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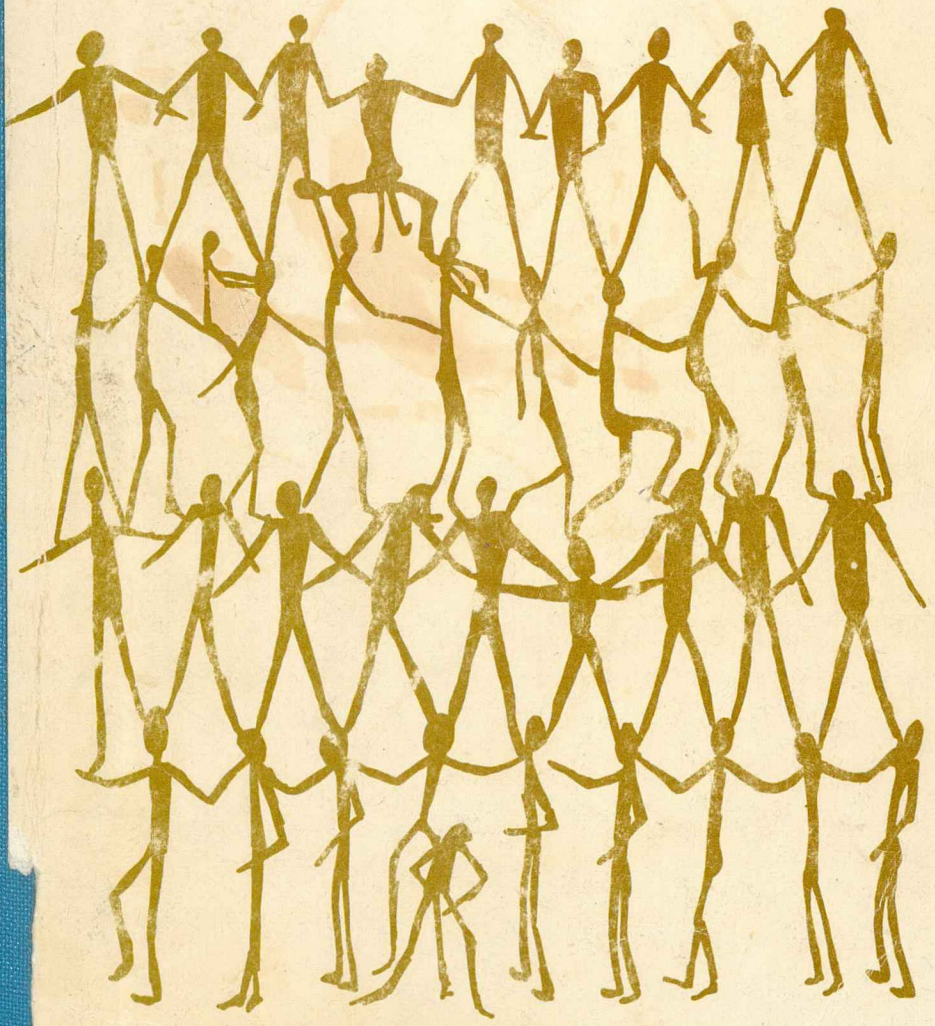

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Married to the Game: The Incorporation of Wives in Their Husband's Leisure[1]

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Introduction

In her book, *Married to the Job* (1983), Janet Finch demonstrates how the paid work of both working class and middle class men structures and constrains the lives of their wives. In this paper, I show that the leisure activities as well as the paid work of husbands shapes the lives of their wives. The account demonstrates that leisure is a political issue (Green et al, 1987:77). In Smalltown, wives are expected to free husbands for play and they are as obligated to present them 'fit for play' as they are to present them fit for work. Husbands also pressure wives to serve as additional players and to provide what Finch calls 'back-up' services for their own leisure activities and those of the men's groups and clubs to which they belong. The husbands view the latter as altruistic activities - which in part they are - but they are also opportunities for husbands to cover themselves in glory while enjoying the company of other men unhampered by 'a wife and kids'.

Wives are incorporated into the leisure activities of men of all classes but the most demanding marriages are to men holding down leadership positions in one or more of the towns sporting, political or public service organisations. These male leaders are nearly always drawn from the middle classes. It is shown in this paper that the incorporation of wives in many of their husband's leisure and service activities often occurs at the cost of the leisure activities of the wives themselves. As Roth (1963:112-14, cited by Finch, 1983:24) shows in family life, there are a series of overlapping and interacting timetables. These are generated by a husband's work, the children's needs, a wife's work, a husband's leisure, a wife's leisure and so forth. These timetables overlap and interact with one another. But, as several British feminists have shown, the impact of the

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[1] I borrowed and adapted this title and several of the themes introduced in this paper from Janet Finch's *Married to the Job* (1983).

leisure timetable of a man on his wife is, as a rule, much greater than the impact of her leisure timetable on his (Stanley, 1980, cited by Deem, 1986:12; Griffin, 1985; Deem, 1982; 1986; Woodward and Green, 1988). For instance, in her account of the lives of a sample of British young women, Griffin (1981:122 cited by Deem, 1986:13) offers the following observation:

> Women are an integral part of men's leisure, as 'escorts' whether paid or unpaid, or in relation to the myriad ways in which women must present and construct themselves for men, both materially and psychologically.

It will be demonstrated in the forthcoming pages that the relationships that the leisure activities husbands establish with their wives are so palpably one-sided that we are justified in describing them as exploitative. Exploitation entails what Ossowski (1963:26) describes as 'constant compulsory labour "for someone else's benefit"', or what Delphy (1976:80) describes as gratuitous labour extorted from wives for the benefit of husbands. In this instance, exploitation will be said to occur if one partner to a marriage relationship appropriates the productivity of the other partner for their own recreational or prestige enhancing activities without making a reciprocal expenditure of energy or resources.

My source of evidence for establishing the occurrence of exploitation are quantitative and qualitative data I gathered during the course of a longitudinal study of class and gender inequality in an Australian rural community.

The rural community - which I call Smalltown - is located in a prosperous agricultural region of the state of Victoria. The township itself has a population of 2,700 people and functions as a service centre for the surrounding farming district which is occupied by a further 1,050 people. All the major institutions in which Smalltown men and women participate on a day-to-day basis - work, recreational, educational, etc - are found in the immediate neighbourhood. This situation facilitates looking at women's lives in their totality. A holistic approach of this kind is being advocated by a growing number of feminists as the only one that will enable us to adequately comprehend women's oppression (Stanley, 1980 cited by Deem, 1988; Green *et al* 1987; Deem, 1986). As Green et al (1987:76) observe, the latter task entails '...investigating particular aspects of women's experience in relation to the structure of their lives as a whole...'. In the present instance, I will examine the connections between the incorporation of wives in their husband's leisure and what can be shown to be their subordinate

and often oppressed position in domestic, economic and social activities. It will also be shown that the utilisation by men of a paternalistic ideology helps ensure the maintenance of the superordinate-subordinate relationships between husbands and wives in leisure activities.[2]

The ethnographic approach to data collection used in Smalltown during the course of a fifteen year program of longitudinal research has much in common with the research strategy adopted by Whitehead (1976) for the study of sexual antagonism in Herefordshire, and by Imray and Middleton (1983) for their examination of gender segregation in sporting activities in a Yorkshire village. However, in the present study, observation has been combined with extensive surveying. Wives and husbands have been observed in a wide range of formal and informal situations including many sporting and social activities, a variety of voluntary organisations, church organisations, private parties, barbecues, and informal drinking in hotels. The present writer and several research assistants have lived with 30 families for a total period of 90 weeks. There have been more than 2,000 interviews conducted, of which approximately 1,500 have dealt with the relationships between women and men.

For this paper, data are drawn from four of the sixteen surveys conducted in Smalltown. There are: (i) a random sample survey of 443 community members utilised for information on organisational participation (hereafter referred to as the Community Survey); (ii) a random sample survey of 182 people aged sixty-five years of age or older provided data on the domestic division of labour and friendship relationships (called the Elderly Survey); (iii) a purposive sample of 175 members supplied information on friendship activity of the young and middle aged and the status evaluation of men and women's organisations (called the Status Survey); and (iv) a purposive sample of 56 couples was a source of information on the division of labour and the incorporation of wives in their husband's leisure activities and the contents of the ideological system supporting incorporation (called the Marriage Survey).

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[2] Paternalism refers to the process of legitimation of the hierarchical relationships that constitute patriarchy (Lown, 1983:33-35).

Much of the questioning in these surveys has been open-ended and so a content analysis has been made of between 60 and 80 percent of the data collected during each of these inquiries.[3]

Free and fit for play

In this community, wives free their husbands for play. The marriage relationship is predicated on the assumption that a husband's claim to leisure is superior to a wife's. 'Men see leisure as a right; women do not and are not encouraged by men to do so' (Deem, 1986:13). In Smalltown, it is believed by most women as well as men that because a husband is the family's principal or sole breadwinner, a wife should happily surrender his companionship and free him from domestic duties and childcare so that he can engage in recreational activities, especially ones away from the home.[4]

The division of labour facilitates the freeing of husbands for leisure (see Griffin, 1985). According to the Marriage Survey, more than ninety-five percent of Smalltown wives take major and often sole responsibility for washing clothes, ironing, cooking and the care of children. On occasions, men mind children so that their women can engage in leisure activity. Usually they only do so if the childcare does not interfere with their own work or regular recreational pastimes. The Marriage Survey also showed that a majority of mothers (compared to only one tenth of the fathers) took sole responsibility for getting their children to sporting activities. Responsibility was shared but not necessarily equally by the remaining members of the sample. These results emphasise the voluntaristic character of men's involvement (see also Edgell, 1980; Bryson, 1984; McRae, 1986 and Pleck, 1985).[5]

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[3] See Dempsey (1990) for a comprehensive account of research techniques.

[4] See Bryson (1984) for a review of the part Australian husbands play in child care and Edgell (1980) for a similar review for the U.K. I have discussed the participation of Smalltown husbands at some length elsewhere (Dempsey, 1988).

[5] Our surveys showed that community members generally support the position adopted by most of the husbands we interviewed. Only a minority of Smalltown people subscribe to the view that children are as much a husband's as a wife's responsibility. Almost all of those who think otherwise are younger women with tertiary educational qualifications.

As well as presenting husbands fit for work, wives also present them fit for play. They feed them prior to and after their game of golf or cricket, or their evening at the service club. They provide them with clean and pressed cricket or bowling flannels, or football gear. It is also a wife's responsibility to ensure that a husband's physical needs are met after play: that there is a clean change of clothes and a meal ready to eat when he returns exhausted at the end of a day's play, perhaps unfit for anything but 'a good feed and a beer followed by a sleep in front of the T.V.'.

Ensuring that a husband is fit to play and caring for him after he has played entails a woman being available at irregular hours to provide a range of services on demand (Deem, 1982). These may include a rushed ironing job for a game of tennis that a husband forgot to mention; sewing a missing button on a cricket shirt; providing a casserole for a husband to take to a special function of his service club and so forth.

Lending moral support

In her study of the incorporation of wives in their husband's paid work, Finch shows that wives are expected to facilitate their husband's work by lending their moral support. Smalltown husbands expect their wives to lend moral support to their leisure activities as well as to their paid work. A wife must listen and utter the appropriate sounds of approval as her husband recounts last week's sporting triumph: the boundary that clinched the game for the team or the glorious three iron he hit into the fourteenth green. She must be just as attentive as he foretells in detail the crucial part he will play in his team winning next Saturday's football match.

Very few of these women are married to men who share their view. Here is what one of these women had to say on the subject:

> In this community if a kid is in trouble or just got untidy clothes the mother is always blamed. 'Its her fault'.
> That's my husband's attitude too. He wont take responsibility for Bill (their 18 month old child). He says, 'The kid's her worry, not mine!'.

Wives report that husbands assume that they will often lend moral support by attending the performance itself: the one day cricket match, the pennant bowls final, 'the changeover dinner' when a husband is installed in an executive position in his club'. Wives who resist or fail to attend are rebuked and often have to cope with a sulky partner.

Wives must also bring their expressive and supportive skills to bear in the face of sporting losses or unhappy outcomes to other leisure activities. They are expected to tend the wounds acquired in a pursuit of glory and care for the husband who has drunk to excess. Sometimes, the latter activities demand exceptional behaviour on the part of wives. For instance, I and other researchers have witnessed a young wife speaking in reassuring tones to her drunken husband as she physically struggles to get him into a car parked outside a pub. He was just too drunk to manage the manoeuvre unaided.

Providing support of the kind just described is not something most Smalltown wives ever do. However, in meeting the expectations that they will facilitate the play of husbands, many wives frequently perform extraordinary feats. On a number of occasions, I have been present in a home where a scene of the following kind was being acted out. The wife prepares a Saturday lunch while her husband and teenage sons watch a cricket, tennis, or football match on the television. She rushes between the stove and the ironing board so that the cricket gear will look fine for the afternoon's game. Following the meal, she transports one of the sons to his competition game. The husband departs for his game and she returns to clear away the dishes and wash up. Then she prepares a plate of savories which she takes to the ground her husband is playing at in time for afternoon tea. She will probably remain at the ground cheering on her husband's team until the conclusion of play. Often this hectic and demanding routine occurs at the end of a week in which the wife herself has been out at paid work.

Serving as additional 'players'

Men view women as inferior players of most sports and they avoid playing with them if possible. When questioned on this matter, husbands repeatedly made the following type of comment:

> You just can't play the game seriously when women are around and you can't be as free in what you say."

Yet wives may be called upon to, say, bowl to a husband in need of some batting practice. They are also eager for wives to participate in a range of social activities that require a female partner, especially those staged by their men's organisation. These activities include dinner dances, cabarets, musical evenings, 'change-over dinners' etc. These are occasional events which are staged by organisations such as the Rotary and Lions clubs, yet these clubs exclude wives from their regular activities. This pattern highlights the exploitative character of the incorporation of wives in their husband's leisure activities.

Supporting the main players

While incorporation in the leisure activities of husbands affects the lives of virtually all wives, it probably impacts to the greatest degree on the wives of men in leadership positions in the town's major organisations, including the service clubs and the town and the local shire councils. The incorporation and exploitation of these wives is facilitated by the fact that such organisations are very prestigious and their activities highly visible. Those activities are perceived by a wide spectrum of community members as morally worthy. For example, when during the course of the Community Survey respondents were asked to nominate the organisations they believed were doing the most for the community, more than 90 percent of the nominations went to the men's service clubs. The more prestigious or morally worthy the role of a husband in leading organisations, the more pressure applied to his wife to play a 'help meet' role (Finch, 1983:86).

In Smalltown, the expectation prevails that recreational leaders and service club organisers are always available, consequently spontaneous visits and phone calls penetrate the privacy of the home and ensure the incorporation of their wives in the husband's leisure activities in an open-ended and demanding manner. As Young and Wilmott (1973) point out, the telephone provides 'a means of trespass': in this instance, between a man's sporting and service club activities and his home.

