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Review Essay

Reviews

The Impact of Tele-Work on Working at Home in New Zealand

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Abstract

This paper draws on two strands of literature, firstly reflections on carrying out paid work at home, and secondly and more specifically, reflections on the impact of information and communication technologies on working at home. Home-work is often less secure and less well paid than similar work done in conventional work places. Home-workers are often female and may have limited access to alternative work. Information technology has created new home-work occupations, but commentaries echo some of the concerns about traditional industrial occupations, particularly for the more routine types of work such as data entry. This paper draws on several sources, including census data, to consider where New Zealand may be following or diverging from overseas situations and the potential of home-work based on information and communication technologies given current patterns in home-work.

Introduction

Acceptance that social processes play a role in the development of technology and its implementation has fuelled the analysis of the effects of new information and communications technology on the **quality** of working life. As well as examining the cost-effectiveness and other organisational outcomes of the introduction of new information and communication technologies, researchers have also examined their implications for job creation and job loss, their impact on working conditions, and their overall financial implications for the work force. This paper reviews census and survey data and suggests that information and communication technologies will provide new opportunities for New Zealanders working at home. Working at home using information and communication technologies has both positive and negative aspects. Those intending to tele-work can draw on a growing literature on recent experience of both tele-work and home-work. While current predictions on the impacts of new technology are more modest than those of the 1970s, tele-work is becoming an accepted option in workplace strategies.

One of the many potentially radical aspects of information and communication technology has been the ability of people using such technologies to work at a distance from both employers and clients. The phrase tele-work has been coined to describe this, referring to "work that is performed remote from clients or employers assisted by electronic communication facilities (such as a telephone, fax machine, modem or networked computer)" (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1993: 45). Tele-work can be done at home, in a satellite office owned by one enterprise, or a specially designed tele-work centre where access to equipment is allocated or leased to clients. This paper focuses on tele-

workers based at home. Mobile workers (sales, maintenance etc) also make up a high proportion of tele-workers but will not be considered in this article. Jobs using the new information and communication technologies are often in the clerical and professional occupations, whereas the majority of paid work carried out in the home has been industrial, for example assembly of items, crafts, sewing, cooking etc or clerical, using traditional office equipment.

Social research has focused on home-work jobs where the wages are low and conditions of work may endanger the health of the worker and those they live with or those using the product. Tele-work is only one particular type of white-collar home-work. Because those who write about tele-work are usually focusing on the impact of new technology, and those who write about home-work are usually focusing on general conditions (eg wages, safety, or pressure of work), there has been very little interchange between the two strands of literature. However some issues faced by people working at home are similar for all occupations: for employees, there is separation from other workers doing similar tasks, possibly under different wages and conditions; for the self-employed, there is the need to maintain a business profile and to avoid excessive working hours. In both cases there is a need to separate their home and working life.

Interest in tele-work or tele-commuting has been high since the 1970s although it has not yet reached the prevalence of early predictions (Berry, 1996; Steinle, 1988; Foegen, 1987; Naisbett, 1982). One of the problems faced by commentators is the difficulty in researching the extent of tele-work, which is not measured by comprehensive sources of data on working life such as the population census. In addition, a variety of working definitions are

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used in predictions and analyses: from any work which uses a computer or telephone; to those using more sophisticated forms of telecommunications equipment such as electronic mail and modems. European estimates of the number of tele-workers have varied from a few thousand to over 100 thousand and estimates for the United States vary from nearly 6 million to 10 million (Berry, 1996: 8; Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1993: 46). Figures also vary by whether self-employed, mobile workers and those tele-working for a minority of the time are included. Surveying individuals and firms is expensive, and this accounts for variation in methods for estimation of numbers from extrapolation from census data to targeting specific industries. Finance has not been available for a survey which covers a representative sample of New Zealand work places. Anecdotal evidence and two small surveys suggests the numbers in New Zealand may be small, perhaps only a few thousand (Bray, 1994; Taylor, 1992).

Tele-Work and Home-Work Compared

Like home-work, tele-work is said to be chosen by people who value flexibility in working hours, reduced commuting time and associated costs, and more choice in where to live. Care of dependents, mainly children, but possibly older people as well given the aging populations of the western world, is a strong motivation in seeking flexibility. Surveys suggest that tele-work could be acceptable to substantial proportions of the population. Di Martino and Worth (1990) quote a European survey which suggests 14% would accept tele-work.

Overseas studies suggest that tele-work can be broadly subdivided into two types of information manipulation tasks

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with accompanying differences in wages and conditions of work (Di Martino and Wirth, 1990; Holti and Stem, 1989; Korte, Robinson and Steinle, 1988; Monod, 1985). Routine tasks, such as data entry, have been automated and existing technology allows sufficient control over these tasks for them to be carried out at home under conditions which bear some similarities to traditional home-work. In these situations, payment is often on contract, with the worker having little control over pace, or timing of arrival and return of completed work. Work intensity is high, allowing some tele-workers to earn more than their counterparts in central offices who are on higher hourly rates, because they work on piece rates and work long hours or work very intensively. However those working at home often lack job security and additional non-monetary rewards such as health or employment insurance.

Professional work which is carried out by highly skilled and autonomous workers may also be carried out at home, when face to face interaction is seldom required to complete tasks. Unlike data entry and other routine tasks, where contracts may mask a situation where workers lack genuine control over their work, some professionals are making choices rather than accepting the only option. (The situation of self-employed people will be considered below.) Because the employers of the highly skilled would be faced with considerable expense and difficulty if they had to replace them professionals might (but only might) lose little comparability with their centralised co-workers in terms of income or prospects for promotion. Regardless they will still benefit from greater flexibility while maintaining a comfortable income.

Tele-work provides employers with similar advantages to those of traditional, waged home-work. Increased

equipment and communication costs incurred in setting up workers at home may be more than offset by savings in electricity, rent, cleaning, administration etc at the central work-place (International Labour Office, 1990). Some tele-workers are more productive working at home as their ability to concentrate is greater and their working hours are more flexible. Absenteeism may decrease. Although tele-work requires a new style of management, where results are more important than having workers present and on-call at any time, once adjustments are made studies have reported productivity increases of up to 43% (Di Martino and Wirth, 1990). The capacity of tele-work to allow recruitment among people not otherwise available for employment may also improve productivity. Workers on contract may be on-call for peak time contributions but paid only for work completed. The necessity for firms which deal in outputs which cannot be easily measured to develop a management style which trusts employees, negotiates outputs in advance and may encourage a flatter organisational structure are both an advantage and disadvantage for firms considering tele-working and many do not go ahead with tele-working schemes because of changes required in organisational structure and culture (Turban and Wang, 1995: 230).

Like the advantages, the disadvantages for those working at home permanently in both tele-work and traditional home-work jobs are also similar. Some disadvantages, such as increased instability in work flow and decreased income or loss of fringe benefits are a direct result of the strength of the employers' position. Others are less directly related to this. Isolation is a central problem. Another problem is an increase in over-work because the boundaries between work and other activities are blurred. This may be a particular problem for tele-work, as the

nature of computers can encourage concentration on the task at hand (Armstrong, 1992; Probert and Wacjman, 1988). Full time tele-work does not suit everyone, and it has been recommended that part time tele-work is preferable. Even those who find tele-work most congenial may not want to do it for more than a few years at a time (Gordon, 1991; International Labour Office, 1990: 57-9).

The similarities between analyses of home-work and tele-work include a focus on the role of women. Studies of tele-work show that the percentage of women who are tele-working in order to facilitate child-care is far higher than that of men who are tele-working. Women generally make up a higher percentage of tele-workers, for example in a survey of 14 European companies 72% of tele-workers were women. Women predominate in the low pay data entry sector (Huws, Korte, and Robinson, 1990; Steinle, 1988).

The recent resurgence of interest in home-work is driven by feminist researchers, who have noted the predominance of women working at home and wish to monitor home-work conditions and prevalence in light of its past associations with groups such as migrants, women with young children, those with health problems, or the disabled, all of whom have sometimes lacked access to the full labour market and therefore have been easily exploited (Daniels, 1989). These people have often been labelled as being in minority categories within the work force, but Allen and Wolkowitz (1988) have noted that there may be large numbers of people in these "minority" categories, for example women with young children, and that many others in these "minority" categories find jobs in conventional workplaces. Although responses to demands for regulation of home-work suggest that it exists solely to meet the demand of people in these groups this is not the full story. Allen and

Wolkowitz (1988) emphasise that although this is much harder to measure, it is likely that home-work is cheap, flexible, and convenient for some employers, who encourage home-work for their own benefit rather than provide it for the benefit of those looking for flexible working conditions.

Comparisons between the literature on traditional home-work and tele-work have been useful indicating how tele-work can be improved (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1993). This literature points out that home-work shares some of the problems of domestic labour; it is relatively invisible, unacknowledged, unrewarded and often done in conjunction with other activities leading to a double working day (Allen and Wolkowitz, 1988). Other areas of research also contribute to understanding of tele-work, for instance studies of the role of self-employment in a labour market dominated by wage work.

Tele-work commentators are interested in the self-employed, as the new information and communication technology is being used in the home by far more self-employed people than by employees. Berry suggests less than 5% of full-time tele-workers are employed in major organisations, with mobile workers making up just over one-third and self-employed tele-workers one half of the total (1996: 8).

The literature on self-employment indicates that there is a wide range of small businesses. Some have no or few employees, use commonly held skills and have few assets, and these vary little from wage work in their rewards. Others are larger, more specialised, and have substantial assets. These ones are usually more secure and receive greater rewards (Scase and Goffee, 1987; Bechhofer and Elliot,

1981). Information and communication technology based businesses will also vary in their specialisation and the stability of demand for the product they provide. Some exploit niche markets overseas, for instance translation services make use of the time differences between countries to provide faster translation services, while others require expensive equipment, such as computer aided design. Those depending on provision of cheaper service than is available elsewhere may be less secure.

One of the structural factors which has encouraged tele-work is the growth of the service industry, which involves large numbers of small businesses. These provide services on contract to both small firms lacking in-house facilities and larger firms wishing to contract out some tasks, allowing them to restrict their permanent staff to a smaller number of key competencies and increase flexibility. The reduction of welfare responsibilities administered by the state may foreshadow an increase in home-work. Some unions are concerned that tele-work represents a new low pay area which will be hard for them to monitor and protect (Anderson, 1991).

Governments faced with pollution, immense road maintenance costs and traffic congestion have recently promoted tele-work. The problems caused by large commuting populations, some members of which are travelling long distances in private cars to reach their workplaces, can be immense. The United States now has a series of well documented pilot studies of larger tele-work schemes, each involving several hundred employees. These studies will provide useful information for firms wishing to meet regulations requiring reductions in trips by single occupant cars (Telecommuting Review, 1991: 1). Other community goals met by tele-work may be promotion

of employment in disadvantaged areas (Ducatel and Halfpenny, 1993; Harrison and Qvortup, 1989; Hedburg and Mehlman, 1981). Tele-work centres, where people can access information and communication equipment in a shared local work-place set up by their own employer, a local government body or another private enterprise, are another response to the pressures of both commuting costs and lack of local employment opportunities. In the United Kingdom 130 tele-work centres had been set up by mid 1995 (Berry, 1996: 9). In Australia there has been some interest in tele-work in urban areas as a means of cutting commuting costs and overheads, but the greatest interest is in improving the education and job access of people living in remote rural areas (Homer and Reeve, 1991).

A comparison of the pressures faced by overseas and New Zealand work places suggests that New Zealand faces far less commuting pressure than most other advanced capitalist countries and the costs of office space in New Zealand have been relatively low since the recession of the late 1980s - many city centres are oversupplied with office space. Therefore the savings for employers through decentralising their clerical or data entry staff, which have driven support for tele-work in the United States and Europe, are far less.

New Zealand salaries are relatively high, so that off-shore data entry work is unlikely to be sent here. The Australian government has provided support for trials of tele-work and tele-work centres in remote areas but the government has not supported such trials in New Zealand. Education is experimenting with information and communication technology, but otherwise uptake of tele-work has been left to the private sector.

To sum up, tele-work is a form of home-work and shows some of the advantages and disadvantages reported in the literature on other home-work occupations. The greater the skill levels, the more specialised the equipment used, and the more control the worker has over the pace of the work, the more tele-work differs from the types of traditional home-work most commonly discussed. In New Zealand, with fewer pressures on employers to introduce tele-work, it is likely to be taken up more by the self-employed, or those employees who are looking for greater flexibility in their work or lifestyle.

The next section discusses our actual findings and shows that although tele-work cannot be differentiated from other home-work in census data the predictions which can be made match most of the expectations discussed in the preceding paragraph.

New Zealand Home-Work

The review of the New Zealand situation presented in this article draws on a series of smaller surveys of different aspects of tele-work and extrapolates from them as well as census data. It is one of the final products of a programme studying tele-work carried out by DSIR Social Science, and, after the restructuring of DSIR, the New Zealand Institute of Social Research and Development (now disbanded). Census data provide a very general picture of home-work, and the way information is recorded makes it difficult to focus on home-workers as opposed to home-based workers. Home-based workers are those who use their homes as a business address and carry out some tasks there, but spend most of their time at the premises of clients. For example, builders may work from home. The

census data derives from the categorisation of people according to their responses to a question on means of transport used to travel to work. Those who answered that they did not travel to work are potentially home-workers and have been studied in this project.

Generally, only a few home-workers are in this home-based category and these home-based workers make up a small proportion of the total in their occupation. Farm owners and employees are the exception, and they have been entirely excluded from this analysis because the tasks farm people carry out are likely to be the same whether they have been categorised as working at home or not.

Other groups excluded are unemployed people, who could move into the work force in conventional jobs as well as in the home-work area, and those people whose occupations were not specified. In the following analyses, employment status has been reduced to two categories, the first combining all self-employed people and the second combining wage or salary earners and unpaid family workers. People on contract cannot be differentiated from these two groups as Statistics NZ does not code them separately.

Census data provides nothing on the motivation, satisfaction, or conditions of work of home-workers. As census data on home-work cannot differentiate which workers in any occupation are using information and communication technologies and which are doing similar work without these technologies, it is difficult to provide definite information on the situation in New Zealand from this source. Nevertheless some extrapolation is possible and provides the most accurate information we have until a major survey is carried out.

In 1986 the home-work force of 47 682 was less than 4% of the full work force. The differences between the home and the general work force (including home-workers) are summarised in Table One. This analysis is based on data obtained from the 1986 census. It was not completed for the 1991 census, as changes in the occupational codings used by the Department of Statistics meant that data for the general population were not comparable with the 1986 data. However the analysis of the less detailed data for 1991 which was available to us suggests that the key features of the differences described below will not have changed significantly.

Table One: **Occupational distributions for the total work force (including home-workers) and the home-work work force (1986 census data)**

	Total		Female		Male	
	Full LF*	Home LF	Full LF	Home LF	Full LF	Home LF
Major Groups	%	%	%	%	%	%
Pro/tech	17.0	18.4	19.5	13.6	15.2	26.5
Manager	5.6	7	2.3	6.2	8.0	8.3
Clerical	19.8	23.2	34.9	35.9	8.8	1.9
Sales	11.5	11.5	12.8	9.7	10.6	14.4
Service	11.3	17	16.9	16.5	7.2	17.7
Production	34.7	23	13.7	18.1	50.2	31.2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
n =	1,323,204	47,682	559,188	26,931	764,016	16,986

	Self employed		Waged/unpaid workers		Tertiary qualifications	
	Full LF	Home LF	Full LF	Home LF	Full LF	Home LF
Major Groups	%	%	%	%	%	%
Pro/tech	15.4	22.6	17.3	13.0	35.9	33.0
Manager	13.0	8.6	4.5	4.7	7.1	7.0
Clerical	4.5	10.5	22.2	39.5	13.3	17.8
Sales	21.0	15.6	10.0	6.1	8.1	8.8
Service	9.9	15.3	11.5	19.1	6.9	12.5
Production	36.2	27.3	34.6	17.5	28.8	21.0
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
n =	174,183	26,859	1,145,037	20,823	513,810	19,272

* LF = Labour Force.

NB Full and part-time workers are included in all categories

Source: Published census data and unpublished data from census held by SR&D

The analysis shows that there are considerable differences between the home and full work force in terms of their distribution over the major occupational categories. Home-workers are more likely to be white collar workers than those in conventional work places, but this simple split hides a different mix of individual occupations.

Home-workers were far more likely to be self-employed than workers in general in 1986 (56% compared with 13% in the general work force). Home-working men were most likely to be self-employed (75% compared to only 45% of home-working women) and professional/technical, service,

and production, construction and transport home-workers were far more likely to be self-employed.

Men and women tend to operate in separate labour markets generally, and these were also different for male and female home-workers - once they have decided to work at home men and women still face different opportunities. The majority of the 1986 home-work force was female (62%). Female home-workers were highly likely to be clerical workers (34% compared with less than 10% of men) and far less likely than male home-workers to be professionals, managers, or in production, construction or transport. The most common individual home-work occupations were a mix of clerical and managerial ones (these people probably run small businesses rather than providing these types of services for clients), owners of accommodation and eating places, industrial work, and professional work (see Table Two).

Table Two: Common Home-work Occupations

Occupations	Totals 1986	Occupations	Totals 1986
General clerk	4482	Shop assistant	1218
Working proprietors, service	3777	Religious workers	1029
Manager	3315	Construction workers	906
Artists, authors etc	3126	Managers, services	858
Sewing	3057	Knitting, finishing	765
Secretary, typist	2835	Fitters & turners, mechanics	723
Working proprietor, sales	2700	Drivers	669
Book keeper	1959	Housework	684
Architects, engineers	1368	Electrical workers	651

Source: Unpublished data from census held by SR&D

To summarise the relationship between the distribution of key sub groups across the home and full work force, we fitted logit models to the census tables for 1986. Agresti (1990) defines logit models as relating one binary variable to a set of other variables. Two sets of census data, from published and unpublished census tables, were studied. Data on place of employment (home or other), occupational distribution, gender, and employment status were included in one data set while data on place of employment, occupation, gender and education were in the other. Because of the nature of our data set, which was based on published census data, we were unable to control simultaneously for both education and employment status as the raw data does not provide a breakdown which includes both variables in the same table. The logit models allow the effect of a particular variable on outcome (home-working in this case) to be estimated while controlling for a number of confounding variables. A confounding variable is one which is suspected of creating a spurious relationship. Controlling for these suggests the results which would have occurred if the confounding variables had the same distribution in home-workers as in non home-workers. The results are expressed as odds ratios. When the prevalence of an outcome variable is low such as is the case with home-working, it is well known that the odds ratio closely approximates the relative risk. For example, an odds ratio of five suggests that members of a comparison group are five times more likely to be home-workers than members of the reference group.

Preliminary logit modelling suggested the presence of interaction, between sex and occupation and between education and occupation, in the effects of these variables on home-working prevalence (see Appendix One for a summary of the methodology). Employment status (self-

employed or other) was found not to interact with the other variables and was by far the strongest predictor of home-working. After controlling for sex and occupational group, the odds ratio for self-employment was 17.4, that is self-employed people were about 17.4 times more likely to be home-workers than employees. The importance of employment status as a confounder variable can also be seen in Table Three. For production workers, controlling for employment status greatly increases the odds ratio linking sex to home-working, suggesting women dominate in wage work in this area of home-work, while men dominate in self-employment. Approximately twice as many women as men have home-work in the professional/technical category once employment status is held constant, and the increases in other areas are smaller once employment status is held constant. Clerical work showed the strongest differences linked to gender, in that there are over 11 times as many women in clerical work as men, and that relationship remains similar even when employment status and education are held constant. Overall, Table Three suggests that female home-workers are markedly more likely than males to be home-workers in the management, clerical and production occupational groups and about as likely or slightly more likely to be home-workers in the other occupational groups.

