson, 1998 discusses similar concerns regarding feminist research). Focus groups are frequently utilised in girlhood studies when working with teenage girls, particularly in organisations and schools; for example, Paule and Yelin (2022) and Goodkind (2009). Semi-structured questioning was utilised so that topics raised by the participants could be pursued.

Conducting the focus groups on Zoom allowed me to recruit from around the country and removed the transportation challenge for young people. Given that participants have been in online school during the past two years during the COVID-19 pandemic, I assumed that they would be comfortable with Zoom as a format, and this was indeed the case – they were aware of etiquette, and one focus group utilised the chat function to both supplement and replace verbal discussion.

Demographic data were collected in a separate questionnaire distributed after the focus group. This information is contained in Appendix A, Tables A1, A2, and A3. The fact that most participants were Auckland-based was a reflection in part of the distribution of units across the country but also reflected my recruitment efforts. Because I asked leaders to distribute messages to their units, the reach of my recruitment message depended on which leaders followed through and distributed messages. I suspect I had more uptake in the Auckland area because I asked Ranger leaders in Auckland with whom I have a relationship to distribute the message and because those I did not know directly may have recognised my name from Auckland-based events.

Regarding how representative the focus groups might have been of all Rangers in Aotearoa/NZ, it is necessary to consider how self-selection may have impacted the composition of the focus groups. First, more engaged leaders or units with more than one leader were probably more likely to see and pass on my message, so Rangers involved in units with multiple or engaged leaders were more likely to receive the invitation to participate. Further, potential participants who are heavily involved in Rangers were probably more likely to self-select into the research. This appeared true of the Rangers in the focus groups: two participants had been involved for 4-5 years, four for 8-9 years, and four for ten years – all significant commitments considering their ages (13 – 18).

Data Analysis of Interviews and Focus Groups

The interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed (including chat messages), and thematic analysis was conducted on these data. Thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Braun et al. (2019, pp. 852–857) suggest a six-phase process that is both linear and recursive: *familiarisation*, *generating codes*, *constructing themes*, *revising themes*, *defining themes*, and *writing*. I proceeded largely linearly through the process, with some doubling back while constructing, revising, and defining themes. I began working on the interviews and focus groups simultaneously at each step to have a good overview of all the data, but towards the end I re-separated them to focus on each individually, as the interviewees and Rangers had some differing interpretations of the programme which were interesting to contrast.

First, I *familiarised* myself with the data by writing notes following each interview or focus group on topics or points that seemed particularly noteworthy; transcribing the interviews and focus groups; reading through each interview and focus group and making casual notes about ideas that recurred, areas where participants conflicted, and relationships to the literature. Braun and Clarke (2006, pp. 87–88) discuss how familiarisation is necessary to form links between ideas and understand the data more deeply.

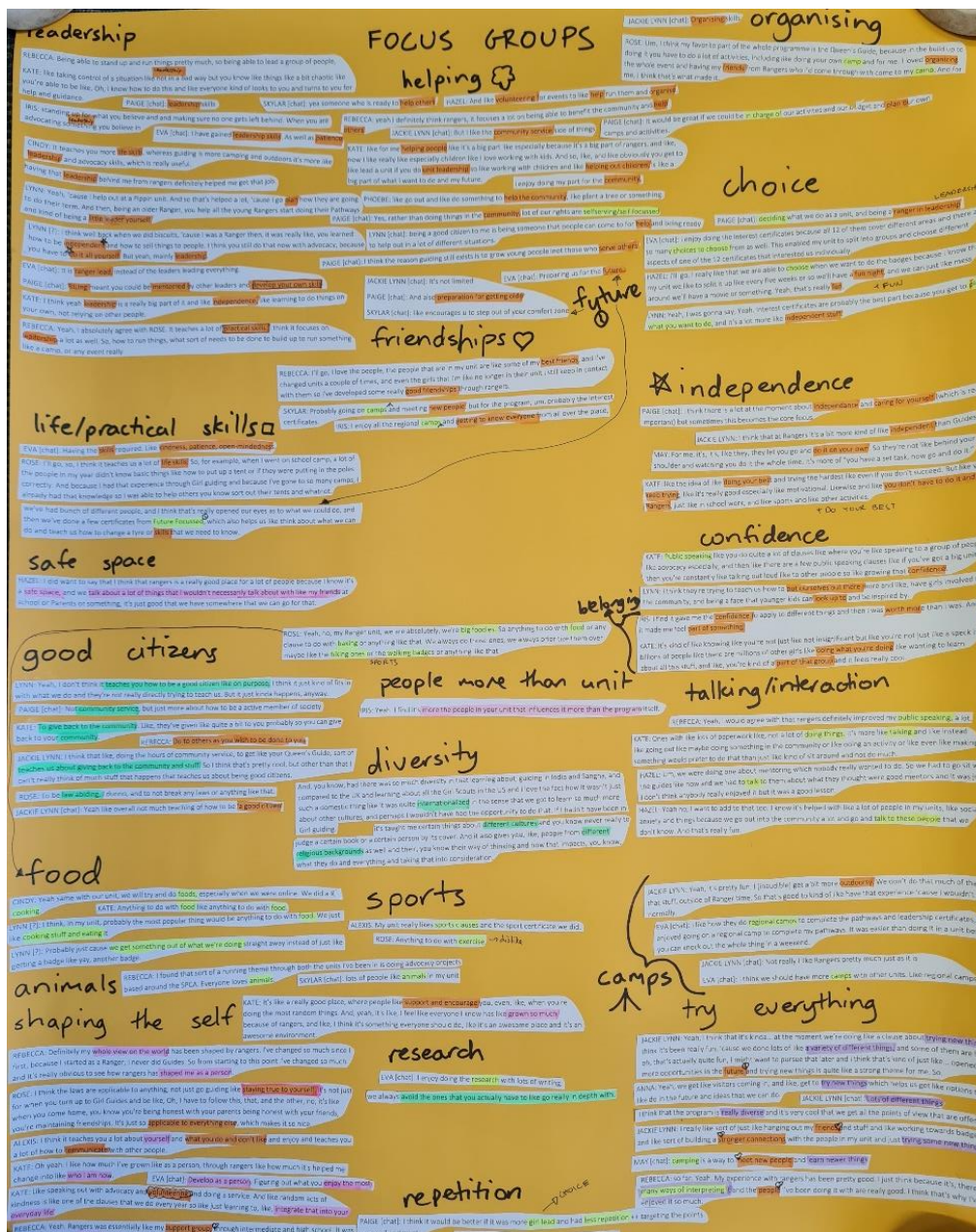
I began generating codes as I continued familiarising myself with the data. I approached my data with a broadly inductive approach, allowing the themes to arise from the data and coalesce as I worked, although I did have some concepts and ideas that I thought might be relevant from the literature, such as “empowerment”. The codes generated at this stage mainly centred around specific words or topics that arose multiple times (for example, “leadership”, “independence”, and “life skills”), with some broader ideas (such as “Girl Guiding as a safe space for girls”, “girls as future citizens”, and “inclusivity of gender-queer

and transgender youth”). These were all fairly explicit and surface-level ideas; the implicit themes and underlying assumptions were not elucidated at this stage. As I became familiar with the data, I discarded some material about interpersonal/intra-organisational conflicts irrelevant to my analysis. I coded all transcripts once, with the codes evolving and being sorted into broader categories, such as “pedagogical outcomes”, which contained sub-codes like “leadership”, “life skills”, and “confidence.”

By physically cutting and pasting the transcripts into categories, I began a first foray into *constructing the themes* (an example pictured in Figure 10). Some of these themes remained functionally similar to the codes – for example, I kept the “leadership” category because it was ubiquitous in the data. At this stage, however, I also began to think about the relationships between codes, examining the underlying ideologies and connecting threads to give my analysis more depth. From here on, I decided to separate the focus group and interview data because I found the adults and Rangers emphasised different ideas or used different language for similar concepts, and I wanted to contrast these effectively. After the initial coding pass, I moved to a physical process of cutting and grouping snippets of the transcripts, which allowed me to group pieces under different overarching themes and consider how they best fit together.

Figure 10

An example of my physical mind map as part of my thematic analysis process



Thus, I moved into a recursive phase of *constructing, revising, and defining themes*. I

made notes and mind-maps about the themes and their relationships to one another based on my initial codes and the process of physically sorting data. This helped me identify some implicit and underlying ideas, like “developing skills was always good” and “girls need a space without boys because they do not get leadership opportunities in mixed-sex spaces”. I created some large boards with snippets of transcripts grouped in categories (pictured in

Figure 10) – this represented a recursive process of construction, revision, and definition of themes, as I moved data into several different configurations before settling on a final one. Ultimately, I arrived at a cluster of themes that I sorted into two broad categories: “gender ideology” and “programming”. These were the same for both interviewees and focus groups. “Programming” tended towards more explicit concepts, like “leadership is inherently good”, while gender ideology tended towards more implicit ideas about gender, like “gender-neutrality is the opposite of femininity”. See Figure 11 for a mind map of my final interview themes and Figure 12 for the final focus group themes.

Figure 11

Final thematic mind map of interviews

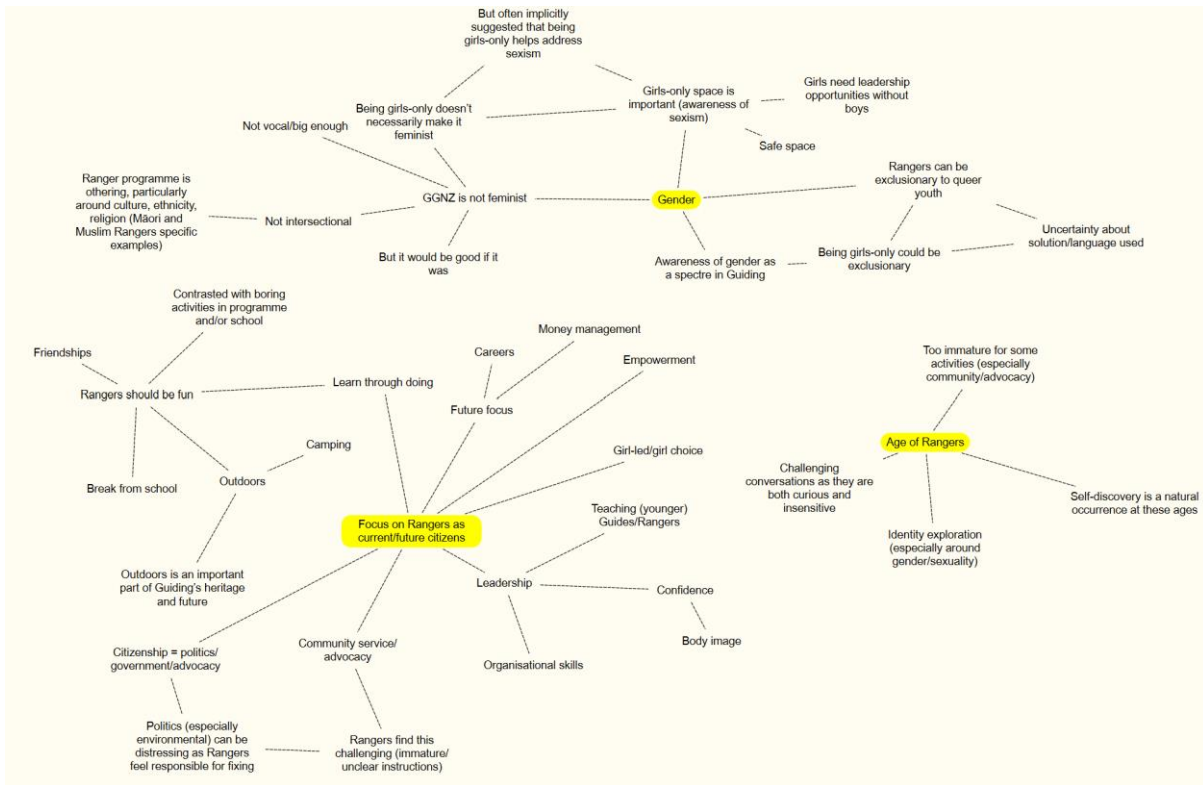
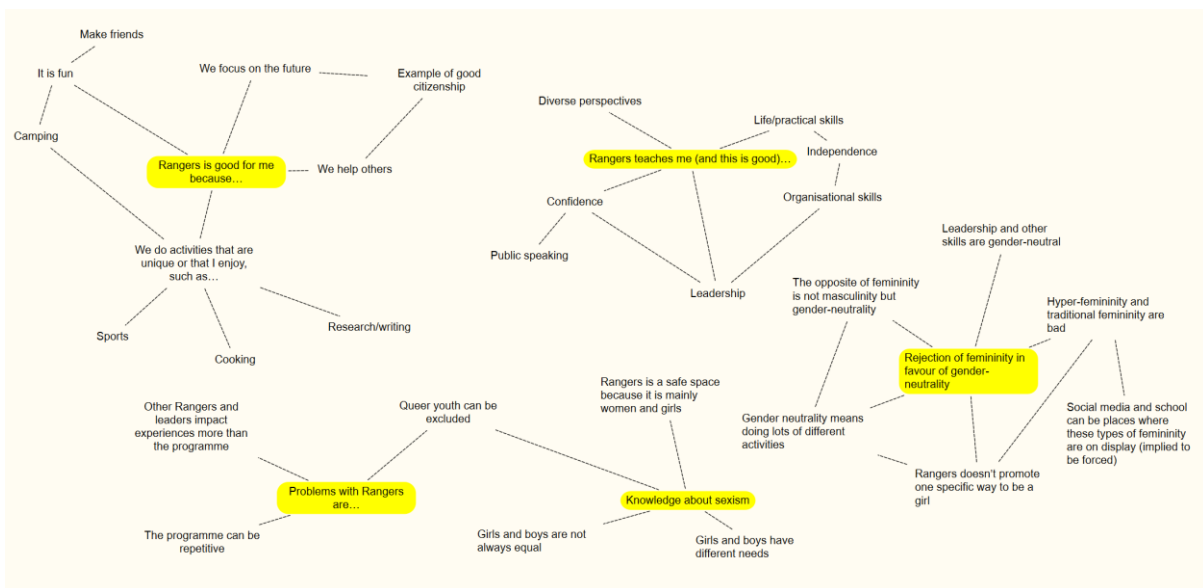


Figure 12

Final thematic mind map of focus groups



Insider-outsider Status as it Relates to Data Analysis and Collection

Returning to my insider-outsider position relating to data analysis – I felt that I took on more of an outsider role with the Rangers than with the interviewees. Even though the Rangers and I were both members of GGNZ (and the Rangers were aware of this), I am a leader rather than a member, and my role as the researcher and focus group facilitator produced more of a power differential. I noted that the Rangers promoted the positive aspects of their Rangers experiences and downplayed negative aspects, possibly because of this dynamic between us.

My status as an insider to Girl Guiding may have affected my collection of the data: literature on researching as an insider provides different perspectives on this: on the one hand, my status as an insider means that I can understand and contextualise participants' experiences; on the other hand, my pre-existing knowledge and assumptions may have been a barrier as I may have assumed shared experiences or definitions that were not shared (Hayfield & Huxley, 2015). In practice, my insider status felt useful because I had a pre-existing understanding of some topics participants brought up – for example, when Rangers talked about “having their birthday in the middle of the year”, I understood that the significance of that statement was that Rangers had to leave the organisation on their eighteenth birthday (although I did confirm this with the participants). However, there may have been other occasions where I assigned meaning to participants' statements that were influenced by my Guiding experience, without seeking clarification. On the other hand, as previously mentioned, I was not an insider to Rangers itself, which provided some potentially useful distance in interpreting the participants' discussions, and a reason to ask for further explanation of certain topics (as discussed in Mercer, 2007, pp. 6–7). For example, when one participant said, “we always avoid the [clauses] that you actually have to like go really in

depth with”, I followed up by asking for examples rather than assuming which clauses were meant.

My insider status may also have affected my overall interpretation of the data. Although I am an insider to Girl Guiding and therefore sympathetic to its goals and intentions, I also have a critical feminist perspective to consider; my initial interest in the topic was sparked by a question of whether Girl Guiding was feminist in either its intentions or outcomes. As a member of Girl Guiding, I wanted to preserve the value that the participants placed on their Guiding experiences while also retaining a critical lens on both Guiding and the social context in which it operates. I found this a difficult line to walk, particularly when interpreting my focus group and interview data – many of the good aspects that participants brought up were also areas that I had to think critically about, such as the focus on skills and independence being both positive experiences for young women while simultaneously symptomatic of a neoliberal ideal of successful girlhood.

Conclusion

Overall, I used a mixed-methods approach to answer my research questions: a content analysis of historical Ranger programmes, interviews with adults involved in GGNZ programme design and delivery, and focus groups with Ranger members of GGNZ. I interviewed six adults and conducted two focus groups with 17 Rangers. The content analysis includes three aspects: coding of all badges into topic categories and masculine/feminine/gender-neutral categories, a qualitative content analysis of changes to the Promise and Law over time, and a quantitative content analysis of a sample of the verbs used in badge clauses from 1968 – 2022. In the next chapter, I will explain my results from these analyses and draw some preliminary links between certain aspects before discussing them in more depth in the final chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings about Girl Guiding Pedagogy and Experiences

In this chapter, I show my findings. I begin by discussing the development and review of the programme, drawing on the interviews I conducted. This helps contextualise the content analysis of the Ranger programme, which shows changes to topics and the use of verbs in the programme over time. I also demonstrate the othering nature of the programme and how some activities and language used in the badge clauses assume that the reader is Pākehā (a white New Zealander), middle-class, and able-bodied. I then explain changes to the Promise and Law as they pertain to the citizenship project of Rangers. Then I move on to the results from my focus groups and interviews, focusing on three areas: how Rangers and adults understand the programme's pedagogy, the role of gender within Rangers/GGNZ, and how the Ranger programme shapes the Rangers' selves. Overall, this allows me to lay the groundwork for the next chapter, where I further explore the implications of my findings.