There are other technological devices that serve as 'means of trespass' in Smalltown. For example, members of the voluntary fire brigade have alarms located in their homes that sound in the case of a fire and several members of the golf club committee have burglar alarm extensions to their homes from the club

to signal an illegal entry. Some husbands interfere with their families timetables and often their leisure activities by holding committee meetings for their club in the lounge room of the family home.

All wives provide what Finch (1983:94) calls 'back-up services' for their husband's leisure activities but leaders' wives are expected to provide a comprehensive and demanding range of such services. These wives are easily incorporated and exploited because so many of a leisure leader's activities occur within the home or are organised from the home. The back-up services provided include: entertaining members of a husband's committee as they arrive and possibly providing supper at an appropriate point in the evening;[6] helping a husband construct the draw for a forthcoming sporting event; taking messages concerning who will play or who will be unable to attend a particular meeting; doing 'the banking' for his club; possibly providing accommodation for members from other clubs 'paying a visit' to the Smalltown club; and using her home as a base for organising the wives of other members to help with catering for a special event.

A woman who is married to a man who is the president of a leading sporting organisation, service club or local government council will be expected to accompany her husband to a wide range of social activities and civic functions. These include such things as the annual round of Christmas breakup parties staged by numerous Smalltown organisations, special community functions such as the opening of a library or the farewell to a prominent community member, and special functions of sister clubs in other rural centres. As was pointed out earlier, the latter will often entail round trips that last several hours.

Wives frequently serve as 'sounding boards' for husbands who rehearse their plans to revamp their club, or who are devising tactics to get rid of an opponent. In some instances, wives assist husbands to develop a strategy to handle a difficult situation that has arisen among members of a club's committee, or to help ensure that a husband does a good job as the incoming president of his club.

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[6] The wife of the Mayor always prepares the supper served to councillors following a council meeting. One councillor estimated that she assisted with her husband's local government activities on between 40 and 50 occasions each year. The Mayor's position is an honorary one.

Some husbands may reciprocate but it is far more likely that the moral support will be going to the husband rather than the wife.

Wives of leisure leaders will often be expected to facilitate the success of their husband's leisure activity by both disseminating and collecting information that is useful to him. In a community with a small and stable population where people play where they live and work, it is relatively easy for a wife to garner information concerning such things as the attitudes particular sectors of the community have to the activities of her husband's organisation. This can be picked up as she goes about her weekly shopping, at school functions, during casual conversations in the main street and at meetings of her own organisations. Similarly, she can feed the appropriate community grapevines with information her husband wants transmitted.

The provision of 'back-up' services for husbands who are leisure leaders goes still further. In Smalltown, male members of leading organisations often form close friendships with other members of their particular organisations. Their wives are expected to form friendships with the wives of their husband's 'leisure friends'. Derivative friendship of this kind may put wives in situations where they have to engage in leisure activities that do not interest them and spend time with women with whom they feel no natural affinity or whom they may personally dislike.[7] The whole enterprise which, from the husband's point of view, is designed to enhance the pleasure of his mateship activity and, on occasions, the success of his term of office in a voluntary organisation, may reduce the autonomy of wives and force them into relationships they would rather avoid and which they may have to pursue within their own homes. The one-sided and demanding nature of this incorporation corroborates the observation that husbands are exploiting their wives.

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[7] Griffin in her study of a sample of British younger women demonstrates that the one-sided character of friendship relationships commences well before adulthood. Stable friendships among girls frequently ended once a girl started going steady, often at the insistence of the boyfriend. However, male friendships survived the formation of heterosexual friendships. '"The lads" continued to see their friends in local pubs and at football matches' (Griffin, 1985:61-2).

Sometimes the incorporation of a wife by a male leader is taken to even greater lengths: some husbands who are serving as presidents of sporting or charity organisations prevail upon their wife to accept a position as secretary or treasurer of the same organisation. A recent edition the *Smalltown News* (spring of 1990) carried the story that John Brownlow was going to again lead one of the local charity clubs. The article spoke at length of the tireless service he had given to the club for many years. It made no reference to his wife other than to mention that she had been elected treasurer. This is a position she has held for a number of years of her husband's presidency. The wife of a recent president of the Smalltown Football Club also served as treasurer during her husband's term of office. However, she rarely if ever attended meetings. Instead, she did the 'book work' at home. This prevented her committee position interfering with her childcare while, at the same time, allowing her to support her husband in his leisure activity. The appointment of a wife as treasurer or as secretary is often viewed as a 'natural' extension of a husband's selection as president.

The wife of a leisure leader has a public performance to give. She must be tastefully dressed, capable of engaging in interesting conversation with strangers, able to publicly thank other women for their help and support of her work on behalf of her husband's organisation and to do everything possible to make her husband's occupancy of office a highly successful one.

The public status of such a woman is contaminated vicariously by her husband's public status as a leading figure in Smalltown's service club, political or recreational life. She is stopped when down the street or shopping, or attending a sporting event and asked to relay messages to her husband. On occasions, she has to listen to complaints about the administration of the organisation he presides over. In such ways her identity, as well as much of her life, becomes an extension of his. She is subordinated and her social persona submerged through the various processes of incorporation that have been detailed here.

Benefiting husbands collectively

Although wives are usually excluded from the clubs and organisations their husbands belong to, their exclusion does not prevent the husbands and their fellow club members expecting the wives to use their skills as cooks, knitters, expert caterers and sewers to raise money for their organisation. This labour is

provided free and is available when required. These clubs, in fact, establish relationships with the wives of members that are as exploitative as the incorporation by individual husbands of their wives in their informal leisure activities.

Because much of the contribution that wives make to the leisure and status seeking activity of husbands collectively is conducted at home (cooking, answering phones, writing up minutes etc), the extent of the exploitation is not visible. However, there are many instances in which the occurrence of exploitation is incontrovertible. First, it is palpable in those instances in which the husbands themselves provide little practical assistance to their wives in the money making activities the wives are engaging in on behalf of their husband's organisations. Wives do not play football nor do they fight fires but, principally through the activities of women's auxiliaries, they provide a major proportion of the funds raised for the football club and the men's voluntary fire brigade. Many wives who are married to leading male members of the golf club work hard raising money for such facilities as a new club house by catering for weddings, the change-over dinners of other men's clubs etc. There are no professional catering organisations in Smalltown so, for example, the Jaycees Club (five-sixths of whose membership is male) holds it's Christmas party at the golf club. A couple of the male golf club members serve drinks but the real work is done by 'the golf club ladies'. They first purchase and prepare much of the food in their own homes, finish the preparation at the club, serve the food and clear and wash up afterwards. This service may be provided for more than forty people. Yet despite their large contribution, no wife is a member of the golf club committee. Recently (1990) one male executive member boasted that the day would be a long time coming that a woman achieved committee membership. Moreover, wives play most of their golf with women mainly because their husbands prefer to play only with men. So husbands collectively fail to reciprocate either by performing similar productive tasks for women or by accepting them as equals and full partners in their recreational activities.

Second, even when husbands do work alongside wives in fund raising activities, it is still quite apparent that the wives are being exploited by their husband's club. For example, the Lions and Jaycees Clubs will staff stalls selling drinks and confectionary at the Smalltown Agricultural Show. This is one of the ways such clubs raise money to spend on community service projects. Wives who are

not members of these clubs will be asked to assist in these activities. Wives will be toiling as industriously as husbands on the stalls but the public recognition flowing from the investment by the club of the profits they make in community services goes exclusively to the husbands. It is the male president of the Lions Club and not his wife whose photograph appears in the Smalltown News accompanying a story about the club's latest 'good deed'.

Most of what women do for their husbands organisations is at best marked by a token gesture of appreciation although it benefits club members generally. For example, a half page article trumpeting the praises of the X Men's Club for its sporting successes may contain at or near the end the following type of brief gratuitous recognition:

> The Ladies Auxiliary did themselves proud when they provided a delicious luncheon for the host club and the visiting players. Many very favourable comments were passed by appreciative males.

Exploitation is also demonstrated by the failure of the men's organisations, as of individual husbands, to reciprocate by supporting the leisure activities of their wives's organisations. Wives attend any mixed social function arranged by their husband's organisation but husbands' do not attend comparable entertainments arranged by the organisations their wives belong to. Consequently, women's groups have no option but to put on special entertainment for members of their own sex. Whenever men are engaged in a major sporting activity, their wives will be present in large numbers to cheer them on, but few husbands are ever seen at a woman's sporting event.

The precedence that a husband's organisation takes over a wife's organisation is demonstrated by seating arrangements at public functions to which the town's organisations have been invited to send representatives. If a wife is invited to represent a women's organisation - such as the Red Cross or the Country Women's Association - and a husband is invited to represent a men's organisation - such as the Jaycees or the Lions Club - she will sit with her husband at the table allocated for members of his organisation rather than at the table reserved for members of her organisation. Even if a husband does not belong to a men's organisation that is represented at the function and his wife does, he will not accompany her. If he is not invited 'in his own right', he will not attend the function. Consequently, on such occasions, the tables of the

women's organisations are occupied by women only whereas the tables of the men's organisations are occupied by couples (that is husbands and the wives that have been incorporated for the occasion).

Some of Smalltown's men's organisations are aptly described as 'greedy institutions' (Coser, 1974, cited by Finch, 1983:109). The demands these organisations make not only on male members but on wives as occasional participants locate them at the unlimited, rather than the limited, end of the demand continuum. Furthermore, like other greedy institutions, they encompass the whole person in their activities. In the present instance, this means they draw on the skills of wives as domestic workers and sales persons and on their social skills.

Some husbands assist a wife's organisation with fund raising activities by, for example, putting up trestles for a street stall or helping erect a marquee for a fete or by ferrying goods from home to the site of the fete. Wives value this kind of assistance but it is not commensurate with that given by women's auxiliaries attached to men's organisations or even by wives who help out in an informal manner by, say, preparing food for their husband's organisation. Yet, no matter how hard wives work for a men's organisation - often harder than the men themselves - the wives do not, through their labour, become members of their husband's club. What Finch observes regarding the gains for wives who contribute to the productivity of their husbands' corporations applies to the wives who contribute to the 'productivity' of Smalltown's men' organisations, especially the more prestigious ones. *She* (1983:116-117) says such wives merely bask in the reflected glory and in so doing affirm their dependent status.

Effects on wives

In deciding whether exploitation is occurring, the perceptions of neither the exploiters nor the exploited can be the decisive factor. In the present instance, few if any organisations comprised of husbands would acknowledge that they are taking advantage of wives. It is also the case that wives are often willing accomplices in the usurpation of their time and talents by individual husbands as well as by their organisations. Yet, exploitation has an objective quality and it occurs whether or not it is perceived to occur by the participants themselves. Here it can be said to be occurring because by utilising wives as domestic

workers, sales persons and as facilitators of social activities, husbands (and their organisations) increase their productivity of 'good times' and of 'good works' without any cost increase to the husbands or their clubs. Because it is the labour of wives, it is not viewed as something that should be paid for.[8]

As the foregoing account shows, exploitation occurs not only because men use up the resources of wives for their leisure activities but also because they fail to reciprocate by supporting the leisure activities of wives. It can also be said to occur because the incorporation of wives in these leisure activities restricts and sometimes precludes the leisure activity of the wives themselves.

Constraining women's leisure

The contribution wives make to their husband's leisure, including the activities of his club, restricts and sometimes precludes their own leisure activities. It takes time and energy to wash and iron sporting gear and to prepare meals for husbands returning late from a drinking session at the pub or to send food for a meeting of his club. The intrusion of men's leisure into the lives of their wives is exacerbated by the open ended character of the service that their wives provide them - meals, clothes and moral support for their leisure activities made available more or less on demand. Wives are much more likely to report surrendering their sporting activities after marriage than are men. As Deem (1987:423, 429) and Bryson (1983: 415-20, 424-25) have shown, this is often because they lack support from their families and they no longer have the energy once they have met their work responsibilities. What we have found in Smalltown is that the incorporation of women in their husband's leisure activity also diminishes their ability and opportunity to engage in sport themselves. The Marriage Survey showed that more than two-thirds of husbands are better able to pursue their own interests and about half are freer than their wives to come and go as they please. It also showed that husbands are more likely than their wives to have money to spend.

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[8] An observation Abrams made about the failure to recognise the worth of unpaid labour is valid in this context. He says, in a system in which '...a person's capacity to work is bought and sold in exchange for a wage, labour, which is performed on the basis of personal relations rather than on the basis of monetary exchange, is not recognised as labour (Abrams, 1978:160).

The impact on a wife's life and leisure of the type of asymmetrical relationship I am describing was articulated repeatedly during interviews with wives married to men in leadership positions and on occasions, in interviews with the husbands themselves. One such account was provided by Mrs Margaret Riddle. It was generally corroborated by the information provided by her husband, David. David Riddle is a leading farmer who holds an executive position in one of the community's service clubs. Farming and the club so dominate David Riddle's life that there is little time left for the family. Margaret Riddle's life pivots around David's preoccupations.

She accompanies him to barbecues, change-over dinners and a range of other social activities associated with his club. She also helps with fund raising for his organisation. Because he holds an executive position with his club, he travels hundreds of miles each month visiting neighbouring clubs. She is usually expected to accompany him on these trips. Margaret complains that she finds it difficult to devote time to her one sporting interest - netball - and that she is sometimes prevented from attending practice by her husband's failure to free her by minding the children. Apart from her sporting team, she belongs to only one organisation: the local kindergarten. She says that fathers are free to join this organisation but none, including her own husband, does. She went on to say:

> Even if David did choose to come along to the kindergarten, we lack the baby-sitting resources to allow him to do so. We use all our baby-sitting resources up on functions in connection with his club.

She also explained how her husband's leisure activities impinged on her friendship activities:

> I don't have much time now to see my friends because I am busy with David's friends. Like David, almost all of them belong to the X Club. It is also difficult because David does not like my two closest friends or their husbands. So I have to see them on my own and that proves difficult. I now sometimes go weeks without seeing them.

There is a further and somewhat ironical twist to the asymmetrical arrangement illustrated by the Riddle's story and it is this: a wife's support for her husband's service to the community or to his club ensures that her '...identity becomes an

extension of his and as his adjunct she proclaims his good work through her own' (Fowlkes, 1980:46, cited by Finch, 1983:90).

Why do wives facilitate the play?

The data presented in the foregoing pages confirms Griffin's (1982:91) claim that 'women's work produces leisure for men'. This work locks a wife into exploitative relationships with her own husband and often with the husbands of other women. Historically, there is nothing new in the situation I have been describing in Smalltown or in the paternalistic ideology that buttresses it. Lown (1983:35) stresses that since pre-industrial times, wives have lacked the same work identity as men and have always been 'expected to provide services for men'. As many previous writers have pointed out, there is a complex and interrelated set of structural, material and cultural factors responsible for men's oppression of women in leisure activities (Deem, 1982; 1986; Griffin, 1982; Woodward and Green, 1988).