Controlling for education had little impact on the female/male home-worker odds ratio. If education is held constant, approximately 12 times as many women are home-workers as men. Male clerical workers are more likely to have tertiary education than female ones. For managerial and production work, six times as many women are home-workers as men.

Table Three: Home-working odds ratios for females compared to males, by occupational group

Occupational Group	Odds Ratios (female/ male)	Odds Ratios adjusted for Empl. Status	Odds Ratios adjusted for Education
Pro-tech	0.907	1.876	0.901
Managers	6.665	6.905	6.581
Clerical	11.275	12.216	12.172
Sales	1.276	1.840	1.336
Service	0.901	1.281	0.951
Production	5.159	10.421	6.355

Source:　　　　　*Unpublished data from census held by SR&D*

Although there is some variation by occupational group in the affect of higher education on the likelihood of home-working, this variation is considerably less than for gender (see Table Four). Higher education appears to decrease, by a factor of about two, the chance of home-working amongst professionals and to increase, by a similar amount, the chance of home-working in the production occupational group. Some of the home-workers in the professional group are writers, artists, market researchers etc, who may or may not have a tertiary qualification.

The production, construction and transport group in turn is more heavily weighted to tradespeople, who are more likely to have technical qualifications, compared with general process and transport workers. Overall, the affect of education on home-working appeared to be considerably less than for self-employment and gender and will not be discussed in depth during the rest of this paper.

Table Four: Home-working odds ratios: Tertiary education compared with no tertiary education, by occupational group

Occupational group	Tertiary education Odds ratio (adjusted for sex)
Sales	1.233
Professional	0.54
Management	0.815
Clerical	1.287
Service	1.382
Production	1.988

Source: Unpublished data from census held by SR&D

Changes in Home-work between 1986 and 1991

Between 1986 and 1991 the home-work force changed in both expected and unexpected ways. The proportion of non-farm home-work had increased slightly between 1976 and 1986, from 3.1% to 3.8% and it seemed likely that there would be an increase in home-work linked to the rapid increase in unemployment and part-time work which had been occurring during the second half of the 1980s. In fact, the home-work figures had actually dropped slightly (from 47 682 to 45 948), but because the non-farm work force as a whole had shrunk by 7%, home-work has remained stable as a percentage of the work force. The greatest increases have been among self-employed male professionals, perhaps linked to redundancies. This is not traditionally the largest group of home-workers but these

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people may have chosen home-work in larger numbers after being made redundant or may have the greatest flexibility in organising their work.

Analysis of census data cannot show who is actually tele-working, but it shows that occupations with the **potential** for tele-work make up a sizeable and increasing proportion of all non-farm home-work. Potential tele-work occupations are those which do not require full-time or continuous face-to-face interaction with others, and are based on manipulation of data using a computer. Tele-work falls into three main occupational groups, professional, clerical, and mobile sales work. Common tele-work occupations are listed in Table Five. These have been identified as suitable for tele-work in overseas studies and are common in the New Zealand home-work force as identified by census data. A fuller list is given in Appendix Two. These are occupations which may or may not be carried out in tele-working mode at present, but provide minimal organisational barriers to tele-work. They are already being carried out by people working at home, and although we have no evidence as to whether they meet the criteria of tele-work at present (use of computing and communications equipment), it likely that such jobs will involve tele-work in the future. Whether people in fact tele-work within these occupations in the future will depend on a complex mix of socio-economic factors such as availability of child-care, transportation costs, the state of the labour market and attitudes to work place culture and organisation.

Table Five: Common Tele-work Occupations

Occupations	Total 1991	Occupations	Total 1991
General clerk	2865	Accountant/ auditor	771
Secretary	2922	Law practitioner	96
Book keeper	1911	Writer etc	789
Architects, Engineers	2220	Commercial artist	309
Computer Programmer	120	Insurance, Real estate, Stockbrokers	414

Source: Unpublished data from census held by SR&D

Tele-work is likely to be increasing in the professional/technical areas which grew from 8 787 in 1986 to 10 089 in 1991. Of the 10 089 professional technical home-work jobs which existed in 1991, 46% have above average potential for tele-work because they involve a large amount of information collection and analysis, the results of which can be conveyed in electronic form and which require minimal face to face interaction (see Appendix Two for the full list of potential tele-work occupations). The professional and technical occupations make up a slowly increasing proportion of the general non-farm work force and these types of jobs are expected to continue to increase (Callister, 1993: 48). There is already a higher proportion of home-workers in these potential home-work occupations than in the general population and the increase has been faster. While the general work-force rose from 32% in 1986 to 33% in 1991 in the professional and technical area, among

home-workers it rose from 37% in 1986 to 46% in 1991. Professionals working in the fields of architecture, engineering, accounting, and managing who were working at home increased in numbers particularly quickly between 1986 and 1991. Of course the actual level of computer and other technologies used cannot be known without survey work.

Clerical occupations were decreasing in absolute numbers (from 11 052 in 1986 to 10 518 in 1991), probably in conjunction with the decline in manufacturing and construction industries (Brosnan and Rea, 1992). A substantial proportion of clerical workers were in this industry and requirements for clerical and support services will have decreased as their numbers declined. Clerical work has the potential to use information and communication technologies, but because many clerical workers are part-time, and are probably involved in straightforward administration for small businesses, it is unclear whether adopting information and communication technology will be cost effective for the majority of them. As many as 80% of clerical home-workers in the clerical major group are in individual occupations particularly suited to tele-work. Examples are accounts clerks, word processors, library assistants doing cataloguing, and booking clerks (see Appendix Two). In the general non-farm work force the proportion of clerical jobs with potential for tele-work was lower, and has decreased from 70% of all clerical jobs in 1986 to 67% in 1991. The most interesting question, whether routine clerical tele-work under exploitative conditions is becoming established in New Zealand, cannot be answered using census data.

Sales work carried out from home increased from 5 463 in 1986 to 6 129 in 1991. Mobile sales workers with the

greatest potential for tele-work make up a small proportion of all the home-work and home-based sales workers (21%). Home-based workers may make up a higher proportion of sales workers than they do for the professional and clerical groups (see Appendix Two). Although many sales jobs such as telemarketing could take place within the home, others would involve travelling to clients, then using information and communications technology to relay orders back to a central office. Sales occupations with tele-work potential are more numerous in the general work force, but have decreased from 28% to 26% of all sales workers since 1986. Some large organisations have already equipped their mobile workers with communications equipment and laptops with the ability to transfer data to and from a central computer. This will facilitate working from a home base but it is not clear if it is cost effective for smaller organisations at this stage (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1991).

The modelling of the relationships between gender, education, self-employment and the prevalence of home-work described above suggest that self-employment is of key importance in the analysis of home-work. The same applies to tele-work. In 1991 53% of all the people in potential tele-work occupations (professional, clerical and sales as listed in Appendix Two) were working at home while self-employed. This is slightly less than the 58% of all home-workers who were self-employed because of the high proportion of clerical jobs (which tend to be waged) involved. There is also a higher concentration of women in the potential tele-work jobs (70% compared with 63% in general home-work). Women dominate in part-time wage work in all three potential tele-work areas, in clerical they make up 98% of part-time wage workers, in sales 85%, and in professional/technical 79%. In the general home-work force the proportions are almost identical.

Systematic surveys of self-employed tele-workers would be prohibitively expensive because of the amount of screening required. A survey of small businesses in Christchurch found that out of 109 who responded to a questionnaire relating to needs for computing, office equipment and business advice, 22% could be considered as tele-workers (because they had a computer and worked from home, often with a fax or modem as well). Far fewer had modems, but fax machines were considered by many to be rapidly becoming essential to their work (Loveridge and Schoeffel, forthcoming). This was a non-random group of very small businesses, but it does demonstrate that communications and information technology is spreading among smaller businesses. A group of self-selected tele-workers, who responded to advertising in newspapers, the Listener, and computer magazines asking those interested in being involved in research into tele-work to contact DSIR Social Science was largely made up of self-employed business people who would fall into the professional technical category (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1991).

Wage and salaried workers do carry out tele-work, but in small numbers. A survey of the public service found that less than 1% of employees tele-worked in 1992, involving less than 20% of government agencies (Bray, 1994). Working at home on an ad hoc basis was much more common (68% of the government agencies had people doing this) and may in time lead to greater acceptance of formal tele-work schemes. A similar proportion may tele-work in private firms, but the only survey we are aware of contacted large firms only and found few had tele-workers (Taylor, 1992). Mobile sales workers were also involved in Taylor's sample.

To date, New Zealanders **may** be replicating the more favourable aspect of overseas patterns in that neither the study of tele-work in the public service, Taylor's (1992) study nor a series of case studies of home-workers (Hilsgen and Vause 1993) found evidence of low pay data entry carried out in exploitative conditions as has been found within larger economies. Clerical home-work using traditional equipment may be poorly paid of course. However, the reasons employers in government agencies gave for instituting tele-work clearly indicate that as yet it is driven by the needs of employees for more flexibility, for instance during pregnancy or early parenthood, rather than as a means of reducing costs or improving productivity (Bray, 1994). Gender is also linked to childcare by self-employed tele-workers (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1993). Provision of attractive child-care facilities would help identify whether push or pull factors are involved.

It is not possible to compare the average earnings of the potential tele-work occupations, but the averages for professional/technical and clerical workers as a whole indicate that they are better off than many home-workers in traditional home-work occupations such as sales, eating places, trades, sewing, assembly etc. For instance full time male professional home-workers in 1991 averaged $28,024 and male clerical workers $24,021 when the male average for all full-time home-workers was $24,815. The median income for all men was $27,270 at that time (Department of Statistics, 1993: 131). Full-time work includes a range of hours from 20 hours per week up and fewer home-workers are full time than members of the full work force. Full time female professional home-workers averaged $20,403 with $19,565 for clerical workers compared with a full-time female home-work average of $18,725. This is lower than the median income for all female workers of $21,461

(Department of Statistics, 1993: 131). Obviously the higher median income for males reflects the situation in the general work-force. How far unpaid family workers influence the mean income is hard to judge, but they are concentrated in a few occupations, such as workers in shops, restaurants and accommodation, managerial work, clerical work, book keeping and secretarial services.

Conclusion

Home-work has been seen as particularly vulnerable to exploitation by employers because of the lack of boundaries between home and working life, which allow extended hours to be introduced very easily. In addition, home-workers lack the support of other workers when dealing with their employers and may be difficult for unions to contact and support. The tele-work literature acknowledges some disadvantages, such as social isolation, and the need to avoid a double working day, or becoming locked into tight deadlines and unable to set limits on working hours (Monod, 1985; Forster, 1988; Probert and Wacjman, 1988; Armstrong, 1992). Unions have seen strong similarities between traditional home-work and routine tele-work such as data entry, and have been careful to make this point to employers. Electronic surveillance and piece-work can increase the intensity of work, creating additional points of concern for unions.

Currently tele-work in New Zealand appears to be most common among self-employed home-workers, with small numbers in waged and salaried positions seeing it as a means to gain flexibility, particularly in relation to child care. It does not seem to be generally promoted by employers outside areas which have traditionally been available for

home or home-based work at present (for example mobile workers and their organisers, or those involved in writing and analysis which requires little team involvement). No tele-work centres exist. The high proportion of women in part-time waged potential tele-work occupations suggests that union concern is justified, although it is not known how many clerical workers will use the new technologies and might have different needs from traditional home-workers because of this. Census figures on potential tele-work occupations suggest there may be a slow growth of professional/technical tele-work and a slow decrease in clerical tele-work. Many of the most interesting questions about home-work and tele-work cannot be addressed through census data, but it is clear that the census is important in monitoring changes in this area systematically, given most evidence is anecdotal or from small surveys.

Some findings have indicated that self-employed tele-workers are likely to have higher incomes, be better educated, and in higher status occupations than waged and unpaid family workers (Schoeffel, Loveridge and Davidson, 1993). This is not to say being self-employed is an automatic solution to work and income problems, as the literature on small businesses demonstrates. Many people move into small businesses as a response to unemployment and face difficult market conditions without the option of returning to wage work (Bollard and Savage, 1990). Growth in the number of small businesses in New Zealand has also been linked to: the increasing importance of the service sector; families with one wage or salary seeking added income through one partner becoming self-employed; and social change, which is encouraging greater diversity in the goods and services available (Haines, 1991: 9-11). Technological change is only one factor, but has enabled some small businesses to operate more efficiently.

In some countries small businesses are seen as filling an important role in the economy (eg employment creation) and are promoted because of that, but the New Zealand state provides minimal support for small enterprise development and none for tele-work.

There are many jobs with tele-work potential, and it is unlikely that all those in these areas would ever work at home. However the situation in the United States, where pilot studies have been under way for a decade, demonstrates how rapidly information handling tasks could be reorganised to fit in with working at home if the need arose. In only 10 years, tele-work has moved from the preserve of the self-employed and a few large firms with special needs, such as insurance companies, into the United States public sector. Using guidelines established by early experiments, tele-work is now being adopted by a broad spectrum of businesses. Under present conditions it seems unlikely that the New Zealand state will follow suit, because it lacks the congestion and pollution problems created by heavy commuter traffic in the United States. However Auckland and Wellington's traffic will continue to increase and could encourage tele-work in years to come. It would be interesting to see whether the well documented advantages of tele-work in terms of productivity in metropolitan and remote areas will lead to further interest among employers and the self-employed.

Information and communication technologies will not necessarily change the nature of home-work, but they have some advantages for those involved: they may improve communications between home-workers and clients and colleagues, making people less isolated, and they will facilitate the movement of people with sought after skills, who are less vulnerable to exploitation, into home-work. It

seems unlikely that New Zealand labour will ever be cheap enough for it to be used for low cost off-shore data processing, as has happened in places like the Caribbean (Steinle, 1988). New technology may make routine office work obsolete before this type of tele-work becomes an issue in New Zealand.

An increase in tele-work will not necessarily change things for people who are in other home work occupations. The difference in mean incomes for home and general workers is evidence that many full time home-workers receive lower pay than those in conventional work places. Even well paid tele-workers may suffer from this phenomenon. At the worst, tele-work could change perceptions of home-work in ways which leave other home-workers more invisible. If traditional home-work occupations decline in numbers, and people identify home-work with the high profile high technology occupations which are reported in the media, this is a possibility. It is unlikely that many of those losing conventional home-work jobs will be able to move into tele-work ones. Even with the higher skilled tele-worker, working at home may not be a perfect solution - since doing it full-time is rarely recommended. Even where income is not a problem for tele-workers, the need for personal contact and keeping in touch with others working in their field means that working at home is not suitable for everyone. It should always be a voluntary option, and may prove to be a short term one, with people working at home or not as their needs change.

Appendix One

As well as providing an efficient means of controlling for confounding variables, logit models also provide a framework for evaluating the importance of interactions

between variables in their effect on outcome. Methods of detecting interaction are often based on goodness of fit statistics and statistical significance of parameter estimates. However, this approach breaks down when applied to census data because the large cell sizes which are typical in census analysis render virtually all parameters "statistically significant" and make it difficult to find any model apart from the saturated model (a model with as many parameters as there are cells) which provides an adequate fit to the data. Consequently, we identified interaction effects using the following backward selection approach. The model including all two factor interaction terms served as a baseline model. Each interaction term was omitted in turn, and the corresponding likelihood ratio chi square statistic (a measure of lack of fit) was calculated. Letting LR_{red} be the likelihood ratio statistic for a reduced model with an interaction term omitted and LR_{ful} the likelihood ratio statistic for the full model we retained interaction terms which satisfied the following inequality: $(LR_{red} - LR_{ful})/LR_{red} > 0.8$.

The likelihood ratio statistic for the "final" model, including only those interactions satisfying the above condition (LR_{fin}) was then compared with the full model. Since for both data sets ($LR_{fin} - LR_{ful})/LR_{fin}$ was considerably less than 0.8 no further action was taken and the "final" model was adopted.

This approach favours interaction terms involving variables with many categories over interaction terms involving few categories. However, in this application it is unlikely that the favouring of the former had any impact on the final choice of models and the decision to include or exclude interaction terms was always extremely clear-cut. Logit models are discussed further in Aldrich and Nelson (1984).

Appendix Two

Potential Tele-work Occupations

Professional, technical and related workers

chemists (other than pharmacists)
geologist and/or palaeontologist
geophysicist, hydrologist
meteorologist and/or climatologist
other physical scientists
town and country planner
other architects and town planners
sanitary and drainage engineer
radio, television, radar and
  telecommunications engineer
computer services engineer
industrial machinery and tools engineer
heating, ventilation and refrigeration
  engineer
naval architect and/or ships surveyor
aeronautical engineer and/or aircraft
  surveyor
mechanical engineer (general)
other mechanical engineers
electrical draughtsman
civil engineering draughtsman
management, work study and methods
  engineer
other industrial engineers
mechanical draughtsman
botanist, plant ecologist, mycologist
zoologist, entomologist, ornithologist
other biologists, zoologists
other bacteriologists, pharmacologists
forest scientist (silviculturist)
soil scientist (agrostologist)

architect

hydraulic engineer
water and soil engineer
structural engineer
other civil engineers
electrical engineer
electronic engineer
civil engineer
chemical engineers
Land surveyor
surveyor (general)
agricultural engineer
other engineers n.e.c.
draughtsman (general)
other draughtsmen
quantity surveyor
biologist (general)
hydrographic surveyor
metallurgists
mining engineers
agronomist
horticulturist
farm advisor
statisticians
biochemist
bacteriologist
animal scientist
pharmacologist
mathematician
systems analysts

computer programmer
economist, general or specialised
market research analyst
research officer (social sciences)
chartered accountant (in public practice)
auditor and/or audit inspector
barrister, solicitor and/or lawyer
editor and sub-editor
publicity and public relations officer
other authors, journalists and related
  writers
cartographical draughtsman
curator, art gallery and museum
other sociologists, anthropologists
child and/or maori welfare officer
psychiatric and/or medical social worker
other personnel and occupational specialists
philologists, translators and interpreters

accountant
authors and critics
journalist and reporter
archivist
librarian
commercial artist
other lawyers
copywriter
psychologist
architectural
  draughtsman
technical and
  lithographic artist
other professional,
  technical
other social workers

Clerical and related workers

shorthand and dictaphone typist
bookkeeper and accounts clerk
other bookkeepers and cashiers
other bookkeepers, cashiers n.e.c.
bookkeeping machine operator
correspondence clerk
travel or booking clerk
insurance clerk
statistical clerk
card and tape punching machine
  operators
computer operator (including peripheral machine)
other automatic data processing machine operators
other correspondence and reporting clerks

secretary-typist
general typist
costing clerk
wages clerk
bank officer
finance clerk
clerk (general)
legal clerk
other clerks n.e.c.
coding clerk

Sales Workers

livestock buyer
estate and land agent
technical salespersons and
　service advisers
commercial traveller and/or sales
　representative
manufacturer and/or indent agent
insurance salesperson
stockbroker, sharebroker
business service salespersons
other insurance, real estate and
　securities salesperson

purchasing agent
buyer (general)
computer system
　consultant

wool buyer
wool dealer
appraiser
urban and rural valuer

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Potential Or Problem:
Collaboration In Research Teams

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1. Introduction

In late 1995 the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FSRT) (1995) announced its new research strategy (Society and Culture: Output 13) for the social sciences for 1996/1997 to 2000/2001, and a substantial increase in funding for research relevant to this output. 1995/96 funding was to be set at just over $5 million and to increase to just over $10 million by 2001. Funding for public good research in this output is also to be re-structured over time (para. 6). The Report says, 'The Foundation is mindful of the need to identify major social problems of New Zealand and focus effort on them, and this implies a concentration of effort through multi-year and ambitious research on the "big issues"' (para. 6.2). While project level research, defined as that conducted by one or two scientists over a 12 month period, will continue to be funded, the level of project funding will be reduced to 15% of the total funding for Output 13 by 2001. By this time, the Foundation expects that 85% of the total funding will go to longer term programme research undertaken by either intra- or inter-disciplinary research teams. At the expense of stating the obvious, this presages significant changes in the way in which much research in the social sciences in New Zealand is undertaken.