Process of Reviewing the Programme

A key focus of my research was the process for designing the programme, including the badges themselves and the activities within the badges, as this would hopefully connect the intentions and outcomes of activities. Although I could not interview anyone who had reviewed or designed a previous Ranger programme, a new Ranger programme was released in 2023, and the process of reviewing and developing it occurred from late 2021 to late 2022. I was, therefore, able to interview Karen, the Programme Developer who oversaw the 2022 Ranger programme review (a staff role), and Gina, the Ranger Review Lead and current Ranger leader (both volunteer roles), to gain insight into the review and design process.

The programme is currently reviewed on a four-year cycle, although historically, there have been major reviews approximately every ten years, with minor reviews every few years. While I was collecting data, the programme was undergoing review for the new Ranger programme, released at the start of 2023. The review process is run by staff and

volunteers, with the Development team (staff) overseeing the process and a team of Ranger leaders (volunteers) doing most of the hands-on reviewing. Early in the process, consultation was undertaken via a survey of leaders and Rangers to identify key areas that needed change. For Rangers, “the Rainbow Community, mental health, wellbeing” were “topics that they’re passionate about” (Karen, Programme Developer, staff), and Gina (Ranger Review Lead, volunteer) noted that “they want more mental health stuff, life stuff, and diversity and inclusivity stuff”, and “more outdoor stuff”. For leaders and staff, priorities were simplifying complicated parts of the programme (Karen) and addressing issues with advocacy/community service, such as Rangers’ not understanding the purpose of the activities, not choosing suitable projects, and not being interested in completing the activities outside of unit time, which several Ranger leaders mentioned. Following from consultation, the programme was divided up into four parts, and a small volunteer team was assigned to each to review the content in each section

Overall, it sounded as if the changes to the programme were not extensive, with some ICs being combined and some new ones being introduced, and the overall number decreasing. This is reflected in the new 2023 programme: most IC pathways now have 4-6 ICs, rather than 8-12 in the 2003 and 2015 programmes. However, these ICs generally incorporate aspects of the 2015 ICs. As Gina said:

... we kind of believe that there’s actually a way ‘round the current programme, that you can actually make changes without making change for change’s sake. And we’ve already got lots of new badges in the programme, like the “[ME]dia/AUpaho” Badge, “Growing the Futures”... “Prepared and Ready” [badges created alongside external organisations and released in 2020-2022 in between programme reviews].

She further suggested that part of the role of the Ranger review is “combining the work that has gone before us”, so rather than developing new badges or activities from scratch, activities and badges from previous programmes were combined into new ICs.

Overall, there seems to be a tendency towards conservation in the programme. Karen (Programme Developer, staff) suggested that “the programme has been built on over years and years and years and rather than things dropping off, it’s just more things that’s been added”, which would also explain why the programme has expanded in size over time. Furthermore, she suggested that part of the reason that activities or badges remain in the programme or even get repeated across the programme is because of the way that a group of people often conducts the review: “when they’ve got a team of ten volunteers working on something, [repetition is] natural. That’s going to happen... because no one person will have a full overview of the whole thing.” However, she also noted that GGNZ staff now have an oversight role:

... when someone designs an activity, [a volunteer] might look at it from a lens... of what would work in your unit. [Staff] then cast an eye, in terms of nationally, how that’s going to [work].

This oversight may therefore contribute to less repetition and a more cohesive and intentional programme in the future – and indeed, the new badges developed with external organisations demonstrate little repetition of the existing programme (discussed in the next section).

Further to the point that some clauses are repeated unintentionally, some parts of the programme have not changed between 1995 and 2015, and I suggest that this may be because of oversight on the part of those developing the programme rather than a deliberate decision. For example, this clause in the current “Ability Awareness” badge has been largely retained, but the wording calcifies in 2003, with very little change from 1995:

Service to the Handicapped (1974): “Read to a blind person and make tapes of books, poems or Bible Readings.” (Wood, 1974, p. 109)

Working with the Disabled (1984) and Disability Awareness (1995): “Make something for use by a disabled person in hospital or home (e.g. an aid, a toy or tape recording of a story, poem, news summary, etc.)” (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 193; Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 55)

Ability Awareness (2003, 2015): “Make something for use by a disabled person, such as a household aid or a tape recording of a story.” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 122; Hogg et al., 2003, p. 232)

In particular, including “tape recording” in a clause in 2015 suggests that this clause or certificate was not revised or even reviewed in great depth – perhaps because many people worked on the programme.

While the comments by my interviewees were specific to the current review, the process was likely similar in previous reviews – perhaps in the early programmes with less clearly defined roles for staff versus volunteers, as GGANZ only started separating staff and volunteer roles in the 1990s and early 2000s (Dawber, 2008, p. 187). Jeffries’ diploma (1986) outlined the process for the 1983 review of the Guide programme, which followed a similar structure of consultation, volunteer-led review and development of content, limited consultation about the new programme, and roll-out. Christine, an interviewee, also developed a non-Ranger programme before 2000: she suggested that they considered what girls wanted, enjoyed, and what would make delivery easier for leaders while developing the programme.

Developing Badges with External Organisations

I also interviewed two people involved in developing a badge with an external organisation. Nicola, a current Ranger leader, was closely involved in developing a badge

with an external organisation, and Janet was part of an external organisation during their collaboration with GGNZ on a new badge.

The process of developing a badge from scratch seemed much more deliberate than the process of reviewing the programme. For example, Nicola (Ranger leader and liaison for “[ME]dia/AUpaho”) described how the badge was developed through an iterative process between the Programme Development team at Girl Guiding and some academics from the university, with an intentional approach to the topics and learning approaches that were included.

... a lot of the teaching that actually happens in the [university] is by doing... which fits really nicely with the way we do things in Girl Guiding anyway. ... I could see how a lot of the things that we would be talking about and teaching members to do would be really helpful for Rangers, particularly with advocacy, because so much with the advocacy part of the programme is about influencing people. It’s about raising awareness on an issue and influencing change, which is what communications is all about. ... I worked with the academics to submit content... to Girl Guiding’s Development team and then they kind of whittled that down into manageable chunks. She also outlined the explicit intention of the badge – for Rangers to learn about how media was produced to help them develop critical thinking skills:

...the original proposed badge structure was quite a typical badge structure. So it was like, “Here is this topic, learn about this topic, go away and find out about this topic and come back and do this thing.” And [we were] like, “We need to turn this on its head.” Like the way we teach is “Taskmaster”-style...²⁹ So, we reframed it to make it

²⁹ “Taskmaster” refers to a reality television show where contestants complete tasks to receive points – the implication here is that the activities should be hands-on rather than theoretical.

about doing... which [the Development Team] were really great about doing and they could see would make sense. ...the intent [of the badge] was to showcase some of the critical thinking that goes into media production and media selection and media consumption. So... not just, “I’m stuck in Instagram reels, doomscrolling,”³⁰ but, “What am I looking at? What is the intent behind this? Where’s this come from?” And then kind of divide that up... “What is news media?” and “How to do an article?” and “What about social media influence and stuff?”

These intended outcomes are very much reflected in the activities for the badge itself, which includes clauses such as:

[ME]dia/AUpaho (2022): “Learn about what makes social media a powerful platform for spreading awareness, gaining support for important causes, and creating positive change. The Unit will plan their own social media campaign for an important cause, with a focus on how they will spread their message.” (Auckland University of Technology & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2022, p. 5)

[ME]dia/AUpaho (2022): “Learn why newspapers and television news are an important source of information, and how they can protect (or fail to protect) people from harmful messaging and stigma. The Unit will make their own piece of news media on a topic or event they see as fun, interesting, or important.” (Auckland University of Technology & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2022, p. 5)

Likewise, the process for developing “Growing the Future” included deliberate thought about the pedagogical outcomes: “[a key consideration for external collaborators] was career

³⁰ Instagram reels are short-form videos, usually shot in portrait (generally 30 seconds to 5 minutes long), similar to TikTok or YouTube shorts. Short-form videos are an extremely popular form of social media amongst teenagers. “Doomscrolling” means “persistent attention toward negative news on social media” (Shabahang et al., 2022, p. 2) and in colloquial usage implies being “addicted” to negative media content, particularly events or problems which cannot be fixed by the consumer.

outcomes... these [activities] have to educate [Rangers] with the ability to see a career at the end.” Again, this is reflected in the badge itself:

Growing the Future (2021): “Learn about the types of jobs you can get working in the Land, Food and Fibre industries by watching people in the Lincoln University #growfutures videos on YouTube talking about their careers, or by inviting a member of the Lincoln Alumni to visit your unit to talk about what they have done since studying, and where their career has taken them.” (GirlGuiding New Zealand & Lincoln University, 2021, p. 4)

The “Growing the Future” clauses are overall less hands-on than the “[ME]dia/AUpaho” clauses, possibly because “Growing the Future” was developed during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, so there may have been an orientation towards clauses that could be adapted for online or individual delivery. A second reason might be that “Growing the Future” was developed primarily by the GGNZ team, who may have stuck to a more tried-and-true clause structure, in contrast to “[ME]dia/AUpaho”, where the collaborators had more input on the badge clauses themselves.

Content Analysis of the Ranger Programme

My content analysis included both the analysis of the badge topics and an analysis of the number of verbs used in a selection of badges from the programme. The changes in the badge topics and the use of verbs reflect a change in emphasis from developing hard skills to developing soft skills. I also noted a persistent theme of “othering” in the programme, which I explore later.

Changes to Badge Topics in each Programme Iteration

Before delving into the content analysis, it is important to note that the number of badges related to a topic is not necessarily a reflection of the experience of those in the programme – many interview and focus group participants said that they wanted more

outdoors and camping activities in the programme, even though these activities seem to comprise a large part of the programme. This disconnect could be occurring for many reasons – leaders may be steering Rangers away from camping as it represents a significant burden for leaders to manage camps, Rangers or leaders may want to do activities not explicitly covered in the programme, leaders or Rangers may not understand the programme well, or the distribution of clauses within the programme may mean that although outdoors activities comprise a large part of the written programme, not many outdoor activities are actually required (see my discussion of the IC pathways below). However, the number of badges related to a topic gives a broad idea of what is considered important in Guiding by those who write the programmes (volunteers and staff members, sometimes external organisations), even if this does not perfectly align with the actual experiences of members (Halls et al., 2018 acknowledged a similar caveat in their work).

Figure 13 and Table 5 show the proportion of topics in each programme iteration at the badge level.³¹ Some topics were important in all iterations: “Outdoors” (between 6.6% and 13.8%), “Safety” (4.3 – 10.0%), and “Culture/History” (3.9 – 8.1%), while other topics have always comprised a small part of the programme – for example, “Cooking” was never more than 2.6%, “Physical Appearance” never more than 1.7%, and “Women’s Lives” never more than 2.8%.

³¹ So, topics were generated from badges (which Rangers can earn by doing activities) rather than clauses (the activities themselves).

Figure 13

Proportion of programme comprised of each topic in the Ranger badge programme

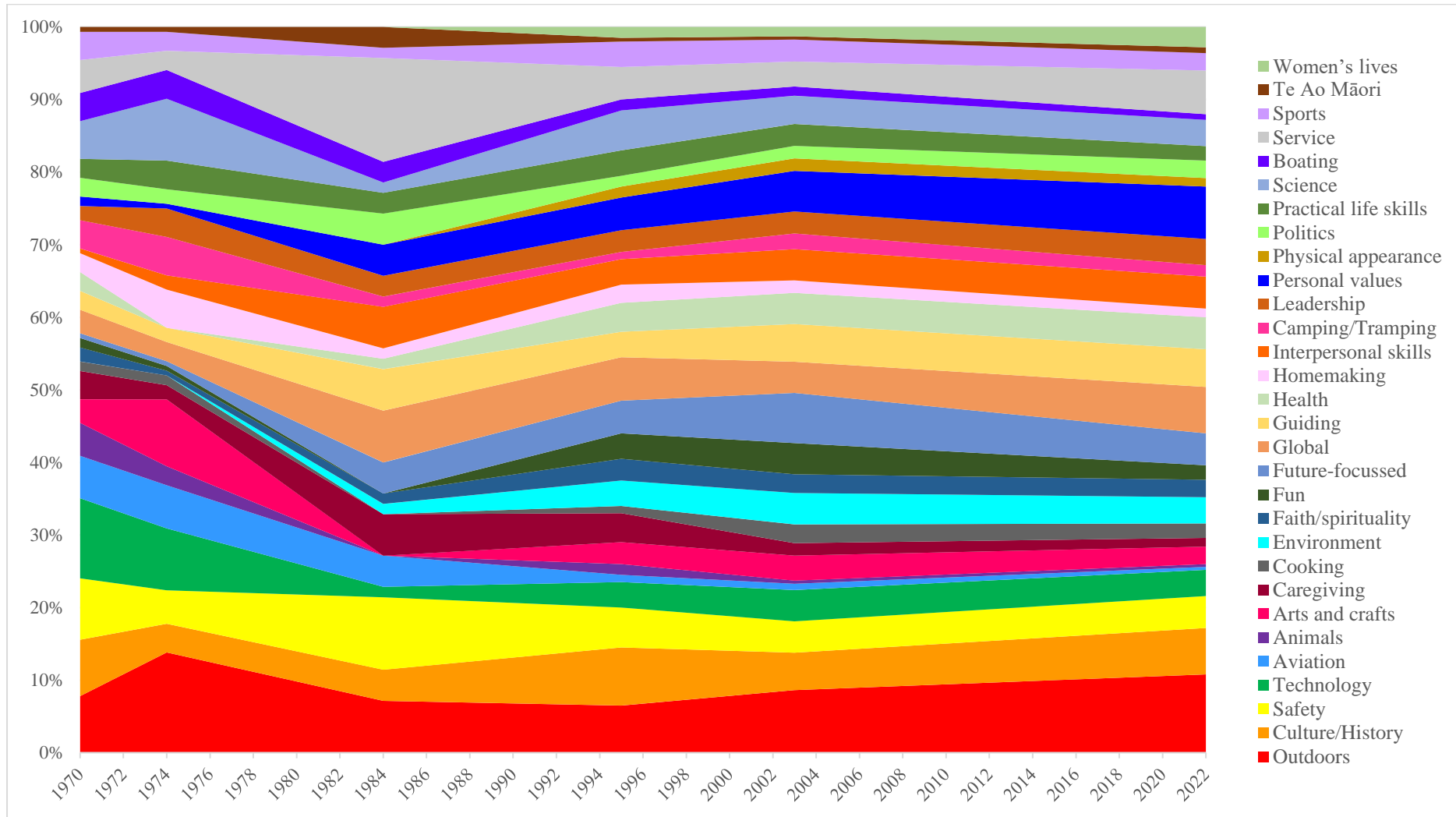


Table 5

Proportion of programme comprised of each topic in the Ranger badge programme as percentages

Programme iteration	Outdoors	Camping /tramping	Boating	Sports	Fun	Guiding	Arts and crafts	Culture /history	Faith /spirituality	Global
1970	7.8	3.9	3.9	3.9	1.3	2.6	3.2	7.8	1.9	3.2
1974	13.8*	5.3	3.9	2.6	0.7	2.0	9.2	3.9	0.7	2.6
1984	7.1	1.4	2.9	1.4	0.0	5.7	0.0	4.3	1.4	7.1
1995	6.5	1.0	1.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.0	8.0*	3.0	6.0
2003	8.6*	2.2	1.3	3.0	4.3	5.2	3.4	5.2	2.6	4.3
2022	10.8*	1.6	0.8	2.4	2	5.2	2.4	6.4	2.4	6.4
Programme iteration	Health	Physical appearance	Homemaking	Caregiving	Cooking	Leadership	Future-focussed	Interpersonal skills	Personal values	Politics
1970	2.6	0.0	2.6	3.9	1.3	1.9	0.6	0.6	1.3	2.6
1974	0.0	0.0	5.3	2.0	1.3	3.9	0.7	2.0	0.7	2.0
1984	1.4	0.0	1.4	5.7	0.0	2.9	4.3	5.7	4.3	4.3
1995	4.0	1.5	2.5	4.0	1.0	3.0	4.5	3.5	4.5	1.5
2003	4.3	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.6	3.0	6.9	4.3	5.6	1.7
2022	4.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	2	3.6	4.4	4.4	7.2	2.4
Programme iteration	Te Ao Māori	Women's lives	Technology	Aviation	Animals	Environment	Science	Practical life skills	Safety	Service
1970	0.6	0.0	11.0	5.8	4.5	0.0	5.2	2.6	8.4	4.5
1974	0.7	0.0	8.6	5.9	2.6	0.0	8.6	3.9	4.6	2.6
1984	2.9	0.0	1.4	4.3	0.0	1.4	1.4	2.9	10.0	14.3*
1995	0.5	1.5	3.5	1.0	1.5	3.5	5.5	3.5	5.5	4.5
2003	0.4	1.3	4.3	0.9	0.4	4.3	3.9	3.0	4.3	3.4
2022	0.8	2.8	3.6	0.4	0.4	3.6	3.6	2	4.4	6

* Note: highest percentages bolded.