Men invoke authority[9]: they order their wives to stay and mind the children so that they can leave the home to engage in leisure activities (Griffin, 1982:85). Women, as a rule, obey but if wives resist their directions men, at times, use their superior physical power to get their way (Green et al., 1987: 85-6). Certainly emotional violence is invoked frequently by husbands to achieve incorporation. A husband angrily calls from the bedroom - 'There is no clean trousers for cricket. What the hell is going on around here. You knew I was playing today!'. The wife who is otherwise engaged, say, for example, talking with a friend on the phone hurriedly excuses herself and rushes to answer the command.

A wife's economic dependence encourages her to comply with *his* requests or instructions to support *his* leisure activities. It has been shown elsewhere (Dempsey, 1987) that virtually all Smalltown wives are at least partially economically dependent on their husbands and the great majority are entirely dependent. This dependence extends beyond the need for small change for a few

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[9] As Jessie Bernard (1971:25) observes, the authority of a husband stems from the 'recognitions and acceptance' of the direction it elicits from a wife. Authority is a form of power: power legitimated by such things as rules, custom or the personality of the power holder (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1984:24).

leisure pursuits to dependence for major life necessities and for ensuring a reasonable life style and education for their children. Such a dependence provides husbands with a great deal of leverage, especially when the support of wives is viewed as desirable in this community. As McRobbie (1978:96-7) affirms, the material position of women plays a crucial role in their oppression.

The position of wives in the domestic system of production is a key element of their material dependence. Wives wash and iron and there is no demarcation zone between a man's work clothes and his leisure gear. In most households, husbands do not need to resort to emotional aggression because wives anticipate their demands and have the sporting gear for the bowls, football, or golf or the clean shirt for the Masonic, Council or Rotary Club meeting ready when required. It is also a wife's responsibility to cook and it is a short step from cooking a roast for a husband to sit down to at the dining table to cooking a casserole for him to take for a 'stags' night at his club.

The way is made easy for incorporation by the fact that wives are, for much of the time 'on the spot'. Men conduct some of their leisure activities in the home. In Smalltown, it is a common practice for one or two of a husband's mates to 'drop by' of an evening for a yarn and a drink. Spontaneous 'dropping in' is made easy by the fact that within the township itself 'everybody lives only five minutes from everybody else'. The practice of informal spontaneous visiting means that the 'home is constantly "on view"' (Finch, 1983:57). Consequently, a wife feels compelled to devote leisure time to keeping it tidy. After all, it is a wife who has ultimate responsibility for household presentation and who is eager to protect a reputation for good housekeeping.

Incorporation is also furthered by the practice of husbands of using the home as a base for organising many external leisure pursuits. For a wife, avoiding involvement in the planning and preparation for such activities is almost impossible. As well as refusing to get the cricket or footie gear ready, it would also mean refusing to take phone messages, answer the door and so forth. Rebellious behaviour of this kind not only runs counter to the notion that a wife should help her husband but also conflicts in fundamental ways with the mores governing daily social interaction. The occurrence of behaviour that transgresses key cultural mores always attracts sanctions from other community members. If it occurs repeatedly, it alienates a wife's friends and acquaintances as well as her

husband's friends. In this social and cultural milieu, there is a substantial social and psychological cost to be met by a rebellious wife and usually wives try to avoid meeting such costs. Woodward and Green (1988:135), found in their British study that wives retreated from open conflict with husbands because of the '...deep seated emotional and economic investments in heterosexual partnerships and associated forms of family life'. They go on to offer the following observation which also applies to the situation being described in this paper. They say 'that (the) understandable retreat (of wives) from open conflict ...serves to reinforce the status quo and to protect male leisure usually at the expense of women's free time, autonomy and release from domestic labour and childcare' (Woodward and Green, 1988:135).

There are other connections between the incorporation of wives in their husband's leisure pursuits and key cultural mores. Smalltownites generally subscribe to the view that a man is entitled to 'time out' for leisure because of his contribution as a family's principle or sole breadwinner. In particular, it legitimates him spending much more time than his wife pursuing leisure activities outside the home (Green et. al., 1987:81). Being a good provider (a husband's role) is a highly esteemed status whereas being a good carer attracts far less status. Because a wife's role is inferior to men's breadwinning role and because of the intrinsic character of the caring role itself (never off duty), women do not have the same entitlement or opportunity for leisure, especially to leisure away from the home. The widespread support in this community for such precepts legitimates husbands incorporating wives and a wife's willing acquiescence confirms a husband's authority in specific relationships. As Jessie Bernard (1971:25) observes, the authority of a husband stems from the 'recognitions and acceptance' it elicits from a wife.

So, a key to understanding the incorporation of a wife into her husband's leisure activity and into the activities of her husband's leisure colleagues is her understanding of marriage, and the crucial role it plays in her self-identity. Women participate in men's leisure activities, even if at times somewhat reluctantly, in large measure because they are dedicated to marriage and the home

in a way that men in this community are rarely if ever dedicated.[10] From their perspective, caring for a husband's leisure activity is not only a part of a wife's duty but a measure of her closeness and her love (Finch, 1983:78-9). For her, achieving togetherness in marriage is an intrinsic part of finding fulfilment and identity as a carer.

Given these attitudes and beliefs, it is not surprising that wives perceive their participation in their husband's leisure as well as their husband's work as a natural thing to do. Their involvement has a taken-for-granted quality which is due in part to the fact that the subordinate/supportive relationship it entails is similar to the kind of relationship wives have to their husband in other areas of their marriage (Dempsey, 1988).[11] In the business of leisure, as in so many matters, husbands expect to direct and to exercise greater autonomy than their partners, and wives expect to defer (Bell and Newby, 1976).

Up to this point, I have stressed the structural and cultural forces that pressure a wife into participating in a husband's leisure activity. In adopting this approach, one must be careful to avoid taking up too determinist a position. As Finch (1983:2) observes, in discussing the incorporation of wives into their husband's work, women are aware that it's often in their interests to help their husbands to succeed and so may choose to contribute rather than do the minimum imposed by structural and cultural forces or attempt to work around the constraints those forces impose. A Smalltown wife often facilitates a husband's leisure activity because she perceives that these activities bring her tangible gains. The gains include: the opportunities for companionship with women friends as well as a husband and other males, and the rewards of being in things that form the focus

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[10] This should not be read as implying that men are not committed to marriage. They are generally seriously committed, but to a different marriage: one in which they perceive themselves as the leaders and their wives as the led. One wife accurately expressed the view of marriage that probably a majority of Smalltown hold when she said: 'I think that the overriding feeling is that husbands see that wives are there to provide the comforts of life, to take the pressure off them as much as possible, and to make as few demands as possible in return' (transient professional).

[11] I am indebted to Finch (1983, ch.14) for this insight.

of a good deal of community life and which often constitute the more interesting forms of recreational activity in the community.

Finally, although incorporation brings gains for wives, these should not divert attention from the objective reality that in the pursuit of their leisure, husbands singly and collectively often exploit wives. There is, of course, a subjective as well as objective dimension to reality. Subjectively, most Smalltown women do not perceive themselves as exploited. But I accept the validity of Deem's observation that in deciding whether or not a particular gender relation is oppressive or exploitative, the observer cannot rely exclusively on the judgement that those who are disadvantaged make of their situation. To do so is to '...ignore entirely the working of ideology and culture on women's lives and fail to take into account the wider economic and political determinants of women's lives, experiences and beliefs...' (Deem, 1982:31). In Smalltown, a gender specific ideology works in conjunction with economic dependence, social dependence, men's greater physical strength, legitimated power (that is authority) and the traditional division of labour in the home to ensure that objectively wives are often exploited in the course of their husbands pursuing their leisure and status enhancing activities (Barrett, 1980:179).

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A Politics of University Pedagogy: Inserting the Self into the Disciplinary Text

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Abstract

This paper suggests that the boundaries of what constitutes valid knowledge within academic disciplines are forged through the dialectic between research and teaching. As such, all university lecturers engage in a political process. The ways in which the author has engaged with this process in an effort to change the boundaries of 'the history of education' are explored by examining the re/construction of a Stage III interdisciplinary education subject. Particular emphasis is placed on the interaction between content and assessment, and the way in which autobiographical modes have become an increasingly central strategy for meeting the concerns of both teacher and students.

When I took up my first permanent position as an education lecturer two years ago and began contemplating the establishment of new courses, one issue which struck me with startling clarity was that there is a 'commonsense' notion about the purpose of teaching education, a notion which is deeply embedded in the wider academic model of university teaching. In short, this was to introduce students to that body of theory and research which constituted the discipline. As students progressed from undergraduate to postgraduate level the process broadened so that select students were inducted into this paradigm as both researchers and teachers in-training. In other words, the boundaries of what counts as valid knowledge are constituted and maintained by the dialectic between teaching and research.

It is also true (if perhaps optimistic!) that the university setting offers an ideal environment for critiquing and changing this dialectic. After all, it is the university more than any other institution which is supposed to be involved in the refinement of existing knowledge and the production of new knowledge. Rarely, however, does this process extend to our own pedagogical practices. Yet when we accept commonsensical notions about 'our discipline' and 'appropriate

teaching and learning methods', we are just as much engaged in the politics of pedagogy as we are when we attempt to being about change. Regardless of the level of our understanding of why we do whatever it is we do as lecturers, university pedagogy is a political process which every university lecturer engages with.

This paper explores some of the ways that I have consciously engaged with this process since taking up my permanent appointment; ways which deliberately sought to change the dialectic which constitutes 'the history of education'.

Inserting the Teacher as Self into the Text of the Course

Although I was aware that I had imbibed the academic pedagogical model by going through the process of student and apprentice lecturer myself, this was thrown into greater relief with my permanent appointment. This was not only due to the shift from part to full-time lecturer, but also because I had moved from an Australian university which was involved with teacher education and had integrated a research-based model with a vocationally-based model of teaching. The move to New Zealand was into a university where traditionally there has been very little involvement in teacher education and where there was, therefore, substantial agreement that the research model was the most legitimate one for teaching.

Agreement on the research/theory model posed two major problems for me. First, the notion of 'relevance' which is central to the vocational model had all but disappeared. Rather than heaving a sigh of relief, I was reluctant to let it go. In Australia, I had found it both challenging and stimulating to render theory relevant to groups of people with particular needs. Through this teaching I had, moreover, become convinced of the benefits of linking theory with everyday life as a means of enhancing student learning. In New Zealand, these issues crystallised around the question of how I could construct courses which introduced students to the discipline while at the same time rendering it relevant to them - when they had no known needs beyond wanting to complete an arts degree.

The second problem resulted from my longer-term familiarity with feminist theory and my more recent involvement with Aboriginal Studies in Australia.

While teaching Aboriginal Studies, I became excruciatingly aware of the limitations of 'research' and what could be taught from this base. More importantly, I understood the implications of reproducing a body of existing knowledge which not only had enormous gaps within it but which presented very particularised stories when it did occasionally venture into Aboriginal education issues. In other words, teaching had been delineated very clearly as a political activity. Before moving to New Zealand, I had therefore decided that teaching from **within** the discipline would not only contribute to the process of colonisation but would, because of the dialectic which constitutes the discipline, amount to 'cultural invasion':

> Cultural invasion is on the one hand an **instrument** of domination, and on the other, the **result** of domination.... Cultural invasion, which serves the ends of conquest and the preservation of oppression, always involves a parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another (Friere, 1982: 123, 129. Original emphasis).

This stance became more complicated when I moved to New Zealand. Within the new department, there were two Maori lecturers who had built up several subjects which catered specifically for Maori, and somewhat less specifically for Pacific Island students. Together they had attracted a substantial number of Maori and Pacific Island students into the department. My dilemma here was whether I should leave these lecturers to cater to these students or whether I should construct subjects which would be relevant to them in some way. My decision to go down the relevance path was, after discussion with the lecturers, based on a concern that leaving the 'indigenous' program as it was would be to: restrict the subjects available to these students; contribute nothing at all to the process of 'conscientising' **Pakeha** (non-Maori) students; and place the entire burden of decolonisation onto the colonised. Within this framework, I viewed the subjects I was re/constructing as potentially supplementing the 'core' subjects offered by these lecturers.

Together these two problems merged into the more general question of 'how could I teach education while simultaneously rendering the discipline relevant to students in general **and** creating avenues which could be utilised for decolonisation'? Underpinning this was the more urgent question of whether it was in fact possible to adequately combine these agendas within a single subject, particularly within the constraints of an institution which had been described quite

aptly to me as conservative. Two institutional expectations which reflected this orientation were that all subjects would have a substantial formal examination component for assessment purposes and that they should be taught on an annual rather than a semester basis.

The remainder of this discussion explores how I have attempted to address these various concerns within a subject at the Stage III (final year undergraduate) level. This has been chosen for discussion because it was here that I had the most room to manoeuvre by constructing a completely new course.

Constructing the Course Through Institutional Boundaries

For reasons other than those outlined above, the subject had been delineated as 'Family, Schooling and Society' before I began to think seriously about the issues involved. As I had been employed as an historian-cum-sociologist, I also felt somewhat obliged to give the course an interdisciplinary framework.

Unlike many Stage III subjects, the interdisciplinary focus means that there is no prerequisite for entry beyond having completed three second year subjects. This means that a range of students have enrolled in the course over the past two years - from psychology, economics and anthropology majors who have taken few education subjects through to education majors who have never taken history or sociology. Hence, the course was designed on the assumption that students would bring a diverse range of understandings and skills with them, and that these would not necessarily include a background in history or sociology of education.

The theoretical orientation of the subject caters well for this diversity. In broad terms it uses a social construction approach which has a strong flavour of postmodernism but does not lapse into total relativitism. More specifically, the course explores the changing relationships between families and education in a social context, from medieval England through to twentieth century New Zealand. Its focal point is that the western bourgeois nuclear family and compulsory schooling have increasingly became hegemonic referents during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This orientation would, I felt, provide a strong framework for exploring different perceptions, models, and experiences of the family and education across time and cultures while providing avenues for critical

analysis. By itself, however, this would not meet all of my concerns. What was needed was a structure which addressed them systematically through both content and assessment.

Institutional boundaries have enhanced and hampered the formulation of this structure. On the positive side, the interdisciplinary framework has been quite potent. Sociology and history complement each other at a number of levels. At one level, sociology renders the theory which is frequently implicit in history more explicit, while history provides insights into the development of particular theories at particular times. In terms of the course content, the latter is particularly important for understanding the emergence of a scientific paradigm through the Reformation and its refinement during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At another level, sociology provides some tools for more rigorously analysing the detailed histories available on families and education as well as the relationships between them. In the same vein, detailed histories frequently point to the simplistic nature of many sociological theories as well as pointing to ways in which these theories might be elaborated or reworked.

Another positive constraint has been the annual format. Although this was novel to me at the Stage III level, I anticipated that this format would give me more space than a one semester course for developing content and linking this with assessment. In practice, this is precisely what has occurred, and the annual format has therefore been retained.