The value of good collaborative research within and across disciplinary boundaries does not have to be

rehearsed. However, the development of effective collaboration requires attention not just to the positive aspects of more complexly informed research findings, professional growth and the development of strong infrastructures, but also to potential *pitfalls* of undertaking such research. Recognition and discussion of the complexities of team research is all the more important given the lack of a tradition among New Zealand social scientists for such research[1] and a poorly developed research infrastructure (Foundation Report, 1995; Health Research and Analytical Services, 1994).

If New Zealand research teams are to achieve their intended potential then awareness of problem areas enables the development of appropriate strategies which both recognise the difficulties and seek to resolve them. In writing this essay I have sought to engage conceptually with some of the issues raised by reports in the literature on team work (see for example, Bell, 1977; Haas and Shaffir, 1980; Higginbotham, 1992; Lloyd, 1991) as well as drawing on my own experience in research teams. I have chosen to identify and address four interrelated aspects of team work which intimately affect teams' everyday operations: the degree of collaboration sought and the relationship of that to the

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[1]   Loomis' (1986) survey of research undertaken in New Zealand universities suggested that a significant amount of research undertaken was interdisciplinary. This research is now 10 years out of date. Moreover, Loomis did not define the concept 'interdisciplinary'. This lack of definition and a corresponding absence of comment about how respondents interpreted it leaves open how much interdisciplinary research was actually being undertaken then.

research outcome; the disciplinary and discursive nature of knowledge; team functioning; and the development of collaborative writing by teams. These issues are germane to intra- disciplinary research, not just inter-disciplinary research. Because disciplines do not constitute uniform bodies of knowledge but are fragmented by different interpretive positions (Geertz, 1983)[2] , members within the same discipline may have to address and resolve issues of discourse. I should note that the issues I am writing about here are not the only ones bearing on team effectiveness - this is also affected by a a range of factors such as quality of management and the nature of the infrastructure supporting research. Addressing these issues, however, lies beyond the scope of this essay.

2.   Defining Degrees of Collaboration

Although the Australian Science and Technology Council (1993) used 'interdisciplinary' in discussing the development of collaborative projects between the social sciences and the humanities and rejected the use of different terms to denote different degrees of collaborative work, other commentators and researchers

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[2]   Geertz (1983: 151) wrote, 'We are all natives now, and everyone else not immediately one of us is an exotic. What looked once to be a matter of finding out whether savages could distinguish fact from fancy now looks to be a matter of finding out how others, across the sea or down the corridor, organize their significantive world'.

have not followed this practice[3]. Turner (1992: 126) has written that the distinction between different degrees of collaborative research is indicative of a 'hierarchy of growing complexity' involving movement across disciplinary boundaries. Rosenfield (1992: 1351), in greater detail, has defined multi-disciplinary research as 'Researchers work[ing] in parallel or sequentially from disciplinary-specific base[s] to address [a] common problem'; interdisciplinary research as 'Researchers work[ing] jointly *but* still from [a] disciplinary specific basis to address [a] common problem'; and trans-disciplinary research as 'Researchers work[ing] jointly sharing [a] conceptual framework drawing together disciplinary-specific theories, concepts, and approaches to address [a] common problem'.

Luzski (1958), however, offers an even more complex account of the distinctions between different modes of team work. For example, in her matrix outlining the dimensions of trans-disciplinary work the achieving of 'fusion' (p. 108) or very close collaborative work requires attention to four major areas. These are:

From the standpoint of the research problem

* focus on a single clearly defined problem;
* the problem definition is arrived at in relation to the demands of the problem, not the demands of the disciplines;

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3   These distinctions are also present in the clinical literature on team work (for example, Antoniadis and Videlock, 1991; Bailey, 1984; Landerholm, 1990; Sands, 1993)

* formulation of the problem so all can contribute in its solution.
* the collaborative potential of the problem has been established as a result of the previous work done on it by more than one discipline.

From the standpoint of theory

* acceptance of a unified over-all theory;
* acceptance of common hypotheses and assumptions;
* agreement on definitions of common concepts;
* agreement on operational definitions.

From the standpoint of methodology

* utilization of resources of all relevant disciplines in exploring possible methodologies;
* team agreement on methodologies and research procedures.

From the standpoint of group functioning

* team members selected on basis of ability to contribute to research objectives;
* approximate equality of influence across disciplines;
* acceptance of leadership irrespective of the discipline from which the leader comes;
* flexibility of roles;
* development and use of common language;
* free communication among all team members;
* free interchange of information about the research;

* sharing of ideas and data among members from different disciplines;
* participation of all team members in joint planning of all stages of research;
* reciprocal learning and teaching among team members;
* problem-centred rather than discipline-centred or individual-centred team activity;
* minimum influence of research plans and operations exerted from outside the team;
* willingness of participants to subordinate own methods and interests to project aims; and
* publication of research reports by group as a whole, not by individual members.

The matrix both highlights the intricacy of the work and implies that different modes of collaboration produce different types of knowledge and answers to research problems, a point commented on by Rosenfield who has described multi-disciplinary research as typically not 'conceptually pathbreaking' but leading to 'immediate, but possibly short-lived, solutions' (Rosenfield, 1992: 1351). In contrast, she describes trans-disciplinary research as offering a 'more comprehensive organizing construct' (p. 1351), permitting the transcending of disciplinary and methodological boundaries, so leading to the development of a fuller conceptual framework and the production of more comprehensive and longer-term responses to the research problem. Equally, some research problems may require different degrees in disciplinary input. The point is not to privilege a particular mode of collaboration in team research but to employ the mode of collaboration appropriate to the problem, the theoretical and discursive nature of the project, the methodology and the nature of the group functioning.

These distinctions, then, highlight the need for the research team to clarify the mode of collaboration intended and achieved in order to evaluate the success of the collaboration and the research outcome. They point to consequences in relation to the conceptual grounding of the project, the working relationship between the disciplines and the outcome of the project in relation to its methods, ability to achieve policy changes and development of new projects. They also have organisational and infrastructural implications for the development of team relationships over time and for the organisation of research. For instance, a multi-disciplinary team whose members work independently from each other could more easily re-form in contrast to those developing inter- or trans-disciplinary work because the multi-disciplinary team's productive capacity is less dependent than a trans-disciplinary team on the development of longer-term research relationships.

3. Discourses, disciplines and collaborative research

My argument is that the concepts 'team' and 'collaboration' are problematic, not self-evident, concepts. Important though these dimensions are, they require theorising which moves beyond the functional /interpersonal /encounter type framework which much past organisational theory as well as much of the writing on research teams has employed, to address specifically issues of discourse and the ways in which powerful disciplinary practices construct, constrain and exclude knowledge. Successful collaborative research, especially that seeking to move beyond a multi-disciplinary focus, requires not only clarity on team procedures and

attention to process; it also requires attention to the discursive complications of such work. The more intensive the degree of proposed collaboration, the more necessary it is to attend to the issue of discourse.

By 'discourse' I am referring to the way a society assigns truth values, so privileging and allocating power to certain types of knowledge. Discourse, as Foucault (1980; 1981) has repeatedly emphasised, is intimately linked to power, to the shaping of power relations within society and to 'procedures of exclusion' (Foucault, 1981: 52). These linkages to power are exemplified by procedures like the separation of the false from the true, and by the 'will to truth' (p. 54), which are critical features of disciplines as highly regulated discourses (or bodies of knowledge). The linkages between discourse and the distinctive features of institutions is shown in institutional practices such as professional control over what can and cannot be said in a discipline (the establishment of the 'requisites for the construction of new statements' (p 58)) and by the institutional distribution of knowledge. A focus on discourse and therefore on language and its relation to social institutions changes the nature of the questions that can be asked and enables questions to be asked about the power and control embedded within systems of knowledge through addressing the self-evident and the commonsensical; and through engaging with the way knowledge-systems possess 'a kind of power that generates certain sorts of questions, placed within systems that legitimate, support, and answer those questions...' (Bové, 1990: 54). Discourse then aims to 'describe the surface linkages between power, knowledge, institutions, intellectuals, the control of populations, and the modern state as these intersect in the functions of systems of thought' (Bové, 1990: 54-55).

Some of these issues are developed at some length by Spanos (1993) in his discussion of the "uni -versity" (p. 44) as

> ideological state apparatuses constituted not simply to legitimate and extend ... the hegemony of the logocentric discourse of metaphysics but also and simultaneously to reproduce the dominant cultural and social political orders (p. 33).

Disciplinary discourses constrain the expression of knowledge; they are associated with scarcity through their attempt to restrict the play of meaning and reference. A precise example of this is provided in a discussion about the disciplinary initiation of students into sociology by Schwegler and Shamoon in an essay about how teaching staff expected the information in students' essays to be 'governed by criteria of appropriateness, currency, consistency and sufficiency based on disciplinary standards ...' (Schwegler and Shamoon, 1991: 226-7).

The existence of rigid disciplinary boundaries must be taken very seriously. Their capacity to frustrate any attempt to achieve interdisciplinarity, let alone transdisciplinarity, through the foreclosure of discussion and analysis is very real. I quote again from Spanos' (1993: 44) critique of the US academy, a critique which has, I think, applicability beyond that particular institution. He wrote,

> the physical and intellectual separation of the indissoluble continuum of knowledge into disciplines housed in separate and separated departments operates ultimately to produce teachers and students who, assuming themselves to be free

inquirers, are in fact subjected to the monologic discourse of the "pluralist" uni-versity and the dominant late capitalist social formation of which it is a microcosm. It is no accident, therefore, that professors and students of the several disciplines not only know little of what goes on in departments outside their own, but actively resist the the intrusion of other bodies of knowledge in the name of the autonomy (sovereign individuality) and privileged status of their own. Nor should the fact that interdisciplinary study has been insistently encouraged in higher education at least since World War II constitute an objection to this charge of disciplinarity[4]. For if departments do acknowledge the value of interdisciplinary studies, it is always *their* discipline that constitutes the intelligibility of the other.

This account of disciplinary discourse demonstrates why critical issues in the development of collaborative work need to be focussed on the validity accorded the range of potential approaches to the conceptualization of a problem by a team. These issues cannot be read as constituting just theoretical differences because attached to theoretical differences are issues of privileging of knowledge; this itself may well translate into questions of (budgetary) access and control as well as governing differential input into the final outcome of the research, ie, into writing and the construction of the report. In Good's (1992) account of interdisciplinary work involving a team of medical researchers and anthropologists,

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[4]   Squires (1990) noted the enthusiasm for interdisciplinary studies in England in the 1970's and the failure to sustain such programmes, especially in the face of a market -oriented economy.

significant factors in the positive outcome of the project were the local medical researchers' anthropological sensibilities (in part a consequence of some previous contact with the discipline as well as contact with a valued professor of rural sociology and village development), their awareness of the importance of local knowledge in the development of health policies, and their curiosity about their own culture. The anthropological contribution was valued by the dominant medical team members because it allowed for a fuller articulation of the research problem and methodologically it fitted with their intuitive recognition of the local nature of knowledge (p. 1366). In this instance, the research team worked well. Good wrote positively about the future of anthropological input into medical research as a consequence of her experience but at the same time she wrote from the margins, with concern about the *place* of anthropology in such research projects. Anthropology, ironically, was the 'other', the adjunct to the more powerful discipline of medicine.

I have so far written 'discipline' without foregrounding the plurality of discourses within a discipline. All discourses do not enjoy equal status within a disciplinary structure. I am thinking here of the entry into modernist discourse of feminism/ post-modernism. Both discourses raise questions (to name but a few) about the nature of evidence, the construction of the subject and of subjectivity, modes of writing, the siting of the researchers, the nature of the problem, and the foregrounding of the political issues embedded in the research (Gordon, 1990; Nelson, 1986; Orr, 1990; Pfohl, 1992). These are significant epistemological issues because they identify how thinking is structured by discourse *and* how disciplinary writing is regulated and

constrained. Collaborative work, then, must traverse not only inter-disciplinary boundaries but must also take discursive differences within a single discipline into account. Information is not transparent. What is noticed, how it is noticed, and how it is written are profoundly affected by the representational practices, not only of the discipline, but, equally significantly and differently, by the discourse in which the researcher is positioned. Collaborative work raises questions about the validity accorded different discourses within a collaborative research team, as well as questions about the point at which tensions engendered by different discourses and the writing which results from these discourses cannot be resolved.

This points to a range of disciplinary and discursive questions to be addressed in undertaking collaborative research. They include:

1.   What is the disciplinary composition of the research team and what is the authority of each of the participatory disciplines in relation to the others[5]? How is the ranking of disciplines reflected in the research design?

2.   What is the discursive composition of the team? Are the discursive differences within the team

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5   Luszki (1958) noted that disagreements over the formulation of research problems are often couched in theoretical terms, disguising power differences and relative disciplinary strength.

productive or so different as to be likely to impede work?

3. What methodologies does each discipline represented in the team employ in the analysis of the problem? What questions do these methodologies enable to be asked? How do they constrain the analysis of the problem?

4. From what positions in discourse is the writing and editing to be done? How much does debate about style conceal more fundamental discursive and/or disciplinary differences?

In summary: particularly as its practice moves towards inter - and - trans- disciplinarity, collaborative research could be expected to challenge and transform a researcher's position within a discipline; the alternative outcome may be, instead, the re-assertion of disciplinary and discursive differences which inhibit the development of a collaborative process and outcome.

4.   Team functioning in collaborative research

Because successful teamwork requires effective team interaction, much of the organisational literature on teamwork has addressed the interactive/interpersonal issues of process and team-building (Burgoon, Heskee and McCroskey, 1988; Fisher, 1974; Jewell and Reitz, 1981; Johnson, 1988; Nadler, Hackman and Lawler, 1979; Zander, 1982[6]). The discourse of team process as

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[6]   The organisational literature on team work is extensive. My reading in this area has not been exhaustive but I

represented in this literature can be described as embedded in the personal and dynamic. It places an emphasis on the importance of positive individual and group interaction if the team is to work effectively. Unsurprisingly, problems are defined in essentially personal terms - there are "good" and "dysfunctional" team members. Resolution of problems relies on the use of facilitation, the opening up of further interpersonal spaces and better communication about feelings and about perception of the other. One obvious implication to be drawn from this literature is that it is essential to devote time to team development and team process at all stages of the project; equally that lack of time for team building and lack of organisational resources complicates team operations (Landerholm, 1990).

The problem with this literature on team work is that it offers an inadequate account for collaboration in research teams because of its omission of disciplinary/discursive issues. Knowing where someone is 'at' psychologically is quite different from giving status to the knowledge they represent. Development of a research team, then, necessitates what may be time-consuming negotiation, discussion and clarification of each person's relationship to the project and to each other and the relationship of different epistemologies brought to the team. Issues of power and status are likely to be endemic.

What the literature does emphasise, though, is the importance of research teams' foregrounding the organisational dimension to the development and

regard what I have read as exemplary of much of that literature.

maintenance of well-functioning teams. Ensuring the allocation of sufficient time to do the research work, developing and maintaining collegial relations and clarification of responsibility for writing and editing reports constitutes part of the organisational responsibility.

Research skills, individual contributions, and team organisation

Establishing a collaborative research team requires asking hard questions about the precise nature of the skills a potential member may bring to a project in the context of the initial thinking around the problem area. Clarification of skills highlights the potential strengths and weaknesses of the team. It assists with the appropriate allocation of roles and tasks. The point is not that the division of labour has to be equal; the point is that all members need to be clear about what is expected of them and of each other and that these expectations are shared and agreed on (see also Smith, 1980). Part of this process should involve defining what each team member will expect to gain from participation in the project - an acknowledgement, control of some of the data, authorship of a report. Again, the outcome for each team member may not be equal, but must be appropriately linked to the contribution made.

The purpose of such clarification is to enable team members to explore the range of methodologies which could be brought to bear on the problem and to define a set of mutually agreed expectations about how the team will work together. Having a structure which can be referred back to if relationships break down is significantly more facilitative than becoming mired down

within 'the tyranny of structurelessness...' (Mercier and Murphy, 1991: 178), in personal accusations about individual failure to complete tasks or alternatively accusations of usurpation of others' roles (although these could still occur). If the team is to be able to function well, then members must be able to address key issues - the division of labour, the establishment of time frames for all key tasks, the formulation of realistic and fair expectations of each other, and the identification of skills and their utilization in the project. Further, thinking of the composition of teams in relation to specific projects and skills needed to address particular tasks means that positions in teams cannot be regarded as stable. Instead, leadership and responsibility for input will vary across projects.

If a team is to work collaboratively, then a process has to be formally established to make collaboration possible. Further, a research project may require different types of collaborative arrangements during the history of the project, pointing to a fluid interaction between different members of the group, whose contributions may vary over the life of the project.

The time commitment involved

A critical part of the initial negotiations should be around the time commitment demanded of each person. The time demands are twofold. Projects are time-consuming in their formative, developmental stage as well as once they are under way. It is easy to suppress one's knowledge of limited availability because of the pleasure (intellectual and personal) of being asked to join an interesting project. But it is important to 'recognize that the projects that *should* be done or that we *want* to

undertake are not all possible given our other responsibilities' (Mercier and Murphy, 1991: 179). Haas and Shaffir (1980) in describing the breakdown of a research team, commented on the importance of frankness about other commitments and recognition that accepting a role in one team may well limit involvement in other projects because further new commitments could well compromise the completion of the first. In their case, conflicting priorities increasingly complicated the team's functions of theoretical discussion, data analysis and productivity, disagreements became more difficult to acknowledge and collegiality diminished.

The establishment of a positive team process, clarification of the nature and quantity of the contribution of each team member, and of the time commitment are necessary to establishing and maintaining collaborative research. The concept 'research team' often has primarily positive associations: fruitful interaction, scientific disinterest; a drive for excellence; a challenge to disciplinary boundaries. These positive associations may impede detailed discussion of the operation of the team, whose operations are taken for granted and as not warranting enquiry.

However, the potential for a research team to be other than its positive rhetorical construction must be considered. Teams are structured and informed by a range of factors affecting the power and status of members, and by their institutional affiliations. As Douglas has noted:

> Institutions systematically direct individual memory and channel our perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize. They fix processes

that are essentially dynamic, they hide their
influence .... Add to all this that they endow
themselves with rightness and send their mutual
corroboration cascading through all the levels of our
information system ... Any problems we try to think
about are automatically transformed into their own
organizational problems. The solutions they proffer
only come from the limited range of their experience
(Douglas, 1986: 92).