This does not necessarily reflect the experiences of Rangers or leaders. Because Rangers must complete one IC from each of the twelve pathways for their Queen's Guide (for a list of the Pathways and Certificates, see Table 6), if all the badges for one topic are in one IC category, it is likely that a Ranger will have to engage with that topic. Furthermore, almost everyone I spoke to identified cooking as a favourite activity for Rangers, suggesting that even if it never comprised a large part of the programme, it may comprise a large part of the experience.

Table 6

Interest Certificate Pathways from the 2015 Programme (summarised from M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, pp. 36–48)

Interest Certificate Pathways	Interest Certificates in that Pathway
“Adventure Outdoors”: outdoors with a tramping and camping focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adventure Outdoors Essentials 2. Alpine Adventure 3. Backpacking 4. Boating Skills 5. Cycling 6. Horse Trekking 7. Lightweight Camping 8. Outdoor Event Management 9. Paddle Pole ‘n’ Roll 10. Residential Camping
“Discover the World”: international focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gap Year 2. International Awareness 3. International Communication 4. International Cuisine 5. Travel 6. WAGGGS 7. Women in World History
“Eco World”: environmental focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Asia Pacific Environmentalist 2. Conservation 3. Enviro Action 4. Environment Aotearoa 5. Global Awareness 6. Shoreline & Sea 7. Sustainable Living 8. Wildlife and Wilderness 9. Growing the Future (added 2021)
“Embracing Responsibility”: citizenship focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Carpe Diem (Seize the Day) 2. Global Issues 3. Governance 4. Law and Order 5. Road Safety 6. Safety First 7. Social Issues

Interest Certificate Pathways	Interest Certificates in that Pathway
“Explore and Try”: fun and hobbies focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Audiovisual 2. Creative Cookery 3. Fashion and Design 4. Games 5. Performing Arts 6. Photographer 7. Reading 8. Sports Try It 9. Visual Art 10. [ME]dia AUpāho (added 2022)
“Future Focus”: careers and independent living focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chef 101 2. Future Prospects 3. Getting on with Others 4. Going Flatting 5. Home Maintenance 6. Self Sufficiency 7. Sorted 8. Speak Up 9. Vehicle Maintenance
“Girls with a Cause”: charity and community service focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ability Awareness 2. Animal Welfare 3. Civil Defence 4. Community Safety 5. Dollars for Charity 6. First Aid 7. Generation Connection 8. Kids’ Stuff 9. Lifesaving 10. Prepared and Ready (added 2021)
“Great Outdoors”: outdoors with a hobby and fun focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Angler 2. Astronomy 3. Horse Riding 4. Meteorology 5. Outdoor Chef 6. Search and Rescue 7. Sports and Recreation 8. Treasure Hunter 9. Up, Up and Away 10. Venture Outdoors 11. Walking and Wandering

Interest Certificate Pathways	Interest Certificates in that Pathway
“Guiding Spirit”: Guiding focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Be Seen Guiding 2. Dollars and Sense 3. Friends of Sangam 4. Guiding Heritage 5. Guiding through Your Ages 6. My Back Yard 7. Sisters in Guiding 8. WAGGGS initiatives 9. Whānui badges (two Whānui badges equal one Interest Certificate): <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. ANZAC Heritage b. Friends of Sangam Challenge c. Heart, Body & Mind d. Water for Life e. Oi Period (added 2020)
“Living Well”: health focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Fit and Healthy 2. Healthy Body 3. Healthy Mind 4. Making the Most of Yourself 5. Natural Health 6. Sexual Awareness 7. Women’s Health
“Te Papa / Our Place”: heritage and culture focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Genealogy/Whakapapa 2. Kiwiana 3. Kiwi Innovation 4. Māoritanga 5. My Heritage 6. That’s Entertainment 7. Women in New Zealand History 8. Te Ao Māori (added 2022)
“Wairua / Spirit”: spirituality and religious focus.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Faith Thru Food 2. Guides’ Own 3. Living the Promise and Law 4. My Faith 5. Peace 6. Values 7. World Religions

Regarding the number of badges, the 1984 programme is an outlier – approximately 50% of the ICs were removed, but many were restored in the 1995 programme. It is unclear why this happened – perhaps in an attempt to make the programme different from the British programme. Table 7 (reproduced from Chapter 3: Methods) shows the number of badges in

each iteration of the programme – 1984 is significantly lower than every other year (also see Table 8). This means that some 1984 categories buck otherwise obvious trends.

Table 7 (reproduced from Chapter 3: Methods)

Number of badges analysed in each iteration of the Ranger programme

Year programme or programme components released	Number of badges analysed
1968-1970	77
1974	76
1984	35
1995	99
2003	116
2015-2022	125

Table 8 (reproduced from Chapter 3: Methods) illustrates how many ICs (which comprise a large percentage of the badges in the programme) were introduced, deleted, and retained from programme iteration to programme iteration. 1995 marked the introduction of four new categories in the ICs (“Environment”, “Faith”, “Health”, and “Guiding”). The “Citizenship”, “Heritage”, and “Future” categories also expanded considerably in 1995 (when compared to all earlier programmes, not just 1984). This is reflected in the expansion of the “Women’s Lives,” “Faith/Spirituality,” “Physical Appearance,” “Personal Values,” “Health,” “Future-focussed,” and “Environment” topics from 1995 onwards. 1995 has an all-time high of 59 ICs introduced.

Table 8 (reproduced from Chapter 3: Methods)*New, deleted, and consistent badges over time*

Type of badges	1968-70	1974	1984	1995	2003	2015	2020-22
New badges	73	19	13	59	26	19	4
Deleted badges	0	11	52	6	18	30	0
Consistent badges	0	54	23	36	84	81	2

The 1995 programme also forms the blueprint for subsequent programmes: lots of content has not changed between 1995 and 2015 at both the badge and clause levels. Some badges have been added and removed, but many have remained consistent (see Table 8 (reproduced from Chapter 3: Methods), showing more than 80 ICs were retained between 1995-2003 and 2003-2015). Notably, many of the ICs added and removed between 1995-2015 were “Dabbler” certificates, comprised of a mix of clauses from the other ICs in their category, which do not represent significant changes to the programme as they repeat content.

The clauses themselves are also often retained over time, with few changes. For example, the “Art” badge is a badge that has remained in the programme throughout each iteration (except 1984) under different names but has consistently contained badge clauses which are either identical or functionally equivalent:

1970 & 1974 (“Art”): “Show three pieces of work executed in any suitable medium.”
(Carter, 1968/1970, p. 206; Wood, 1974, p. 81)

1995 (“Visual Arts”): “Produce three pieces of work in any suitable medium...”
(Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 174)

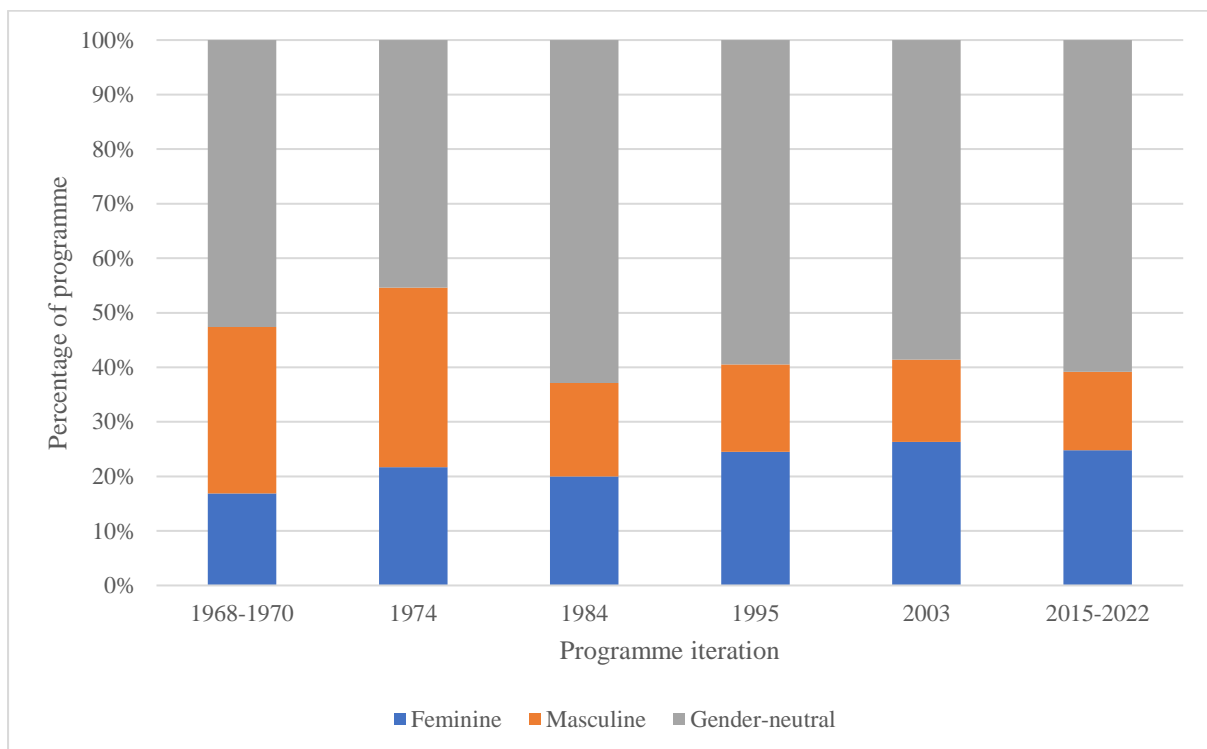
2003 & 2015 (“Visual Art”): “Produce three pieces of work in a suitable medium...”
(M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 112; Hogg et al., 2003, p. 215)

Figure 14 shows that the programme appears to contain significantly more masculine topics than feminine topics in 1968-1970 and 1974; this is likely because there were still many badges related to aviation and boating in those programmes, which were folded into fewer badges in the 1984 programme; many of aviation and boating badges were allocated to

masculine topics such as “Technology”. However, overall, the programme has always had a mix of feminine, masculine, and gender-neutral topics, and gender-neutral topics have mostly comprised more of the programme than feminine/masculine topics.

Figure 14

Feminine, masculine, and gender-neutral badge topics as a percentage of each programme iteration

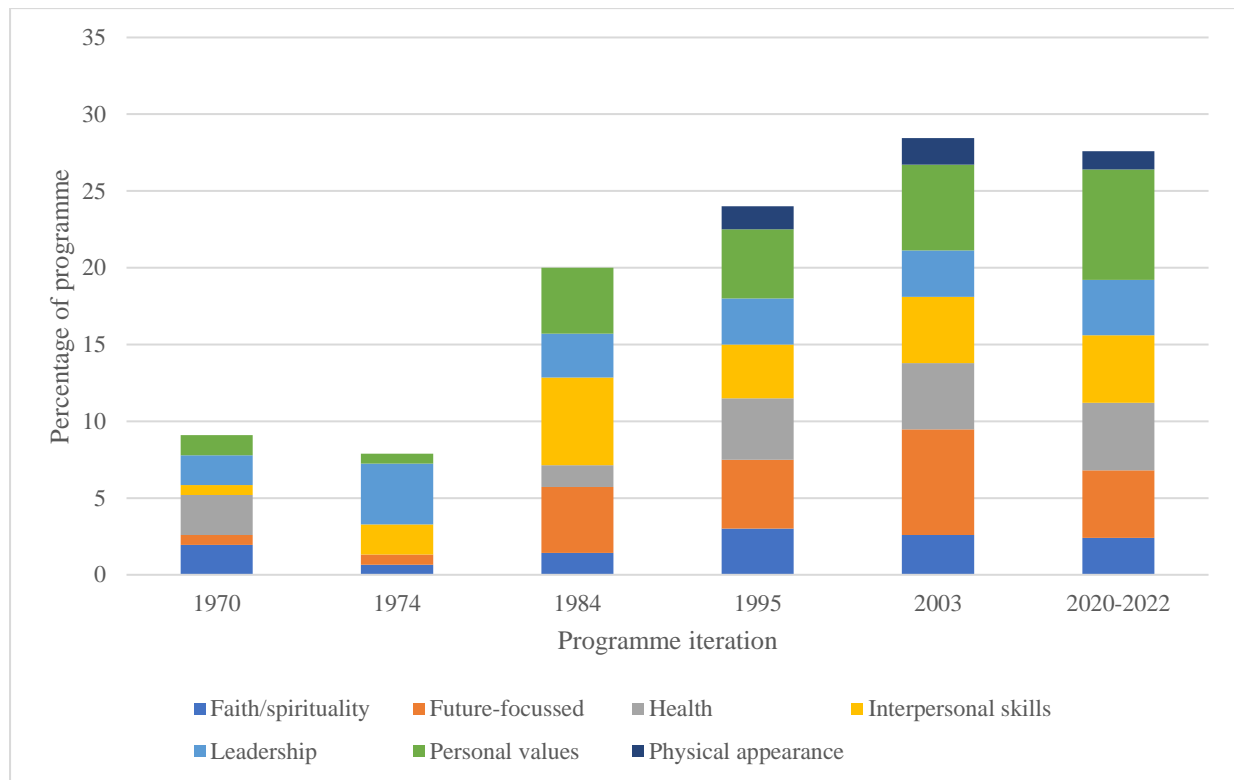


Some specific topics within the programme have expanded or contracted over time, likely reflecting changing societal concerns. Several topics appeared or markedly increased in 1984: “Future-focussed,” “Personal values,” “Environment,” and “Guiding.” Likewise, in 1995: “Women’s lives,” “Physical appearance,” “Fun,” and “Faith/spirituality” appeared or increased in the proportion of the programme. These topics broadly cluster around the individual and their personal values, except the “Women’s lives” and “Fun” topics. Topics related to individual citizenship (“Faith/spirituality”, “Future-focussed”, “Health”, “Interpersonal skills”, “Leadership”, “Personal values”, and “Physical appearance”) are displayed in Figure 15, which shows that over time, more badges became concerned with the

individual and self-management (topics closely associated with neoliberal citizenship). The most drastic increase was from 1974 to 1995.

Figure 15

Topics associated with neoliberal citizenship as a percentage of each programme iteration

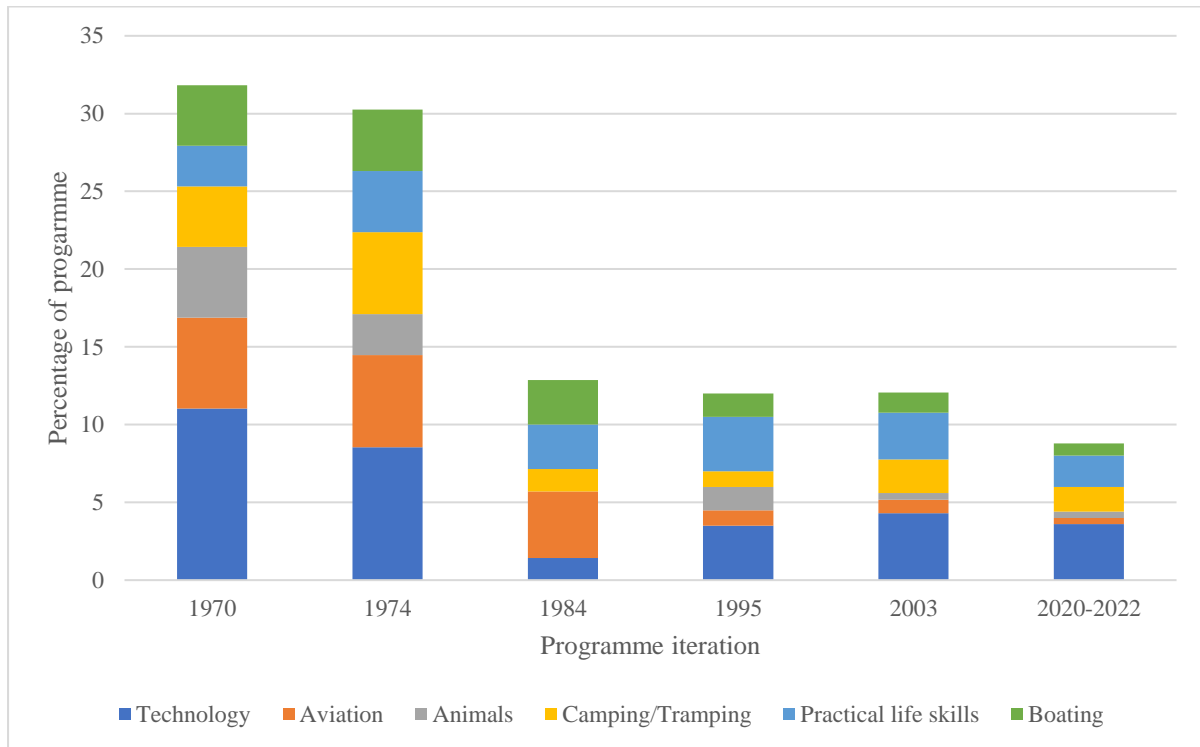


In contrast to the expansion of citizenship-related topics, specific and technical skills have sharply decreased over time. Figure 16 highlights a group of topics that were associated with specialised skills: “Animals”, “Aviation”, “Camping/tramping”, “Practical life skills”, and “Technology”. The decrease in “Boating” and “Aviation” occurred as the Sea and Air Ranger units became regular units in the early 1970s (Dawber, 2008, pp. 123–126), while the decrease in “Animals” occurred as badges such as Dairy Farming and Beekeeping were removed from the programme – possibly to reflect the increasing numbers of girls enrolling from urban and semi-rural areas. “Camping/tramping” and “Technology” have decreased from the early programmes to the current ones, while “Practical life skills” has remained

fairly consistent. The decrease in “Camping/tramping” could be accounted for at least in part by these requirements being moved out of the badges I analysed into the QG or other badges.