Alternatively, the formal examination posed nothing but problems. During the first year (1990), the course included a formal examination. After 1990, the formal examination component was jettisoned (with some difficulty) so that greater use could be made of the on-course components. This was not only because I could not find a way to make the examination a constructive forum for building on students' existing knowledge and skills, but also because the dialectic between content and existing on-course assessment components was proving to be much more exciting and successful than I had expected.

The Dialectic Between Course Content and Assessment

Course Content

The content of the course is divided into four sections. The first begins with a session which aims at delineating and problematising commonsense notions of both the family and education. It emphasises that neither the nuclear family nor compulsory institutional schooling are 'natural' structures. Rather, they are constituted by the particular social, economic, political, and cultural realities of a society in any given time. This is followed by an introductory examination of a select range of historical and sociological theories on the relationships between family and education, which concludes with a session on specific methodologies. The second section of the course examines medieval England, leading into some of the major changes which occurred from the Reformation to the early nineteenth century. This serves two purposes: it throws into better light the social constructedness of 'the family' and 'education' as well as the complex relationships between them; and it provides an historical springboard for the remaining two sections.

Each of these remaining sections examine changes wrought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in some detail. One concentrates on the colonisation of Australia, Aotearoa and select Pacific Islands. The other section works around a variety of thematic topics such as: childhood, juvenile delinquency, and the rise of compulsory schooling; eugenics, professionalism, and the state; the influence of scientific rationalisation on the home and schooling; and the relationship between deficit theories of the family and compensatory education.

Although 'colonisation' was structured into a concrete place through the content, it has been largely through the interaction of this content with the assessment components - an autobiographical assignment, a seminar assignment, and a major project - that my concerns have been both addressed and challenged.

The Autobiographical Assignment

Initially the autobiographical assignment was conceived as a means of shifting students' attention from grand theory which sat outside themselves to the concrete reality of their own present situation (see Appendix). Through inter-generational analysis which focused on the relationship between family and education, students

would be able to use their own life history to reflect on some of the social and historical structures which had shaped them. Given the varied disciplinary backgrounds of the students, I also expected that this assignment would provide a non-threatening vehicle for students to begin thinking along historical and sociological dimensions.

To encourage students to use their own life as text, they are not formally required to do any reading or to draw on any of the theories covered in the first section of the course (e.g. Althusser, 1971; David, 1980; Datz, 1987; Musgrave, 1960; Porter, 1983; Sarup, 1983). Many students do, however, chose to utilise some external theory as a tool for analysis. Those who are unfamiliar with sociological ways of thinking have found Bordieu's (1974) theory of cultural reproduction a particularly useful instrument for beginning to 'theorise' their own lives. Indeed, because the vast majority of my students are women, most find that feminist refinements of Bourdieu's argument (Arnot, 1984; Middleton, 1990) articulate their own life experiences more clearly.

In addition to grounding students within historical and sociological ways of thinking, an autobiographical assignment would, I believed, create a space where all students had the opportunity to focus on what was relevant to their own lives - in spite of the emphasis on family and education. Indeed, this was one point where the broad parameters of the content, the assessment and the specific form of autobiography complemented each other extremely well. 'Family' and 'education' are sufficiently broad concepts to allow for a vast range of shapes and forms as well as being areas which touch on the lives of everyone. An autobiography is a flexible genre which accommodates people irrespective of their age, gender, class, ethnic background and political disposition, and irrespective of where, when how and by whom they were educated.

Yet the autobiographical assignment has proved to be capable of a great deal more than this; so much more in fact that in 1991 it was extended into two parts. As in 1990, the first part of the autobiographical assignment is undertaken soon after the subject begins. During 1991, the first part then served as a draft for the second. This second part is completed towards the end of the year and encourages students to more rigorously theorise their inter-generational/life histories by drawing on course content (i.e. class discussions, readings and research projects) covered during the year.

The assignment was extended in this particular way because the students of 1990 indicated very clearly that they would have found it valuable to reflect on their initial autobiographies **after** covering the material in the course. This was not because they wanted some forum for beginning to think about the remainder of the content in relation to their own lives. Instead, once they had been confronted with the need to read their own lives as text early in the year, they were able to find points in other material which made further sense of their life histories. These links varied with the individual student, each finding that particular themes spoke to their own lives more clearly than others. The problem was, students of 1990 continued, that there was no opportunity to reflect on these together in a systematic way. Students from the 1991 class have commented on the value of the second part, with some suggesting that a more systematic analysis could occur if they were required to maintain a journal of reflections on, and responses to, each thematic topic covered in the course.

This indicates that the autobiographical assignment has proved to be an extremely powerful tool for grounding students within both theory and research - not only on its own but in relation to the content of the entire course. Structured into the early stages of the subject, it helped to alter the way students engaged with later material, even though this material was covered in quite traditional ways. Structured into the later part of the course as well, it helped students to engage with the remainder of the material in a more systematic way as well as eliciting constructive and informed suggestions on how assessment could be altered further to encourage this more thoroughly.

This is not meant to suggest that the assignment has been without problems. In fact, quite the opposite has occurred. Grading the assignments has been fraught with difficulty. Although grading is based on the extent to which students analyse (rather than describe) their life history, students have commented that receiving a low grade is like saying to them that they have a 'C-grade life'. One way around this is to extend the analysis into three related parts. the first would be a substantive descriptive life history which would earn all students who engaged in it a flat mark. The second would be the initial analysis. Instead of being graded, this would remain as an unmarked draft but would need to be completed in order to attempt the final analysis. The final analysis would thus be the only graded component. In this way, students would be encouraged to utilise their lives as text in a more constructive manner where content and grading

were clearly separated. It would also meet the demands for grading by both the institution and students themselves, but in a far less threatening manner.[1]

A more fundamental problem is that over both years, students have had great difficulty in coming to grips with the idea that their own lives could serve as valid knowledge. What they have become accustomed to is the idea that knowledge is produced by others, that knowledge exists in texts outside of and unconnected with the self, and that assignments are marked on the basis of how much of this material has been located and how well it has been interrogated in an objective manner. The self, or more appropriately the social 'I', is never to be revealed and subjectivity is to be avoided like the plague. In other words, by the final year of undergraduate study, they too have imbibed the research-based model of knowledge. The specific problem here is that the very idea of an autobiographical assignment has left most students bewildered as to why and how they should go about it.

Anticipating this problem, I had structured two sessions into the course to address it. In the first session,2 we examine the standard distinctions made between biography, autobiography and oral history as methodologies, with attention to the broad limitations and benefits of each. One of the conclusions drawn from this is that analysis of an individual's life is both a valid and useful method for historical research (e.g. Thompson, 1978; Editorial, 1979; Thompson, 1981; Burnett, 1984).

We then dip into some of the more recent feminist literature which points to the blurred boundaries between these methods. This literature also illustrates the futility of attempting to locate some 'real' (as opposed to fictitious) identity by emphasising how these genres allow the writer to reflect/select from fragments of a non-unified self. Further, it argues that memory is not an objective entity waiting to be captured and delineated as 'truth' or 'falsity'. Rather, memory is fluid and constantly changing, akin to a carnival hall of mirrors where it is not only impossible to distinguish the 'real shape' from the 'distortion' but where it

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1 Students have made it clear that they want to retain grading, not only because this is what they are familiar with but also for pragmatic reasons. Some require high passes in order to enter other degrees, to continue on to postgraduate level, to compete for scholarships, etc.

is pointless to do so because all constitute versions of reality (e.g. Bentstock, 1988; Brodzki and Schenck, 1988; Hamilton, 1990; Sommerville, 1990).

This rather dense session concludes with some analysis of the ethnocentric way in which oral history has been conceptualised during discussion. Comparisons are made between the linear and static view of Pakeha history and the Maori view of 'history as dynamic, where the days gone by lie in front, where there is a continuous dialectic between past and present, and where the past is constantly reordered and the present reinterpreted' (Binney, 1987: 17). All in all, this session is intended to reveal something of Pakeha 'ways of knowing', to legitimate other 'ways of knowing' and other senses of history, to validate the idea that the self can be used as text, and to point to ways in which students can begin thinking about these in relation to themselves.

These issues are taken up in more concrete ways in the following session, where we discuss how students might go about writing their autobiographical assignment. Each year this has involved a student asking how I would go about analysing my own life. What is important about this process is that the (minimal) reading of myself as text opens up a great deal of animated discussion by students about themselves. As students contribute to this discussion on a completely voluntary basis, I have, however, discovered that their silences are as revealing as the discussion. Quite unexpectedly I have found that these silences contain two further problematics.

One problematic is constituted through the terrain of 'normality'. By the end of the second session, some students have become extremely concerned that their lives have been so uneventful they have nothing to analyse. A composite picture of this student looks something like 'I grew up within an intact nuclear family, we were reasonably secure financially, and I went to a good school and succeeded in gaining entrance to university'. To this we might well add young, Pakeha, and not an education major. What, these students ask, can I possibly find to talk about in this assignment?

Such students begin to see some light at the end of the tunnel when the suggestion is made that they explore **what** it is about their experiences of the family and education, as well as the relationship between the two, which makes them position themselves as normal. More specific suggestions include: why

particular school/s were chosen for them to attend; how different members of their family were expected to interact with the school, and how they managed to meet this; what expectations their family had of the school as well as how the school lived up to or failed to meet these; how these expectations were shaped over as many generations of their family as they care to look at; and what historical factors contributed to different generations forming these expectations. In essence, students are asked to explore instances where their family and school experiences have met to form the boundaries of the 'normality' they are claiming.

The second problematic lies at the other end of this spectrum. Over both years, several students have indicated that they have exceedingly painful memories of schooling and/or the family, and that their past life is something they would prefer to forget. One, for instance, had not spoken to her mother for twenty years and did not want to initiate communication for the purposes of the assignment, while several held decidedly unpleasant memories of prolonged contact with state welfare agencies. Confronted with this particular problem, I felt very naive not to have anticipated it arising. My solution has been to advise students that they should only seek information where and if they want to, and to discuss in their assignment what they choose to discuss.[2]

Generally I have resisted the option of suggesting that these students write about someone else's life. This is partly because it would defeat the purpose of the assignment but mainly because students in this situation have opted to explore some areas which are personally fraught. I should add that this has been much to my surprise. More surprisingly, students have given remarkably similar reasons for doing so. To a person, they have insisted that the events surrounding the often-complex relationship between their family and education have shaped their lives in significant ways. Equally surprising is that in all of these instances, students have pointed to the benefits of pursuing these analyses. For some, it has provided a forum for confirming their prior thoughts. For most, it has provided the first structured avenue for exploring complicated areas of their lives.

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2 This raises an interesting issue about the ethics of autobiographical analysis. Unlike 'research' where others are the subject, there is no compulsion for analyses within courses where the self is subject to be monitored by the university's Human Subjects Ethics Committee.

One young Maori woman, for example, wanted to discuss her placement in a reformatory school and surrogate families as one form of education while exploring the educational process involved in growing up with her grandparents in a rural area. Unsure of which to approach, I suggested she focus on the relationship between the two. The resulting analysis contexualised her life history within Maori creation stories which named her tipuna (ancestors) and contained an abbreviated whakapapa (genealogy), while the integenerational analysis of her whanau (family) concentrated on exploring the role of education in the historical process of colonisation. Woven through this analysis were a series of critical observations which led her to the conclusion that whanau did not match the ideal of family held by the Pakeha state, and that Pakeha education was deployed to separate her from her whanau in a deliberate attempt to alienate her from her Maori-ness. She concluded that in spite of the concerted attempts made in this direction, Pakeha education was an unsuccessful attempt to divert her from the more meaningful form of education which revolved around whanau and marae (meeting house).

Another young woman found the assignment difficult to approach because of residual anger over her parents' financial struggle to send her to an expensive private school when their goal for her was marriage. As I knew this particular student had read some of the literature on the education of girls in the nineteenth century at Stage II level, I suggested that she reflect on whether her accumulated understanding of this material would help to make some sense of her own experiences. The resulting analysis is more succinctly told in her own words:

> In isolation I thought it a contradiction that they [my parents] sacrificed so much financially to send me to this school when their long-term expectations did not include furthering my education. But, seen in a sociological and historical light, it is not difficult to understand their motives...[My father] struggled to become financially secure through hard work and by furthering his education; moving up, if looking at it in class terms, from respectable working class to middle class. He obviously valued and saw schooling as a means of social mobility and financial security and, for his daughters, as a means of attaining future happiness in a marriage to a man of means.
>
> The fact that there was so much competition between the girls at this school gives substance to my claim that my parents were not alone in their beliefs. This competition, although partly academic, primarily involved a pre-occupation with 'getting' the most eligible male available...

> This competition, fostered by the school and family and taken up by the pupils who attended the school, created conflict for me... I took this pressure personally to mean I could not conform and live up to everyone's expectations. I rebelled by putting on a substantial amount of weight, because I felt this would make me a less desirable 'commodity' on the marriage and labour markets. I also rebelled at school by being disruptive and not doing my work - it was an outlet for the anger I could not openly express at home. This infuriated my parents resulting in the fact that the more they told me I would not get a job or a man by being overweight, the more weight I put on...
>
> Without placing our experiences in historical and sociological contexts and seeing the relationship and influences institutions such as family and schooling have on our lives, we can feel that our experiences are unique and that we therefore need to carry the responsibility for living up to ideals which we did not set and which we feel are impossible to meet. Even when we are aware of what is happening, without understanding why it is so means we cannot come to terms with it, deal with it, and move one.[3]

While the autobiographical assignment clearly helped this student to deal with some long-standing conflict, the critical point here is that until confronted with the need to 'theorise' her own life, she had not made any systematic connections between research, theory and self. Without the autobiographical assignment as a focused means of relating her own life to the discipline, the history of education had remained an external body of knowledge, separate from the self and irrelevant to contemporary everyday life. Similarly, specific content within the course had signalled to the Maori student that delineating oppositional forms of knowledge was appropriate, while the autobiographical genre had provided a medium through which this could actually occur.

Each of these students had provided sufficient information in the first instance for me to be able to suggest possible directions for analysis. Some students do not utilise this option and the first part of the autobiographical assignment is, therefore, much more like a basic draft. On this draft, I am able to point to areas of literature which might help to illuminate particular areas of their lives and which they can explore for the second part. Most of these areas are, moreover, included in the seminars where all students are exposed to this material.

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[3] Cited with permission from the author, Corrine Fieldes.

The Seminar Assignment

The seminars were designed for slightly different purposes than the autobiographical assignment. Although I have pre-determined areas that I want to cover in the course, students are supplied with a draft seminar outline and are asked during the early sessions to nominate particular areas (either those already on the draft or any not covered by it) that they are interested in researching, presenting for discussion and writing up as an essay. In this more limited way, I intended seminar topics to be of some relevance to students.

I also intended that this method would provide me with an opportunity to discover what New Zealand students were interested in. To my relief, their interests have been similar to Australian students. On reflection, this is not surprising, given that students from both countries are inducted into the same discipline; the content may vary but the model remains the same. In pragmatic terms, this means that students tend to specify very broad areas such as 'women and teaching', and it has been relatively simple to devise topics which tie my disciplinary concerns and their interests together.