However, because these more substantive issues are
often difficult to address, they may be displaced in favour
of a focus on the interpersonal. Disputes easily become
cast in personal and moral terms of co-operation and
loyalty; team problems are treated as communication
breakdowns to be resolved through attention to
interpersonal dynamics and improved communication,
and the institutional, discursive and power dimensions
are avoided.

5. Collaborative writing

The distinctive product of a collaborative research team
is writing. The delivery of the team's report signifies the
completion of the project; it is the written text which
typically is the definitive representation of the work done
and the knowledge produced by the group[7].

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[7]   This statement requires some qualification depending
        on the nature of the project. Running seminars or
        workshops with key stakeholders, for example, may
        well occur in conjunction with the production of a
        written report.

Successful collaborative writing does not simply happen. It is a complex production, having to confront and resolve cultural, disciplinary and discursive issues. Culturally, collaborative writing is constrained by deeply embedded assumptions, particularly within the Anglo-American tradition, about the production of the written text, especially the normative status accorded to writing alone, the superiority given a text produced by a single author, and the suppression of the range of activities which are not 'writing' in the strict sense of the word but whose close and formative association with textual production is typically overlooked[8] . In an individually competitive culture, moving from single author status to shared authorship may raise anxieties about loss of originality and about compromise and trust. Unsurprisingly, then, the qualities identified as valuable for those engaged in collaborative working and writing are that the person should be flexible, respectful towards others, an attentive listener, able to speak and write clearly, dependable and able to meet deadlines, able to designate and share responsibility, able to lead and follow, open to criticism but confident of their abilities and ready to engage in creative conflict (Ede and Lunsford, 1986; 1990). There are clear parallels between these qualities and those designated as necessary for effective team membership.

A key word, then, in collaborative writing is 'compromise', a word whose positive connotations of 'intellectual negotiation and collective decision-making' (Trimbur, 1992: 602) I want to emphasise, rather than its negative connotations of constraint, conformity and non-

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[8]   Collaborative writing has been defined as any contribution contributing to the completion of the document, including 'written and spoken brainstorming, outlining, note-taking, organisational planning, drafting, revising, and editing' (Ede and Lunsford, 1990: 14).

controversiality. Its positive dimensions point to engagement in the research and therefore to familiarity with the topic under investigation, with the data and with its range of interpretive possibilities. Ideally, collaborative writing should be a logical conclusion to positive team process, although the closeness of collaboration achieved by some collaborative writers may not always be feasible for all (Ede and Lunsford, 1983; Reither and Vipond, 1989).

I do not want to leave the concept of collaborative writing sited only within the interpersonal and processual. I would argue instead that productive collaborative writing is the outcome of facilitative team organisation, the flexibility of disciplinary discourses and the nature of the institution in which it occurs[9]. More concretely, such writing depends on:

* whether goals have been clearly articulated and shared;
* whether the team is characterised by mutual respect and openness among team members;
* whether writers have control over the text;
* whether writers can respond to those who modify the text;
* how credit is allocated;

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[9]   Collaborative practice can also have gendered outcomes. One study of collaborative work referenced by Ede and Lunsford indicated that the women in the teams studied had fewer opportunities to contribute as fully as did their male colleagues and further, even when they did do so, they were often excluded from authorship.

* the number and kind of bureaucratic constraints imposed on the writers; and
* the status of the project within the organisation (Ede and Lunsford, 1990: 65).

Productive collaborative writing requires, then, detailed knowledge of the project; agreement on the nature of the contributions between different disciplines; clarification and agreement on issues of status and responsibility; and agreement on the discursive structure of the final text. Arriving at these agreements in turn involves recognition of power differences and an ability to deal effectively and fairly with them. I would argue that the degree to which members of a research team are able to write collaboratively is substantially a reflection of the team's ability to respond to the complex issues of disciplinary discourses, power, and the interpersonal and the organisational dimensions of teamwork. Implicit in such a proposition is the delineation of alternative structures - a movement away from the hierarchical to the dialogic (Ede and Lunsford, 1990), in which are embedded notions of reciprocity, interdependence and expansion.

6. Conclusion

I want to foreground two themes that have underpinned this paper. First, I return to Turner's (1992: 126) phrase about the 'hierarchy of increasing complexity', used to describe the different types of collaborative research, to Rosenfield's delineation of different research outcomes as a result of different modes of collaboration, and to the assumptions of the thicker knowledge resulting from collaboration. If these are valid propositions - and I think

they are - then there are critical questions to be asked about the nature of the academy, the rigidity of its structuring of knowledge and the practical difficulties posed by current disciplinary structures to the further development of collaborative work. There are a number of obstacles to such a development. These include:

* the lack of a career structure;
* the status given to singly authored publication, at least in the USA where individually authored publications are given priority in tenure and promotion exercises (Ede and Lunsford, 1990);
* issues of gender and power in teams;
* the problematic status of social scientists in interdisciplinary projects who, although named as 'principal researcher', nonetheless may find themselves excluded from policy and budget decision-making (Higginbotham, 1992).

There are other, differently entrenched problems:

* the difficulty of challenging disciplinary boundaries because of their familiarity and the power invested in them;
* the resistance of the academy to new discourses;
* uncertainty about the breadth of disciplinary knowledge required and ability to critique that knowledge before students can be expected to move into interdisciplinary work;
* the development of modularization and compartmentalization of learning in higher education;
* the insecurity engendered by asking university staff to reformulate their knowledge; and

* the practical constraints imposed by university timetables.

There is, then, a considerable tension between institutional politics and practical constraints, disciplinary practices, the politics of education and research and changing demands on researchers. Developing a response to these issues goes well beyond the boundaries of this essay but in very broad terms, they underscore the rigidity and unreflexive nature of the academe.

If collaborative work is to achieve a more fruitful expression, then interdisciplinarity and further, transdisciplinarity, have to be taken seriously. This involves training which moves across disciplinary boundaries, which focuses not just on disciplinary content or methodology but on the discursive formation of disciplines and of knowledge more generally. Such training should, I believe, begin by foregrounding the questions posed by Foucault: 'What are the modes of existence for this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself (sic)? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? ... What difference does it make who is speaking?' (Foucault, quoted in Ede and Lunsford, 1990: 89).

My second theme is that the model I have presented of collaborative research assumes such research to be inherently problematic, given its grounding in competing disciplines and discourses and embeddedness in power relations. Defining the concept 'team' as problematic leads identification of core issues if the project is to be successful. The core issues, which draw on but also re-

phrase those identified by Luzski (1958) and are referred to at the beginning of the article, are: the collaborative potential of the problem, the disciplinary and discursive dimensions of the team and its processual, organisational and writing dimensions. These dimensions require addressing by effective research teams. Whether and how, in the New Zealand context, the changes governing access to social science funding administered by FRST will result in the development of inter-disciplinary training which addresses epistemological and discourse issues remains to be seen.

Acknowledgements

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Public Control:
Making the Customer a Supervisor
in the Fordist Service Sector[1]

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Abstract

The service sector labour process has a new participant, the customer. Unlike the traditional bifurcated labour process, service sector employers use an array of strategies to coopt the customer to act as supervisor of the employee's emotional and physical productivity. The body of the paper details these 'Public Control' strategies describing each as a fordist, post-production disciplining of workers. These fordist strategies are then contrasted with two examples of postfordist workplace reform within the service sector. The paper ends suggesting a research agenda to study the effects of Public Control upon workers, managers and customers.

Scenario
'Cheeseburger with chips, and a large coke.' My waitress, who had previously introduced herself as Linda, jotted down my order before scurrying off to the kitchen. She returned momentarily with my large ice-cold coke and something quite unexpected. She placed a bulky digital stop-watch on my table, resetting it to zero before activating it. In response to my inquisitive stare Linda explained the clock - 'It's

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[1]   Carl Davidson, Barry Foster and students in my Sociology of Work classes over the years provided me with valuable examples of Public Control. I gratefully acknowledge the anonymous *New Zealand Sociology* reviewer for his or her advice, suggestions and criticisms.

company policy,' she said, 'a customer must receive their food order within ten minutes of ordering the food or else the customer gets a piece of pie of their choice, free.'

Accustomed to the alarming growth of these types of gimmicks - where the customer is encouraged to be the unpaid 'spotter' on behalf of the company - I ignored the timer, sipped my coke and began to enjoy the morning's newspaper. Somewhere between the first 'news' section and the editorial pages I noticed the clock registering five minutes and thirty seconds, with no sign of my lunch. A free refill on my large coke came, unprompted, while I was reading the sports section at seven minutes and forty-five seconds.

At nine minutes and thirty seconds the newspaper could no longer hold my attention - I began to become caught up within the march of time. At nine minutes and forty seconds I focused my attention on the area between the kitchen door and my table - about seven yards - and still no waitress in sight. At nine minutes and forty-eight seconds I found myself calculating the time it would take my waitress to open the kitchen door and walk the seven yards to my table - I decided five seconds was more than a generous estimation.

A quick glance at the digital stop-watch showed that nine minutes and fifty one seconds had elapsed. At this time my bodily and mental capacities became totally engrossed within the game. My adrenalin flowed - my eyes were attached to the kitchen door - my heart raced with the excitement. Would my waitress appear in time? At worst the delivery of the food would have to come down to a photo-finish. At nine minutes and fifty-five seconds I sensed victory, I felt confident the cheeseburger could not

possibly arrive on time. The digital face of the stop-watch ticked past ten minutes. I had won. I was a winner and a free piece of pie would be mine.

Within seconds, and amid the euphoria of the moment, my food did arrive. Considering the excitement of the moment the appearance of the Cheeseburger was quite an anti-climax. My waitress Linda smiled at me as she placed the burger in front of me together with mustard and sauce drawn from her apron. Half-turning to depart Linda asked if their was anything I needed. I was dumbstruck. I did not know what to say about the clock. Was it my responsibility to bring the matter of the elapsed time to her attention? Or should I just ignore it? By this time the digital stop-watch read ten minutes and thirty seconds. If I was to bring the time misdemeanour to the waitress' attention it would have to be at that moment or forever I would have to hold my peace.

Goffman (1959) would describe what I did next as something between role-distance and role conflict. Before my waitress could turn completely around and make her first full stride toward the obscurity of the kitchen I found myself saying, 'Excuse me'. She turned around to face me. Given the opportunity to speak, I attempted to distance myself from the role of company spy and asked 'what about this?' pointing to the digital stop-watch in a humanitarian manner hoping I would give the impression that the waitress had inadvertently left the digital stop-watch on my table in error, and that some other customer might need the clock to time their delivery. My waitress Linda looked at the clock and said without hesitation, 'its over ten minutes, you'll get a free piece of pie. What would you like?'

*In a voice heightened by the race of adrenalin I displayed
my role conflict when I hastily gave my choice, 'Strawberry':
a decision I had made earlier, during the height of
competition, between nine minutes thirty seconds and the
ten minute finale.*

Data collection for this above impressionistic account
(Atkinson, 1990, Van Maanen, 1988) began in the United
States and has continued in New Zealand. C. Wright Mills
(1967) *Sociological Imagination* promotes the use of data
files to collect items that engage one's own sociological
imagination. The data in this paper represent one of my
data files. I began collecting restaurant place-mats,
newspaper and television advertisements and ubiquitous
questionnaires, initially in the United States where the
above fieldnotes were collected. Now in New Zealand, as
more and more service sector employers initiate similar
surveillance strategies, the data collection has continued.

In what follows I first define Public Control in the tradition of
Edwards' (1979) distinction between simple control,
technical control and bureaucratic control. Like the other
'controls', Public Control overcomes worker resistance, this
time at the point of service rather at the point of production.
Second, I produce a typology drawn from both New
Zealand and United States examples. The typology - the
time expectation, scripted customer service, the
questionnaire, the telephone questionnaire - explores the
mechanisms by which customers learn the expectations of
appropriate physical and emotional productivity and what
complaint process the customer is expected to use. Third,
the data suggest a new form of management of workers at
the point of service distinct from workplace reform.

Workplace reform in the contemporary New Zealand service sector entails employers attempting to empower workers rather than monitoring them (Perry *et al.,* 1995). *Kiwi Host* and the *Park Royal Hotel* are two examples of such empowering. In closing, the paper suggests a research agenda to study the effects of Public Control upon workers, managers and customers.

Public Control

Traditionally, the labor process has been the contested terrain (Edwards, 1979) of two protagonists, capital and labor (Braverman, 1974; Burawoy, 1979 &1985; Gordon et al, 1982). This has recently been changed. In many service sector workplaces the customer has been coopted by capital to monitor the physical and emotional productivity of labor at the point of service. This innovation transforms the relationship between the customer and the worker, recasting the customer's traditional right to complain to the management when a service is not up to an expected standard. No longer are these complaints generated solely by the customer. The criteria and standards of physical and emotional service are prescribed by the corporation.

While service sector corporations have historically employed 'spotters' - people contracted by the corporation to 'pass' as customers and audit the employee's physical and/or emotional productivity - the act of coopting customers to be spotters is a new phenomenon[2] in a burgeoning labour market.

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[2]   Utilizing the customer's unpaid labor in the service sector is nothing new. *Pak n Save* has customers pack their own groceries in return for the promise of cheaper prices.

The growth areas within the enlarging United States service sector - retail salespersons, janitors, waitpersons, general office clerks, secretaries, nursing aides, truck drivers, cashiers, guards, food counter and food preparation workers (Bell, 1973; *Monthly Labor Review,* November 1989:43-44) - are replicated in New Zealand: seventy six percent of workers are service workers (New Zealand Official Year Book, 1994). These dead-end positions are characteristically part-time, marginalised, pay minimum wages, are increasingly feminized and offer no future in terms of advancement (Walsh, 1991 cited in Perry et al., 1995; Deeks et al., 1994: 292; Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; Schlesinger and Heskett, 1991; Roach, 1991).

Motivation and management of workers customer service performance in such dead-end positions, positions which are prone to high turnover and low employee motivation, is problematic[3]. Not surprisingly, these conditions are not

Most supermarkets have the customer unpack the shopping cart. In most stores the customer's time is used waiting, especially during the busy evening rush hour. Self-selection in groceries stores is self-labour. Previously people had to ask for goods off the counter (Zimmerman 1955). By using the customer's unpaid labor, the grocer store owner saved labor costs but also made money from the customer's impulse purchases (Zimmerman, 1955:52). Deskilling of technology (Braverman, 1974) has also further allowed corporations to exploit the customer's unpaid labor. Automatic transportation ticket dispensers (train, bus, airline), bank automated teller machines, self-filled beverages in fast food restaurants, the touch-tone phone's digital receptionist are all examples of putting the customers to work.

conducive to a high standard of customer service. Schlesinger and Heskett (1991) term this problem the 'economics of customer loyalty'. When more than two-thirds of customers defect because they find service people indifferent or unhelpful (Schlesinger and Heskett, 1991), inferior customer relations converts into non-returning customers and decreased profits.

The 'economics of customer loyalty' make the labor process in the service sector a crucial economic battleground. Reichheld and Sasser (1990) claim that company profitability could be boosted by one hundred percent if five percent more of the defecting customers could be retained. Additionally, repeat customers are less costly. For example, in credit card companies it costs fifty-one dollars to recruit a customer and set up a new account (Reichheld and Sasser, 1990). Repeat customers, Reichheld and Sasser (1990) add, are more likely to refer other customers. Accordingly, the point-of-sale labor process has become the battleground on which to retain customers and build a company's profitability. This is doubly important given that in most self-service retail outlets, with their low ratios of staff to customers, staff and customers meet face to face only at the point of sale.

Rather than empower these workers, giving them more discretion, the weapon used by employers to retain customers is to empower the customer. To accomplish this task, corporations set up complaint mechanisms for their customers, thinking that a dissatisfied customer can be aggrieved and remain a future customer.

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³   High staff turnover is a disincentive to investment in staff development (Perry *et al.*, 1995: 232).

A Typology of Public Control

The four types of Public Control - the time expectation, scripted customer service, the questionnaire and the telephone questionnaire - all share three characteristics.

1.   the corporation informs the customer about what services to expect from employees

2.   the corporation informs the customers about the complaint process to follow if the customer finds the service below the advertised standards

3.   each type of Public Control is inexpensive to set up and inexpensive to maintain. The most labor-intensive part of the process of Public Control is utilizing the unpaid labor of the customer.

The time expectation states that the customer should receive service within a stipulated amount of time. *Pizza Hut's* lunchtime pizzas are served within ten minutes or they are free. The Brasserie at the *Regent Hotel*, Auckland, advertises its

> business lunch set menu from our award-winning menu...And if we're not able to have you lunched and ready for work in an hour, we'll make your next lunch with us complimentary (*New Zealand Herald*).

An advertisement on a paper place mat in a Palmerston North *Cobb and Co* promises a 15 Minute Lunch:

> We serve lunch in 15 minutes or your meal is FREE. Available Monday through Friday from 11.30 am till 2.30 pm. Free lunch does not

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> include: Well done steaks, Promotional Meals,
> Beverages or Parties of more than 6.

Other examples of the time expectation include the case of *Domino's*, an international pizza-chain, where until recently delivery workers in thirty five countries were expected to deliver the pizza to the customer's house within thirty minutes or the pizza was discounted by $3. A Missouri Court recently awarded (US) $79 million to a woman injured in an accident with a *Domino's* driver (*Time* January 3, 1994:12) effectively ending the practice.

In California, *First Interstate Bank* promises prompt service in its radio and newspaper advertisements:

> you won't wait more than five minutes in our teller
> lines. You'll find ATMs that are always working.
> You'll get responses to questions - and answers
> about your loan requests - in 24 hours. Or we
> we'll pay $5 for the inconvenience (*San Francisco
> Chronicle* 9/18/90).

Like *Cobb and Co, Denny's*, a fast food restaurant chain, offers what it terms a 'no holds barred, ironclad, written in stone, we really mean it, 10-minute guarantee.' The guarantee is written on a bright red card that is left on each table. Here the customer has two ways to get a free meal. Not only does the customer receive a free meal if the meal does not arrive within ten minutes, but the customer is also eligible for a free meal if the ten-minute timer is not placed on the customer's table. This form of time control is directed at the restaurant staff, not just the waitress/waiter: it requires the waitress/waiter and the kitchen staff to work promptly.

Scripted customer service is often promoted by promises of financial rewards or gifts of store merchandise to the customer in exchange for information about an employee's performance of the customer service script. Corporations will prominently display the script - a set of customer expectations - and the procedure the customer is to follow if the expectations are not met. In Alberston's stores (a U.S. based supermarket chain), managers prominently display a customer service script at each checkout. It says that if the clerk does not perform five separate tasks the customer is to receive a dozen eggs, *gratis*. The tasks include a sincere greeting, calling out the prices, counting the change back, offering help out and a sincere thank you. At *Winn-Dixie*, a Southern full-service chain store, clerks were required to pin a dollar note prominently on their clothes. If the cashier didn't come up with the scripted customer service - a friendly greeting and a sincere thank-you - the customer was supposed to get the dollar (Hochschild, 1983:149).