Figure 16

Specific skills as a percentage of each programme iteration



The change of focus has occurred both at the badge and the clause level. There used to be more badges focussed on specific skills and knowledge, but the clauses within badges have also changed. Clauses in the early programme iterations tended to require specific knowledge, and this emphasis has largely been lost across the programme in favour of non-specific clauses about learning and thinking. For example, “Animals” clauses have transformed from specific skills (for example, “Know how to take and hive a swarm” (Wood, 1974, p. 81) to being research-focussed (“Explore why pest animals, such as possums, ferrets, stoats and feral cats, need to be controlled and eradicated” [M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 123]), representing a movement away from practical competencies towards general knowledge. This aligns with my findings about the change in verb usage

within clauses (the movement from “Knowledge” to “Discovery” verbs), explored in the next section.

Changes to Verb Usage within Badge Clauses in each Programme Iteration

In addition to this badge topic analysis, I sampled a selection of badges from each programme iteration for a content analysis, where I counted the number of verbs in the clause instructions. The earlier programme iterations had badges with fewer clauses, and clauses in the later programme iterations often contained more verbs in a single clause.

Figure 17 shows that the number of verbs in the programme has increased over time (ignoring 2020-2022, as it only includes five badges). This indicates both an increase in the number of badges in the programme (particularly dramatic in 1995) and an increase in the *number of instructions* (i.e., verbs) in each badge. This is particularly evident from looking at 2020-22, which contains five badges but has more verbs than 1968-70 (containing 77 badges), 1974 (containing 76 badges), and 1984 (containing 35 badges). The earlier programme iterations had badges with fewer clauses, and clauses in the later programme iterations often contained more verbs in a single clause.

Figure 17

Number of verbs coded in the Ranger programme for each programme iteration

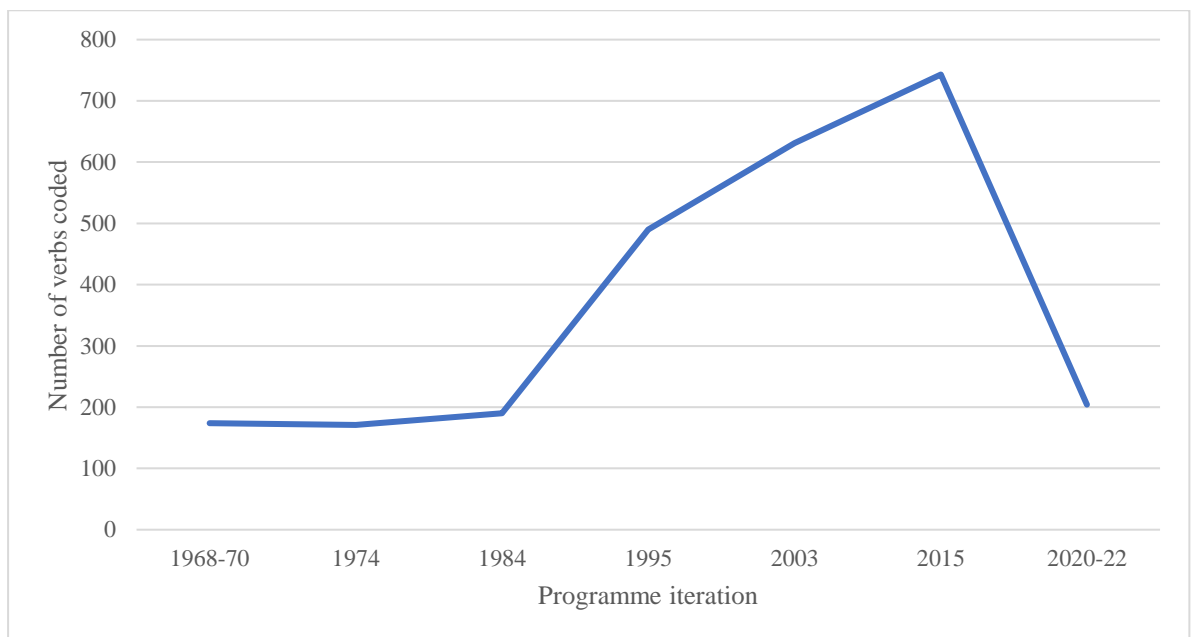
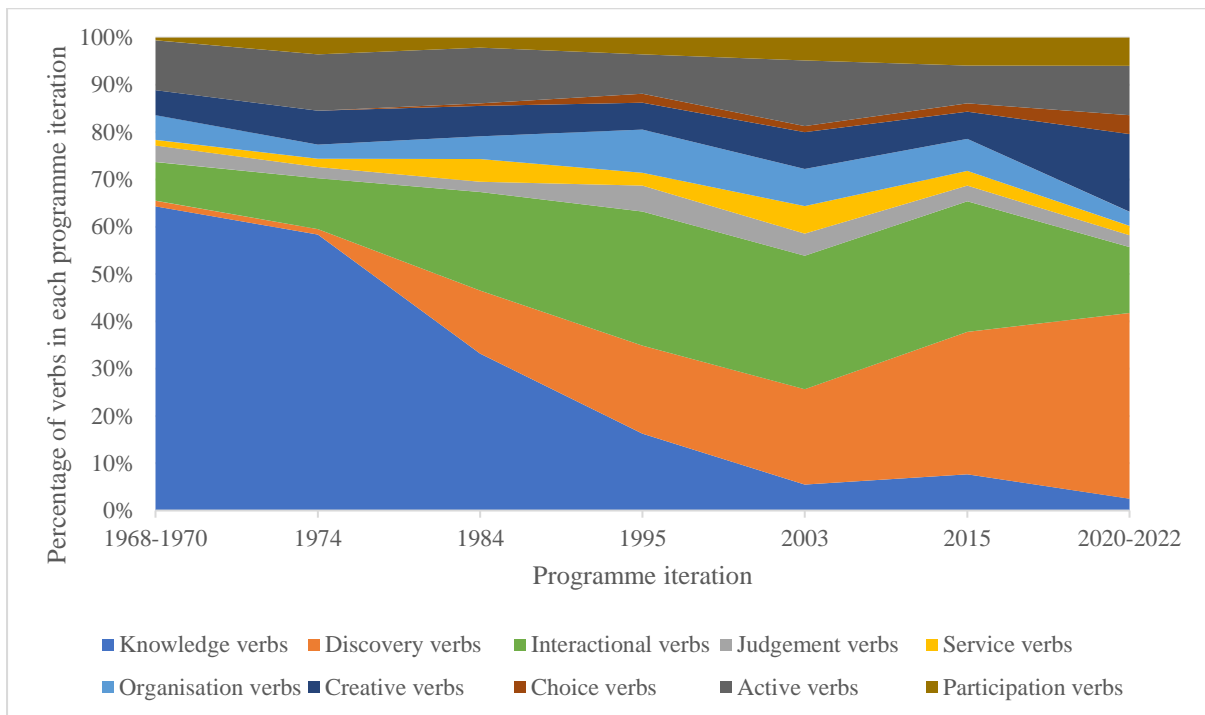


Figure 18 shows the changes in the types of verbs from programme iteration to programme iteration. The most drastic changes are the decrease over time of “Knowledge” verbs and the corresponding increase in “Discovery” and “Interactional” verbs.

Figure 18

Percentage of verb categories in each programme iteration



The changes to the “Knowledge” and “Discovery” categories are interesting because they often contain the same idea. For example, the “Campcraft” (1970) clause is, “Be able to render first aid in an emergency” (Carter, 1968/1970, p. 208); the equivalent in the 2003 “Lightweight Camping” is, “Have a ‘Blood and Guts Evening’ where you learn to treat and practise treating cuts and grazes, blisters, stings and burns, sprains and strains, fractures, shock and hypothermia” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 31). Thus, although the underlying idea is similar, the activity has changed from demonstrating existing knowledge to *participating* to attain knowledge. Furthermore, there was a trend towards entirely removing “Knowledge” clauses. For example, this clause from the 1974 “Service to the Handicapped” IC: “Fold, unfold and oil any common type of invalid chair. Demonstrate three methods of lifting...” (Wood, 1974, p. 109) has no equivalent in the 2015 “Ability Awareness”, which focuses on learning about disabilities, e.g., “Explore agencies in your area that offer help to people who are disabled. Make a display, web page, blog or poster showing what each agency provides

and where the agencies are located” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 122).

These two changes demonstrate the pattern that causes the shift from “Knowledge” to “Discovery” verbs, as the emphasis in the programme shifts from demonstration of knowledge to participation in activities. Christine (leader, developer of a pre-2000 non-Ranger programme) noted the intentionality of that shift; the programme developers deliberately brought about the change in response to girls’ perceived needs. She said:

... We first introduced things like “take part in”, as a push to make leaders do these activities for the girls. Fun activities like “take part in a wide game” became a clause, which was a push to make leaders do more adventurous things in their programme.

Isabella: ... I’ve definitely noticed over time there’s been a shift towards that kind of more participation and activity rather than the earlier ones, which are more “show that you can do something.”

Christine: Yes. The early programme was very much “you knew it,” “you learnt it”.

...But it’s more fun for the girls that they can achieve stuff with their unit, with the leaders that they know.

Halls et al. (2018, p. 263) noted a similar pattern in British Girl Guiding handbooks (although they did not focus on verbs), suggesting that over time, the activities in the handbooks have changed to require less practical competency.

This movement, away from knowledge and skill demonstration to research and discovery as the purpose of the programme, suggests that the pedagogical intention is moving towards Rangers developing their skills in finding out, judging, and relaying information (skills necessary for the knowledge economy, where information-heavy, computer-based work has become the norm) as opposed to retaining and demonstrating skill. This mirrors broader patterns in the badge topics, with specific skills such as aviation decreasing in

prevalence over time while badges concerned with individual citizenship increased in prevalence.

The other categories have remained relatively consistent over time, although Participation verbs do seem to show a slight increase. The very small proportion of Choice verbs in the programme in all iterations does not indicate that the programme is restrictive; choice is built into the programme outside of the badge clauses, as Rangers have choices about which badges to do, which clauses to undertake, and also opportunities to design ICs, projects, and clauses. This applies to all the programme iterations – the programme has always been designed so that individual Rangers and units have plenty of choices. Likewise, the small proportion of Service verbs does not indicate that there is no emphasis on Service – instead, this happens outside of the ICs, in the form of specific Service Projects or Service Stars, which were not included in this verb analysis.

From an analysis of the change in topics over time and an analysis of the number and topic of verbs in the programme, we can see that programme has increased in size over time, both in terms of the number of badges and the number of clauses/instructions within each badge. This suggests that the programme is increasing its scope of how much of the girls' lives it is concerned with, which is certainly supported by the new categories introduced in 1995, which were mostly concerned with the individual. Post-1995, there is also a tendency towards conserving badges and clauses (with activities and badges being added to rather than removed or replaced), which is evident both from my analysis of the programme content and discussion in interviews.

“Othering” and the Assumed Middle-Class Pākehā Girl Guide

While I did not do a specific discourse analysis of the programme, I became quite familiar with the programme contents through scanning, editing, organising, and selecting badges for analysis. One theme stuck out to me as I processed the material: that the presumed

reader of the handbook is a middle-class, white, Christian (or culturally Christian), able-bodied, heterosexual, and cisgender girl. While the assumed whiteness, heterosexuality, and Christianity of the Ranger has arguably become less emphasised over time, there are still many clauses that implicitly position the reader, particularly those centred around personal opinion, social issues, and interpersonal skills:

Sexual Awareness (2015): “Consider the following scenario: your friend has been seeing her boyfriend for several months and tells you he is pressuring her to have sex with him. She says she loves him but doesn’t know what to do. Discuss in a group what advice you would give her.” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, p. 156)

Maori (*sic*) (1995): “Learn and be able to sing at least two waiata kinaki which will accompany the speeches made. (Remember if you are on a marae, certain protocols/kawa apply. Check to see what they are and how they apply to you before you go anywhere near the marae.)” (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 198)

Ability Awareness (2003): “What is a disability? Find out about four disabilities, such as sensory disability, intellectual disability or physical disability. Present your findings in an interesting way.” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 231)

While the clauses themselves are not necessarily overtly troubling, they assume certain experiences: that the reader will have a friend with a boyfriend, that the reader does not already know protocols for the marae, that the reader does not have lived or other experience with disability. This pattern replicates itself across the programme in many areas, particularly when clauses relate to Māori culture or history, countries other than NZ, disability, sexuality, and the body.

The early faith badges were also very specific, with the 1974 “Ranger Guide Duty to God” badge requiring that the Ranger: “Explain in your own words: that there is a God, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, [and] the beginning of your own denomination” (Wood, 1974, p. 10), while “Rangers of other religions who wish to gain this Emblem” had to “apply to National Headquarters for [their] syllabus” (Wood, 1974, p. 11). In contrast, the 2015 “My Faith” badge requires the Ranger to have a faith but is much more general in its requirements, for example: “Read from the book of your faith on a regular basis for at least a term” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 168). Therefore, the faith requirements have become much less othering over time, at least for religious Rangers.

While some of the programme positions the Ranger this way, this does not mean that every clause in the programme is othering; there are many clauses which do not have these implications, for example:

Conservation (2003): “Hands on: Take part in an activity run by a conservation organisation, such as a community beach cleanup, or in Arbour Day or Conservation Week activities.” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 92)

Guiding Heritage (2015): “Back in time: Organise a Unit meeting or camp as it would have been run 50 years ago. Include games and activities used at that time. If possible, look at old Unit log books to help you...” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 145)

While these do assume a certain level of ability (particularly the first one), there is scope to adapt them for the individual or unit as they are fairly vague, and they do not assume that the Ranger has or does not have certain experiences.

Some consideration should be given to the fact that a programme with a large emphasis on outdoors and camping will not be accessible to all people, particularly when considering physical disability, and this is difficult to address while still retaining the focus

on the Outdoors. In the current day, the programme accounts for this by allowing modifications to suit participants' abilities on an individual basis. This approach has been taken throughout Guiding history, although earlier on (from 1926 until the 1980s), there was also a postal unit operated for disabled or bed-ridden girls (called "Extension" or "Handicapped" Guides), with their own set of badges and pre-existing modifications (Dawber, 2008, pp. 172–173; Iles, 1977, p. 17).

Only one participant (an interviewee) was cognizant of the inherent positioning within the programme, and they particularly identified issues around culture, race, and religion by discussing a sense of "othering" in the programme: "It's very much from an Anglo perspective. You know, and it's... 'find out about a religion other than yours' and it's real cultural tourism stuff... it's quite othering because of that." As mentioned, this type of clause ("Find out about something or someone different from your experience") is fairly common in the programme, particularly in the "Faith/Spirituality", "Service", and "International" sections of ICs. This interviewee connected the idea of "othering" to their statement "Guiding's white" – i.e., the idea that the people creating the programme are white/Pākehā and do not have the knowledge or lived experience to create clauses that do not reflect their experience of whiteness as default. No one I interviewed discussed consultation with people of colour (including Māori people) for any of the badges developed, although I did not specifically ask about this either.

Changing the language in the programme to more effectively include other experiences was not a topic that came up, except in passing with this same participant ("But there's no space for [a gender diverse young person] within an organisation that is like, 'talk to the other *girls* in your unit' [in the programme], [and is called] '*Girl* Guiding New Zealand"). However, the awareness of "diversity" as a key area of interest for Rangers was present: both Karen (Programme Developer, staff) and Gina (Ranger Review Lead,

volunteer) mentioned that Rangers wanted more content to do with the Rainbow community in particular, and “diversity and inclusivity stuff” in general (based on the survey conducted for the Ranger Review).

Summary of Ranger Programme

Overall, we see that the Ranger programme has had a significant focus on the “Outdoors”, “Culture/History”, and “Safety” throughout its history, mixed with a wide variety of other activities, such as “Cooking”, “Faith/Spirituality”, and “Sports”. This focus on “Outdoors” and “Safety” is not surprising, given the origins and purpose of the Guiding movement. I have noted that the percentage of topics associated with neoliberal citizenship in the programme has increased over time, while those associated with specific technical skills have decreased. I also discussed how the programme positions the reader as middle-class, white, Christian, able-bodied, heterosexual, and cisgender and how this has changed.

The Promise and Law

As mentioned earlier, the Promise and Law are significant parts of Girl Guiding. The Law is referenced in the Promise, and they form the basis of citizenship education within Scouting and Guiding. They have changed over time; these changes are often controversial because the Promise and Law are foundational to Guiding. In this section, I summarise the significant changes relevant to my research. For the full text of the Promises and Laws I analysed, see Tables B1 and B2, respectively, in Appendix B.

The Promise

One of the most significant changes in the Promise was the changes to the religious references. From 1968 (and earlier), the Promise included a line about “duty to” or “serving” God (Carter, 1968/1970, p. 2). Between 1993-2003, this was removed to include the reference to God in the first line of the Promise, “I promise, with the help of *my* God” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37, emphasis mine). At the same time, the reference to “serve

the Queen” was removed too (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6). Slightly later, between 2003 and 2015, the Promise was further secularised to remove all reference to God and the phrase “help my country” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37). These were replaced with the line “develop my beliefs and take action for a better world” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 15), presumably to acknowledge each member’s individual beliefs or lack thereof. Overall, these changes were made to expand the inclusivity of the Promise to non-Christian and non-religious members (Dawber, 2008, p. 205). The other change relevant to my research is the introduction of “to be true to myself” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37) between 1993 and 2003. Dawber (2008, pp. 204–205) attributes these changes to a move to “put the fundamental concepts into language modern girls could understand and identify with.”