For Pakeha students, these topics have been constructed around existing bodies of literature. In many instances, published auto/biographical material is included on the accompanying reading list so that they can continue linking theory with individual lives. Because there is so little published material on the relationship between family and education in Maori societies, specific topics are devised for them in consultation with the bicultural lecturers. These topics aim at students drawing on personal experiences for analysis and hence to continue to validate personal/cultural knowledge. Unlike the autobiographical assignment, these focus on particular areas such as the relationship between whanau and employment interviews. As seminars begin after the sessions on methodology and colonisation, and after the first part of the autobiographical analysis has been undertaken, Maori students have a firm basis for operating within a seminar framework where the self is appropriate as text.

For Maori students, the section on colonisation also confirms the self as text in additional ways. In the first instance, the Maori lecturers who teach the New Zealand component of this section draw on their own personal knowledge as text. This ranges from locating themselves within a particular iwi (tribe) and speaking

from these perspectives as well as a pan-Maori perspective, through to using slides from a family wedding on a marae to illustrate particular features of the relationship between family and education. Second, this encourages a shift in the dynamics of the class to the point where all Maori within the class become authoritative about Maori knowledge. Correspondingly, all Pakeha are re-positioned as learners. Not only are the boundaries between teacher-learner redefined along a completely different dimension as a result of this, but learners are positioned in relation to the material in new ways. For a number of Pakeha, this provides their first systematic contact with maori knowledge. For all students, this creates an important forum for experiencing something of the process of de/colonisation from different positions.

By accident, I have also discovered that the way in which these sections are ordered makes an important difference to the way my initial concerns could be met. During 1990, the section on colonisation concluded the course, so that areas already covered could be drawn on rather than continuously diverging to discover what specific themes like 'eugenics' meant. The following year, the section on colonisation appeared before the seminars, for no better reason than the lecturers who take the sessions on Maori and colonisation were going on sabbatical. The difference in analytical approaches to the seminars have, however, been more than noticeable. While 1990 was marked by an absence of discussion on racial issues except where the topic specifically called for it, these issues were raised through many topics in 1991 - even by Pakeha students.

This 'conscientising' of Pakeha should not, however, be attributed exclusively to the restructuring of the course material. Maori students themselves played an important role, especially during 1991. Because the section on colonisation occurred immediately before the seminars, it made sense to have the seminar topics for Maori and Pacific Island students immediately following. As a result, several Maori students decided to conduct their seminars on the university marae. Pakeha students commented in no uncertain terms about the impact this pedagogy had upon them.

By emphasising the autobiographical mode within both the section on colonisation and the seminars for Maori, the course had forged a powerful vehicle for decolonisation. At the same time, however, it has highlighted several important issues.

Perhaps the most vexing of these is whether a single course could serve multiple purposes. Throughout 1991, it became patently clear that the primary function of the Maori seminars had been to raise the consciousness of Pakeha. On discussion with the students involved, it was revealed that this approach had been a deliberate one taken by all but one Maori student. Her intention had been to utilise the course to build on her own understandings rather than spending her limited time at university educating Pakeha students. While realising that the agenda of other Maori students had directed the class towards the 'conscientising' program, she was nonetheless concerned about the way this detracted from her own agenda. Believing that the section on colonisation and the assessment components were the only places which catered for her needs in concrete ways, I was on the verge of conceding that it was too difficult (not to mention misleading to potential students) for one course to presume to address such divergent purposes. After further discussion with the Maori students, it became clear that this is not necessarily the case.

All Maori students were disillusioned by Pakeha pedagogy which is inherent in New Zealand universities, yet all support courses which incorporate Maori pedagogy. Like other students, all found that particular sections of the course were more relevant to them than others, and that the autobiography and seminar assignments provided avenues for them to pursue their particular interests. Although coming from a different vantage point, their suggestions for future changes were identical to Pakeha students. These were to enhance the existing form of Maori pedagogy in the course by extending the content devoted to New Zealand history and rendering **all** seminars more autobiographical.

For Pakeha students, the suggestion that all seminars become more autobiographical emerged through the increasingly evident tension between the different forms of knowledge which are incorporated within the course. Given the resounding support by students for the autobiographical assignment it came as no surprise that they favoured the idea of resolving this tension by requiring students to locate themselves in relation to the literature they explore for their seminar. This would encourage each student to ground themselves in specific research/theory in a more particular way than the autobiographical assignment requires. It would also provide a better forum for Maori who want to explore theory which is grounded in individual's lives as a means of developing a more coherent understanding of problem formulation and solution seeking. This closer

linking of content and seminar assignment through the autobiographical mode would also encourage the noticeable shift towards self as text which Pacific Island students began to engage with during 1991.

This shift by Pacific Island students has occurred through a process which involved challenging my initial assumptions and concerns. In brief, I was totally ignorant of the histories of colonisation in either Aotearoa or any Pacific Island when I arrived in New Zealand. Consequently, I operated from an assumption that Maori and Pacific Islanders shared a broadly similar history of colonisation with Australian Aborigines and that they would therefore share similar agendas about university. By the end of 1990, I was faced with the stark realisation that this was not the case. Not only did Pacific Island students tend to perceive the fruits of colonisation as beneficial but they tenaciously held onto academic texts as more authoritative than the self.

The vastly new problematic this raised for me was whether it would constitute cultural invasion to explore the history of Pacific Island colonisation as a political process. This answer I moved towards was that it did not. Indeed, I have become more resolute in the conviction that to reinforce the understanding of many Pacific Island students about the history of Pacific Island colonisation as an unqualified 'good' would be to **continue** the process of cultural invasion.

As a result, the second year witnessed a much more structured approach to the Pacific Island components of the course. This was much easier to achieve because I had gained some understanding of some of the histories of Pacific Island colonisation, because I had only Samoan students in the class (by accident rather than design), and because a new lecturer was appointed to the department whose area of speciality is Pacific Island education. Seminar topics were devised in consultation with this lecturer, and a Samoan guest lecturer was invited to speak to the class.

Inviting a guest lecturer played a crucial role in the process of critiquing historical processes from the vantage point of the self which had begun in the session on methodologies and different 'ways of knowing' and which had been opened up more through the autobiographical assignment and the Maori components of the course. Hearing their own history of colonisation discussed as a political process gave my commentary on the autobiography greater clarity

while equipping them with content and an alternative 'way of knowing' which could be applied to their own lives. This stood in stark contrast to the Tongan and Cook Island students of 1990, who had sparked my concern through a descriptive approach to the autobiographical assignment, a reluctance to engage with the section on colonisation, and a clear desire to engage with 'academic' seminar topics and major projects. Indeed, although the Samoan students grappled more than other students with the idea of colonisation as a political process and the benefits of using the self as text, they not only approached their seminars from a more autobiographical standpoint but they chose to continue this in the major project.

The Major Project

The broad division between the self as text and external texts which has characterised the seminar topics to date carries through to the research project. Here students can choose to devise their own topic, examine a seminar topic other than the one they have already attempted, or analyse the relationship between families and education within a published biography, autobiography, autobiographical novel, or novel. The idea here is to create maximum choice while retaining the focus on autobiographical modes.

The focus is most obvious within the analysis of published auto/biographies. In 1990, this option proved to be the most popular choice amongst students, all of whom chose to examine New Zealand novels written by women. The following year only a few Pakeha students chose this option, mainly because most students moved towards either rendering an additional seminar topic more autobiographical in order to expand on or challenge the literature, or devising their own topic. It is the latter option in particular which caters in a more flexible way for pursuit of the autobiographical.

Significantly, most Maori and Pacific Island students chose to devise their own topics for the major project during 1991. Some of these projects involved students picking up on various themes which emerged from their autobiographical assignments and exploring them in different ways. One mature age Samoan woman, for example, continued to analyse her life history beginning from the point she had concluded on in the first assignment. A younger Samoan explored the relationship between his own family, education, and the matai (chief or head

of families) system. The Maori student I discussed earlier drew on issues which arose through both her seminar and autobiography to explore her experience of university and what this indicates about the ideological process of knowledge formation. The Pakeha student I discussed earlier is also using this option to explore the educational influence of media on the construction of herself as 'woman'.

Irrespective of its particular form, the autobiographical mode of analysis has been the most popular choice within the major project over both years the course has been running. This is consistent with the increasing emphasis students themselves have placed on the benefits to be derived from linking the self more systematically with both the content and assessment of the course. It is also consistent with the increasingly central place that autobiographical modes have assumed in meeting, challenging, and refining the concerns I began with.

A Conclusion on Autobiographical Modes as University Pedagogy

Overall, the autobiographical mode has demonstrated an incredible if unexpected flexibility and power as a pedagogical tool. As lecturer, 'autobiography' has provided me with a range of concrete means fro rendering the course interdisciplinary and encouraging the systematic development of alternative ways of knowing. It has also highlighted new problems and given me new insights into some of the more complex dimensions of the discipline and of teaching as a political activity.

In addition to those dimensions already discussed, the emphasis on autobiographical modes has blurred the boundaries between teacher and student to a greater degree than any other course I have been involved in. One of the enormous advantages of this is that students have given a number of forthright criticisms of the course while giving informed suggestions about how the course could be changed. In other words, students have applied the skills acquired through the course to the course itself, for the subject has become an academic text which they can relate to the self in more analytical ways.

For students, the power of the autobiographical mode has been demonstrated clearly through the structured avenues it has provided for them to link theory with real life and, in the process, for some to gain a better understanding of both. As

another student stated, autobiography as a learning tool was the most important educational experience she had undergone at university; what was a painful exercise also turned into a liberating one. In this sense, autobiography is not only a vehicle for maximising relevant education but also for emancipatory pedagogy and research.

If the emancipatory project (see, for example, Friere, 1982; Later, 1988; Middleton, 1988; Crichlow, Goodwin, Shakes and Swartz, 1990) involves creating spaces where issues can be named by the powerless, where knowledge can be contested, where new understandings of the relationship between individuals and their historical situation can be forged in non-impositional ways, and where strategies for change can be devised, then the way the students in this course have engaged with the autobiographical mode reflects this project many times over.

APPENDIX
EXCERPT FROM COURSE OUTLINE 'HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FAMILIES, SCHOOLING AND SOCIETY' 14,335 EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND, 1991

ASSESSMENT

This course is assessed as 100% on-course. Students should note that it will be difficult to pass this subject unless ALL on-course work is submitted. The course work consists of three different components:

1. an autobiography assignment (in two parts)
2. a seminar presentation (in two parts)
3. a research project or major essay

1. Autobiography Assignment (30%)

Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both. The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society.

(C. Wright Mills, **The Sociological Imagination**, Penguin, London, 1976, p.12)

This assignment is in two parts. The first part will be due early in Term I, while the second will be due towards the end of Term III.

Part 1 (10%/20%)
The first part is designed to start you thinking about some of the issues we will be exploring in this course. It requires you to draw on your own personal history and involves locating your own life history within the context of broader family influences and social events. No reading is required for this - the important point is to think about your own life in these broader contexts and hence begin to 'theorise' it. For this assignment 'theorising' simply means thinking about

influences on your life in more systematic ways from sociological and historical perspectives. We often think of our lives as divorced from social events and imagine that we live 'outside' history. Even when we think at length of the forces influencing our lives, most of our recollections involve other people rather than social institutions. Yet both schooling and the family are social institutions which have shaped, and continue to shape, our attitudes, our direction in life, and our own life chances. In other words, our lives do take place in society and in history.

Your task in this assignment is to trace your own autobiography, demonstrating the intersection of your own life with history and social structure - paying particular attention to your familial and educational experiences. You may like to -

1. Ask 'what is your family'? How is this related to other social cultural and political realities around you?

2. Locate yourself within your family structure and consider whether this had/has any influence on the school you attended, for how long you attended, reasons for leaving, why you are at university, etc.

3. Locate yourself within the social structure that you were born into. Begin by considering your family's position in the social order by tracing back to your parents' (and perhaps your grandparents' generation). What type of social and geographical pattern emerges from your intergenerational analysis? What historical forces (e.g. immigration, colonisation, industrialisation, urbanisation, shifts in the national division of labour) and events (e.g. the New Zealand Wars, the Great Depression, social movements) help to explain your family's history and present position?

4. Consider the cultural and/or ethnic values of your family. How were they reinforced, reinterpreted, or rejected in your experiences of school? How did these values relate to larger economic, cultural and political realities, and to your family's position in the social order of things?

5. The self is not simply made; it goes on making itself. Consider biographical transitions that have brought you to where you are today. Consider similarities and differences between your parents' (and perhaps grandparents') experiences and attitudes about education and your own. How do broader historical processes help to explain similarities or differences?

The assignment should be prepared as a short paper to read or discuss with the group. The final version of this paper should be written in essay style (i.e. in full sentences and paragraphs) but does not require any referencing. There is no word limit on the paper, but as a general guide it should not be shorter than 1,000 words. The date for submitting the final version will be determined in Week 1.

This assignment will not be marked on the basis of how much descriptive information you have been able to glean from other family members. Rather, it will be marked on the extent to which you have been able to analyse the information available to you.

Part 2 (20%/10%)

The second part of this assignment asks you to more rigorously theorise your earlier autobiography, drawing on the various theories and issues we will have explored throughout the year. To do this you should treat Part I as a 'draft', in which the descriptive information you have provided now requires rethinking and rewriting. There is no minimum or maximum word limit on this part of the assignment. The date for submitting this part of the assignment will be determined during Week I.

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Addendum:

In Part I of Brian Roper's article, part of Footnote 4 was inadvertently omitted. The relevant passage should read as follows:

"Keynesians and neoclassicists rank the major targets of economic policy in different orders of priority (full employment versus low inflation) and advocate the employment of markedly different macro and micro economic policy instruments by government to [achieve these targets. These conflicting policy prescriptions follow logically from the underlying analyses of the inherent equilibrating tendencies of market economies. If the] economy will, in the absence of discretionary state intervention, spontaneously tend towards full employment equilibrium, then it follows that the state should play a passive, limited and largely non-discretionary role in managing the economy."