Questionnaires are the most common form of Public Control. These questionnaires are placed 'under the nose' of restaurant customers - on 'stand-up' cards on the restaurant table at Auckland's *Valentine's Restaurant and Bar,* on the food tray at *Georgie Pie* Restaurants, commonly on the back of a customer's dinner bill. Questionnaires are also used in banks, in hotel rooms, fast food restaurants, supermarket check-outs, and on airline seat pouches - anywhere customer service is routinely performed by an employee. The customer is asked to fill in the multiple choice questionnaire. The questionnaire is usually simple, asking the customer to comment on the quality of the service and the merchandise. Some questionnaires are extensive.

Tolich

Recently the author was asked by hotel management to fill out a questionnaire in return for a five dollar rebate off the cost of his room. He dutifully filled out the six page multiple choice questionnaire in less than thirty five minutes!

RESTURANT

GeORGIe PIe.

PMR
FUNTASTIC VALUE©
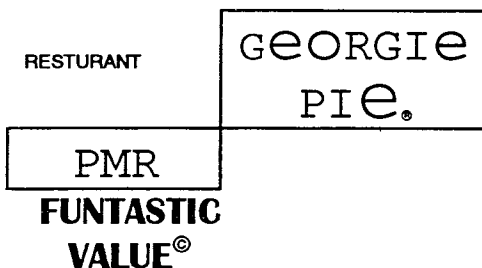
WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Georgie Pie is dedicated to giving you and your family FUNTASTIC VALUE. As a valued customer, your opinion is important to us. To help us to increase your satisfaction, we would like to know what you think of our products and service. Please fill out this card and put it in the suggestion box at the counter or post it to us - no stamp required.

Thank you for choosing Georgie Pie - we look forward to your next visit.

HOW DO YOU RATE US?	VERY GOOD	GOOD	POOR
Are we friendly and courteous	☐	☐	☐
Are we fast and efficient	☐	☐	☐
Pies Type	☐	☐	☐
Fries	☐	☐	☐
Soft Drinks/Coffee/Tea/ Shakes (please circle)	☐	☐	☐
Breakfast Muffins	☐	☐	☐
Are the restaurant and restroom clean?	☐	☐	☐
Value for Money	☐	☐	☐
Do you have fun eating at Georgie Pie?	☐	☐	☐

DATE   /   /   TIME   AM / PM

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER COMMENTS?

NAME: (optional)

        Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms

ADDRESS:

PHONE:

FREEPOST No. PMU20
Georgie Pie Family Restaurants
Private Bag 17907
Greenlane
AUCKLAND.

In general, questionnaires serve two purposes. First, they describe to the customer the manifesto of what to expect from the establishment. For example, a hotel might designate three grades for its cleanliness of room or quality of dining room food: above average, average, unsatisfactory. This grading system informs the customer that the hotel will try to provide average or above average service, but under no circumstances will unsatisfactory service be acceptable. Pin-pointing trouble spots for the employer is the questionnaire's second purpose. Customers are requested to note the time of the customer service interaction, allowing the employer to roughly pinpoint the workers involved.

Questionnaires provide the customer with an effortless way of complaining about a worker. For example, when the delivery-person's job routinely takes the worker away from immediate supervision, managers are restricted by how closely they can supervise the worker. While management may monitor the delivery-person's physical productivity -

how many packages delivered in an eight hours shift - management is unable to adequately monitor the employees' customer service. Delivery services such as the U.S. Postal Service and UPS (United Parcel Service) provide each customer with a Postage-paid self-addressed questionnaire to monitor the emotion management (Hochschild, 1983; Tolich, 1993) of their delivery personnel.

Telephone questionnaires are a variation on the written questionnaire. Via an '800' telephone number, customers are given the opportunity to register their complaints both promptly and anonymously with corporate headquarters. Pharmaceutical companies routinely employ this service to monitor the safety of their products.

Telephone monitoring is a convenient means of complaint for the customer, and a tremendous resource for the employer. The rationale used in retail grocery is that chains believe that most dissatisfied customers won't tell their local store management about 'their problem' (*Progressive Grocer*, June 1987:56). In hotels or motels, telephone questionnaires allow customers to report problems that cleaning staff might not notice i.e., a faulty television or telephone or a broken bed.

Until recently, most retail outlets have had little opportunity to rectify problems once the customer has left the store. These dissatisfied customers, according to Reichheld and Sasser's (1990) findings, were unlikely to return to the store, or chain store, seriously affecting the company's long-term profitably. Fast-food chain restaurants, with their highly mobile clientele, are dependent upon return patronage. The harried consumer may be miles down the road before discovering that the order is either wrong, cold, or spoilt.

Burger King, a US based fast food chain, have printed their 0-800 phone number on their fast food take-out bags. This number gives the customer the opportunity to telephone the corporate office with ease, anonymity and at no cost to the caller. Given the approximate time of the purchase, the employee in charge of the drive-through or the person who mistakenly put ketchup on a 'whopper' ordered without ketchup can be pinpointed.

Telephone questionnaires need neither be customer-generated or in-store generated. *Circuit City,* a United States national electronics retailer based in Richmond, Virginia, collects the names and phone numbers of customers from the sales receipts or goods-returned invoice of over four hundred stores and randomly telephones a sample of customers from each store. An agent will ask the customer about the clerk's emotion management: if the clerk (whose name appears on the sales docket) was polite, helpful, knowledgeable, and if the customer was shown the entire range of merchandise in the specific product line. The person who gave me this example had no complaints about the service, but went on to tell the consumer relations officer that the salesperson's suggestion that she purchase an extended service contract was 'too pushy.'

Two points are worth elaboration. First, in this example the agent was only interested in Public Control, and asked no questions about the customer's satisfaction with the actual product purchased. Second, the agent was not from the local Circuit City management but from the corporate head office. Public Control can be a management of front line employees and a management at the corporate level of front line management personnel. Public Control evaluates them also.

The telephone questionnaire type of Public Control takes many forms and at times creates a literal use of the term 'public'. Just surfacing in New Zealand is a bumper sticker: HOW AM I DRIVING? or HOW'S MY DRIVING? CALL 0800 -755- 0766 sighted on a Napier based, wood pulp *Pan Pac Forestries Ltd* truck. Posted on virtually every eighteen-wheeled truck or airport shuttle-bus in America these stickers read as though the driver wants the information, personally i.e. tell the worker how s/he's driving for his/her sake. Also taken literally, the bumper sticker 'How am I driving?' or 'How's my driving?' states that the driver of this vehicle consents to members of the driving public acting as spotters and monitoring his/her driving. Undermining that assumption of course is the prominent display of the vehicle's identity number to help identification.

For a driver's employer the bumper sticker represents an attempt to coopt the driving public to keep surveillance on their employees and their property i.e. cargo and truck. Furthermore, these bumper stickers give an employer virtual 24-hour surveillance over transportation employees. The bumper sticker phenomenon clearly goes beyond normal surveillance by the Police, or the right of a dutiful citizen to report a driver's license plate to the authorities. Yet in the case of the later, the public's right to report dangerous drivers has in itself been subject to (non-workplace related) Public Control.

The New Zealand Police 'Community Roadwatch Report' trialled between December 18, 1995 and January 16, 1996 provided citizens with a pre-paid questionnaire form to dob-in dangerous drivers who might be overtaking on no-passing lanes; driver tailgating; driving too slow; passing on bends or any other dangerous act. Citizens were told to record the license plate, type of car, and time and date of

incident. The report was confidential but not anonymous as the complainant was required to supply their name, address and car registration. The aim of 'Community Roadwatch' was to advise the owner of a motor vehicle about their driving behaviour.

All of the data in this study were collected in a data file drawn from where I ate, banked, shopped, flew, and slept. Now I am confronted by another form of Public Control where I teach at Massey University. Massey University, like many other tertiary institutions has adopted Public Control in the form of a self-administered questionnaire: SET (Student Evaluation of Teaching). SET is an anonymous nineteen item questionnaire filled out by students evaluating the lecturer. The evaluation takes place near the end of the course. The goal of SET is to create a high-quality learning environment, the pursuit of excellence with opportunities for professional development. Can this be achieved by virtue of students filling out the nineteen likert scale questionnaire? Can the nineteen questions assure the student-as-customer that they are purchasing a sound quality education?

As shown above, the use of Public Control devices not only records information about employees but it also effectively communicates the corporation's set of expectations about customer service to customers. For example, students at Massey University learn via the SET questionnaire that quality, the pursuit of excellence, is a paramount concern of the university and that the survey, for some undisclosed reason, will promote that quality.

'SET' and the other Public Control strategies listed above reveal one common modern-day strategy where service corporations contest the capitalist labour process,

maximizing customer loyalty, corporate profitability and the employees' physical and emotional labor power. They are essentially Fordist in orientation.

In Fordist assembly lines *better* quality control entails increasing the number of post-production inspectors thereby increasing the likelihood of locating defects. The problem with this procedure is that while the detection of errors is increased, nothing in the production process to prevent the errors from happening in the first place is changed (Kenney and Florida, 1992).

Post-Fordist work techniques differ. Commonly referred to as TQM (Total Quality Management) post-Fordist work techniques strive to eradicate errors from the production (or service) system by making each worker responsible for their task (Piore and Sabel, 1984). On a micro shop floor level TQM routinely involves teams of workers performing a range of tasks. These workers are empowered both to share ideas about the work process with management and to monitor the quality of other employees' work, notably suppliers *up* the production line. Fordist techniques represent the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff. Post-Fordism represents *continuous improvement* of the guard rail at the top of the cliff.

Post-Fordism *is* a positive improvement in the organization of work, representing a return to craft work, fusing the execution and conception of work, previously separated in Fordism and Scientific Management (Braverman, 1974). Why then have the service sector employers listed above remained within the Fordist paradigm when such a 'radical break with the past (Perry *et al.,* 1995: 16)' has obviously occurred?

One reason for resistance to post-Fordism by service sector employers is that most service work jobs have a high turnover of employees due to the low pay and unskilled nature of the job. Therefore, the employers would not be rewarded for their investment in training their workers. Yet this is not the case at Massey University. Academic staff at Massey University are on average well paid, highly skilled and careerist. However, Massey University is also clearly Fordist. If it was post-Fordist its commitment to quality teaching would be radically different from Public Control 'SET'. Instead, one would expect to see more investment in the people who produce quality teaching at the chalk-face. Such a commitment would manifest itself in three ways: *first,* a change in hiring priorities mandating proof of quality teaching for new staff; *second,* recent PhD's with no teaching experience should be given a lighter workload in the first semester and required to attend 'how to teach' classes; and *third,* provide a triennial refresher course for all lecturers.

Two other explanations for resistance to postFordist work techniques exist. First, the movement from Fordism to post-Fordism may be overdrawn in that it need not necessarily develop sequentially in the way Wilkes and O'Brien (1993) for example presume. The transformation from a Fordist organization to post-Fordist organization may be more complex and contradictory than a simple linear movement. Second, while Fordist and post-Fordist analyses of manufacturing rapidly accumulate, little research specifically related to the (larger) service sector has been generated. What, for example, are other sources of resistance to post-Fordism specifically found within the service sector?

Two Post-Fordist Examples

The two examples of customer service that follow are rare examples of post-Fordist work orientation in practice in the New Zealand service sector. The examples differ in that *ServiceFirst* refers to one workplace, Christchurch's *Park Royal* Hotel, whereas *KiwiHost* refers to a training programme designed to be used in a variety of workplaces.

At Christchurch's *Park Royal* Hotel management techniques are a blend of Fordist and post-Fordist strategies. *ServiceFirst,* the company's post-Fordist Total Quality Management strategy provides a way of resolving the tension between the need for a 'quality' interaction between staff and customers and the tradition of low-paid casually employed staff (Perry *et al,* 1995: 234). At the same time, TQM gives the hotel managers a way to motivate their workforce in line with a lofty mission statement that states 'we anticipate and exceed our customers' expectations' (Perry *et al* 1995: 244). TQM has resulted in a devolution of decision-making with front-line staff empowered to respond immediately to guest requests and to deviate from manual protocol (Perry *et al,* 1995: 240).

At the same time as workplace reform has taken place in the *Park Royal* hotel Public Control remains a remnant from the earlier, Fordist, era. Guest questionnaires are left in hotel rooms and on dining tables, often with incentives, as a way of collecting customer feedback and profiles (Perry *et al.* 1995: 241). Customer-service feedback is also gleaned in non-Fordist methods: weekly wine and cheese parties that act as focus groups are attended by managers, front line staff and regular customers.

KiwiHost is a scheme that is post-Fordist in orientation: it empowers workers, even those within dead-end service sector employment. *KiwiHost* was created in 1991, funded by New Zealand Tourism Board and by 1995 had trained over 80,000 service workers. *KiwiHost's* mission statement is to raise the quality of service and hospitality for all customers throughout New Zealand by training service workers in small and large firms to perform better customer service. *Kiwi Host* training programmes attempt to achieve this goal by shifting service givers' attitudes towards the importance of visitor industry in New Zealand and obtaining a personal commitment to service professionalism and pride and *KiwiHosts*.

I do not suggest that workers can be empowered after attending a course lasting just over six hours and being awarded a *KiwiHost* lapel badge. Nor would I presume that workers empowered by *KiwiHost* returning to their Fordist workplaces can overcome and dismantle these existing arrangements. Research would need to be conducted into *KiwiHost* training to test both the level of empowerment and the resistance outcomes, both by trainees and their managers. What I do want to suggest is that *KiwiHost* represents an attempt to focus on the empowering of workers rather than the disciplining of workers. In so doing, *Kiwi Host* and the *Park Royal* Hotel replicate in a modest way post-Fordist strategies as a means to solve the problems of customer defections.

Discussion

The monitoring of service workers' productivity is nothing new. What is new, however, is how the corporation has now informed the customer about this scheme to streamline

the production of the service. The corporation primes the customer's expectations to demand this prompt service and then backs up the expectations by supplying a ready-made method of complaining about any violation of the corporation's stated expectations.

Seventy four percent of New Zealand workers are employed in the service sector (New Zealand Official Yearbook 1994), and as the goal of three million foreign tourists per year looms in New Zealand this percentage is likely to grow, especially in low paying, dead-end, labour intensive jobs. Service managers have choices. Is it to empower workers, harnessing their creativity, as in the *ParkRoyal* or *KiwiHost* examples? Or is Public Control the solution? More research into these labour process options are needed to discover among other things how managers use the data generated by public control; how service workers are trained in work sites disciplined by Public Control; how workers are affected by Public Control strategies; how workers resist the strategies; and perhaps as important, how New Zealand customers use Public Control.

In the meantime Public Control is a useful concept to explore the margins within the service sector between Fordist and post-Fordist management strategies. Public Control represents a new dimension in workplace authority relations, distinct from simple control, technical control and bureaucratic control. In none of the three other forms of control does any party other than capital and labor participate in the labor process. What makes Public Control insidious is that two participants are duped. The customer is drafted into the control and disciplining of labour, even though they have not been contracted to do so. The service workers does not know which customer is coopted

by the employer, which customer has ignored the promotion and which customer remains ignorant of it. In lieu of this knowledge every customer has the potential to be a 'customer as spotter', making every customer-employee interaction potentially subject to Public Control.

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Influencers at the Interface:
How the Corporate Elite used the Techniques of Media Relations in a Campaign Against Electoral Reform in New Zealand

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Introduction

On 6 November, 1993, New Zealand held a general election. At the same time the public also voted for their preferred electoral system, either to retain the existing system of First-Past-the-Post (FPP), or to opt for Mixed-member Proportional Representation (MMP). MMP had been favoured overwhelmingly in a public referendum held in November 1992, where voters expressed their preferences for electoral reform. Eighty-five percent of voters wanted electoral reform, and 71 percent voted for MMP. But one year later, in November 1993, although the public voted in favour of electoral reform, MMP won by a margin of only three percent. This paper considers how a member of the corporate elite used the press to conduct a campaign against electoral reform in New Zealand.

Peter Shirtcliffe, a wealthy and prominent business person, used money and power, and the vehicles of paid advertising and the press, to establish a lobby group called the Campaign for Better Government (CBG) to conduct a campaign to discredit MMP and, thus, persuade voters not to vote for electoral reform. As chairperson of Telecom New Zealand and with influence among members of the National-leaning Business

Roundtable, Peter Shirtcliffe was a successful operator with considerable clout within the political and corporate environment. His underlying concern, rarely made explicit, was that a change in voting system could endanger the present economic reforms which were successfully serving the interests of big business. In the lead up to electoral reform the news media became the forum for public debate, especially for lobby groups such as the CBG and, to a lesser extent, the pro-MMP Electoral Reform Coalition (ERC), and also for politicians.

Although the Electoral Commission conducted a public information campaign, this was not launched until 14 September 1993, just under two months before the general election and referendum. Six full newspaper advertisements went to key and community newspapers nation-wide, followed by a brochure outlining the facts of the referendum to all households through community newspapers.

The role of the news media in directing this political debate within the public arena has implications for electoral reform as a democratic process. The voices who predominated in the press presentation of the electoral reform debate showed that the debate did not follow the supposed principles of Westminster democracy whereby all voices have equal access to the debate. Furthermore, the themes emerging from the discourses in the advertising campaign and press responses to the advertising campaign established an agenda for public debate. The media considered the issues generated by the debate, and the voices associated with these issues, newsworthy. Who were these voices, and what discourses emerged from them? What were the responses of journalists and other groups

to the advertising campaign covered in the press? What does the emergent political discourse within the press suggest about the inter-relationship between media techniques and sources? And to what extent do these media techniques and sources generate a particular political agenda for the public to think about? These are the issues this paper raises.

The Framework of the Study

The scope of the study focused on an analysis of the discourse of the advertising and press coverage of the anti-MMP campaign in the following national print media: the *Dominion,* the *New Zealand Herald,* the *Sunday Times/Sunday Star,* the *National Business Review;* and the regional *Waikato Times.* It included the six full page newspaper advertisements produced by the CBG. The study also included press coverage of responses by legitimate sources to the advertisements, to the campaign itself, and to its spokesperson, Peter Shirtcliffe.

The analysis did not cover press releases or campaign material published by the CBG. Nor did it include radio and television coverage. The time frame of the study was from early April, when Peter Shirtcliffe initiated his campaign, up until the election and referendum in early November 1993.

My interest in the communication of this campaign derives from the political conditions at the outset of the campaign: the CBG advocates were motivated by the fact that electoral reform would be bad for politicians and bad for business. The CBG were willing to use scare

tactics to maintain the status quo, indicated by choice of language and the application of arguments according to the strategies set out in the campaign blueprint (strategies identified in an *Insight Research* report and leaked to the *Independent* newspaper on 9 July, 1993). This report contained a blueprint of how to manage the campaign. It suggested that advertising should focus on 'providing "easily digestible, alarming material", warning voters of the consequences of MMP, and focusing on its economic and societal impact' (*Independent,* 9 July, 1993). The campaign targeted about thirty-seven percent of voters: those still uncommitted.

The analysis of the discourse of the advertisements and press coverage identified keywords used in the discourse of the CBG, the ERC, and keywords used by other legitimate sources. A keyword analysis identifies the salient or key words which communicate both the purpose and the meaning of the discourse. Keywords are determined on the basis of frequency and/or intensity: a term used repeatedly is likely to be a key term in the mind of the writer(s) of the text; a term of intensity may be one which is extreme in degree, size, strength, or depth of feeling conveyed (Foss, 1989). This keyword approach isolates and identifies the emergent discourse (in this case, of an advertisement or press article) in its skeletal form. These bare bones reveal the core of the argument, and the purpose of the message.

The News Production Process: Setting the Agenda for Public Debate

News production is reliant on the identification of legitimate sources (key voices) who, by virtue of their powerful role in society, provide newsworthy stories.