Despite the aforementioned changes, the Promise has largely retained its core character and purpose, including the imperative to “do my best” and to “keep” or “live by” the “Guide Law”. Thus, the significant changes to the Promise were the secularisation and introduction of an imperative to “be true to myself”.

The Law

The most significant change to the Law in the period I am researching is the change in framing that occurred between 1984 and 2003. Prior to 1993, the Law phrased each clause as “A Guide is...” (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4); between 1984 and 1993, a change was made to “As A Guide, I...” (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6); and between 1993 and 2003, it changed again to be “As a Guide, I will try to...” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37).

In terms of the actual content of the Law, several tenets have remained the same over time, although the phrasing has been modernised. For example, “loyal” and “trusted” (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6) became “honest and trustworthy” (Guides New

Zealand, 2003, p. 37) between 1993 and 2003, but the underlying idea of trustworthiness is the same. Similarly, “friendly” and “cheerful” have remained over time, although the phrases “a Sister to all Guides” and “have courage” (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4) were removed between 1984 and 1993. These changes seem to be minor changes to word choice rather than the underlying concepts.

Other concepts have remained, but the framing has changed quite significantly. For example, between 1984 and 1993, “A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does” (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4) became “I am self controlled and value myself” (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6), then between 1993 and 2003, became “be responsible for what I say and do” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37). A second example is the use of “obedience” and “respect” – “A Guide is obedient” (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4) was used from 1968 to 1984, then between 1984 and 1993, it was changed to “I respect leadership” (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6) and after that, it was removed entirely. Perhaps the phrase “respect and help other people” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37) encompassed similar ideas, especially given the impetus towards self-management and individual leadership under neoliberalism.

Some concepts have been completely removed from the Law – “A Guide takes care of her own possessions” (Carter, 1968/1970, p. 3) was removed between 1968 and 1974. There was a “polite” / “considerate” / “courteous” clause which used different combinations of words between 1968 and 1993, but it was ultimately removed between 1993 and 2003.

Other concepts were introduced, such as being a “good team member” (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6) and “fac[ing] challenges and learn[ing] from experiences” (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37), but these are in the minority. Most changes occurred through changing language rather than introducing new concepts (similar to the programme).

Overall, the trends are (1) modernising language, particularly to focus on the Guide’s self-responsibility (“A Guide is...” to “I am...”), (2) changing authoritarian ideas, such as removing “obedience” and replacing with non-hierarchical “respect”, (3) retaining the fundamental nature of the Law as character blueprint, and (4) introducing some new concepts as the nature of character education changed, such as being a “good team member” and “learn[ing] from new experiences”.

Focus Groups and Interviews: Findings and Themes

Overall, I identified three areas that were important to answering my research questions from the focus groups and interviews: how the Rangers and adults interpreted the pedagogical intentions and outcomes of the programme, how they understood gender to be represented in the programme, and how the Ranger experience shaped Rangers’ sense of themselves and their perspectives.

Pedagogical Intentions and Outcomes of the Programme

The Rangers communicated several pedagogical outcomes of Rangers: “leadership”, “independence”, “confidence”, “helping others”, “choice”, and “public speaking” were all brought up by several participants. Many of them invoked the idea that developing skills (especially leadership) was self-evidently good for them, for example: “[Rangers] teaches you... leadership and advocacy skills, which is really useful”. Another Ranger said:

[Leadership means] taking control of a situation, like not in a bad way, but, you know, like things [are] like a bit chaotic, like you’re able to be like, ‘Oh, I know how to do this’ and like everyone kind of looks to you and turns to you for help and guidance.

Both quotes suggest that leadership skills are inherently good and useful for the Rangers to acquire. The focus groups mentioned leadership more than any other concept, indicating its importance to them. When asked, they defined leadership with reference to a wide variety of other skills, such as “[knowing] how to run things”, “standing up for what you believe”,

“making sure no one gets left behind”, “being able to stand up and run things”, “taking control of a situation (not in a bad way)”, “help[ing] all the young[er] Rangers”, “being someone that people can come to for help”, “being ready to help out”, and “work[ing] out what activities... to do”. Many of these definitions focus on organising and leading activities/events, but they also include interpersonal skills (“no one gets left behind”) and service (“helping out”).

They also frequently connected their developing skills to a notion of independence or being about to do things by themselves: “Future Focussed [an IC Pathway]... helps us like think about what we can do [in the future] and teach us how to change a tyre or skills that we need to know” and “...at Rangers it’s a bit more... independent than Guides because... our leaders get a lot of input from us, and they’re like... ‘What would you like to do? How do you want to do it?’ We... gotta like kind of discuss it and organise it a bit more ourselves”. In these quotes, they connect the skills they are learning (like changing a tyre or planning an activity) to being independent both now and in the future, but the focus is on their current or future independence rather than the specific activities.

In contrast to the girls, the interviewees did not tend to use the word “independence” to signify an important outcome for Rangers (except a Ranger leader who said, “they learn to be independent”). They tended to emphasise the specific “skills” that contribute to independence, like “organising”, “leadership”, and “communication”. For example:

Karen (Programme Developer, staff): ... [leadership] should be a theme running through our programme from end to end...

Gina (Ranger leader and Ranger Review Lead, volunteer): [Some Rangers] have actually just designed [a weekend camp] and we had [lots of] Rangers come. That’s because our girls have got those skills, because we give them those skills, and they learn those skills. So they were not daunted at all [by organising this].

This distinction demonstrates a difference between what the Rangers think of as important (“independence”) and what the adults think of as important (gaining “skills”), even though the activities they are discussing tend to be similar (planning activities, doing specific future-oriented clauses).

Similarly, my interviewees noted intended outcomes, but when looking at the programme, there seemed to be little connection between the intentions and the programme itself. For example, Karen (Programme Developer, staff) said, “Let’s have activities because they’re there to engage our girls and to empower our girls”. She further elaborated on what empowerment meant in the context of Guiding: “... you can do anything... we’re trying to give them a safe space to become those risktakers and to develop that confidence and... taking pride in being who you are... going out into the world as a confident person...” However, the programme does not necessarily have a clear connection between the activities and empowerment (or confidence or risk-taking), except as empowerment can be conceptualised as girls doing anything at all or making choices about anything.

In part, I think this has something to do with the fact that the intentions of the people who write the programme and the intentions of staff or Girl Guiding as an organisation differ. It was clear from Gina’s interview (Ranger Programme Review Lead) that a key outcome was that the Rangers enjoyed it or had fun:

I look at [the clauses] and I think, ‘Do I actually want to do that activity?’ And you think ‘Nah! That looks a bit boring.’ So, you kind of think, ‘Okay, how can I change that then?’ Because if I’m looking at that thinking, ‘God, that’s so dull,’ then everybody else is going to be looking at it going, ‘Oh, that is so dull.’

In contrast, Karen (Programme Developer, staff) emphasised empowerment as the purpose of Rangers:

...my [and GGNZ's] specific objective is their empowerment. How can we deliver what they're wanting to do? Because we're not school, we don't want to be school. They have school. They have enough of school. We want to send them out into the world being the best they can be, being confident risk takers. So, what activities can we do? To help them feel that, to empower them, and to help them feel like they're risk takers.

She does acknowledge that the activities need to be interesting or fun ("we don't want to be school"), but the main objective is empowerment and developing confidence.

Overall, the adults (particularly Karen, Gina, and Nicola, who have been involved in programme development) were much clearer about the pedagogical intentions of the programme than the Rangers. The Rangers did not clearly communicate a distinction between the pedagogical outcomes (i.e., what they actually learnt) and the pedagogical intentions (i.e., what the programme intended to teach them) – they assumed that the outcomes were equivalent to the intentions. I asked one focus group explicitly if they could differentiate between the two:

Isabella: ...what do you think the Ranger program is trying to teach you. Do you think it's different from what you actually learn from it? Or do you think they're pretty much the same?

Jackie Lynn: I think it's like pretty much the same with what they're trying to teach us. ...

Lynn: I think they're trying to teach us how to put ourselves out there more and like, have girls involved in the community, and being a face that younger kids can look up to and be inspired by.

Their responses suggested that they did not think the Ranger programme was trying to teach them anything apart from what they felt they were learning.

Many of the volunteers that I interviewed emphasised the need for the programme to retain its emphasis on the outdoors and “fun” that they viewed as central to Guiding. For example, Christine specifically linked fun to the outdoors aspect of Guiding: “[It is important that we] don’t lose the concept of Guiding, that it was an outdoor fun movement, and not become so bogged down in advocacy sort of stuff.” The focus group participants did not necessarily frame it in those terms, but it was clear that they valued “fun” in Rangers – but they often connected the idea of “fun” to the social aspects of Rangers: “I loved... having my friends from Rangers who I’d come through with come to my camp” and “I really like hanging out my friends”. Nicola, a Ranger leader, also identified this aspect as important:

Rangers is challenging in different ways because you could spend the whole night yarning sometimes. The biggest lesson I’ve learnt for the Rangers is allowing them time to do stuff and actually build connection with themselves, with each other. And it’s really funny, we had a camp and for the afternoon they had about 90 minutes just sitting together under tarpaulins. I was like, “Go over there and build yourself a shelter.” And then they just sat there for the afternoon and they’re like, “That was so good. It was so good having downtime,” because especially the girls that are likely to succeed in Rangers are the girls that are already succeeding at school and other things, they’ve got really busy lives. So, I think the biggest lesson for me is actually just being like, “Yep, tonight we’re only going to do one clause.” And giving them space to be together. And it’s really beautiful watching the little friendships develop, you know, it’s cool. Little support units.

Nicola identifies the importance of friendship to Rangers but contrasts it with the idea of achievement (“they’ve got really busy lives”). Likewise, Julie (Ranger leader) also mentioned friendships and placed it in opposition to (school-based) achievement: “they create

friendships... [Rangers is] a reasonably safe environment without necessarily the pressures of school...”

However, overall, the interviewees did not tend to identify the social aspect as “fun” and were more likely to emphasise “fun” as relating to “choice” or “doing” (as opposed to being told what to do) and to the outdoors. Emphasis was placed (sometimes implicitly as well as explicitly) on the idea that girls could choose to do activities that they enjoyed or were interested in. For example, Nicola (Ranger leader) said: “There is enough variety in [the programme] for members to choose things that are of interest and relevance to them...” and Gina (Ranger leader) said: “...[Ranger leaders] do empower the girls to make their own choices and we support them with whatever it is that they want to do...”

Overall, there is a disconnect on two levels: between what the girls and adults think about the programme (and therefore girlhood), i.e., pedagogical intentions versus outcomes, and what the programme developers/reviewers think the programme is communicating versus what the programme is actually communicating. This disconnect also relates to a strong discourse: “leaders influence experiences more than the programme.” This came through strongly from the interviewees and the focus groups (and sometimes implied but not stated): my questions could not be answered with reference to the programme. Almost everyone said at one point or another something along the lines of “it’s very dependent on a leader, and what the leader’s like” or “like everything in Guiding, I think it hugely depends on the leadership structure of the unit, and how engaged [they are], and the outlook of the leaders” (both Ranger leaders).

This reflects the idea that the programme is very open to being “pink-elastic-ed”, as Gina (Ranger leader and Ranger Review Lead, volunteer) put it – meaning, changed to fit with leaders’ and Rangers’ interests, skills, and knowledge. Particularly the clauses from 1995 onwards are open to interpretation as to how a leader or unit might execute them, partly

because of the large quantity of “Discovery” verbs in the clauses. Karen (Programme Developer, staff) touched on this idea too, specifically concerning the large number of clauses instructing Rangers to “find out” in the current programme (in the 2015 and 2020-2022 programmes, 11.5% of the verbs were “find out”).³² She said:

... [the use of “find out” in clauses is] probably as well, very much around leaving some flexibility for the leaders too. By saying “find out about...” they can do that in whichever way they see fit... And that’s certainly a lot of the feedback we get from our volunteers is that they don’t want to lose [that flexibility] ...that verb use is around flexibility and scope and to move into that doing space.

While Karen connected the use of “find out” clauses to leaders’ having flexibility and encouraging “doing” in the programme (as opposed to “talking” or “listening”), Gina (Ranger leader and Ranger Review Lead, volunteer) pointed out that sometimes leaders were hesitant to utilise that flexibility (this is likely to be connected to leaders’ experience levels too):

...some leaders will still do exactly what is written in the book... Whereas the [updated 2023 programme] will be, “This is the idea, and while it might say ‘Find out about’, there’s many ways of doing this and none of it’s right and none of it’s wrong.”

Gender in the Programme

Despite my research focusing on gender ideology in the programme, the Rangers were very reticent in identifying gender within the programme. On the other hand, for many interviewees, gender and girlhood were at the forefront of their discussion of the Ranger programme. In contrast, the Rangers very specifically only invoked the idea of “empowerment” when I was asking them questions about girlhood or gender – they did not

³² An example of a “find out” clause is: “Find out what bones are made of, what part calcium plays in forming healthy bones and what foods or vitamins are important for ensuring bone health” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 87), from the 2003 “Women’s Health” Interest Certificate.

position their Ranger experience as gendered until I specifically prompted them to discuss gender. Even then, their kneejerk response was to oppose the idea.

When I asked, “What ideas do you get from Rangers about being a girl or young woman?”, the focus group participants initially vehemently rejected the notion that Rangers communicated any ideas about being a girl or young woman. From focus group 1, all Rangers:

Isabella (facilitator): ... Do you think that there [are] some particular ideas about being a girl or a young woman in the ranger program? What do you think those ideas are?

Hazel: ... I think the Ranger programme wants us to be strong, independent women, but apart from that I don't think it's going to shape anybody else, in a way, it's not like making us [be] perfect princesses. ...

Rebecca: [During a Ranger unit meeting], we were talking about some of the old badges, and there was a “Hostess” badge, which you got by serving people to eat, which I thought was quite amusing. So, we don't really have anything like what I would call specifically “woman-based”, I guess, or like “female-based”, I think, like, the curriculum, I suppose, could be applied to pretty much everyone. But, yeah, there are certain clauses which are “be an empowered female” but most of it is general leadership skills. ...

Isabella (facilitator): Okay. So, I'm hearing... that most of the program is not really telling you a specific idea about being a girl or a young woman, it's more about, like, being a good leader, or learning life skills, that kind of idea... So, is that like different from the messages you hear elsewhere, like messages you get from the media, or school, or family about being a girl? What do you think?

Kate: ...social media is definitely like, oh, you're either like a princess, like a girly-girl, or you're like a tomboy... like you get labelled instantly... but definitely like on social media and like, kind of in society, it's like you're this or that, there's no in between...

Rebecca: Yeah, I would agree with that, especially with the internet being around. You're always going to get a bunch of different opinions. But even in my local community, my school does [educational projects], and I wanted to learn carving from one of the retirees that lived in the retirement home next door. And when we were first touching base, it was always, "Oh, some of the *guys* can go down to the *men* shed and they can do carving, like they could do woodwork. Some of the *boys* at the school, some of the *boys* at the school" and that was never really girls. ...Rangers was always very "girls, try everything", "you get to do everything", but definitely some of the community is still very set in their ways I suppose.

From focus group 2, all Rangers:

Isabella (facilitator): Do you think that Girl Guiding promotes particular ideas about being a girl or a young woman?

Eva [chat]: I don't think they focus on that aspect.

Jackie Lynn: Honestly, I don't really think it like encourages one or a couple of particular ideas. It lets you kind of try different things and [it's not] "this is being a woman", or whatever, it's more just like trying different things... not focusing on a couple of particular paths... [it's] more open than a couple of ideas [...]

Paige [chat]: I think [R]angers is about youth empowerment so that encourages everyone to grow in all aspects of themself[ves.] [...]

Jackie Lynn [chat]: It's not limited

Isabella (facilitator): ... So do you think that the fact that like Rangers doesn't really tell you anything about a particular way to be a girl, is that different from messages you hear like from media, social media, school, anything like that?

Jackie Lynn: Yeah, I think that it's kind of a bit different from schools and media and stuff. It's less about the traditional [kind of] like woman [air-quotes "woman"] or whatever, like what's traditional [inaudible] that you still see on like social media and sometimes through school... I think that Rangers at the moment it's [kind of] not focusing so much on that. And it's bit different because especially from social media which has quite like clear images of girls and women...

Isabella (facilitator): Jackie Lynn, you said about like how girls and women are portrayed on social media. What kind of images do you see about girls and woman on social media?

Jackie Lynn: It's more kind of like glamorous people and stuff, and on, and... body image sort of things that are on there, it's not really sending a good message to young girls that's and it's like, yeah I think it's especially also about appearance, and like the standard of beautiful [air-quotes "beautiful"] or whatever. So yeah, I think it's kind of sending... a set message, it's like there's only one way to look and be and it's like kind of girly, glamorous, kind of thing.

Paige [chat]: Yeah definitely, media is all about [conforming] or being [convenient] for others, but [R[]angers is about how you can be powerful as yourself... it focusses on your unlimited potential[.]

May [chat]: there are "social media expectations"[.]