From the Welfare State to the Free Market: Explaining the Transition

Part II: Crisis, Class, Ideology and the State

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3. A Marxist Explanation of the Transition

Economic and social policy formation and implementation, even in a small country such as New Zealand, is complex, often contradictory, and highly dynamic. Because of this, a definitive explanation of the ascendency of neoclassicism, whether Marxist or non-Marxist, must encompass an *integrated* and *holistic* analysis of economy, class, ideology and polity. In this section, I present the core of a Marxist explanation of the historic shift from Keynesianism

to neoclassicism in economic policy-making. There have been many criticisms of the Marxist tradition during the past decade; some valuable and interesting (exemplified by the constructive engagement between neo-Weberian and Marxist social theorists), others involving little more than dogmatic rejection (exemplified by the post modernist denigration of Marxism). My primary concern is not to defend the Marxist tradition as such, but to apply Marxist theory to a particular period of New Zealand's history.[20]

Essentially, the development of this kind of explanation requires a theoretical and historical analysis of: (i) the underlying structural contradictions of capital accumulation and the specific configuration of New Zealand's integration into the world economy; (ii) changes in the class structure and class-based political mobilisations; (iii) the genesis and transmission of hegemonic ideological forms associated with the international ascendence of the New Right; and (iv) the historically specific pattern of the duality of the structuration of the state in New Zealand. While the relationship between the contradictions of capital

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20 This presupposes the basic intellectual validity of the classical Marxist tradition. However, it does not entail the much stronger claim that this tradition is entirely adequate and that it contains no unresolved problems (see, for example, Roper, 1988). The point is that if Marxist scholars are to undertake positive research, then they must be given the space to move beyond the mere defence of this tradition against criticism which is often ill-founded in the extreme. The most significant criticisms of Marxism include: (1) the *neo-Richardian* critique of the Marxian labour theory of value; (2) the associated rejection of the Marxian theory of exploitation and class structuration by the so-called *'Analytical Marxists'*; (3) the *feminist* critique of Marxism for its androcentrism; (4) the *post-structuralist* critique of Marxism as an oppressive meta-narrative of the Enlightenment; (5) the *environmentalist* critique of Marxism's supposed productivism; (6) the *neo-Weberian* critique of Marxist state theory; and (7) the rejection of Marxism on the basis of the (false) equation of Stalinism and Marxismthrough which the crisis of the former in Eastern Europe and Asia is held to represent a terminal crisis for the latter. Clearly it is not possible for me to respond to these sets of criticisms here. See in relation to: (1) (Mandel and Freeman, 1984; Shaikh, 1982) (2) (Anderson and Thompson, 1988; Lebowitz, 1988; Meiksins Wood, 1989); (3) (Coontz and Henderson, 1986; Vogel, 1983); (4) (Anderson, 1983: ch.2; Callinicos, 1989; Geras, 1990: Part II; Meiksins Wood, 1986); (5) (Wunsch, 1989; Simons, 1988) (6) (Callinicos, 1987; Gulalp, 1987); and (7) (Callinicos, 1991; Cliff, 1955; Harman, 1990).

accumulation, class-based political mobilisations, the genesis and transmission of New Right ideology, and the duality of political structuration is highly dynamic and the interplay between them is complex, a specifically Marxist explanation of the shift from Keynesianism to neoclassicism must begin by focusing on the trajectory of this relationship in New Zealand's recent history. Finally, it is necessary to begin with one essential caveat: the explanatory account as it is presented in this paper is highly abbreviated. This has meant that a great deal of the evidence upon which this account rests has been excluded for the sake of brevity.

3.1. Accumulation Crisis

The prolonged economic crisis has profoundly shaped the basic direction and orientation of New Zealand politics from 1974 to the present. Declining profitability, inadequate levels of investment, minimal productivity growth, economic stagnation, the historically low level of the terms of trade, mountainous public debt and a massive deficit on invisibles in the balance of payments are all aspects of the crisis which have placed very real structural limits on the policy-making of state agencies.

The Labour Government's monetarist macroeconomic strategy and programme of supply-side microeconomic reform was directed towards solving these problems through reducing inflation and increasing the general level of profitability in the economy, thus stimulating investment and generating growth. This strategy was driven by a blind faith in the supposed 'allocative efficiency' of market mechanisms. The deregulation of the financial sector, liberalisation of foreign trade, tight monetary policy, regressive taxation regime, privatisation, targeted provision of welfare, reduction of government expenditure, industrial relations reform, and the abandonment of full employment as a major macroeconomic policy objective, were all elements in this general strategy. However, this still begs the question of why this particular configuration of economic policies has been so vigorously defended and rigorously implemented. This question can only be approached indirectly - via an analysis of the accumulation crisis in the New Zealand economy.

The core of a Marxist explanation of the crisis rests on the basic theoretical hypothesis that the general level of profitability is most likely to be the primary underlying cause of the economic crisis in New Zealand because profitability

plays a large part in determining the overall level of productive investment, and hence, the rate of economic growth in the economy as a whole. In this way, the prolonged economic crisis in New Zealand is deemed by Bedggood (1980), Mason (1979a; 1979b) and Pearce (1986) to be a crisis of declining profitability and insufficient levels of investment. The specific position of New Zealand within the world economy, and the consequent decline in New Zealand's terms of trade, has compounded this crisis and is the major determinant of the *comparative* decline of the New Zealand economy. Is there any supporting evidence for this explanation of the crisis or does it merely rest on a metaphysical faith in the explanatory power of Marxist crisis theory?

The driving force of economic activity in capitalist society is, given the competitive war which is waged on both commodity and capital markets, the necessity to remain profitable. The necessity to remain profitable drives individual capitalist firms to battle simultaneously on two fronts: 'in the labour process, against labour over the production of surplus-value; and in the circulation process, against other capitalists over the realisation of surplus-value in the form of profits.' (Shaikh, 1983: 159).[21] The former essentially involves the mechanisation of production in order to increase the productivity of labour and hence the production of relative surplus-value: 'mechanisation becomes the dominant form of technical change precisely because it is the production of surplus value, not use value, which is the dominant aspect of the labour process under capitalism. Thus for Marx the inherent tendency towards automation arises out of the social relations of production themselves, out of the relation of capital to labour in the production process, and not out of the relation of capital to capital in competition.' (Shaikh, 1980: 75). The latter essentially involves the increased capitalisation of production in order to reduce unit production costs and (given that a lower cost-price is achieved without any deterioration in product quality) thereby obtain a larger market share (Shaikh, 1989: 3). However, 'since this ability to lower cost-price is itself generally purchased at a cost, in the form of a higher level of capitalisation (higher capital advanced per unit output), the cheapening of commodities through mechanisation is inevitably bound up with

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21 The contemporary validity of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall has been vigorously debated in recent years, see for example: (Shaikh, 1978; Roemer, 1979; Steedman, 1980; Nakatani, 1980; Armstrong and Glyn, 1980; Shaikh replies to these criticisms, 1980 and 1982).

a tendency for the actual profit rate to fall...' (Shaikh, 1980: 75)

The general rate of profit (π) falls in this manner because, given the Marxist theory of surplus-value, living labour is the ultimate source of all profit in the capitalist mode of production. Yet, as we have seen, the attempt to increase the production of relative surplus-value through higher productivity, and to increase market share through lower unit costs, involves investment decisions which result in greater quantities of fixed and circulating constant capital per unit of output. When these investment decisions become generalised across the economy as a whole, it should be clear that in the long term, the proportion of variable capital (the wages necessary to cover the costs of the workers' reproduction) will decline relative to the constant capital (buildings, plant and machinery, raw materials, etc.) employed in production. The ratio of constant to variable capital (c/v) thus rises in the long term. Since variable capital is the source of all new value, of surplus-value and consequently profit then, *ceteris paribus*, as the organic composition of capital (c/v) rises the general rate of profit (s/c+v) will fall. However, the rate of profit is not determined purely by changes in the organic composition of capital. It is co-determined by changes in the ratio of constant capital to variable capital (c/v) and by the ratio of variable capital to surplus-value (s/v). Thus the basic Marxist theorem is that 'there is a tendency for the rate of profit to fall because the organic composition of capital has a tendency to rise faster than the rate of surplus value' (Chernomas, 1987: 1). This is an extremely condensed summary of what Marx (1973: 748) considered to be 'the most important law of modern political economy'- the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall (TRPF)

$$\pi = \frac{S}{C + V} = \frac{S/V}{C/V + V/V} = \frac{S/V}{C/V + 1} = \text{General Rate of Profit}^{22}$$

The most common objection to the Marxist theory of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, popularised by Rowthorn (1980: 102-106) and Wright (1978: 126-138), is that productivity increases in Department I (industrial sector which produces fixed capital) are so great that they prevent the rising technical

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22 For a more algebraically sophisticated formulation see: Shaikh, 1984:59-62.

composition of capital (the *physical* ratio of capital equipment to living labour employed in production) from generating a rise in the value composition of capital (the *value* ratio of constant to variable capital). During the 1980s, these key Marxist value ratios have been empirically operationalised in studies of a number of the advanced capitalist economies: Australia (Gibson et al., 1989; Kuhn and O'Lincoln, 1989); Canada (Webber and Rigby, 1986); France (Lipietz, 1986); and the United States (Brenner, 1988; Devine, 1986; Dumenil, Glick, and Rangel, 1988; Malloy, 1988; Shaikh, 1987b and 1989). This research has shown that this common objection to the TRPF theorem, while logically valid, is empirically unfounded. In general, rises in the technical composition of capital are *in fact* associated with rises in the value composition of capital, and the rising value composition of capital in the 1950s and 1960s is associated with a falling rate of profit (allowing for those periods when this has been offset by an increase in the rate of surplus-value).[23] Therefore, there are strong theoretical and empirical grounds for the orthodox Marxist explanation of the economic slow-down and rising unemployment which has characterised all of the major OECD economies from 1974 to the present (allowing for periodical fluctuations associated with the business cycle). In turn, this points to an important part of the explanation of New Zealand's economic difficulties after 1973: the world demand for raw materials and foodstuffs weakened as the growth rates of the largest OECD economies declined.[24]

These key Marxist aggregates have also been empirically operationalised in Pearce's (1986) long-run study of the New Zealand economy. This was achieved through the detailed disaggregation of official statistical data on factory

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23 Rosdolsky notes in his classical study **The Making of Marx's 'Capital'** (1977:398) that: 'There can scarcely be one basic principle in Marx's entire system which has been so unanimously rejected by both academic and non-academic critics as his law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall: yet the arguments used by his critics on the issue are perhaps the least satisfactory of any'. More detailed considerations of this issue can be found in: (Fine and Harris, 1979; Hunt, 1983; Mandel and Freeman, 1984; Steedman et al., 1981; Shaikh, 1987a; Weeks, 1982; Yaffe, 1973).

24 I am indebted to Jurriaan Bendein for this important point which he made in a personal communication.

production in New Zealand from 1923 to 1970 in order to facilitate the systematic re-aggregation of this data into Marxist categories. While the study has a number of serious limitations[25], it nonetheless provides strong empirical support for the Marxist explanation of the current crisis. Graph 1 traces the movement of the organic composition of capital and rate of profit from 1923 to 1970. Without entering into a detailed commentary, it should be clear that an inverse correlation exists between these two variables. That is, when the organic composition is at a historically low level, the rate of profit is at a historically high level, and vice versa. The major anomaly which appears in the data concerns the period during the 1960s when organic composition was relatively stable but the rate of profit was rising dramatically. However, as Graph 2 clearly shows, this period was characterised by a major increase in the rate of surplus-value. Since the rate of surplus-value is the co-determinant of the rate of profit, it is legitimate to conclude that the increase in the rate of profit during this period was largely a result of increases in the rate of surplus-value during the 1960s (the fact that increases in real wages failed to keep pace with increases in productivity and economic growth, resulting in a decline in the labour share of national income, is widely recognised, see Boston, 1984: 90). In short, this study shows that the key Marxist aggregates do in fact inter-relate in a manner which is consistent with the basic postulates of Marxist economic theory.[26]

So what are the implications of this study for the development of an explanation of the specific trajectory of New Zealand's economic development during the

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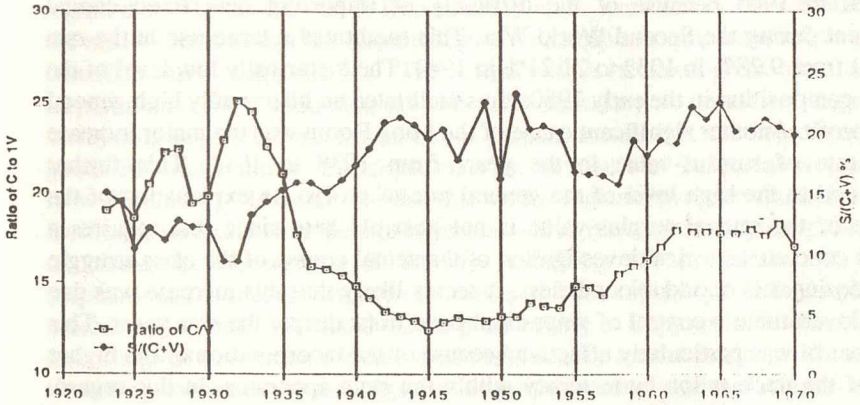
25 The major limitations are as follows: (1) the Department of Statistics discontinued the factory production series in the early 1970s which means that the universally recognized plunge in corporate profitability during the second half of the 1970s falls outside the parameters of the study; (2) the study does not cover agricultural production but only the factory processing of produce prior to export; (3) it is likely, but cannot be determined with any degree of operational precision, that historical cost accounting lead to the systematic undervaluing of fixed capital assets in the second half of the 1960s. This would have had the effect of increasing the organic composition and lowering the rate of profit in the last five years of the series.

26 A range of non-Marxist empirical data also clearly shows that the general level of profitability has fallen to historically low levels in the period after 1973, (see Roper, 1989: 12-14).

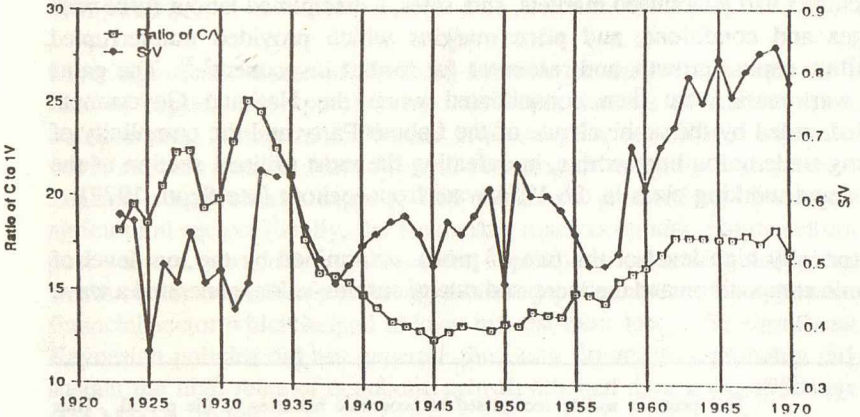
Graph No. 1

Organic Composition & Rate of Profit: Revised Factory Production, 1923-1970.



Graph No. 2

Rate of Surplus-Value & Organic Composition: Revised Factory Production, 1923-1970.