Legitimate sources are also the subject of regular stories. The legitimate sources in the electoral reform debate were those of the political and corporate elite: politicians, government officials, political campaign spokespersons, and key corporate personnel, whose power and wealth enabled continued access to the press, partly through their ability to fund extensive advertising (in the case of the corporate elite), and partly because, as legitimate sources, their actions were considered newsworthy.

Minor parties and dissenting voices are marginalised, either because they are regarded as marginal, but more significantly, because they lack an understanding of the workings of the media, or because they have little access to the skills and resources necessary to make use of it (Leitch, 1993). The pro-MMP ERC certainly lacked the resources in that they did not enjoy Business Roundtable and other corporate donations to fund advertising. Nor did they enjoy support from most politicians who did not regard an MMP-styled government as representing their own interests.

Tiffen (1989) notes how the news production process is marked by the symbiotic relationship between these legitimate sources and media agents, and what is deemed newsworthy. These media agents are journalists (who must embody the news values of media organisations which they represent), news release writers (public relations practitioners who represent the interests of the corporate and political elite), and the editorial hierarchy (who are responsible for seeing the values of the news media owner(s) embodied in the news products).

Within the New Zealand context, however, the editorial hierarchy would claim that they operate autonomously from their employers. Some newspapers did take an editorial stance over electoral reform. The *Dominion* viewed MMP as the worst of the electoral system options and the *Waikato Times* displayed an anti-MMP stance in its editorials, whereas the *New Zealand Herald* supported proportional representation and MMP. The *Dominion* favoured the Shirtcliffe sponsored CBG campaign; the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Waikato Times*, however, did not take a particular editorial view on the CBG campaign.

A further dimension to this study, though, includes paid advertising which (media agents claim) bears no relationship to newscopy in terms of how it is positioned within the paper (except for feature sections which may include relevant advertising). Paid advertising can provide a source for editorial and journalistic comment which was certainly the case with the advertisements of the CBG.

Media agents are constrained by the need to meet deadlines, and the need to create a story which is newsworthy. What is deemed newsworthy represents a compromise and negotiation by sources, writers, editors and managers of stories caught in the news net which Tuchman (1978) regards as representing the interests of legitimated institutions (such as those of the political and corporate elite of which the CBG is part), and sources. In order to make news selection manageable journalists rely on regular 'beats' to obtain stories, which usually means sitting themselves near to legitimate sources (Gans, 1979). Thus, through the routine structures of news production the media are able to 'reproduce the definitions of the powerful' (Hall, 1978:57). These

conditions result in news products which are dominated by a narrow range of voices, that is, those identified as legitimate sources. The narrow range of voices in this study derived from the political and corporate elite.

Thus, this news production process raises concerns about the content of news media products. The way in which the CBG promoted its campaign, and the way in which the press responded to it concord with Tiffen's (1989) claim that news takes on a meaning according to the interests and strategies of those seeking to influence it. Furthermore, the information audiences receive through the media provides an agenda for public discussion, and marks the pervasiveness of the media in shaping public interest and discussion. Cohen concludes that 'the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about* '(Cohen, 1963). The discourse of the advertising campaign and the press response to this campaign certainly support Cohen's claim. This media process and product were influential in the way the CGB's campaign was communicated to the public.

Communicating the Campaign to the Public: A Keyword Analysis of the CBG's Advertising Campaign

From 25 April to 4 October 1993 six full-page advertisements appeared in community and national newspapers. The advertisements each contained an anti-MMP theme in accordance with the strategies identified in an *Insight Research* report. Some of the campaign advertisements, and their initiator, Peter

Shirtcliffe, attracted media responses. Each advertisement represented a particular theme of the campaign, although common strands were also apparent throughout the six advertisements. The first and third advertisements became highly controversial, evidenced by the ensuing debates reported in the press, for reasons ranging from inaccuracies and distortions in presenting material, to comments from legitimate sources regarding the campaign's motives and direction. I have therefore included an analysis of press response to these two advertisements.

The first advertisement:
'Italy ends chaos, New Zealand starts it'

This advertisement, paid for by Peter Shirtcliffe at a cost of $20,000, initiated a 'big money campaign' reaction from the public. The focus attempted to establish a parallel between the chaotic MMP-styled electoral system which Italy had at the time but then decided to drop, and the very same system that New Zealand was about to start.

The keywords (italicised) identified in the discourse conveyed the following themes: *MMP* is a *mistake*; *MMP,* which would bring *unaccountable entrenched power,* was juxtaposed with *voters* who would have *no control;* under MMP the public could expect *party lists, deals... behind closed doors,* and *professional politicians* who would be *chosen,* not voted for. Would these politicians be *fairly elected?* And to whom would they show *allegiance?* To the party, not the voter! The appeal to the *disillusioned* voter is to reject MMP (and thus vote FPP).

Media Reaction to the First Advertisement

This first advertisement provoked considerable media reaction. Colin Clark, the spokesperson for the Electoral Reform Coalition, complained about the advertisement to the Advertising Standards Complaints Board, objecting to the advertisement's claim that Italy had an MMP-styled electoral system which was responsible for the chaos in the Italian government. He asked for a ruling on the 'inaccuracies' in the advertisement and pointed out the need to base the debate 'on fact, not fiction'. The Advertising Standards Complaints Board upheld the ruling.

Jonathon Boston, a senior lecturer in public policy at Victoria University, considered the advertisement as 'a grave disservice to the democratic process' (*Dominion*, 27 April), and described Peter Shirtcliffe as 'a senior business person spending substantial sums of money misleading the public'. Sir Kenneth Keith (a member of the Royal Commission on the Electoral System, the body responsible for examining the issues around electoral reform in New Zealand) suggested that Peter Shirtcliffe 'got it totally back to front' (*Independent,* 16 July). However, the Prime Minister, Jim Bolger, commended Peter Shirtcliffe for taking the initiative (ibid). And later , Roger Kerr, executive director of the Business Roundtable, looked toward the 'positive agenda' that Peter Shirtcliffe would put forward in his debate in the campaign for a better government (*Independent,* 23 July). The *National Business Review,* 30 July, was even more generous, praising the Advertising Standards Complaints Board for acknowledging the 'laudable objectives of the advertisement to stimulate much needed debate on electoral reform'. It described the

advertisement as being 'incorrect, though... not by a wide margin' (ibid). This response from the *National Business Review* was not surprising, since the newspaper, with its New Right leanings, represents the interests of the corporate and political elite.

The Second Advertisement: 'five things you should know about MMP'

This advertisement gave the appearance of being a public information advertisement in its detail and format. It provided a focus to the public of all the negative consequences of an MMP-styled government. The keywords suggested the following emergent themes: electoral reform was a *constitutional decision*; under *MMP* the public would have more MPs, and *less access to MPs* as there would be *fewer electorates* (and therefore, no localism); *party lists* would result where *voters will have no effective say; coalition governments* would prevail giving *power* to small interest groups; because *MMP won't keep Government in check* there would be no accountability, resulting in *backroom deal making*. The *disillusionment* that *voters* were then suffering would only be worse under *MMP*.

The CBG's view that electoral reform should be a constitutional issue is ironic here, especially since they invested large sums of money to turn public support away from MMP through advertising. Changes in the constitution require a public information campaign which enables the public to form its own decision before voting. The CBG wanted to influence public opinion in its favour before the public information campaign appeared in September 1993.

The Third Advertisement:
the 'Shirtcliffe amendment'

This advertisement appeared when the 'Shirtcliffe amendment' was being debated in Parliament. The Shirtcliffe amendment, proposed by Peter Shirtcliffe, suggested that in the referendum MMP be carried by a majority of registered voters instead of a simple minority of those who vote. The amendment was initially advanced as a late submission to the Electoral Reform Select Committee in Parliament in the hope that it would not be obstructed in the last stages of debate.

The advertisement developed the theme of the amendment. The headline itself illustrated the keywords: *change, constitution, important, minority.* The advertisement focused on the idea of a breakdown in *democracy* by suggesting that the *referendum* enabled a *minority of discontented voters*, rather than a *majority of registered electors,* to make an *important constitutional* decision. In other words, electoral reform would be decided by a majority of those who voted on the day of the referendum, rather than by a majority of those had registered to vote.

Interestingly, the advertisement appealed to the public to support the amendment. But the public had no power to steer its passage within an internal mechanism such as the parliamentary Electoral Reform Select Committee which suggests that its focus was somewhat misguided. Alternatively, the advertisement may have been intended to further mislead the public about yet another complication of MMP.

Reactions Reported in the Media to the Shirtcliffe Amendment

The Shirtcliffe amendment was perfectly timed, being the last submission of 600 to the Electoral Reform Select Committee. The *New Zealand Herald*, 4 August, described it as 'a last minute effort to torpedo proportional representation'. The amendment produced an outcry from a few MPs who vehemently opposed it. The press criticism and adverse publicity received as a result of the Shirtcliffe amendment turned many MPs away from supporting the amendment, in spite of heavy lobbying by anti MMP supporters (a group of about twenty politicians) to back the change (*New Zealand Herald*, 4 August). Two MPs spoke publicly in favour of the amendment. And Mr Bolger (the Prime Minister) commented that 'the argument may have had some merit had it been raised far earlier in the referendum process' (ibid).

Earlier, the editorial of the *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July, referred to the proposal as 'an eleventh-hour stipulation', stating that the tactic would be regarded as 'an indefensible ploy by defenders of the status quo, and be overwhelmingly seen as such' (ibid). Sir Geoffrey Palmer (a former Labour prime minister) had earlier referred to the Shirtcliffe amendment as a 'constitutional obscenity' and described the proposal as 'sneaky and slimy' (*New Zealand Herald*, 24 July). Michael Laws (a renegade National backbencher) called it an 'attempt to "sabotage" electoral reform', and opined that the CBG and the Business Roundtable were forming 'an anti-MMP axis' (ibid). And in the *Waikato Times*, 24 July, Mr Laws said the proposal 'flew in the face of logic and democracy'.

The spokesperson for the pro-MMP Electoral Reform Coalition, Colin Clark, ridiculed the amendment:

> Shirtcliffe's suggestion is a blatant contradiction of democracy. It would mean that those who don't bother to vote or don't want to vote would actually be counted as supporters of the present system and as voting against MMP (*Dominion*, 12 July).

While this negative press coverage of the Shirtcliffe amendment did not help Peter Shirtcliffe's image or the aims of his campaign, it did serve to make MPs more aware of the consequences of an MMP government for politicians: some MPs would lose their parliamentary seats. The *Waikato Times*, 6 August, reported that by the third reading of the Electoral Reform Bill 'the debate clearly showed that most MPs were opposed to MMP as a replacement system' as it did not represent their interests. The result was that the parliamentary body, the Electoral Law Reform Commission, with the support of MPs, legislated for 120 MPs under MMP, but only 99 under FPP, thus stacking the odds in favour of FPP. (The implication here is that voters would surely not vote for an electoral system which had even more MPs which the tax-payer would have to finance.) By this stage, press coverage showed that the business and political communities were in favour of FPP. Criticism towards the anti-MMP lobbyists came mainly from academia and the ERC.

The Fourth Advertisement:
'MMP equals coalition confusion'

This advertisement focused the public's attention (and fears) on the implications of coalition governments. The

headline focused on the equation that *MMP* equals coalition confusion, *making things worse, the reverse of what most people want.* The cartoon accompanying the advertisement capitalised on the image of a strong National government (the big ship powering ahead) while the flotsam around it, the opposition parties Alliance and New Zealand First (in the reference to Sir Winston Peters) need rescuing by National. Keywords referred to the *control and power of politicians and parties over the political system.* The result would be *backroom deal making, splinter groups,* and *hidden agendas.*

The Fifth and Sixth Advertisements:
'politicians in paper bags' and 'babies as losers'

These two advertisements both appeared on the same day (4 October) and focused on visual images rather than text (as the previous four had done). By this stage the advertising agency, Saatchi and Saatchi, had been replaced by the less august agency, the Flying Zucchinis, apparently for reasons of cost. While the focus remained a rejection of MMP the format of these two advertisements was much simpler. They were designed to have a visual impact, that is, to touch basic human instincts (namely, entrenched mistrust of politicians) without requiring extensive reading and comprehension, unlike the previous four by Saatchi and Saatchi. Visual images with highlighted headlines drew the reader's attention to the purpose of the advertisements. The text was brief and simple, and the typeface was courier, perhaps in an effort to play down the notion of expensive advertising from a campaign associated with money. This format may have been designed to target the audience highlighted in the *Insight*

Research report: the under 35s; women; and the lesser educated.

The 'paper bags' advertisement appealed to the popular sentiment of politicians as a bunch of self-interested and self-serving bunglers who do the country little good: a necessary evil. The focus was once again a simple equation: *MMP = more MPs*, at a cost to *taxpayers*, and who knows what or who else (*where will it end?*). The advertisement played on the fears of the voter towards a change in a political system which would create an even more undesirable scenario: yet more MPs.

The sixth advertisement is placed within the metaphor of New Zealanders gambling their children's lives away if they vote for MMP: *a nation of losers.* The advertisement represented an emotional appeal to ordinary New Zealanders, playing on their fears as voters, asking them not to vote for MMP, thereby putting their (vulnerable) children at risk. The keywords in this advertisement were *MMP* (always negatively contextualised), *gambling* with our *children* (who will pay for our mistakes), *risk* (to ourselves, and especially to our children), and a call to voters to *reject MMP*.

In conclusion, the key words in the advertising material focused on the evils of electoral reform. MMP was always presented negatively: the virtues and defects of FPP were never cited. The earlier four advertisements, dense in written detail, gave the appearance of an information campaign, while the latter two, using visual imagery, drew on the fears and emotions of voters.

A Keyword Analysis of the Press Coverage of the Campaign

From the discourse of the press coverage which arose in response to the advertising campaign three distinct discourses emerge from three respective groups: that of Peter Shirtcliffe and the CBG; that of the political New Right; and that of the lesser resourced opposition lobby group, the Electoral Reform Coalition.

Keywords used by Peter Shirtcliffe and the CBG

Not surprisingly, there was a distinct overlapping of the keywords in both the discourse of the advertisements and in the political discourse used by Peter Shirtcliffe in press commentaries. The keywords identified in these press commentaries testified to Peter Shirtcliffe's reliance on the strategies set out by *Insight Research* , strategies which also served as a blueprint for the advertising campaign.

The *anti MMP campaign* was described in the following terms: the campaign was seen as *an important constitutional issue* and as *a fundamental issue of democracy* which had *support from voters; localism,* or *local representation which strengthens voter influence over MPs at electorate level,* would be in question under the MMP electoral system; and *lobbying,* where *minority viewpoints are incorporated into the political process,* would prevail.

The claims about the detrimental effects of MMP made by Peter Shirtcliffe in the press coincided with those made in the advertisements. Peter Shirtcliffe dwelled on the negative effects of MMP, stating that MMP would

result in: *party lists; political backroom deal-making; splinter groups; hidden agendas* (witnessed in the confusion between two minor party leaders over possible party amalgamation); *coalition governments* where *minorities would unfairly receive disproportionate power; consensus style decision making;* and the evolution of *minority parties.* In terms of electoral reform the New Zealand constitution would end up with *120 MPs.* Such a system would *transfer power from voters to parties.* MMP would have an *adverse effect on our economic recovery.* Ultimately, there was just too much *risk.*

Peter Shirtcliffe described voters as *fearful;* he questioned whether they *understood* what they (the voters) were doing, and that they *should be aware of the implications of MMP.*

FPP was rarely mentioned, but, if so, in these terms: under FPP *voters' interests were best served;* there would be *accountability of politicians, leadership* and *localism* in politics; and the *99 seat Parliament* would be retained.

Thus, Peter Shirtcliffe's comments in his press interviews appeared to reinforce to the public the content of the advertising campaign.

The Political Discourse of the New Right

This discourse, derived mainly from the *National Business Review,* suggested a link between the Shirtcliffe campaign and the interests of business and corporations. The keywords no longer appealed to the emotions and fears of the general public, but described how the business community would be best served with

the status quo FPP system, and why MMP should be avoided. The keywords suggested a scenario of *weak coalitions under MMP*, unable to effect the necessary policy changes which would keep New Zealand economically strong. An economically strong and stable political situation would serve the interests of the corporations (for example, Telecom, of which Peter Shirtcliffe was chairperson) and the business community (which he represented). The link between the objectives of the CBG, to thwart electoral reform, and the Business Roundtable, to maintain the present government which promoted reforms under which corporations could thrive, was apparent in the following interview with a Business Roundtable spokesperson:

> A Westminster (FPP) system is likely to work best in a small, open economy vulnerable to shocks and ...New Zealand would be less well served by a system of government that made substantial policy changes difficult (*Dominion*, 4 September).

Professor John Roberts of Victoria University pointed out the self-interest in the arguments of the corporate elite in this discourse, and how MMP posed a threat to the New Right's stranglehold and National Party hegemony:

> They [the corporate elite] want a system that endorses their view,... a system that's subservient to the economic system (ibid).

An analysis of keywords indicates a discourse which embodied the values of the New Right. For example, MMP was seen as *a new voting system* which would *destabilise economic policy making, trigger revision of New Zealand's investment ratings and investment ratings in international markets*, and result in *coalition*

governments leading to consensus. Such governments
could not make *tough economic policy decisions needed
to keep New Zealand's creditors happy.* It was a system
of *risk, economic doom* and *instability.* Finally, the CBG
was described positively as: a *'new deal' Parliamentary
reform (not a voting system)* which also aimed to *improve
the select committee system,* where there would be a
code of conduct for MPs and *accountability.*

The links between the CBG, FPP and business are clear
in this discourse. Press coverage indicated that support
(in press interviews and through financial contributions)
for the CBG came from the commercial sector, business,
and the Business Roundtable. Peter Shirtcliffe
underplayed any ethical or moral dilemma in receiving
such support with the following quip:

> Business supports rugby and charity, so why not this?
> (*National Business Review,* 7 July).

Keywords Used in the Discourse of the Electoral Reform Coalition

The Electoral Reform Coalition, the opposing lobby
group of the CBG, directed their attack towards the
ethics and accuracy of the Peter Shirtcliffe campaign.
They considered the CBG as unethical for the following
reasons: the CBG represented *corporate wealth* and
was *business led;* it was *a big money advertising
campaign* which was *manipulative* and used *unfair play*
(that is, of *buying out the result).* Above all, it was doing
a *grave disservice to democracy.*

The anti-MMP campaign had been *misleading to the public* because of the *inaccuracies in advertising.* The ERC accused the CBG of: *over-simplifying the issues; seeking to cause confusion; not promoting genuine debate;* and *not putting forward credible arguments,* for example, suggesting that *economic chaos* and *political paralysis* would ensue if MMP was passed.

In short, the opposition considered the CBG as 'big business . . . trying to protect an electoral system which suits their economic purpose' (Editorial, *Waikato Times,* 9 August).

Conclusions

Keywords as Indicators of the Campaign Discourse

A keyword analysis revealed the emergence of three distinct themes within the discourse surrounding the campaign: first, the discourse used by Peter Shirtcliffe and the CBG to communicate the campaign itself; second, the discourse of the New Right; and finally, the discourse of the opposing Electoral Reform Coalition.