This denial that Rangers was teaching them about gender seemed to be because they immediately connected the idea of "girl" or "young woman" to a hyper-feminine or traditionally feminine notion of womanhood. They said that Rangers did not want them to be

a “girly girl” or a “perfect princess” and would then suggest that Rangers was not restrictive in terms of gender, specifically through the use of what I termed the “try new things” discourse. However, they are articulating a specific perspective about girlhood and femininity by denying that anything except femininity is gendered. This discourse centred around the notion that Rangers offered opportunities to “try new things”, and it was very common. It popped up not only in response to these questions about gender but also questions about what they learned from Rangers and what they enjoyed about Rangers (it was clear that trying new things was a positive experience for them). This discourse positions the opposite of femininity not as masculinity but as gender neutrality. This suggests that what the Rangers perceive as gender-neutral may be more masculine or that feminine activities can never be seen as gender-neutral (although the fact that many Rangers and interviewees cited “cooking” and “eating” as favourite activities perhaps contradicts this to some extent).

In discussing girlhood, Rangers was also contrasted with social media – social media was seen to “put them in a box” of either “princess” or “tomboy”, with emphasis on appearance and being “glamorous”. Rangers, instead, was about “empowerment”, “power”, “equal opportunities”, and “leadership”. This idea about “empowerment” was very specifically linked to girlhood for the Rangers, in contrast to “leadership”, “service”, “independence”, and “life skills”, which were gender-neutral ideas: “there are certain clauses which are ‘be an empowered female’ but most of it is *general leadership skills*” (emphasis mine).

In one focus group, there was discussion about the communication of masculine and feminine skills in the programme (all Rangers):

Eva [chat]: I think most of the things at Rangers are feminine.

Isabella (facilitator): ... is that because it's all girls doing it or because the activities that have been picked are already associated with being feminine?

Eva [chat]: I think it is both.

...

Jackie Lynn [chat]: I think that it's different for each unit, but in my unit anyway we don't really do much stuff that's 'feminine'.

Lynn [chat]: [A] lot of the things we do that are considered "trying new things" are traditionally non-feminine things like the vehicle maintenance certificate.

Paige [chat]: [But] like others are saying sometimes this message gets missed and it becomes just about being feminine and creating a divide.

Jackie Lynn [chat]: ... we do a mixture of feminine and masculine things.

Among the interviewees, the empowerment discourse was mostly discussed by Karen (Programme Developer, staff), not only about gender but relating to pedagogy and the organisation in general too, as seen in this exchange:

Isabella: ... from your perspective, what is the purpose of the Ranger programme?

What are you wanting the girls to take away from it?

Karen: ... It's a question I've been asking myself: "Do our Rangers know our mission as Girl Guiding?" Our mission is to empower them... I want the girls to leave Rangers feeling empowered, feeling like they can make a difference. And whether that's in their own lives, whether that's bigger and in the community. But if they feel empowered, if it's as simple as a Ranger starts and she's terrified of speaking in front of a group and she comes out of the end at Rangers and she's spoken to her Ranger unit, she's empowered herself. ... That to me, is the focus of the Ranger programme. And that could be giving them life skills... whatever they need.

In contrast, other interviewees emphasised ideas more in line with the gender-neutral framing of the Rangers: leadership, getting along with others, communication, confidence, and trying new things. For example, Ranger leaders said, "[Rangers] gives the girls that want to lead the

opportunity to lead and it gives others that want to stay in the background, the opportunity to stay in the background if that's what they want", and, "They learn how to cope with people they don't like and work as a team with people they don't like, and they learn to deal with people that are different", and that "[Rangers] gives them the confidence to try something slightly different."

In contrast to the Rangers, who did not even consider gender/girlhood until I brought it up, the interviewees often seemed hyper-aware of the spectre of girlhood, particularly related to the fact that Girl Guiding is girls-only. The interviewees had more to say on the topic and were more definitive about their statements. Whether Girl Guiding should remain girls-only and the position of gender-queer and transgender youth came up repeatedly with the interviewees (even though I did not ask specifically about gender-queer and transgender youth) but was less significant for the focus groups. Several interviewees liked that Guiding is girls-only but were open to including transgender girls and gender-queer youth. One interviewee put it memorably:

I remember saying in the mid-eighties, when Scouts started taking in girls, that over my dead body, would boys be allowed into, into Guiding – boys that are becoming girls or identify as girls [i.e., transgender girls] is different to a boy who is a boy [i.e., cisgender boys].

Other interviewees also discussed the value of Girl Guiding's being for girls, such as one who said, "I like the concept of it girls-only, just simply from a girl's point of view. I think it gives them [confidence]... rather than having lads in there as well." Christine (leader) expressed a similar viewpoint:

I think it's quite good that it's a girl-only association because I have seen in mixed ones where the boys always take over and the girls stay in back.... And the girls are also very conscious about what they look like with the boys, whereas at Guides they

can be themselves. They can let their hair down. They have good role models in their leaders. And, although they do girly things, I mean, they love craft if you give them half a chance, they also get the message that girls can do anything, and that's important.

At the time of my research, Girl Guiding was working on policies around the inclusion of queer youth, so the interviewees may have brought it up more frequently than the Rangers because they were already discussing it in other contexts, while the Rangers were potentially unaware of this context. Some Rangers did mention that they liked Rangers' being girls-only and expressed that it meant that girls got leadership opportunities and that their efforts could focus on problems specific to women. For example, Paige (Ranger) said:

[G]uiding means you can focus on the specific problems that impact girls ([e.g.] pink tax, wage gap, lack [of] female [CEOs])... [it's] about showing girls [that] it doesn't matter if you like more [feminine] or masculine things, you are worth[y] and can accomplish just as much.

Participants were specific about being open to transgender girls and boys and gender-queer young people. However, the "girls-only" idea was not an extensive point of discussion and was only brought up by a few Rangers.

Only a few participants across interviews and focus groups raised gendered material within the programme. The focus groups could not identify any specific aspects of the current programme that they considered gendered, although there was a general notion of "empowerment", while interviewees were specific. One brought up the "Making the Most of Yourself" IC, noting that it is "so gendered and so old-fashioned, making the most of yourself, finding out about your body type... super unhealthy." "Making the Most of Yourself" appeared in 1995 as part of expanding categories concerned with the individual

(see discussion in Content Analysis of the Ranger Programme). For context, here is one of the most gendered clauses from the badge about “enhancing your figure”:

1995: “Discover clothes which enhance your figure by visiting a clothes shop, from magazines/discussion/trying on.” (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995, p. 184)

2003: “Discover how different styles of clothing enhance different figures by visiting a clothes shop or looking at magazines.” (Hogg et al., 2003, p. 83)

2015: “Discover how different styles of clothing enhance different figures by visiting a clothes shop or looking at magazines. Discuss with a friend what styles you think enhance your figure and why you think that is so.” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 154)³³

The idea that feminine content specifically was outdated was replicated by other participants, both interviewees and Rangers – one Ranger said:

... we were talking about some of the old badges, and there was a hostess badge, which you got by serving people to eat, which I thought was quite amusing. [Now] we don't really have anything like what I would call specifically ‘woman-based’...

Christine, a leader, elaborated:

One change I've noticed over the last few years is that the domestic skills have diminished. In the 50s, 60s, 70s, “Hostess”, “Laundress”, “Homemaker”, “Cook”, “Child Nurse” [badges] were important and they barely exist now. And there might be one clause somewhere... that change [in focus] is reflecting a change in society.

³³ I am delighted to note that in the 2022 Ranger programme, the certificate has been renamed “My Style” and has undergone significant revisions. This clause is no longer present; instead, there are several clauses such as “Accessorise! Bring in different accessories like belts, scarves, costume jewellery etc. Can you make new looks by finding new ways of wearing these accessories – e.g., a belt as a hairband or over a jumper?” and “This is Me! Choose a positive word or phrase to describe your style and personalise a t-shirt, hat, or other item of clothing with this word or phrase” (GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2022, p. 117).

The focus for these participants was on traditionally feminine activities (cooking, sewing, serving food) being feminine, while the other participant emphasised the appearance-based nature of “Making the Most of Yourself” as the problematically gendered part. These comments also indicate a general dismissal of feminised forms of labour (domestic/care work), although Christine did express ambivalence about whether the shift away from teaching feminised skills was positive. This dismissal of feminised labour echoes liberal feminist ideas about gender equality involving women’s moving into the public sphere rather than valuing domestic work.

While the adults were ambivalent about identifying GGNZ as feminist (for example, “I would like to think there’s another word for feminist that gets across that sense of being proud to be a girl and girls can do anything”), the focus groups easily identified Girl Guiding as feminist. From focus group 1 (all Rangers):

Isabella (facilitator): Do you think that Girl Guiding is a feminist organisation?

Kate: Yes and no. Like not in the sense of like in your face, like, “Oh girls are better than boys” or whatever, because that’s like not it at all, but yes, it empowers young woman to follow their dreams and be inspired. ...

Anna: Yeah... Also, because like, originally, like, Scouting and girls weren’t allowed to do that so creating [Girl Guiding] gave them, like, equal, like, they were both able to do these and have the same opportunities.

Rose: I think when it comes to feminism, it’s more about equal rights rather than what gender is better, or like if girls are better than boys or, you know, this is all about equality... like, I was asked at school... because he knew I do Girl Guiding, he said to me, “Are you a feminist?” ... I was reading this book about feminism, so I said, “Yeah, I guess I am because I advocate for equal rights.”...

Rebecca: Yeah, I would say Girl Guides is a feminist organisation, because it works to empower girls and women and just people in general to be the best that they can be and, like, give them skills that they'll need in the future. Yeah, definitely not an extreme feminist organisation though.

From the second focus group (all Rangers):

Isabella (facilitator): ... Would you say that Girl Guiding is a feminist organisation?

Jackie Lynn [chat]: yes

Lynn [chat]: in a way, yes

Paige [chat]: Yes ofc [of course] [...]

Jackie Lynn: I think it's quite feminist, because, as we were talking about before it's a bit different from sort of... past expectations and stuff and it's more teaching us to be ourselves and try new things that like aren't so feminine. And I think, and they [are] kind of empowering girls and women to just like really be themselves and explore new opportunities, which is... Yeah, I think we got a pretty feminist attitude. ...

Paige [chat]: Well [it's] specifically [about] showing girls and non-binary people are just as capable and worthy as men. Those messages are still needed, and that is why [G]uiding [still] exists despite girls being allowed in [S]couts.

Rangers Shaping the Self

Rangers comprises only a small part of the messages that young people receive about gender – they also go to school, have friends and family, have jobs, do sports, consume media, and more. However, the focus group participants were clear about how Rangers significantly impacted their understanding of themselves. Here are examples of how the Rangers phrased their self-development through Rangers. These are taken from different parts of the transcript, so this should not be understood as a conversation (all Rangers).

Rebecca: Definitely, my whole view on the world has been shaped by Rangers. I've changed so much since I first... started as a Ranger... from starting to this point I've changed so much and it's really obvious to see how Rangers has shaped me as a person.

Rose: I think [the Promise and Law] are applicable to anything, not just Girl Guiding, like "staying true to yourself." ... it's like when you come home, you know you're being honest with your parents, being honest with your friends, you're maintaining friendships. It's just so applicable to everything else, which makes it so nice.

Rebecca: ... [Rangers] was just a place where I could be myself and work on being me.

Alexis: I think [Rangers] teaches you a lot about yourself and what you do and don't like...

Paige [chat]: I think [R]angers is about youth empowerment so that encourages everyone to grow in all aspects of themselves[.]

Eva [chat]: [Rangers teaches you to] Develop as a person. Figuring out what you enjoy the most.

Kate: ... I like how much I've grown like as a person, through Rangers, like how much it's helped me change into like who I am now.

Thus, the Rangers clearly articulate how Rangers teaches them about themselves, their preferences and abilities, and their perspective on the world. The adults also suggested similar ideas about Rangers' shaping young people's worldviews. For example, Nicola said that Rangers "gain a broader perspective on the world that they're part of and they learn all sorts of skills that help them get there", but she emphasised the skills aspect alongside the "shaping the self" idea.

Conclusion

My findings show that the programme has changed over time to become more focussed on the individual and their participation in activities that teach them soft skills relevant to the knowledge economy (Walby et al., 2007), rather than specific knowledge (increase in percentage of topics related to the individual and individual citizenship and increase in “Discovery” and “Interactional” verbs), and less focussed on specific skills and achievement (fewer badges focussed on specific, technical skills and fewer “Knowledge” verbs). Some changes contravene this, for example, the change so that badges are achieved in the unit rather than individually, but overall, the movement has been towards the individual. This is supported by changes in the Promise and Law, which become more focussed on the individual subject and their self-management (although less authoritarian) over time.

The Rangers and adult interviewees that participated presented several discourses that shed light on the current programme. The Rangers identified the programme as promoting “gender-neutral” ideas about “trying new things” rather than restrictive notions of traditional femininity or hyper-femininity. In contrast, interviewees were more aware of the potential pitfalls of gender within Guiding and tried to address this in several different ways. Both interviewees and focus group participants valued the girls-only aspect of Girl Guiding, but most were open to including gender-diverse and transgender young people.

Adults and Rangers highlighted many pedagogical outcomes of the programme, with interviewees placing more emphasis on skills (such as organisation and communication) and confidence, and Rangers placing more emphasis on a notion of independence that encompassed future-focussed life skills, fun, and choice. Rangers was also recognised as a significant force for shaping the self and building character by both interviewees and Rangers, with many discussing how Rangers shaped their perspective on the world. In the

next section, I will unpack some of these discourses to explore how citizenship is used to understand girlhood within Guiding and how the programme has changed to reflect that.

Chapter 5: A Discussion of Gender and Citizenship in Girl Guiding

My research questions are: How has the girl subject been articulated through the Girl Guiding New Zealand Ranger programme from 1968–2022? And: How do the young people and adults involved in Girl Guiding understand the messages about girlhood within the programme?

To answer my first research question, I suggest that the girl subject within the Ranger programme is primarily constructed through technologies of the self, directed towards developing good future citizens, rather than through notions of appropriate femininity. That is, to be a girl (or Ranger) is to be a good citizen. As discussed in my literature review, I draw on a neoliberal notion of the citizen, which encompasses the whole self. Thus, the primary way that changes have occurred in the programme is through changing notions of citizenship, demonstrated by the changing priorities of the programme and changing ways of communicating the activities. Over time, the ideal citizen within the programme has become more aligned with a neoliberal project of the self.

To answer my second research question, I suggest that the adults and young people understood the programme to promote gender-neutral ideas of leadership and skills development but found it difficult to reconcile the gendered nature of the organisation with the cultural context of post-feminism. The idea that Guiding might promote feminine activities was troubling for participants, who preferred to frame the programme as gender-neutral. This reflected neoliberal notions of citizenship, emphasising leadership and future-oriented skills. These were couched in neoliberal feminist ideals such as empowerment and confidence, and liberal feminist ideas that masculine-coded skills and interests are more valuable than feminine-coded ones. Thus, I argue that even ostensibly gender-neutral skills are gendered in the context of neoliberalism and post-feminism, where the figure of the girl

as an ideal neoliberal subject looms large. However, there were also opportunities to negate neoliberal ideals, like “fun”, “friendships”, and “independence”.

This discussion begins with an exploration of Rangers as a neoliberal subjectification project focused on citizenship, including how good citizenship is white and middle-class and how citizenship within Rangers is gendered. I discuss the movement from teaching specific skills to learning to be a flexible neoliberal citizen. I also discuss possibilities for contradicting the narrative of successful neoliberal citizenship. I then discuss how participants understood gender in Guiding, by disavowing femininity and how they reconcile the contradictions of being a single-gender organisation in a post-feminist context, through neoliberal feminist notions, and how the programme is understood as gender-neutral. I also emphasise how Girl Guiding is seen as incredibly valuable by the participants in my research, both because of its skills-oriented practical education and because of the single-gender nature of the organisation.

The Ranger Subject as Citizen

Overall, I discovered that the programme mainly communicates ideas about girlhood through the lens of gender-neutral citizenship. Initially, I expected that the main change in the programme would be around which activities were considered appropriate for girls, perhaps moving from more traditionally feminine activities early on to more diverse activities in the current day. However, the programme has always covered various topics, including masculine, feminine, and gender-neutral activities, which aligns with Anderson and Behringer’s (2010) findings about GSUSA. Despite the viewpoint that GG/GS has always had an element of appropriate femininity to it (discussed throughout Proctor, 2009), by the 1970s (when my analysis began), I found that the focus of the programme was rarely on “appropriate” or traditionally “feminine” activities for girls. There was instead scope to choose interesting activities, many of which were neither feminine nor masculine

(exemplified by the ICs in each programme iteration). There were some sexist or otherwise troubling aspects of the programme in each iteration (including the 2015 programme), which I discuss in the section on Othering in Findings about Girl Guiding Pedagogy and Experiences. However, in context, these did not form a significant part of the programme and were often not compulsory.

Furthermore, the ICs did not emphasise feminine activities over masculine activities or vice versa. There were badges such as, e.g., “Knitter” (1974) and “Parenting” (1995), which could be seen as traditionally feminine (taking into account that, of course, these activities may not be gendered in all contexts), but also “Elementary Aeronautics” (1974) and “Auto Maintenance” (1995) (traditionally masculine), as well as “Commonwealth Knowledge” (1974) and “Conservation” (1995) (gender-neutral). All badges are considered equally valuable within the programme (although leaders or units may emphasise some aspects over others, as participants noted), so there was little focus on appropriate femininity within the programme.

Similarly, I expected that the waves of feminism might have influenced the proportion of feminine/masculine/gender-neutral activities in the programme, but this was not borne out by my results (as Halls et al., 2018 also found). Instead, the waves of feminism seemed to indirectly influence the programme administration and organisational structure rather than the content. For example, when women entered the workforce in large numbers in the 1980s, volunteer numbers declined (Dawber, 2008, p. 183).