Source: (Pearce, 1986, Volume 2:420-421).

post-war era? Firstly, it provides the basis for an explanation of the post-war Long Boom. A primary cause of the Long Boom was the massive decline in the organic composition of capital in the years from 1932 to 1945. The massive devalorisation of capital which was a consequence of the Great Depression was extended to 1945 because of the difficulty of importing new fixed capital equipment during the Second World War. This facilitated a large rise in the rate of profit from 9.28% in 1932 to 21.21% in 1943. The historically low level of the organic composition in the early 1950s thus facilitated an historically high general rate of profit. Another significant cause of the Long Boom was the major increase in the rate of surplus-value in the years from 1938 to 1951. This further contributed to the high level of the general rate of profit. An explanation of the increase of the rate of surplus-value is not possible here since that requires a detailed concrete historical investigation of the actual course of the class struggle waged during this period. Nonetheless, it seems likely that this increase was due to the Government's control of wages and conditions during the war years. This wage control was particularly effective because of the incorporation of the higher levels of the trade union bureaucracy within the state apparatus. In this regard, Chapman (1981: 351) noted that: 'the worker's job was secure but with fixed wages, direction of labour, and pressure against strikes, there was no advantage to be had from the strong demand for labour. Meanwhile, businessmen and manufacturers had guaranteed markets, sure sales, a disciplined labour force with set wages and conditions, and price margins which provided uninterrupted profitability, capital growth, and resources for further investment'.[27] The gains of the war years were then consolidated when the National Government succeeded, aided by the ambivalence of the Labour Party and the complicity of right-wing trade union bureaucrats, in defeating the most militant section of the New Zealand working class in the 1951 waterfront lockout (see Scott, 1977).

The historically high level of the rate of profit, determined by the low level of the organic composition and the increased rate of surplus-value, generated a wave

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27 This point is widely recognised in economic histories of the period. Thus Condliffe (quoted by Sutch, 1966:302-303) was moved to observe that 'far from salaries and wages representing a larger share of the national income, they were a smaller percentage in 1949 than they were in 1938. Indeed they never regained their pre-war share of the national income... the worker failed to get his [six] proportionate share of the post-war prosperity'.

of new investment in fixed capital. This increased the productivity of labour and facilitated a prolonged increase in the rate of economic growth. Once under way, the Long Boom was sustained by a technological revolution in the production of capital equipment (Department I). Pearce (1986, vol. 1: 553-555) notes in this regard that: 'this revolution in Department I made itself felt in New Zealand from the mid-1950s through the cheapening of fixed capital equipment relative to raw materials and wage-goods... The effect of a technological revolution in Department I is a reduction of the time necessary to produce wage-goods, facilitating expanded surplus-labour in Department II [i.e. the sector producing goods for consumption- this constitutes the vast bulk of industrial production in New Zealand]'. In other words, this technological revolution simultaneously facilitated an increase in the rate of surplus-value (through raising the productivity of labour in Department II thereby enhancing the production of relative surplus-value) and a reduction in the value of fixed capital (particularly plant and machinery) through increased labour productivity in Department I. The post-war technological revolution counteracted the tendency for the rate of profit to fall by inhibiting increases in the organic composition of capital associated with the widespread mechanisation and capitalisation of production and also by ensuring that increases in labour productivity continued to exceed increases in real wages thus facilitating sustainable increases in the rate of surplus-value (see Mandel, 1975; 1980).

Other significant causes of the Long Boom were the reductions in the turnover time of capital made possible by vast improvements in communications and transportation during the 1950s and 1960s, the impact of rapid expansion of the world economy on the New Zealand economy, historically high prices for New Zealand's agricultural exports, and sustained productivity increases in the agricultural sector. Finally, the Keynesian macroeconomic policy settings of the post-war era, particularly government expenditure on state housing and public works combined with expansionary monetary policy and regulatory control of the financial sector which helped to keep interest rates low, were significant. While Keynesian policies did not generate the Long Boom, they probably did help to sustain the high rates of economic growth attained during the 1950s and 1960s (see Mason, 1979b).

The development of the Long Boom from 1947 to 1973 was internally contradictory: the very factors which produced an increase in the general rate of

profit also tended to undermine the rate of profit in the long-term. The organic composition rose throughout the 1950s and 1960s and this tended to undermine the rate of profit. A comparison of changes in the organic composition with changes in the rate of surplus-value shows that for most years during the Long Boom, the increases in the organic composition were counteracted by increases in the rate of surplus-value. From the mid 1960s this started to change: the rate of surplus-value levelled out and then started to fall with the massive upsurge in class struggle which characterised the late 1960s and first half of the 1970s. Real wages increased dramatically during this period. Together these developments created the necessary structural preconditions for a sudden and dramatic interruption in the expanded reproduction of capital in the New Zealand economy.

In light of this analysis, it should be clear that the wild upward and then downward swings in New Zealand's terms of trade in the early 1970s were in large part a reflection of the deeper causes of the world recessions in 1974 and 1977-78. Thus Mandel (1980: 78) argues that: 'The generalised recession of 1974-75 was the product neither of bad luck nor of some 'freak accident' of the international capitalist economy (such as the rise in oil prices). It resulted from all the basic contradictions of the capitalist mode of production, which rose to the surface after being partially contained by the inflation of two decades of accelerated growth.' In light of Pearce's empirical research, this statement is not merely a theoretically informed assertion: it is corroborated by a detailed long-run empirical study of New Zealand's economic development. Aside from brief cyclical upturns, there is no evidence available at this stage which suggests that the general rate of profit in New Zealand has recovered to the high levels of the Long Boom at any time since the 1974 recession. Therefore, given the significance of profitability as a mechanism governing investment and the patently inadequate levels of investment for the entire period after 1973, the current crisis has been largely determined by those factors which are responsible for the economy-wide rate of profit falling to historically low levels.

This account of the economic crisis in New Zealand places the emphasis on the *internal* contradictions of capital accumulation which generate the long-term tendencies and recurrent crises of capitalist development. But, of course, New Zealand is an island only in a geographical sense: from the time of European settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, the New Zealand economy has been integrated, in a succession of different configurations, into the capitalist world

economy. While the largest OECD economies all experienced a fall in growth rates and a rise in unemployment after 1973, none has experienced a decline as precipitous as that which occurred in New Zealand. This suggests that the crisis in New Zealand is unique in important respects.

Marxists such as Bedggood (1980: 151) and Steven (1985) have, placed a great deal of emphasis on the fact that capitalist development in New Zealand proceeded on 'the basis of highly efficient primary production' in the context of 'its traditional colonial specialisation in the international division of labour'. But, as they would both admit, further research is required, firstly, to clearly identify the major changes in the pattern of commodity trade and to determine the significance of the thorough internationalisation of New Zealand's capital markets for the domestic economy and polity and, secondly, to determine more precisely to what extent New Zealand's relationship to the world economy and the current crisis can be understood in terms of the Marxist theory of differential ground rent.

This theory is very complex but in simple terms, when applied to New Zealand's economic development, it suggests that there was a net inflow of surplus-value into the economy due to the comparatively higher productivity of agricultural production in New Zealand. Once a plateau was reached in agricultural productivity and output growth during the mid-1960s, it seems likely that the flow of differential rent into the economy declined, thereby depressing the general rate of profit. Steven (1985: 55) argues that the economic crisis in New Zealand has ultimately been determined by 'the gradual whittling away of differential ground rent'.

The foregoing analysis of the economic crisis provides us with the foundation (but *only* the foundation) of an explanation of the historic shift in policy-making from Keynesianism to neoclassicism. In this regard, a useful comparison can be drawn between the Keynesian policies of the first Labour Government in the second half of the 1930s and the neoclassical policies of the Fourth Labour Government in the second half of the 1980s. The Great Depression unfolded in the classic manner of a capitalist slump. It resulted in a massive devalorisation of fixed capital and hence caused a corresponding fall in the organic composition of capital. Since the organic composition of capital is a major determinant of the general rate of profit, this fall in the organic composition removed a major structural barrier to a recovery in the general rate of profit.

Keynesian policies can only generate a prolonged economic recovery if they expand aggregate demand, and therefore improve the conditions for the realisation of surplus-value, without simultaneously undermining the general rate of profit (that is, the conditions for the production and appropriation of surplus-value). This situation clearly existed in the New Zealand economy during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Once the 1930-32 recession had devalorised capital on a massive scale, the nature of the crisis altered: it became primarily a crisis of realisation (in conventional terms, the economy suffered from insufficient levels of monetarily effective aggregate demand). Thus, when the First Labour Government came to power in 1935, the economy was clearly grossly deflated and urgently required expansionary fiscal and monetary policy settings in order to increase aggregate demand.[28]

Just as clearly, this situation did not exist during the prolonged economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. The Keynesian policies pursued by the National Government from 1975 to 1984 prevented a massive devalorisation of capital through expansionary fiscal policy, but it thereby merely prolonged the valorisation crisis associated with an historically high level of the organic composition and low level of the general rate of profit. In this context, the Fourth Labour Government's programme of economic reform (unintentionally) facilitated the widespread devalorisation of fixed capital in both agriculture and manufacturing (by removing subsidies, liberalising foreign trade and regulatory control over the financial sector, pursuing a tight monetary policy which has maintained high interest rates, etc.). At the same time, the Government (intentionally) pursued policies designed to ensure that increases in real wages were lower than increases in productivity. In Marxist terms, the achievement of this objective necessarily involves an increase in the rate of surplus-value and hence, an increase in the general rate of profit.

3.2. Class Struggle

While this economic analysis is a necessary element in the development of an explanation of the ascendancy of neoclassicism, it is not sufficient. To assume

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28 A range of non-Marxist empirical data also clearly shows that the general level of profitability has fallen to historically low levels in the period after 1973 (see Roper, 1989: 12-14).

that the implementation of neoclassical economic policies can be explained in functionalist terms by reference to the interests of capital or the needs of the capitalist economic system would be clearly erroneous. It would be, among others things, to ignore the crucial role played by political struggles within the capitalist class itself, as well as the ongoing struggle between employers' organisations and the trade union movement. The economic policy-making process is an arena in which a multitude of organisations representing both intra and inter class interests vigorously pursue their own economic and political objectives in specific historical conjunctures. Furthermore, while classes emerge on the basis of historically specific relations of production, they are constantly shaped and reshaped by the agents who compose them. As Marx (1986: 96) put it in a famous passage: '[People] make history, [not] under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past'. Classes are not purely economic, but simultaneously social, cultural, psychological, ideological and political phenomena. In addition, classes are internally differentiated in a myriad of ways: by occupation and income or by the ownership of a specific kind of capital, as well as by such 'non-economic' sources of differentiation as gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation and age. Finally, neither the internal differentiation of social classes nor the institutional differentiation of the state stand as constants in history: both are changed by and, within limits, influence the dynamic developmental tendencies and recurrent crises of capitalism.

In order to avoid being sucked into this particular vortex of sociological enquiry, I will restrict the discussion to a consideration of two parallel developments which my historical research suggests have been of particular importance in the transition from Keynesianism to neoclassicism within New Zealand[29]. The first

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29 However, I am employing an *expansive* definition of the working class. An Mandel (1978:47) notes: 'The defining structural characteristic of the proletariat in Marx's analysis of capitalism is the *socio-economic compulsion to sell one's labour-power*: included in the proletariat, then, are not only manual industrial workers, but all unproductive wage-labour's [that is, workers who do not produce surplus-value] who are subject to the same fundamental constraints: non-ownership of means of production; lack of direct access to the means of livelihood (the land is by no means freely accessible!); insufficient money to purchase the means of livelihood without more or less continuous sale of labour-power'. According to this definition, the majority of white collar

is the emergence of widespread support for neoclassical economic policy prescriptions within the capitalist class during the period from 1979 to 1984. The second concerns the shifting balance of power between the capitalist and working classes during the 1970s and the 1980s. From the late 1970s the working class, both within New Zealand and internationally, has been on the defensive. In the conjunctural setting of the late 1970s and early 1980s, these two developments reinforced each other.

The emergence of widespread support within the 'business community' for 'free market', 'New Right' or 'neoclassical' policy prescriptions is documented in my survey of the representational activity of New Zealand's major sectoral, employer and class-wide business associations from 1974 to 1987 (Roper, 1990c). This research has established a number of key points. First, there was a noticeable shift in the policy-making of all the major sectoral business associations (Federated Farmers, Retailers' Federation, Manufacturers' Federation, Finance Houses Association, Bankers' Association), with the partial but important exception of the Manufacturers' Federation, away from an acceptance of the institutionalised Keynesian policy framework which dominated the post-war era, towards the advocacy of what we may retrospectively label neoclassical policy prescriptions (this was particularly evident in the period from 1979 to 1983). Second, a concomitant shift occurred in the policy-making of the New Zealand Employers' Federation. Throughout the Long Boom, but particularly during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Employers' Federation supported the system of centralised wage determination through arbitration and conciliation in conjunction with 'compulsory' unionism. Following a transitional period from 1979 to 1983, the Employers' Federation has subsequently become a major advocate (along with the Business Roundtable and Treasury) of decentralised wage determination through enterprise bargaining and 'voluntary' company unionism. Third, general policy oriented business associations have vigorously and proactively advocated the implementation of neoclassical policy prescriptions from 1974 to the present (initiated by the Chambers of Commerce with its 'Enterprise New Zealand'

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employees form part of the working class (Callinicos and Harman, 1987: 13-37). The capitalist class consists of all those person's who own sufficient capital resources to avoid having to sell their labour power and who (directly or indirectly) purchase labour-power in order to generate income (the seminal neo-Marxist discussion of these issues is: E.O. Wright, 1978: ch.2).

campaign, subsequently overshadowed by the activities of the Top Tier Group and the Business Roundtable). Finally, it is crucially important to note that this shift in the policy-making of New Zealand's business associations - centrally involving the advocacy of neoclassical policy prescriptions - actually *pre-dated* the implementation of neoclassical policies by the Fourth Labour Government.

In the key period from 1981 to 1983, the business community became increasingly disillusioned with the Keynesian form of economic management pursued by Sir Robert Muldoon. The National Government attempted to manage the economic crisis from 1975 to 1984 through a pragmatic and inconsistent set of policies which attempted to combine liberalisation in some areas of the economy with highly interventionist policies in others. The level of state intervention intensified following the declaration of the wage and price freeze in June 1982 and reached its climax with the introduction of a series of regulatory and legislative controls on the activities of financial institutions throughout 1983. This alienated the entire financial sector, together with the investment corporations and transnational industrials who, at that time, required access to massive amounts of liquid capital in order to finance their investment activities. Thus Muldoon's style of economic management was idiosyncratic and increasingly at odds with the economic priorities of the financial sector, the large New Zealand transnational export-oriented industrial companies, and the investment companies. A groundswell of dissatisfaction with the Government's interventionist style of economic management emerged within the business community during the wage and price freeze and reached its apogee at the Assembly of Business held in August 1983.

During the same period, the National Government's wage and price freeze, by restricting wages to a greater extent than prices, generated a fall in real wages. Many working class people were alienated by the austerity measures of the National Government and by the falling real wages generated by the application of the freeze. Rank and file trade union members found that there was little they could do to prevent the erosion of their living standards and so solidly supported the Labour Party campaign for the 1984 General Election. The institutional basis of the trade union bureaucracy was severely undermined by the introduction of 'voluntary unionism' in the form of the Industrial Relations Amendment Act of 1983. This abolished unqualified preference clauses in awards and altered the law governing the automatic deduction of union fees from workers' pay, thereby

providing union officials with a strong incentive to campaign for Labour in the run-up to the election. The Act also had the effect of cementing the traditionally close relationship of union officials to the governing bodies of the Labour Party.[30]

In short, at the same time that the National Government was losing support within the working class, it was also losing support within the 'business community'. The political mobilisations of both major social classes in the two years prior to the 1984 General Election were directed, in the main, against the faltering attempts of the National Government to successfully manage New Zealand's long running economic crisis.