The first discourse, found in advertisements and at times reiterated in press coverage of the campaign and its leader, reflected the political underpinnings of the campaign. First, the discourse revealed themes which discredited MMP by focusing on its weaknesses. FPP was barely mentioned, which accorded with the *Insight Research* document which had identified FPP's flaws as indefensible. Secondly, the discourse was highly emotive, using tactics of fear mongering within the general public, suggesting that political and economic chaos would ensue if MMP was voted in. And finally, the

discourse expressed an appeal to the ordinary voter to reject MMP.

In the second type of discourse, the language focused on the ideology of the New Right in terms of its economic agenda. The discourse revealed a link between the campaign itself and the interests of business and corporations. The emphasis shifted from appealing to the emotions and fears of the general public towards a description of how the business community would be best served with the status quo FPP and why MMP should be avoided at all costs. The keywords indicated the interests and perspective of the business sector: Peter Shirtcliffe was identified favourably in his 'corporate' role; the campaign was promoted positively as it sought to maintain the status quo, that is a strong, effective government; and MMP was presented in language which forecasted 'economic' doom, brought about by 'weak' coalitions.

In the third type of discourse the keywords indicated the emergence of an anti-Shirtcliffe discourse. The ERC saw the CBG as waging a campaign of misinformation which was both inaccurate and unethical. The leader of the ERC, Colin Clark, pinpointed the not so overt aims of the CBG and the business and political leaders which the CBG represented:

> [Their] real source of concern... derives from assumptions about the likely make-up of coalition governments under MMP in New Zealand and the fear that market reforms of the last few years will be reversed (*The Dominion*, 12 July).

The Role of the Media in Setting the Agenda for Public Debate on Electoral Reform

Why did public support for MMP shift from 71 percent in November 1993 to 53 percent a year later when the referendum was held? One important factor in this outcome may be attributed to the CBG's systematic effort towards changing public opinion by way of the press. Peter Shirtcliffe, a member of the political and corporate elite, used his position to develop and promote a campaign against electoral reform in New Zealand through the platform of the CBG. He used extensive and costly advertising to negotiate the public sphere of opinion and attitudes through the media. The press became a powerful tool for both the political and corporate elite in determining the content and format of the debate over electoral reform.

The nature of media relations suggests a reliance on legitimate sources by the agents of the press to create newsworthy stories. The press regarded Peter Shirtcliffe, by virtue of his role in society, as a legitimate source and the campaign he promoted as newsworthy. The way in which the media used legitimate sources in their coverage of this electoral reform debate gives credence to Hall's claim that legitimate sources create the news and the media then recreate it, 'reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access . . . to the media' (Hall, 1978:59). Tiffen (1989) corroborates this claim by highlighting the extent to which news is 'the subject of the determined and continuing efforts to influence its content by those [namely, politicians] who have the *interest and capacity* to do so' (my italics, p. 73). In this case, those who had privileged access to the media were the corporate and political elite. As key players, they used print media to set the agenda for

debate. Academics and ERC spokespersons, as minor players, provided the rebuttal, but received far less press coverage in the process. The extent to which the press provided a balanced representation of a multiplicity of voices in their coverage of this campaign is questionable.

An analysis of the discourse in the media coverage of the campaign showed that the CBG's advertising campaign did not always receive positive responses from the media. However, the controversy generated by the campaign, which was played out in the press, seemed to work in the CBG's favour in terms of developing public support against electoral reform. This decline in support for MMP was recorded in poll results. (By 24 September the *National Business Review* was able to report that FPP was trailing MMP by just seven points. MMP received 46 percent of votes, and FPP 39 percent). The press is both one of the forums and part of the process by which issues are produced for public scrutiny and debate. The way in which this campaign was communicated to the public suggests that the press, too, played a role in focusing the public's attention on what to *think about* with regard to electoral reform.

The techniques of the media and media relations, such as the dependence on legitimate sources to create newsworthy stories, together with the news production process, work to shape news products for public consumption. The extent to which the media became a platform for debate in electoral reform points to the need for a sound information campaign leading up to the referendum. Essentially, electoral reform should be a constitutional issue which should be accompanied by a public information campaign. The Electoral

Commission's public information campaign, initiated in September 1993, came too late. The CBG's advertising campaign in the press, and the debates the campaign generated through the reporting of legitimate sources in the press, along with the editorial stances taken by the newspapers themselves, had already constructed what the issues for debate over electoral reform were for the New Zealand public.

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Review Essay

On Centrism in (New Zealand) Sociology

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Texts reviewed:

Anthony Giddens, **Sociology,** Second Edition, Polity
    Press, Cambridge, 1993
Philip Cassell (ed.), **The Giddens Reader,** Macmillan,
    Basingstoke, 1993
Rosemary Crompton, **Class and Stratification: An
    Introduction to Current Debates,** Polity Press,
    Cambridge, 1993
John Holmwood and Alexander Stewart, **Explanation
    and Social Theory,** Macmillan, Basingstoke,
    1991

Pre-text

Reviews of books which have nothing ostensibly to do
with New Zealand appear in this journal very rarely (one
out of the last twenty, for example). Unless this is purely
fortuitous, two reasons suggest themselves for why this
might be so, one practical and uncomplicated, the other
important, tricky and often unstated. The practical reason
is that overseas publishers are not uniformly keen to
supply the journal with review copies of books for which
there may be less than 'mass' sales in this country. Even
so, when we go and ask for specific titles, we often get
them, so there is no insuperable reason for not seeking
to include notices of texts which may well be used in

New Zealand teaching programmes, and those under review here clearly fall into that category.

The more significant reason is that as a journal dedicated to New Zealand sociology we strive to give priority in all sorts of ways to the 'local scene', so that we can build up the strengths and exposure of specifically Aotearoan/New Zealand material and perspectives. I don't think anyone would have any difficulty with this, put like that - indeed it seems manifestly right, proper and politically consequential. But there is a stronger form of the position that is more controversial, and it runs something like this. Not only must we highlight research and issues in this part of the world, New Zealand sociology must seek explicitly to *oppose* any remnants of Euro-American hegemony in this intellectual field. New Zealand sociology thus officially *challenges* the idea that general sociological ideas and theories can be uplifted and 'applied' to the Aotearoan scene as just another 'instance' of universal/global pathways and concepts. Indeed, you cannot be part of an emerging post-colonial/indigenous political culture (=good thing) if you retain any allegiance to the pseudo-universalism which is the hallmark of Euro-American, white, male, middle class sociological discourse (=bad thing). Not for the first time perhaps, but in a new context - that of the 'cultural politics of difference' - we must demand to know of academic sociologists: whose side are you on?

Does anyone hold this position, all the way? I don't know, but sentiments like this arise frequently at conferences and around the official set pieces of academic practice. They arise in debate about how to keep/get the sociology curriculum fresh, street-wise, 'representative' and culturally sensitive; they arise along

sociology's interface with other quasi-political projects like Maori studies, development studies, and women's studies; and they increasingly arise when lecturing staff need to pass judgement on what is 'acceptable' in terms of the style and content of the sort of graduate work which has a distinct 'post-' feel to it.

That 'ambience' I think contributes to the informal exclusion of 'First World' texts in this kind of journal, and explains why, in the case of this particular review, I feel I have to engage in some sort of 'justification' for communicating the contents and suitability of a few British things that, as it happens, have been lying around our 'books received' shelf for some time! I hasten to say that I do think that the bigger debate raised by the 'counter-hegemonic' position sketched above is important and will (rightly) continue to be an arena of contestation. But there is, in my view, a compelling chain of argument which justifies giving, guilt-free, a greater place in our reviews section to 'centrist' work.

1.   The richness and internal diversity of the 'mainstream' sociological tradition(s) tends to be consistently 'flattened' in polemics about centre and margins. It is possibly an important matter of intellectual integrity to work against that tendency, whilst keeping open matters open.

2.   Polemics from the 'counter-hegemonic' side are in their own way often strongly framed by quasi-universalistic discourses. However punchy and anti-establishment they feel, notions of deconstruction, historical specificity, difference, multiple identity, hybridity, post-coloniality, post-this and that, etc. remain *generalising* categories.

As explanatory tropes, they are still conceptual abstractions whose theoretical value depends on them being tied to no ultra-specific context, though they may well arise out of particular contexts (as all theories do).

3. Paradox: our heightened *consciousness* of difference has come about partly because of relentlessly homogenizing global processes. In that context, it is somewhat misleading and even irresponsible for intellectuals to identify themselves, exclusively, with 'otherness'.

4. More mundanely, centrist texts are, as a matter of fact, a major part of New Zealand sociology as it is transmitted to peers and students. For example, almost all departments in this country use Giddens to help introduce the discipline, and looking over current academic curricula, the logic behind all 'critical' courses is fairly uniform and probably inescapable. Whether it is a general conceptual space (theory, gender, ethnicity, class, death, methods, sexuality, health, etc) or a specific empirical terrain (New Zealand society, Crime in New Zealand, the Arts in Aotearoa/New Zealand etc.) that is foregrounded, some relatively freewheeling abstractions/debates are, literally, imported to help 'make sense' of the concrete local material.

5. More mundanely still, there is simply a greater critical mass of sociologists (feminists, cultural studies-ists, critical theorists) in the institutions of the First World, and so it makes reasonably good sense to raid their resources for our own

purposes. Not only that, this critical mass does actually include very many reflexive, oppositional, margins-conscious people.

Does all this serve for my justification? Not necessarily, because it could still be maintained that in that foregoing chain of argument, I am still locked into a traditional sociological mind-set, itself a rationalist Eurocentric construction. Why is it not possible instead, a critic might persist, to actively devalorize the primacy of generic abstract concepts; to liberate the concrete from its role as an instance (the last instance that never finally comes, we might say); to return to a more visceral and imaginative stylistics of intellectual exchange; to cease to look for causes, reasons, essences and explanations; to do away with the whole strategy of 'stripping' experience, interface, and embodiment in the name of Analytics; to construct a theorising self that is oriented to self-interrogation rather than to instutional instruction; to learn to 'trust the process' and let it evince its appropriate appropriations?[1] In that mode, of course, shifts in the sociological register have already been occurring: new-found concerns to move from hard-nosed explanation to 'thick description' to socio-poetics abound, and new force-fields are at hand - desire, panic, sociologies of failure, governmentality, destiny, being-in-the-world, and so on.

This is, seriously, all very interesting. Yet the *form* of the intellectual exercise is fairly familiar, and ironically rather 'modernist': sets of related concerns, concepts and terms

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[1]   I thank my friend, colleague and student Simon Gibson for forcefully presenting this kind of train of thought to me over the last three years.

are fashioned and coherently interrelated to produce a generalised lens through which to process information about concrete social beings and doings. This exercise is meant to produce some kind of insight that older ways of seeing miss (=Enlightenment), and once seen in that way, somehow it is anticipated that the political situation will or could be altered for the better (=Progress). Let us call this way of structuring social knowledge 'sociology'.....

Introducing 'the Discipline'

Anthony Giddens stands as near to the 'centre' of the sociological project in the 1990s as anyone. The credentials are all there: Cambridge professor of the discipline; doyen of the important and interesting Polity Press publishing project (including many heterodox titles); someone who operates at both a teacherly and specialist level; who is excruciatingly aware of the problems surrounding the 'tradition'; trying to engage in quasi-political discourse as well as offering his own high-powered 'structurationist' general theory; trying to cope with post-modernity without quite being a postmodernist; producer of 'manifestos' for sociology whilst actively fudging the boundaries between macro and micro work, and between sociology, psychology, philosophy and social anthropology; presenting a somewhat vulnerable and existential personality yet 'marketing' his work in an internationalised, business-like fashion (compare the Americanised version of *Sociology*, not available in New Zealand, with the Anglified version before us); posing all the great issues for sociologists today, but arguably having no real solution to any of them (structure/agency, political relevance, general ontology/social specificity,

theory/research). What then do we make of his mega-introductory text?

The 'dilemmatic' nature of Giddens' work, and his representative status as spokesperson for sociology is reflected in most of the reactions to *Sociology* that I've come across. No-one I know is anything other than critical of the 'bits' of it that they know something about, yet it is used everywhere. It almost stands as an emblem of the general sociological situation: if we really need to have some generalising overview (Do we? Well, yes, I guess we do...), then this is about the most useful going. The first move is to compare it with its many rivals. Haralambos is still stuck in the old 1970s 'competing paradigms' paradigm (too rigid, too rationalist). Bilton et. al. is probably too difficult for first year level, and too British. Waters and Crook is too indigestible and too Australian (indicating that we'd rather have Mainstream hegemonic texts than those of the local hegemonisers across the ditch). Smelser's much revised introductory text is still too functionalistically Smelser, even in his emeritusly post-functionalist mood. Bauman's 'basic' text is offered as suitable 'for everyone', but, as is typical with Bauman, it's best for his peers. Abbott and Wallace's feminist 'primer' assumes some familiarity with the malestream practice it critiques. Cockerham's *The Global Society* is rather too American and highlights only one major theme, as its title indicates (though Canterbury is the bold odd-department-out in making it the set text for their 100 level paper). So, it seems, we are left, most of us anyway, with Giddens.

That's surely a bit unfair - to take it on board just because there's nothing else that appeals, and because first years must have a set text, mustn't they (otherwise

we have to do all the work)? The problems with Giddens are real enough - it's too long, much of it is pretty bland, and there are too many running themes (six of them) which cut across all of the 22 chapters, following no particular logic of intersection. There are no New Zealand or Pacific case studies, and the mode of address is too pedagogic/not pedagogic enough (delete as appropriate). On the other hand, let's be fair. 1. Could you have done it better? 2. To have some thematic way of holding together the many substantive headings is actually a good thing, picked up from Giddens' several stints as an 'external' for Open University social science courses. Six themes are too many, but here at Massey for example we've shortened this to four related ones of our own (the world in change, the social and the personal, division and difference, representations and reality). The students are told to forget the rest. 3. Giddens' command of the key issues and literatures is phenomenal, if inevitably patchy. 4. His 'dilemmatic' nature as a theorist and sociologist definitely helps in posing, for students, the contested and contestable character of just about anything sociologists study. 5. And yet, his relative blandness helps to counteract the normal negative consequence of 'contestability', namely that students are left feeling utterly helpless in the face of countless difficult questions, competing paradigms and contestable evidence bases. The low-key, let's-leave-it-there-and-move-on tone really helps in giving a sense that by the end of this long 'experience' (that's what it is for most beginners), an awful lot will have been learned in a surprisingly cumulative way. And too much coherent structuring and positioning might be problematical anyhow because students at this level (at any level?) do need 'spaces' where they can duck out, take stock, concentrate on assignments, and choose

what they want to focus on just because they like it better. 6. Finally, Giddens has given a lot of care to the balance between general and illustrative material, and the latter is on the whole chosen brilliantly - partly because he is more conscious than most sociologists of the need to learn from introducing the 'strange' as well as from questioning the familiar.

So: a flawed, baggy, bland monster of a book? On a bad day, yes. But unless and until we can come up with skilled, imaginative, and thoroughly purposeful new ways of teaching at introductory level, we should feel mightily obliged to Giddens for giving us this extremely useful, open-ended, cumulative, well-written and carefully illustrated 'primer' survey of an increasingly problematic 'discipline'. In fact, maybe the most important achievement of the text (though possibly an inadvertent one) is the way that it implicitly signals and occupies sociology as a 'field' rather than as a 'discipline'.

Appraising the Doyen

That kind of metaphorical shift also influences my reaction to *The Giddens Reader*. But as we move up in the stakes of appraisal from learned and accomplished introductory communicator to specialist and original theorist, so my support for Giddens wanes. Instead of the dilemmatic, multi-competent, insightful, ambulant commentator on a variety of discourses within the field, when Giddens wears his Theorist hat, he inevitably requires us to see him as coherent synthesiser, system-builder and problem resolver. Actually, I'm not sure he really does, deep-down, see himself in that way, but he certainly does *present* himself as such in a now-lengthy

list of texts of advanced conceptualisation. So the *Reader* provides both a handy short-cut through Giddens' main productions, and a rather clearer picture of Giddens' originality as stated in the baggy monsterish texts from which the extracts are culled.

The more functional goal of the collection succeeds really well - the editor has chosen his excerpts sensibly. On the second count, I've never been convinced that 'structuration theory' succeeds in its mission of clarifying and resolving the perennial dualities of sociological thought (partly because no one can), and the abridged Giddens only serves to accentuate this response. Were Giddens able to accept, along with many 'post' theorists, that to be an ecumenical but critical commentator on issues and texts is about all a 'theorist' can be these days, then Giddens' work could surely be recognised as very high order theoretical commentary. But the 'classical' image lingers on in his 'project': the image of the grand theorist is still there, bursting to convince you that his many useful formulations are *the* formulations, and that these together with the many overblown and say-nothing formulations in his work represent a distinctive propositional matrix. Without getting humbler, Giddens is not going to win over the posties; yet without something more truly coherent and substantial, he is not going to completely win those (like me) who suspect or hope that there's still an important place for grand generalising theory. None of this should prompt the Seventies style conclusion: it doesn't work fully, so let's dump it, and dump on the author while we're at it. It's actually hard to know what we would do without Tony Giddens' prodigious output there to provoke and encourage, at both basic and advanced levels: if he didn't exist we'd have to invent him.

Conspecting Class

Not the least reason for appreciating Giddens' presence is the number of provocative and encouraging books coming out of the Polity stable that he helped initiate. Rosemary Crompton's survey of debates and findings on questions of class and stratification is a great example of the typically sophisticated but lucid Polity conspectus - of which there are now many across the range of sociological and feminist areas of study. And of course if there is any one area which has been central to sociological thinking and politics in the last forty years, it's the issue of class. Crompton goes through all the central problems and set-pieces admirably. Class and stratification are explained as being the way in which basic concerns about inequality in the modern social order are rendered technical within sociological discourse. The Marxist 'moment' in class theory is charted and the neo-Marxist tradition followed, up to Eric Olin Wright's adaptation of John Roemer's revisionism. The basic Weberian challenge to Marxism is summarised - that 'class' operates at too high a level of abstraction to get to the parts of the stratification process (status, political identity, market situation etc) that really have an influence on subjective belief and action - and the range of modern challenges to 'class reductionism' are surveyed. It is rightly observed that current attempts to build in 'lifestyle' and 'citizenship' considerations to the idea of class location/consciousness are in a sense simply updates on Weber's fundamental point. Something Weber said little about, namely women's class position, is raised frequently in the text, and feminist critiques of class reductionism are prominent (less is done on the complications of the intersection between class and ethnicity). Class as a 'productionist'

concept is trailed through, but so is the more recent talk of consumption classes. And of course, the now-standard issues of class boundaries, overlaps and how far the idea of a 'service' class enhances or scuppers traditional class analysis get their share of the action too.

The full range of 'methodological' matters surrounding class and stratification are canvassed insightfully by Crompton. On the philosophical-methodological side: is 'class' a realist category or an instrumental/pragmatic ideal type? On the measurement-methodological side: how can the Registrar-General's occupational classification system be replaced by something conceptually better, but also practically countable? And on the political-methodological side: what happens to class when you start to address women independently rather than through the income/occupation of the male 'breadwinner'?