Therefore, instead of pursuing the idea that gender was communicated through feminine, masculine, or gender-neutral activities, I looked for other ways the programme had changed. A very clear change occurred in the 1984 and 1995 programme iterations – within the badge clauses, the emphasis shifted to the individual and personal along with “experiences” rather than the earlier programmes’ focus on demonstrating knowledge. This

was evident just from flicking through the handbooks. I identified this as a change in how citizenship was conceptualised in the programme and aligned it with the transition to neoliberalism. Therefore, I suggest that the Ranger programme articulates the girl subject as a good citizen through presenting activities that Rangers should do to become good citizens. Furthermore, the activities have changed as the ideal citizen has become more neoliberal, encompassing the whole self and emphasising flexibility, self-management, and future orientation.

The Ideal Neoliberal Citizen

The transition to neoliberalism and the associated idea that the girl is the “ideal neoliberal citizen” (described by Harris, 2004b, p. 16 as “flexible, individualized, resilient, self-driven, and self-made”) is demonstrated in my results in two ways: firstly, the decline in badges associated with specific skills and the increase in badges associated with individualised citizenship-related topics, occurring in the 1984 and 1995 programme iterations; secondly, the decrease in “Knowledge” verbs (such as “know about” and “list”), and the corresponding increase in “Discovery” (e.g., “find out” and “learn about”) and “Interactional” (e.g., “discuss” and “interview”) verbs (also in the 1984 and 1995 programmes). These changes represent a broader movement from specific technical competency and knowledge (such as needlework or aeronautics) towards generally applicable “soft” skills like research, communication, and organisation.

Thus, the programme’s notion of what good citizenship entails changes throughout time to reflect the concerns and priorities of wider society. For example, in the 1980s-1990s, neoliberal ideology became a pervasive structuring force in society, both economically and ideologically (W. Brown, 2009). Neoliberal ideology emphasises the individual aspects of citizenship, such as understanding the self as a project (Giddens, 1991), future orientation

(particularly around employment and economic independence), and self-management³⁴ – particularly for girls (Cruikshank, 1996; L. Smith & Paterson, 2018). My participants expressed these ideas by discussing the programme’s orientation towards teaching “skills” (like leadership, communication, and organisation skills) as part of a future-oriented project. In the next section, I will discuss some specific aspects of neoliberal citizenship and how the programme communicates them.

The Project of the Self

There is a clear parallel between the Ranger programme’s achievements and the idea of a neoliberal project of the self: Rangers participate in activities designed to develop their selves to earn badges. This way of thinking about achievement shows Rangers how to think of their selves as something to be worked upon and developed. Edwards (2020, p. 48) links this to success: “the success of an individual member in becoming a good citizen was measured through a number of tests and badges, which marked a girls’ self-development in a range of skills and proficiencies”. Both interviewees and Rangers demonstrated that the Ranger programme was a project of the self, particularly when they brought up “developing skills”. Implicit in these discussions was the idea developing skills (especially leadership) was good for the Rangers’ selves – particularly concerning their future as working citizens. Developing skills also offered the Rangers opportunities for independence and autonomy, which they valued (for example, developing organisation skills might offer them the opportunity to plan their own camp). This idea about independence appeared somewhat in opposition to the idea that skills were useful because they helped the Rangers develop as future citizens. The Rangers frequently phrased experiences in Guiding as relating to

³⁴ While I have named several aspects, they are not clearly delineated from one another and there are areas of overlap between them, such as the project of the self’s orientation towards future employment.

independence, while the adults were more likely to emphasise the *skills* that Rangers acquired through their Guiding experience, suggesting that some of the adults were more oriented towards a project of the self than the Rangers.

The Rangers also clearly communicated that their Rangers experience “shaped [their] sense of self” and “[their] perspective on the world”, as well as their beliefs and future goals, showing how they thought of their selves as projects to be worked upon and developed. Adult interviewees also communicated ideas about Rangers’ developing emotional regulation and leadership skills – several participants gave the example of a shy girl becoming more confident. This demonstrates an orientation towards “confidence culture” (R. Gill & Orgad, 2015), where confidence is seen as a necessary skill for women. Both Rangers and interviewees cited that Rangers offered chances for girls to develop their personal opinions, beliefs, and perspectives.

Orientation towards the future was often implicitly present in these discussions of developing the self, as Rangers and adults alike drew on notions of the Ranger programme as a means to help Rangers become future self-managing, working women.

Future Orientation

Future orientation – the idea that a girl is a future (woman) citizen – is a key feature of Guiding that has persisted throughout its history but has become even more emphasised recently, with the percentage of “Future-oriented” badges in the programme increasing from 1970 to 2022. In 1995, the activities in these badges also began to emphasise general employability skills, such as job interviews and writing resumés. This ties closely into self-management and the project of the self, which are oriented towards creating a “successful” future citizen rather than understanding the girl as a current citizen or as a girl without expectation of future citizenship. Smith and Paterson (2018) explain how girls are guided

towards productive futures and assumed to be primarily future women rather than current girls.

The Rangers also communicated this idea when they discussed developing independence, with the implication that independence was an important step to becoming a future adult and citizen, although they also appreciated independence for their current selves – likewise, the interviewees often linked “developing skills” to Rangers’ future successes.

Self-Management

An emphasis on self-management is demonstrated in the programme by the increasing focus on girls’ developing their personal opinions and beliefs (the increase over time in the percentage of “Personal belief” badges) and in the aspects of the programme that require Rangers to do activities outside of their unit meetings. The Promise and Law also emphasise the role of self-management in becoming a good citizen (most explicitly, “A Guide is self controlled in all she thinks, says and does”, from the pre-1993 programmes). Despite changes to the wording, the Promise and Law retain the underlying idea that Rangers should be self-responsible, communicating that self-management is key to citizenship. Rangers are expected to (and indeed do, as some participants mentioned) consider the Promise and Law applicable to their whole lives, not just Guiding. Many of the changes to them demonstrate the transition to neoliberal citizenship, particularly the movement from nationalism to global citizenship and the expansion over the whole selves of Rangers. This self-management is an example of how governmentality is enacted within the Ranger programme.

Expansion of Programme Reach

The focus of the programme has expanded over time. Guiding has always been invested in the whole self to some extent since it has always concerned itself with topics such as “good health”. However, the expansion in 1995 seemed to signal a widening of the focus to explicitly include many aspects of personal belief and opinion, which had previously been

emphasised only relating to the Promise and Law (i.e., not activities in the programme) and the Faith badges.

Likewise, “Health” became a whole IC pathway containing five badges, and “Future Focus” appeared too, containing badges such as “Getting on with Others” and “Parenting”. It is particularly interesting to note the positioning of some of the badges – in 1995, “Sexual Awareness” was grouped into the “Contemporary Issues” pathway, along with other badges like “You and the Law”, “Driver Awareness”, “Personal Safety”, and “Local and Central Government” – i.e., badges that otherwise largely revolved around safety and citizenship, thus positioning sexuality as an issue of responsible citizenship rather than health or leisure. This expansion mirrors the expansion of neoliberal subjectivity to all areas of life, responsabilising the individual for their health, economic position, and choices.

Citizenship as White and Middle-Class

The notion of good neoliberal citizenship within the programme is intimately tied to notions of whiteness or Pāhekā-ness and middle-class notions of citizenship. As discussed in my findings chapter, the programme positions the reader as a white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual, and cisgender girl through its assumptions about which religious and cultural practices will be unfamiliar to Rangers and through the framing of issues presented for discussion, which demonstrates that the ideal girl citizen, as envisioned by the programme, is white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual, and cisgender. This accords with Harris’ (2004b) notion of the ideal girl citizen and how some forms of girlhood are always seen as deviant – their examples include teenage motherhood and girls of colour being perceived as problematic. Thus, the programme reflects the type of citizenship which is considered “good” – a white, middle-class notion.

The Gendered Nature of Citizenship

The girl subject's journey into citizenship is a gendered one. Citizenship is and always has been gendered, particularly within the realm of Scouting/Guiding (see, for example, M. J. Smith, 2011 on how early Girl Guiding was a gendered imperial citizenship project). Even today, in a supposedly post-feminist context, girls' future citizenship is often gendered as they are assumed to be future women interested in having and raising children.

The gendered nature of citizenship in Guiding is demonstrated by the emphasis on communication and getting on with others. This is demonstrated by the increase in "Interactional" verbs over time and the increasing number of badges concerned with "Interpersonal skills". The idea that girls should be able to relate productively to others (particularly when combined with the service ethos present in Girl Guiding) is a particularly gendered kind of citizenship, given that women are often expected to be helpful and serve others. Oksala (2013, pp. 42–43) notes how labour under neoliberalism is increasingly "feminized", requiring flexible "communicative skills" and "emotional resources". Denny's (2011) investigation of Girl Scout versus Boy Scout handbooks similarly suggested that girls learned more self-management skills and group work than boys, which accords with the idea that citizenship in Girl Guiding might emphasise communication skills in a gendered manner. Oinas (2017) likewise notes the importance to the neoliberal project of the (girl) citizen being both successful and having productive relational skills with others. The Rangers did not identify these skills as gendered but as part of a broader gender-neutral leadership project, which will be discussed later.

Contradictions to the Neoliberal Subjectivity Project

While I have discussed how Rangers functions as a location where girls undergo neoliberal subjectification, there are several ways in which the programme contradicts this. An analysis that concludes that the Ranger programme was simply another location where

governmentality is enacted over and by girls or another location where they receive messages about the right way to be a girl and citizen is a shallow one. As Oinas (2017, p. 197) points out, when researching teenage girls, there is a careful line between valuing girls' sense of agency while still critiquing neoliberal ideologies that create their notions of agency and autonomy. This conflict was present in my results – while the messages of the programme are heavily influenced by neoliberalism and thus create a neoliberal subjectification project, there was also a sense from participants that choice within the programme offered opportunities for autonomy, and that girls who did not quite “fit in” elsewhere might find confidence, friendship, or life skills in Rangers. I did not want to dismiss the value of these experiences entirely by subsuming them under a neoliberal subjectification project. I identified three specific areas that might offer contradictions to the notion of creating a successful neoliberal self: “fun”, “friendship”, and “independence.”

The emphasis on “fun” contradicts the idea that Rangers is focused solely on promoting a neoliberal focus on productivity or employment. Fun was certainly valued by Rangers and some adults for its own sake, rather than as a productive tool, although there were some underlying implications that fun was also a tool to encourage Rangers to learn and engage.

Many of the Rangers cited their “friendships” from Rangers as an important part of the experience. Interviewees more often discussed social skills, like getting on with others and communication skills, but occasionally mentioned that the friendships were important for their own sake, for example, when Nicola suggested that high-achieving girls need space to relax and suggested that friendships at Rangers can facilitate this. The Ranger programme offers opportunities for Rangers to develop their abilities to collaborate with others. While on the one hand, this can be seen as inculcating employment-related skills like communication and group work, effective collaboration skills offer some opposition to individualism which

is a key feature of neoliberalism. Rangers deciding upon unit activities together may also contribute to skills such as consensus-driven democracy, debate, and other democratic decision-making skills, but there are limits to this. For example, collective decisions are often made by voting, which does not necessarily allow consensus-based decisions. On the other hand, sometimes units split into different groups to complete different activities based on the specific interests of each group, which may offer chances for collaboration across groups (as described by Gina) and decision-making that accommodates different preferences and abilities.

The Rangers frequently brought up the “independence” they gained in Rangers. Their autonomy within the programme is somewhat limited, but still significant, particularly given their age. For example, they have choices about which badges and activities to do and the option to create their own badges and activities (for the IC section of the programme, at least). Harris and Dobson (2015, pp. 148–150) point out that while choice is a significant part of our conceptualisation of girls’ agency in the post-feminist context, it is also a tool of neoliberalism which responsabilises girls for their choices. Thus, the emphasis that participants placed upon “choice” in the Ranger programme could be understood as simultaneously offering Rangers the chance to exercise agency and develop reflexive critical thinking, and as another tool of neoliberal subjectification.

The flexibility of developing their own clauses, as well as the flexibility of many of the pre-written clauses (like “find out” or “learn about”), also potentially allows for the development of analytical skills that may help them critically understand power and inequality. However, this is not necessarily emphasised in those terms by the programme and thus relies on leaders’ emphases of criticality or Rangers’ own engagement with the programme.

It is also worth considering how Rangers fits into the wider context of young people's world. Rangers is only one of many places where young women encounter discourses about the ideal girl subject. There is also school, the family, media, religious and cultural groups, and other organisations. The Ranger participants emphasised social media as a location where they received (largely negative) ideas about girls, girliness, and girlhood (mostly messages about appearances and hyper-femininity). In contrast, they suggested that Rangers positions girls as agents and change-makers, which Rangers and adults alike identified as preferable to other discourses about girlhood, like focussing on their appearances (particularly related to unrealistic body image). From a feminist perspective, focusing on girls' capabilities rather than their appearances or inabilities seems preferable. However, this focus on so-called agency is not straightforwardly feminist. Harris and Dobson (2015) discuss how equating agency with choice in a neoliberal context risks responsabilising girls (some choices are "right" and some "wrong"), thus circling back to neoliberal subjectification. The focus on girls as the solution to societal problems is problematic because it makes individual girls responsible for structural problems. This plays neatly into neoliberal feminist ideas about girls' empowerment as the solution to structural sexism (Goodkind, 2009).

To contextualise the Ranger programme, it is also worth thinking about how changes to the programme come about – I suggest that the transition to neoliberal ideals did not come about to promote neoliberal citizenship to Rangers intentionally but because societal contexts changed. The programme is revised by a group of people all moving in broadly the same direction, and the programme itself is received well by Rangers and leaders on the whole.

Disconnects in the Programme

There were several disconnects within my research. Firstly, participants often conflated the Ranger programme with their overall experiences at Rangers, and relatedly, their experiences were not always connected to the programme as it was written. Secondly,

there was a disconnect between the pedagogical intentions behind the programme and the actual activities in the programme.

I often heard the phrase “it depends on the leader/unit/girl”, even when I asked questions about the Ranger programme specifically; both Rangers and adults would answer regarding their experiences, which encompasses both the programme as it is written and its interpretation and execution by each unit, leader, or Ranger. Of course, it is important to have an idea of how the programme is actually applied since it may be that does not align with the written programme. For example, some participants highlighted that they wanted to spend more time on outdoor activities – although these comprise a large part of the written programme. This suggests that the programme does not necessarily align with the experiences of leaders/Rangers. Thus, discussions by participants may not apply to the Ranger programme as it is written – for example, gender ideology in Rangers may be primarily communicated through leaders and units rather than through the programme.

There appeared to be a disconnect between the pedagogical intentions articulated by my interviewees when compared to the programme activities, although there was a clear connection between the Promise and Law and the programme. The primary pedagogical intentions articulated by adults were “fun” (Gina) and “empowerment” (Karen). A direct connection between the activities and the intentions was rarely expressed (one exception: Gina altered an IC to be more fun), although neither Karen nor Gina worked on the 2015 programme that I was analysing, so the disconnect may have arisen because they were thinking forward to the new programme. It was often unclear how the activities were intended to be “empowering”. When considering the Promise and Law’s relationship to the activities, there was often a clearer link – for example, the imperative to “take action for a better world” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020) has a clear pedagogical link to the Advocacy Projects. This may be because the early programme was conceived with

direct reference to the Promise and Law (which have retained key aspects from the inception of Scouting to today) and activities have been retained. It could also be that because the Promise and Law encompass a wide range of imperatives (“face challenges”, “help other people”, “care for the environment”), much of the programme can be linked to at least one part simply by chance.

Gender in the Programme

Surprisingly, the programme had little overtly feminised content, and the feminine content was generally balanced with gender-neutral and masculine content. This was true in all programme iterations, although I originally thought that there would be more feminine content early in the programme iterations and that it would only become balanced in the contemporary programme iterations.

In contrast to the evidence that the programme was not very gendered, participants tended to identify areas of the programme which were gendered as areas that needed fixing. There was also a tension between the idea that the organisation should be girls-only for girls’ benefit and the idea that the programme itself should communicate gender-neutral ideas. Participants tended to find the idea that Guiding might communicate restrictive or traditional notions of femininity troubling, once again connecting gender-neutrality (and masculinity to a lesser extent) to empowerment and femininity to disempowerment.

The Rangers specifically linked the skills and discourses that I associated with citizenship (such as “leadership”, “life skills”, and “community service”) to gender neutrality rather than femininity. Only the concept of “empowerment” was communicated to be feminine – Rangers always connected it to girls or women – likely because of the association of “empowerment” with women under neoliberal feminism (Goodkind, 2009). The adults, in contrast, understood that gender was an important factor for girls’ developing skills – they often emphasised the importance of the girls-only environment for girls to develop their

leadership skills without boys taking away opportunities or distracting them. However, when discussing other citizenship-related topics, such as politics, there was no discussion of how it might be gendered.

Being a Gendered Organisation is Uncomfortable in a Post-Feminist Context

My results suggest that being part of a girls-only organisation is an uncomfortably gendered position for both Rangers and adults. The Rangers siloed an understanding of gender or girlhood away from the rest of the programme – feminism, girlhood, and femininity were only discussed when I brought up gender. The Rangers preferred to emphasise “gender-neutral” ideas such as “leadership”. In contrast, the adult interviewees seemed hyper-aware of the spectre of gender in Girl Guiding, sometimes seeming defensive of the notion that being girls-only meant that Guiding was not politically correct or progressive.

This fits into a narrative of post-feminism, where it is assumed that feminism is now unnecessary, given the progress made towards gender equality (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020, pp. 5–6). The participants seemed to be responding to the idea that Girl Guiding, as an organisation specifically for girls, is no longer necessary because we have achieved gender equality. However, there was a near-unanimous agreement amongst both adults and focus group participants that it was important that Guiding remained primarily for girls (although many participants were positive about including transgender and gender-diverse young people). Their reasoning related to the fact that the focus on girls allowed them more opportunities for leadership than an organisation with boys would, and occasionally that girls would be less comfortable around boys. An acknowledgement that girls may have different needs than boys suggests an underlying awareness of sexism in society, as participants rarely cited biological reasons for gender segregation.

Overall, adults and Rangers conceptualised gender or girlhood as secondary to the primary focus of the Ranger programme, which was gaining “life skills” and learning “leadership”, both advanced as gender-neutral concepts.

Neoliberal Feminism Provides a Possible Alternative

Neoliberal feminism is a feminism that centres around the individual woman and their empowerment as the answer to inequality rather than on structural factors as the sources of sexism that need to be addressed (Budgeon, 2011; Rottenberg, 2014). This notion helped participants reconcile the contradiction of seeing the necessity for a girls-only organisation with the post-feminist ideology that gender equality has been achieved. In alignment with this neoliberal feminist position, adults and Rangers both saw Rangers (and Girl Guiding generally) as a place to empower girls and help them develop skills, particularly for the future and employment. Thus, they were looking to address structural issues of sexism by addressing the individual girl's confidence and capabilities. With this lens, Rangers is understood as a place for girls' empowerment through their individual choices and learning.

The Ranger Programme Understood as Gender-Neutral

As I have discussed, while participants were somewhat troubled by the girls-only nature of the organisation, the programme itself was understood as gender-neutral. Thus, I particularly draw on the focus group to suggest that girlhood, femininity, or appropriate womanhood are not understood to be defining features of the programme, with the gender-neutral concept of “leadership” being more important. This was surprising, as I initially assumed that messages about femininity or girlhood communicated through Rangers would be an important area to investigate. However, the Rangers reacted strongly to my question about girlhood in the programme and associated the idea of “being a girl” with performed hyper-femininity on social media and traditionally feminine activities like cooking and “hostess”-ing (both viewed negatively). They instead asserted a gender-neutral idea of the

Ranger programme through two discourses: “try new activities” and “developing skills”. Both discourses were brought up in opposition to femininity but were understood as gender-neutral rather than masculine, except when one participant suggested that “new activities” were often also masculine activities. Thus, the primary way that Rangers understood gender in the programme was through these discourses of gender-neutrality. Of course, in denying that “leadership” and “trying new things” are feminine, the Rangers miss the point that they are still *gendered*, particularly in the context of neoliberalism and the prevalence of feminised work requiring communication and leadership skills (Oksala, 2013, pp. 42–43).

The “trying new activities” discourse represents neoliberal citizenship because of its future orientation. Many of the activities in the programme that include an aspect of “trying new activities” are centred around introducing girls to potential careers – clauses like “take part in a mock job interview” or “learn how to use power tools” (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2020, pp. 114, 117). Other activities that include this aspect align with the “developing skills” discourse – i.e., skills may be developed through trying a new activity, such as changing a tyre or cooking a meal from another country. “Developing skills”, especially “leadership”, is associated with neoliberal citizenship as leadership is idealised, particularly about the entrepreneurial self. “Leadership” was probably the most common idea raised in the focus groups (also sometimes raised by interviewees). However, it was a nebulous concept, and the Rangers gave a broad range of definitions, most of which were associated with neoliberal citizenship – for example, they suggested that leadership included aspects of taking charge, being capable of organising, being inclusive, and helping others out. Thus, leadership is understood to encompass aspects that are feminine (such as helping others), masculine (taking charge), and gender-neutral (organisation). Overall, leadership was positioned as inherently good and fit neatly into the discourses about developing the self, thus indicating its relationship to neoliberal subjectivity.

The adults also implied that aspects of femininity were negative – e.g., the “Making the Most of Yourself” and “Hostess” badges – and additionally, that these types of badges related to femininity should be left in the past, therefore associating gender-neutrality with the post-feminist present and femininity with the un-feminist past. Taken along with the Rangers’ perspectives, femininity was seen as restrictive while non-feminine activities were non-restrictive. Historically, people working on the programme may have had similar ideas, leading to changes such as removing the “Hostess” badge.³⁵

Conclusion

Overall, I have found that the Ranger programme acts as a location of neoliberal subjectification but also offers opportunities for Rangers to step outside neoliberal ideology through the fun, social connection, and collective decision-making found in the programme. This suggests that the idea of neoliberal citizenship is a significant force in the changes made to the programme over time. Changing ideas of citizenship were closely related to the transition to neoliberalism that occurred in the late 1970s/early 1980s, with the ideals of neoliberal citizenship such as self-management, future orientation to work, and the project of the self coming to the fore in the programme from 1984 – 2003. Thus, I conclude that the Ranger programme is a form of neoliberal governmentality. By creating an ideal form of citizenship (for teenage girls) and outlining concrete activities, the Ranger programme inculcates in girls a sense of self-management and self-responsibility. Although citizenship-related ideas, like “leadership”, are perceived as gender-neutral by Rangers and adults in Guiding, these concepts of neoliberal citizenship should be understood as gendered due to their association with girlhood specifically. Several other researchers have noted this

³⁵ Activities included: “receive, introduce and entertain guests... Prepare a floral arrangement... Plan refreshments... Plan decorations for these occasions... Show you are a good hostess by entertaining a few of your friends to a dinner... Study good grooming and good manners. This includes deportment, etiquette, hair care, use of cosmetics, etc.” (Wood, 1974, p. 88).

tendency within institutions for girls (for example, Cruikshank, 1996; Goodkind, 2009; L. Smith & Paterson, 2018). The programme also offers opportunities to contradict ideal neoliberal citizenship; the emphasis on fun and friendship offers alternatives to neoliberalism's productivity-oriented, individualistic focus, while opportunities for autonomy and critical thinking allow Rangers to develop skills that help them understand power structures in society. Thus, I have shown that rather than femininity or gender-appropriate activities defining changes in the programme, changing ideas of citizenship have been a primary driver of change in the Girl Guiding Ranger programme.

Concerning gender within the programme, Rangers is understood by those involved as a gender-neutral and empowering project, using a neoliberal feminist framework to reconcile the contradiction of a girls-only organisation within a post-feminist context. My findings complicate a notion of Girl Guiding as either straightforwardly feminist throughout its history (because of its focus on masculine/gender-neutral activities) or becoming more feminist over time. These findings align with the findings of Halls et al. (2018), who suggested that changes in the British Girl Guiding programme did not follow the waves of feminism but often related more to changing ideas about childhood. However, my findings oppose much of the literature on GSUSA, which often positions the Girl Scouts as unproblematically (or at least expectedly problematically) feminist throughout its history, particularly because it expanded notions of girlhood and was not restrictive (for example, Anderson & Behringer, 2010, pp. 105–106). My findings also do not support the idea that Girl Guiding used to be unfeminist (because it focused on traditionally feminine activities like cooking and sewing) but is now more feminist (because it offers traditionally masculine or gender-neutral activities like science and technology). While this idea was rarely discussed in the literature (although Anderson and Behringer, 2010 touched on it), this idea came up in interviews, focus groups, and when informally discussing my research with women both inside and outside Guiding,

usually because participants wished to refute it or because they wanted to present a specific example (usually the “Hostess” badge) which was not representative of the whole programme. Instead, I found that participants thought the notion of femininity within the programme was troubling, preferring to characterise the programme as gender-neutral. This was achieved through “skills” discourses, like developing leadership skills and trying new things, which were characterised as gender-neutral. This was seen to resolve the contradictions posed by a post-feminist context.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have discussed how the Ranger programme articulates the girl subject as a citizen, with the type of citizenship education emphasised by the programme changing to reflect neoliberal ideals. I also explored how participants understood the role of gender in the programme, finding that although the programme did not emphasise femininity, participants were eager to disavow femininity when it did appear. They instead preferred to highlight gender-neutral skills-building as the primary outcome of the programme. Overall, I concluded that while Rangers was a place where neoliberal subjectivity was impressed upon young people, the programme also had opportunities to contest this.

Future Research Directions

My research has encompassed some fascinating areas that would benefit from further research. More in-depth content analyses that include the whole handbooks rather than just the badges and clauses could offer interesting insight into the messages surrounding the programme. Likewise, analogous investigations of the other sections could expand on how citizenship is conceptualised for younger girls. Content analyses with a comparative aspect, like comparing the Guiding programme with the Scouting programme, might offer insight into specifically gendered areas of Guiding (and Scouting).

I would like to see more GG/GS research that includes girls' voices, particularly through including actual girl participants. More broadly speaking, I found little research that included participants currently involved in Guiding. Future research directions to address this gap could include interviews with volunteers or staff members or ethnographic research with specific units.

Finally, many participants mentioned the inclusion of genderqueer and transgender young people in Girl Guiding.³⁶ While this was outside the scope of my research, it is a subject that I am sympathetic to as a queer leader, and it would be fantastic to see research on how Guiding can accommodate gender diversity while preserving the importance of having a space primarily for girls.

2023 Programme

The 2023 version of the Ranger programme (“Pukapuka Akoranga: Rangers Programme Book”, GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015/2022) was released in late December 2022 while I completed the writing portion of my thesis. Unfortunately, this was too late to include it in my analyses. However, I have read the new document and was pleased to note that the new programme addresses several of the issues brought up by my participants. It appears that the Ranger Review team put much careful thought into the ICs, especially – the number has greatly reduced, with most Pathways now having 3-5 certificates rather than the 8-12 of the 2015 programme. The option for Rangers to design their own ICs and clauses remains present and is explicitly highlighted throughout the programme book. Many activities have been updated and modernised, incorporating feedback from Rangers and leaders, such as the complete overhaul of the “Making the Most of Yourself” certificate to become the “My Style” certificate. I would like to note the addition of many clauses acknowledging the queer community, such as “Rainbow Rights” from the “Global Citizen” certificate: “Consider how the rights of the Rainbow community are acknowledged or denied around the globe. Look at how New Zealand stacks up against other countries in terms of our legislation and how we support the Rainbow community” (GirlGuiding New Zealand,

³⁶ My understanding is that GirlGuiding is working on policies around queer inclusion, and many Rangers, leaders, and units are currently inclusive towards gender-queer, questioning, and transgender young people.

2015/2022, p. 59). This reflects Rangers' interest in the Rainbow community, as Gina and Karen noted in their interviews. I am sure that Rangers and leaders alike will be delighted to try out the new programme and activities.

Overall, I want to end by emphasising the importance of Guiding to my participants – many of them identified how having a space specifically for girls and women helped them develop confidence and skills. The Rangers also discussed how their experiences in Rangers were beneficial to them in encouraging independence and decision-making abilities, building skills and confidence, finding part-time jobs and imagining future careers, and expanding their perspectives. While I have characterised some of these ideas as neoliberal citizenship education in my analysis, it is important to acknowledge that the Rangers appreciated these aspects of their experience because they live in a world where they have to navigate neoliberal ideals of success, and they thought that Guiding was offering them tools to navigate their world.

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³⁷ This list includes only the handbooks from which I drew content for the content analyses. Other handbooks/guidebooks mentioned are located in the main reference list.

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Appendix A: Participant Data

Not all participants returned their questionnaires or filled them out in full, so the number of participants listed does not total 17 in all cases.

Table A1

Age of focus group participants

Age	Number of participants
13-14	5
15-16	3
17-18	3

I have no way of knowing if this age breakdown is representative of Ranger membership within New Zealand because Girl Guiding does not publish age breakdowns of its membership categories.

Table A2

Location of focus group participants

Location	Number of participants
Auckland	11
Hamilton	3
New Plymouth	1
Whakatāne	1

This location breakdown is somewhat reflective of the make-up of Girl Guiding more generally (the 2020 Annual Report shows 3,595 girl members in Northland [Te Tai Tokerau]/Auckland [Tāmaki Makaurau], compared to 2,258 in the whole of the South Island [Te Waipounamu]).

Table A3

Ethnicity of focus group participants

Ethnicity	Number of participants
NZ European	6
NZ European/Scottish	1
NZ European/Scottish/Greek	1
NZ European/Māori	1

I have no way of knowing if this ethnic breakdown is representative of Girl Guiding, because GGNZ does not publish statistics about members' ethnicities. Anecdotally, it is acknowledged that Guiding tends to be a majority-Pākehā organisation.

Appendix B: Tables of the Promise and Law

Table B1

The Guiding Promise in each programme iteration

Row	1968 ³⁸	1974 ³⁹	1984 ⁴⁰	1993 ⁴¹	2003 ⁴²	2015 ⁴³
1	I promise that	On my honour I promise that	I promise on my honour	On my honour, I promise	I promise, with the help of my God	I promise
2	I will do my best	I will do my BEST (emphasis original)	to do my best	to do my best	to do my best	to do my best
3					to be true to myself	to be true to myself
4	to do my duty to God,	to do my duty to God	to do my duty to God	to serve my God, the Queen and my country		to develop my beliefs
5	to serve the Queen	to serve the Queen and my country	to serve the Queen and my country,		to help my country	
6	help other peoples					
7						take action for a better world

³⁸ 1968 wording taken from *The Ranger Guide Handbook* (Carter, 1968/1970, p. 2).

³⁹ 1974 wording taken from *The Ranger Guide Handbook* (Wood, 1974, chapter 2).

⁴⁰ 1984 wording taken from *The New Zealand Ranger Guide Handbook* (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4).

⁴¹ 1993 wording taken from *The New Zealand Guide Branch Resource Manual* (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6). This source was used because I accidentally did not scan the Promise and Law from *The New Zealand Ranger Handbook* (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995) and had already returned it to the archives when I realised. The Promise and Law is the same across all sections.

⁴² 2003 wording taken from *The Ranger's Guide = Te aratohu mo nga Kaitiaki* (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37).

⁴³ 2015 wording taken from *Rangers: My Journey* (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 15).

8

to keep the
Guide Law.

to keep the
Guide law

to keep the
Guide law

and to live
by the
Guide Law

to live by
the Guide
Law

to live by
the
Guide
Law

Table B2*Changes to the Guide Law in each programme iteration.*

Row	1968 ⁴⁴	1974 ⁴⁵	1984 ⁴⁶	1993 ⁴⁷	2003 ⁴⁸	2015 ⁴⁹
1				As a Guide...	As a Guide, I will try to...	As a Guide, I will try to...
2a	A Guide is loyal and can be trusted	A Guide is to be trusted	A Guide is to be trusted.	I can be trusted	be honest and trustworthy	be honest and trustworthy
2b		A Guide is loyal	A Guide is loyal.	I am loyal		
3	A Guide takes care of her own possessions and those of other people					
4	A Guide is helpful	A Guide is useful and helps others at all times	A Guide is useful and helps others.	I am helpful	respect and help other people	respect and help other people
5	A Guide is obedient	A Guide is obedient	A Guide is obedient.	I respect leadership		
6	A Guide is polite and considerate	A Guide is courteous	A Guide is courteous.	I am polite and considerate		

⁴⁴ 1968 wording taken from *The Ranger Guide Handbook* (Carter, 1968/1970, p. 3).

⁴⁵ 1974 wording taken from *The Ranger Guide Handbook* (Wood, 1974, chapter 2).

⁴⁶ 1984 wording taken from *The New Zealand Ranger Guide Handbook* (Girl Guide Association New Zealand, 1984, p. 4).

⁴⁷ 1993 wording taken from *The New Zealand Guide Branch Resource Manual* (Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1993, p. 6). This source was used because I accidentally did not scan the Promise and Law from *The New Zealand Ranger Handbook* (Corrin & Girl Guides Association New Zealand, 1995) and had already returned it to the archives when I realised. The Promise and Law is the same across all sections.

⁴⁸ 2003 wording taken from *The Ranger's Guide = Te aratohu mo nga Kaitiaki* (Guides New Zealand, 2003, p. 37).

⁴⁹ 2015 wording taken from *Rangers: My Journey* (M. Gill & GirlGuiding New Zealand, 2015b, p. 13).

Row	1968 ⁴⁴	1974 ⁴⁵	1984 ⁴⁶	1993 ⁴⁷	2003 ⁴⁸	2015 ⁴⁹
7a	A Guide is friendly and a sister to all Guides	A Guide is friendly and a sister to every Guide	A Guide is friendly to all and a sister to all Guides.	I am friendly and cheerful	be friendly and cheerful	be friendly and cheerful
7b	A Guide has courage and is cheerful in all difficulties	A Guide is cheerful even under difficulties.	A Guide is cheerful and has courage.			
8				I am a good team member	be a good team member	be a good team member
9	A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does	A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does.	A Guide is self-controlled in all she thinks, says and does.	I am self controlled and value myself	be responsible for what I say and do	be responsible for what I say and do
10	A Guide makes good use of her time	A Guide is thrifty	A Guide makes good use of her time, talents and resources.	I use resources wisely	use my time and abilities wisely	use my time and abilities wisely
11					face challenges and learn from experiences	face challenges and learn from experiences
12	A Guide is kind to animals and respects all living things	A Guide is kind to animals	A Guide cares for nature and all living things.	I care for the environment	care for the environment	care for the environment.