This book represents some very real and current virtues of academic sociology. It strives successfully not to exaggerate unbridgeable gaps between theory and empirical research, or between the various competing paradigms. It represents a properly 'feminised' sociology whilst seeing many necessary and positive things in malestream endeavours of the past. And it tries to combine the pluralistic observation that the conceptual and political terrain of class/stratification is rife with many approaches and many angles with the solidaristic conclusion that for all the contestation, a great deal has been learned and debated, and that 'the study of structured social inequality...remains a central feature of the sociological enterprise'(p.207). In spite of no mention of post-coloniality, and little directly on ethnicity (for which it can be rightly critiqued), this is a fine textbook,

useable for any serious course in structural inequality at 200 or 300 level, even if it has to be 'supplemented' by local examples.

Explaining Explanation

One of the crucial things that defenders of class analysis used to say about it was that, in contrast to stratification analysis and 'lifestyle' tracking, class was an *explanatory* category, and not just a classification tool or means of sociological *description*. That standard point found its way into many lectures and texts, the assumption being that you only have a potentially *transformative science* of society when you have adequate explanations, expressed as theories. That assumption, together with its implied contrast with 'mere' description, and its implied hostility to the idea that *lots* of very different theories can in their own way be 'correct', has faded dramatically from view in the last decade. Crompton for example, in the book have just praised, fails to see that her celebration of pluralism in class theory ultimately works against any strong notion of there being a 'central feature' of the 'sociological enterprise', if both phrases are couched, even hopefully, in the singular. What is explanation anyway? many sociologists are now asking.

Holmwood and Stewart's book is an ambitious, aspiringly rigorous work aimed at getting things straight on explanation in sociological theory. It would be a suitable graduate level text for those who studied Crompton's book two years previously and did some sustained study of Giddens in between, though even at graduate level it is a very demanding read. I'm not sure it needed to have been *so* demanding: the critique of other positions is

graspable, but there is a consistent and annoying obscurity when it comes to positively outlining what the authors are *for* as a model of the new social theory they advocate in general terms.

Although this text has many clearly 'centrist' features - its superior tone, its focus on prominent male 'action theorists' such as Weber, Parsons, Habermas, and Giddens, its unapologetically conceptual register - it addresses questions which are also at the core of some varieties of post-structuralist, feminist, and 'marginal' theorising. For example, Holmwood and Stewart attempt to put an end to the persistent construction and oscillation of 'dualities' within abstract social theory (agency/structure, rational/non-rational action, theoretical consciousness/practical consciousness). Their book is, at bottom, an argument that we should abandon the Weber-Parsons problematic of abstract general theory and build theory anew around concrete lay cultures.

The 'negative' moment of their case runs something like this. Social theorists build abstract schemas to account for the 'structuring' of the social world, and to enable us to 'place' groups and agents within it. Unlike the situation in the natural sciences, post-positivist social thinkers want to retain a central place for human action within the wider socio-cultural context, so the general theory serves only as a kind of ideal type. The authors maintain that this kind of half-hearted theorising leads to incoherence, because having tried to establish some 'higher level' structural constraints, such theories then quite openly allow for the breaching of those constraints at 'lower' levels of thinking and conduct. This happens when, in Parsonian theory, the functional integration of the level of the social system is negated by the discovery of

various 'dysfunctional' elements at the level of sub-systemic norm-breaking. It happens when Giddens elaborately specifies the systemic rules and resources (=structure) which then appear have no constraining force whatever on the conduct of particular knowledgeable actors. And it happens when Marxists (such as Wright) specify all-encompassing and exclusive concepts of class position at the level of the mode of production, only to identify category-breaching exceptions (eg.'contradictory class locations') at the lower level of the social formation.

What upsets Holmwood and Stewart most of all is that instead of realising that there are problems of inconsistency and unverifiability in their theories, and indeed that there is a real problem with all forms of abstract generalising theory, such authors merely project their own theoretical inconsistencies on to the actual social situation itself, and on to lay actors. Thus, social reality itself (Giddens) is to be conceived not as a rigid 'dualism' but as a more fluid, double-sided 'duality', or class formation is said (by Marxists) to be an intrinsically 'dialectical' or 'contradictory' process. Holmwood and Stewart see these machinations as cop-outs. In a stimulating move, they argue further that the cop-out is exacerbated, and not helped, by the pervasiveness of relativism today. Relativism allows for not only a number of differently valid theoretical approaches, but for an unbridgeable discrepancy between *theoretical* accounts of action/structure and *lay* accounts. Inevitably, in the hands of professional theorists, the theoretical account or level is regarded as somehow the *preferred* version of the reality or discourse under scrutiny. The lay level of understanding is consequently figured as theory's alienated 'other'. Under positivism, there would be an

urgent need to square off the two sets of accounts in some testable way; but under the sway of relativism it becomes easy and customary to say that both accounts and levels are valid in their own way, and probably incommensurable. Appearing to be more 'open', theory and theorists in fact become more abstract, insular and self-serving.

Holmwood and Stewart are trying to say that sociological theories - even apparently 'interpretative' ones - constitute the lay realm as inferior other. Not only Marxist, but just about every contemporary paradigm regards the lay consciousness as 'alienated' and therefore in a sense characterised by 'false consciousness'. If only the world behaved as our preferred theories project!! But because the world generally does *not* follow the empirical or ethical dictates of our theories, social thought can be characterised as consistently and embarrassingly 'pessimistic' with respect to lay cultures. In order to improve matters, Holmwood and Stewart want us to see that the consistent overturning of general theory by lay action/predicaments is a serious problem for the adequacy and politics of theory as we currently understand it. Instead of praising theories which become less and less distinct as they take on more and more 'complexity', and as they seek to characterise social reality and lay consciousness as contradictory, tension-ridden and fluid, we need to accept that these are the signs of the comprehensive *failure* of theory.

Explanation and Social Theory is an interesting, sharp and difficult text, yet its implications for future exercises in social theory are seriously unclear. Ultimately, I cannot help but feel that the authors end up in an unresolvable

contradiction of their own. Their goal is to make theory more consistent and social explanations more satisfactory. They also wish to see an end to the endless production of conceptual apparatuses that are severely discrepant with lay actors' own understandings of their situation. These things are admirable. Indeed, the task they set of reconceiving lay action and understanding as itself partially theoretical - and not just implicit/concrete - represents an important intervention in the basic terms of 'the social'. Yet, in the event, Holmwood and Stewart say very little about how to reconceive lay action and the nature of the theoretical knowledge which will emerge once that reconstruction of the object domain has been accomplished. Probably, they think that if they *do* specify, in the *abstract,* a preferred theoretical version of lay cultures they will be themselves committing the 'social science fallacy' that they spend so much time demolishing in others! But this 'catch 22' situation is surely not satisfactory. Perhaps it is time just to accept that 'explanation' - whether in academic or lay circles - necessarily entails abstract general formulae with which we gauge particular situations. Inevitably, there will be 'discrepancies'. And maybe it's time too to accept that 'dualisms' actually serve a *positive* function in cognitive and moral growth (why are they always stigmatised, only to be reproduced in another form?). Indeed, is there any form of thought that operates *without* orienting contrastive schemas? For all their tough critique of failed attempts to overcome duality and discrepancy, Holmwood and Stewart's project thus seems likely to fail too, for they are projecting a completeness and seamlessness across lay and specialist discourses which is pretty utopian. But perhaps I've misunderstood and that the positive 'moment' of their venture will emerge in texts to come. Meanwhile, one comes away from this

valuable theoretical excursion asking in even more puzzled terms than before: what is social explanation anyway? Whether in the centre or in the margins, whether for the sake of politics, personal identity or science, that is a general abstract question that still has profound consequences for what we do as specialist sociologists and for what we believe as informed lay actors.

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Reviews

Popular Justice and Community Regeneration: Pathways of Indigenous Reform, 1995. Edited by Kayleen M. Hazelhurst. Westport: Praeger Publications. (228 pages).

Perceptions of Justice: Issues in Indigenous and Community Empowerment, 1995. Edited by Kayleen M. Hazelhurst. Aldershot: Avebury. (272 pages).

Legal Pluralism and the Colonial Legacy: Indigenous Experiences of Justice in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, 1995. Edited by Kayleen M. Hazelhurst. Aldershot: Avebury. (273 pages).

Reviewed by Warwick Tie
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The pursuit of self-determination by indigenous peoples is undoubtedly one of the most significant characteristics of our contemporary political landscape. In this collection of texts on legal pluralism, colonialism, and community rejuvenation, Kayleen Hazelhurst has collaborated with an impressive range of accomplished socio-legal scholars to present the timely thesis that post-colonial criminal justice systems (such as are found in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) are the last, great bastion of indigenous disempowerment. The breadth of topics covered in the thirty-four essays is wide and as such preclude individual comment. My review, rather, focuses on the project which unites them - the critique of colonial law's failure to adequately recognise socio-cultural specificity

The concept of colonial disempowerment is used throughout the collection to suggest that the legacy of colonialism is an ongoing source of indigenous criminality. Colonialism, it is suggested, destroyed the integrity of previously autonomous nations in a variety of ways, leading to widespread community and individual disenfranchisement: eurocentric economic reforms have substituted indigenous culture with contractual social relations; cultural traditions have progressively ceased to be transmitted, reducing the regulatory power of traditional authority-structures; formal legal systems have regularly failed to recognise the needs of indigenous women and children leading to high levels of domestic abuse; and eurocentric legal systems have subverted the subjectivities that indigenous modes of regulation relied upon for their own functioning.

Further to its denigration of indigenous cultures, the collection's essayists add, colonial law has caused indigenous groups to rely on government agencies for the delivery of justice and welfare services. The traditional infrastructures through which social order was maintained and transformation pursued have evanesced. Educational underachievement, unemployment, and poverty have consistently resulted. Alcohol abuse and domestic violence have, moreover, become common outcomes. In addition, those societies that have been restructured along monetarist lines (such as New Zealand) wrestle with contradictions between libertarian economic policies and increases in crimes traditionally associated with material disadvantage. Such situations disadvantage indigenous peoples further and increase their reliance upon centralised policing, criminal justice, and welfare.
The light at the end of the tunnel, the collection suggests, is the rejuvenation of local communities.

Community healing begins where local communities successfully struggle with centralist bureaucracies for control of their problems. Moreso, it develops as *community-grounded solutions* evolve that reflect the traditions of those peoples. The essayists contribute a variety of perspectives on what this means. A common focus is the development of indigenous agencies for policing and responding to indigenous criminality. In tandem with this, they advocate rehabilitative and reintegrative services that are run by indigenous peoples, in parallel with state-based agencies. Various case-studies are presented on actually-existing policing, adjudicative, alcohol treatment and counselling services run in this way. The selection and training of criminal justice personnel by local peoples is also advocated, as is a greater involvement by indigenous collectives at all levels of criminal justice decision and policy making. Some emphasis is also given to the value of indigenous women becoming change agents for themselves, rather than the recipients of government (and by implication, masculinist) services. At a broader political level also, the potential of constitutional frameworks for facilitating intercultural negotiations is also discussed.

The chief essayist in the collection repeatedly notes that the rejuvenation of localised, indigenous community is frequently thwarted by a lack of political will. The post-*Mabo* environment in Australia and Treaty of Waitangi negotiations in New Zealand give her some cause for hope, however. That said, government authorities frequently appear unwilling to share decision-making power with the public sphere. Collaborative power-sharing is imperative, however, if indigenous peoples are to gain an appropriate level of control over their own regulation. As important, also, is their retention of

independence once working relations have been established with centralised authorities. Most importantly, it is suggested, they must retain ownership of questions about the forms of communities they desire.

It is not clear from the collection who the community are that ought to own these questions but it is self-evident for Hazelhurst that the question belongs to the public rather than the state sphere. The public sphere, she continues, ought to possess the educational and employment resources that enable its participants to dialogue meaningfully with one another about the life-styles and ethical commitments they want to share. Moreover, they should be enabled to participate with government agencies on an equal basis in transforming their horizons into social and economic policies.

Despite the value of this political agenda, a nagging question remains with me. To what extent should we look to a singular social phenomenon - such as 'indignity' - for insight into the development of non-violative socio-legal orders. Kayleen Hazelhurst seems convinced: "Through their years of adversity and their developing skills in peacemaking and community healing, there is a growing conviction among Native people that they will eventually lead the world"; she, for one, warmly endorses the prospect. It is clear that non-Native peoples stand to learn much about themselves and their relations with others through the eyes of those whom their cultures have repeatedly repressed and neglected. To imagine indigenous peoples as a singular, emancipatory movement to whom we ought to look for guidance is perhaps, however, overly romantic. Moreover, the translation of indigenous systems of dispute-resolution into formal modes of regulation has frequently been problematic.

It is unfortunate that this collection has used indigeneity as its primary access point into legal pluralist discourse, as it has not opened discussion of legal imperialism out into the more general critiques of *law* offered by legal pluralists. Law, whether owned by the state or by local socio-cultural communities, is inevitably Janus-faced; it is both a necessity and a burden. A compelling task of legal theory is to conceptualise how law might protect civil and human rights without falling into either of the following two traps: constructing essentialist identities to guarantee its legitimacy (the citizen, women, the indigenous person, etc.)'; and severing all ties with essentialist and foundationalist frameworks to celebrate a law of contingency. Where law is consolidated around idealised identities it invariably excludes those who are differently positioned. The law of contingency, conversely, frustrates the development of shared standards of judgement through which people can receive collective recognition. These points are not necessarily lost within the collection but they need highlighting in order to counter the way in which indigeneity is valorised as the new basis for theorising the conditions of decentralised law.

Those criticisms aside, this collection will be valuable for students and practitioners of criminal justice alike. It provides numerous entry points to the issues of socio-legal pluralism and the legacy of colonial law. Also, the essays are presented in such a way that readers might readily identify the contemporary pertinence of these issues.

Richard S Hill, **The Iron Hand in the Velvet Glove. The Modernisation of Policing in New Zealand 1886-1917,** Dunmore, Palmerston North, 1995

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As the title of the third volume of Richard Hill's examination of policing in early New Zealand indicates, this concluding part of the trilogy discusses the hegemonic nature of policing at the turn of the century. Hill gives a detailed account of the shift from frontier to post-frontier policing, a shift that while 'physically easier for the policeman... was in a sense conceptually more problematic'. As policing moved from being 'generally condign to generally benign' through the emergence in New Zealand of greater social stability, new problems and demands were created. The state's code of acceptable behaviour, that is it's expectations of public and private morality changed leading to shifts in both the focus and the look of policework. The police force became increasingly professionalised, resulting in changes to internal standards and expectations, and to an increase in the surveillance and control aspects of policing.

It is these changes that Hill details, and he threads a number of themes throughout his book relating to the consequences in regard to police procedure and practices. One of the recurring motifs in Hill's account is the issue of political interference and involvement in policing in New Zealand. In particular he outlines how the instigation of an interventionist democratic Liberal

Government had far-reaching consequences for police practices both externally and internally.

The Liberals, while encouraging a shift of policing into a more 'professional' image, also were influential in the development of a bureaucratic and rationalised police force, one much more concerned with surveillance and the ongoing enforcement of 'bourgeois morality'. Hill reveals how, for example, the Liberal's welfarism required, due to it's targeted nature, that the police be involved in the assessment of applicants for pensions 'not just on their incomes but on attributes [of]...sobriety cleanliness and respectability' and also the surveillance and reporting on Industrial School inmates and their families.

Police became the enforcers of the post-frontier Victorian morality, a morality spurred on, rather vigorously by the social purity movement. Issues surrounding the availability and use of alcohol dominated much of police time, both on the street and in the higher echelons during this period. Hill's analysis gives an insight into, on one hand, the strength and determination of the temperance movement at the turn of the century, and on the other the power and privilege of the breweries. The government positioned itself somewhere in between, an ambivalent location which incited certain factions of the temperance movement and which led to Seddon being described as the Premier 'who [had] formed a political alliance with the brewers of the colony.'

It was not however simply in relation to alcohol that the police found themselves called to account, and they were placed under intense public and media scrutiny as they attempted to cope with the changing social climate.

A number of Royal Commissions were held to investigate policing practices; these commissions were public and wide ranging, addressing on one level political interference in police policy and practice, and on the other actual incidents of policing involving alleged corruption and illegal procedure. Such public and regular scrutiny seems a far cry from present police investigative practices which seem to be more and more internally carried out. It would seem that at the turn of the century when hegemonic policing was in it's developmental stage there was much greater public and hence political concern for civil liberties and police accountability.

Hill's overview of the emergence and acceptance of hegemonic policing in a stabilising society seems relevant to any examination of present day policing, when I would argue we are seeing the unravelling of this hegemony, and an increasing withdrawal of public belief in police as 'moral exemplars'. Furthermore as our stabilised society becomes increasingly less so, and post-modern plurality eats away at an already threadbare shared morality, police in their attempts to enforce a decidedly 'modern' legal reality are reverting more and more to a condign policing style. This less hegemonic style of policing occurs not only in relation to groups labelled 'deviant' (such as Maori activists) who do not fit the hegemonic image of social responsibility, but also in regard to those individuals whose selves no longer fit the model of the 'rational unitary subject'.

It is the reference to some of the more colourful and less 'rational' incidents of individual crime and police responses to these that adds some 'light relief' to Hill's detailed account of policing at the turn of the century. The telling of such stories as 'The Inner Harbour Affair', the escape of 'The Sea Devil, Count Felix Von Luckner,

in 1917; the arrest of racist activist Lionel Terry; and the hunt and apprehension of the fugitive and eventual 'folk hero' Joe Pawelka, reveals not only some of the finer details of police work but also vividly highlights some of the attitudes and feelings that informed both public and police opinions on crime and crime prevention. While the public were increasingly coming to accept the police as 'upholders of the peace', this acceptance was still tentative and the police were continually expected to prove their impartiality and fairness.

In relation to two groups within New Zealand at this time the police were less concerned with appearing impartial and more concerned with enforcing state authority. The gloves came off, and the iron fist was used against both Maori and working class groups. For Maori this period was one of, in general, increasing acceptance of the dominance and authority of European norms and expectations. However specific incidents of Maori resistance occurred, instances seen by the state as potentially destabilising acts of rebellion.

Both the legal system and the police were clearly used during this period in a discriminatory fashion, in particular to suppress any Maori resistance and particularly 'any apparent Maori attempts to be *too* different from the Pakeha'. Initially these laws and the police enforcement of them was semi-benign, such as the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act, however if Maori resistance to assimilation continued, as it did in the words and deeds of Te Whiti and Rua Kenana, then 'the taming of the Maori' took a less hegemonic and more brutal form.

Another challenge to the dominant ideological truths that both informed and were enforced by the police came

through a growing and militant working class. The police were always to a degree involved in 'class management', an aspect of their work which increased as did the size and influence of the middle class under the Liberal governance. It was however the Reform Government, with a triad of Irishmen in charge of policing (Prime Minister Massey, Police Commissioner Cullen and the Minister in Charge of Police, Herdmann) who most overtly used the police to enforce ruling-class interests.

The 1912 Waihi Strike revealed how closely Police Commissioner Cullen sided with employers and how he implicitly gave encouragement to the police to use 'summary justice' in their dealings with unionists. This they clearly did, eventually resulting in unionists being run out of town, and the death of striker Frederick Evans. Hegemony was discarded, and in this incident, as well as in the later Great Strike of 1913 the state's repressive machinery did what was necessary in the interests of 'order' even if that meant, for a period, breaking all the formal and informal rules normally imposed upon society, and those which were increasingly being imposed by the police on themselves.

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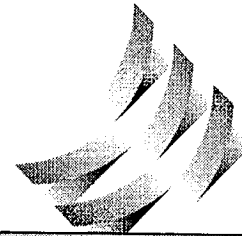
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