The widespread decline of political support for the third National Government disguised the fact that the *positive* commitments of capitalists and workers were diametrically opposed: the former being committed to New Right neoclassicism while the latter remained captivated by social democratic Keynesianism. It also provided little immediate indication of the deeper changes in the class structure which engendered these transmutations in the representational politics of capital and labour.

Restructuring in a capitalist economy essentially involves the restructuring of capital. As the 'total social capital' is restructured, the relative power of the various fractions of capital alters. This is precisely what has happened in New Zealand since the onset of the crisis in the mid-1970s. First, there has been a significant acceleration of the long term tendency for capital to become increasing concentrated and centralised. Second, the financial fraction of capital has grown dramatically relative to the industrial and commercial fractions of capital. Third, transnational export-oriented industrial corporations have also grown dramatically during this period. Fourth, there has been a concomitant decline in manufacturing

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30 It has not been possible to explore the relationship between the working class, union bureaucracy and the Labour Party. However, it should be noted that the declining influence of the trade union bureaucracy within the New Zealand Labour Party has been one of the major factors which enabled the Labour Government to implement the policy prescriptions of the New Right. For existing studies of the NZLP see: Curtis, 1989a and 1989b; Gustafson, 1989; Martin, 1986; Vowles, 1982 and 1987.

for the domestic market. Fifth, the 1980s were characterised by the spectacular rise and even more spectacular collapse of investment corporations in the context of a highly speculative but prolonged bull market followed by a deeply depressed bear market. These changes in the structuration of the capitalist class have, in conjunction with wider international trends, engendered significant transmutations in the ideologies and politics of business, only some of which have been alluded to above (see Roper, 1990)

At the same time that the financial and transnational industrial fractions of capital have been ascendant within the capitalist class, the most class conscious, organised and traditionally militant sections of the working class have been seriously undermined by unemployment rising to the highest recorded level in the twentieth century as well as by the restructuring (in the interests of capital) of those sectors of the economy (mining, manufacturing, meat processing, and transport) where the most militant unions are based. These developments have also encouraged significant changes in the ideologies and politics of the workers' movement. But whereas business has adopted ideological constructs that serve its interests well, labour has adopted ideological constructs, such as the 'New Realism', which actually weaken and disorientate the workers' movement by underestimating the capacity of trade unions to resist the dictates of capital and the state. As Strouthous (1988: 137) argues: 'if unions underestimate their own strength this can lead to a weakening of the will to fight back, and encourage the employers and government to go further on the offensive'. The entire history of the CTU, particularly 'The Great Sell Out' in which the national leadership sabotaged the campaign for a general strike in opposition to the Employment Contracts Bill, is an eloquent testament to the validity of this observation (see Wilson, 1991).

These developments are closely related to an international shift in the balance of power between capital and labour. During the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, levels of strike activity skyrocketed in the advanced capitalist societies. Symbolised by events such as May '68 in France, the 'hot' autumn in Italy (1969), the miners' strikes in Britain (1972 and 1974) and the revolution in Portugal (1974-1975), there was a massive upsurge in working class struggle and militancy. Employers and governments were repeatedly forced to accede to the demands of the workers' movement. Concurrently, the far left expanded dramatically. So did a number of important social movements with mass support.

The genesis and counter-hegemony of the New Left was, to a considerable extent based on this historic upsurge in industrial and political struggle. But many of these struggles, and particularly those assuming revolutionary proportions, were sabotaged by social democratic parties and trade union leaderships who could countenance the struggle for reform within capitalism, but never the struggle for its supercession[31].

By the late 1970s, employer militancy was on the rise. The election of the Thatcher Government in 1979 and the Reagan Administration in 1980 symbolised this sea change in the balance of power between capital and labour. Subsequently, the decade of the 1980s was characterised above all by the politics of reaction premised on the widespread defeat and demoralisation of workers' movements and the decline of social movements. The New Left had been supplanted by the New Right, and whereas the sixties generation had wanted to 'change the world', the eighties generation merely wanted to enrich themselves according to the dictum that 'greed is good'.

3.3. New Right Ideology

Ideologically, the shift from Keynesianism to neoclassicism within the economics profession, and the growing disenchantment with Keynesian demand-management within the so-called business community, mutually reinforced each other. On the one hand, many business leaders realised that Keynesian policy instruments were failing to reverse the decline of the economy. On the other, neoclassical economists provided a coherent explanation of the crisis and a set of policy prescriptions which, after the short-term pain of economic restructuring, promised to set the economy on a new course of growth and prosperity in the medium term.

Paradigmatic intellectual shifts within the economics discipline and the ideological commitment of business leaders to the ideal of a 'free economy and strong state' (Gamble, 1988), hardly exhaust the full range of ideological forms which incessantly structure the way we experience social life in capitalist

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31 For an excellent historical account of this period and the treacherous role played by social democractic (and Eurocommunist) organisations see: (Harman, 1988).

societies. My own understanding of ideology is derived from Marx (fetishism), Gramsci (hegemony) and Giddens (1979). This suggests that the study of the generation, transmission, transmutation, maintenance and transcendence (through collective resistance) of ideological forms requires multi-dimensional analysis of the economic, cultural and institutional mechanisms which obscure and/or legitimate capitalist class domination (and other important forms of domination in capitalist societies, principally those relating to gender and ethnicity). Why then focus so narrowly on the shift in economic thought from Keynesianism to neoclassicism? Primarily because this constitutes the frame of reference (symbolic order, structure of signification) within which business leaders, bureaucrats and politicians actually make policy. As Clarke (1988: 12) observes:

> ... monetarism and Keynesianism are not populist ideologies so much as ideologies of the state, giving ideological coherence to the institutional framework and policy decisions of the state. The crisis of Keynesianism and the rise of monetarism did not express a popular ideological revolution, but a crisis of the policies and institutions of the Keynesian welfare state.

New Right neoclassicism has failed disastrously as a populist ideology in New Zealand, but this has not prevented it from persisting as the dominant ideology of the state in this sense. Therefore, it is well worth exploring its emergence in greater depth.

As mentioned above, there was an upsurge in working class struggle, both within New Zealand and internationally, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This upsurge in class struggle was particularly damaging for Keynesian economists because they rely heavily on incomes policy as a means of containing inflation (particularly those adhering to the cost-push theory of inflation).[32] Given the experience of the recurrent failure of incomes policy in New Zealand throughout the 1970s (Boston, 1984), and following the collapse of the social contract in Britain with the 'winter of discontent' (Cliff and Gluckstein, 1988) by the early 1980s, incomes policy was no longer considered a viable policy option by most New Zealand economists. Thus, few if any supported the implementation of the

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32 For a useful discussion of monetarist and post-Keynesian theories of inflation, combined with a critical appraisal of their applicability to New Zealand conditions, see Boston, 1984: ch.2.

wage and price freeze during the last years of the third National Government.

This was the first reason for the growing popularity of monetarism in the 1970s. By claiming that '...substantial inflation is always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon...' (Friedman and Friedman, 1980: 299), being caused by an excess demand for goods and services which is, in turn, the product of an expansionary monetary policy, it was possible to suggest a novel solution to the 'problem' of both nominal and real wage growth. This consisted of the implementation of a rule-governed tight monetary policy which would not accommodate nominal wage increases, thus presenting the trade union movement with a trade-off between wage increases and employment levels. Assuming that trade unions would pursue nominal wage increases regardless of monetary policy, the union movement would then be disciplined, not through the politically hasardous instrument of direct repression, but through the effective policing mechanism of mass unemployment (it was for precisely this reason that Marx referred to the unemployed as the bourgeoisie's reserve army). As the Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek put it: 'What is needed is that the responsibility for a wage level which is compatible with a high and stable level of employment should again be placed where it belongs: with the trade unions'. (quoted by Gamble and Walton, 1976: 68). Or, as the New Zealand Treasury (1984: 237) would have it, 'any desirable solution to our [sic] current unemployment problem requires ... the removal of impediments to a more flexible labour market'.

The second major reason for the declining popularity of Keynesian economic theory within the economics profession is the apparently intractable phenomenon of stagflation. Keynesian economic theory centrally involves a detailed conceptualisation of the determination of national income and, because aggregate demand is assumed to determine national income when the economy is operating below full employment, this in turn involves the theoretical analysis of aggregate demand (as formalised in the standard ISLM model). On the basis of this analytical model, Keynesians argued that the level of aggregate demand could be manipulated by the government through either expansionary or contractionary fiscal and monetary policy in order to counter the effects of the business cycle. In fact, Keynesian economists generally advocate detailed and discretionary policies whereby the government actively seeks to control a whole range of aggregate variables in order to eliminate periods of recession (hence sustaining economic growth, investment, profitability, relatively high levels of employment,

living standards and so forth) or to moderate periods of unsustainably high growth. During the Long Boom these policies appeared to be so successful that it was widely believed that the state could effectively manage the business cycle and, consequently, that Keynesianism had eliminated the possibility of another major slump. Thus Paul Samuelson proclaimed rather prematurely in 1970 that: 'The National Bureau of Economic Research has worked itself out of one of its first jobs, namely business cycles.' (quoted by Gunder Frank, 1978: 9)

The arrival of precisely such a slump in the world economy in the mid-1970s gradually undermined the dominant position of Keynesian macroeconomic theory within the discipline (see Gamble and Walton, 1976: 34-35). The combination of high inflation, stagnant growth, and rising unemployment or stagflation appeared to be fundamentally anomalous for Keynesian theory. Since Keynesian theory maintains that the level of national output is determined primarily by the level of aggregate demand, it became difficult to explain the co-existence of expansionary fiscal policy aimed at increasing aggregate demand with the stagnation of economic growth and rising unemployment that characterised the major OECD economies following the 1974 to 1975 slump. In this context, the basic Keynesian policy prescriptions no longer appeared to be valid. For example, mildly expansionary fiscal and monetary policy was prescribed in order to combat stagnant growth and unemployment (with acknowledged inflationary consequences), while mildly contractionary fiscal and monetary policy was prescribed in order to combat inflation (with acknowledged consequences for employment and output growth). Thus Keynesians maintained that there was a trade off between inflation on the one hand, and unemployment and output growth on the other (the Phillips Curve[33]).

In the stagflationary climate which dominated the second half of the 1970s, this trade-off no longer seemed to hold. Monetarist and new classical economists share the neoclassical view that there is a 'natural' rate of unemployment which government policies are unable to alter in the medium to long term (Friedman,

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33 With nominal wages on the vertical axis and the percentage rate of unemployment on the horizontal axis, Keynesians hold that the Phillips Curve slopes downwards from left to right. The monetarist/new classical concept of a 'natural' rate of unemployment assumes that the long run Phillips Curve is vertical.

1968: 8). In this vein, Grant and Nath (1984: 93) observe that: '... some monetarists claim that at best there is only a short-run trade-off between alternative levels of unemployment and stable alternative levels of inflation, but none in the long run; new classical monetarist economists claim that there is no such trade-off even in the short run'. This conception of a natural rate of unemployment is an essential component of the monetarist explanation of stagflation. The theoretical significance of the natural rate of unemployment is that this is the only level of unemployment which is consistent with a stable (zero) rate of inflation. In this way, Friedman's position is that 'any monetary or fiscal policies which try to reduce the rate of unemployment below the 'natural' rate will in the long run accelerate the rate of inflation: unemployment can be permanently kept below the 'natural' rate only at the cost of accelerating inflation' (Grant and Nath, 1984: 96).

In essence, monetarist and new classical economists try to demolish Keynesian theory by showing that Keynesian macroeconomic policy instruments (particularly expansionary fiscal and monetary policy) will be ineffective in reducing unemployment in the medium term while simultaneously generating permanent increases in the price level. Unemployment is not viewed as being an endogenous structural feature of the capitalist economy, but as exogenously determined by illegitimate institutional rigidities (government regulatory interventions, trade union organisations) which undermine the allocative efficiency of market mechanisms. As Gamble and Walton (1976: 65) put it, 'underlying all varieties of the anti-Keynesian position is the central belief that left to itself a competitive market economy always moves towards some kind of equilibrium at full employment of resources. Hence all cycles, troughs, slumps, inflations and dislocations are caused by some interference with the competitive mechanism'.

The third major problem which Keynesian theory appeared to be incapable of resolving satisfactorily related to the decline in economy-wide profitability which characterised all the advanced capitalist economies during the second half of the 1970s. Because Keynesian theory is so strongly oriented towards the demand-side of the economy and the macro level of analysis, Keynesians were poorly equipped to develop microeconomic policy prescriptions likely to directly affect the relationship on the supply-side of the economy between profitability, investment, productivity and output growth. As Grant and Nath (1984: 80) argue, for Keynes, the single most important factor affecting private investment spending

is the level of business confidence and 'this depends on business expectations, about the level of effective demand, formed in the light of views held about the general economy-wide level of demand and about the demand for the particular product which a firm sells'. This view of investment was fundamentally inadequate when the economy-wide level of profitability was at historically low levels *and* this had been determined, not by insufficient demand, but by factors on the supply-side of the economy. Monetarism, in so far as it is closely associated with the advocacy of supply-side economic reform at a microeconomic level (e.g., the deregulation of the labour market and reduction of taxes on corporate income), was oriented towards increasing the profitability of business in order to stimulate investment and generate growth.

There are a number of other, less important, but still significant, factors which were involved in the ideological shift from Keynesianism to neoclassicism. After twenty years of high rates of economic growth and full employment, the 'normal' parameters for economic policy-making suddenly changed during the 1970s. This created a degree of confusion as the faltering economy stumbled from one crisis to the next and persistently failed to respond to traditional Keynesian counter-cyclical measures. 'Herein lay a key attraction of the neoclassical model. For the central message of the model was remarkably simple: the path to economic efficiency and to the restoration of 'normal' relationships was to let the market rule, to liberate the economy's inherent correcting mechanisms'. (Whitwell, 1986: 266). The advantage of formulating relatively simple economic policy prescriptions is that it makes it easy to package, sell and defend them politically. Also, because the model is essentially tautologous, it appears to be intellectually rigorous and 'scientific'. The neoclassical economists in Treasury (1984) provided a simple and coherent explanation of the crisis, and a simple and coherent set of policy prescriptions which, it was argued, would end this crisis and facilitate a sustained economic recovery. Thus Ministers in the Fourth Labour Government would routinely appear on the television screens of the nation, day after day, reiterating the central message of neoclassical dogma: lower inflation and market liberalisation would stimulate investment and generate output and employment growth. The Fourth National Government has simply added 'cutting government spending' and 'increased labour market flexibility' to the same basic formula (with the same tragically predictable results).

Whitwell (1986: 267) argues that 'neoclassical policies seemed also the best way

to restore discipline, something which was of great importance to the Treasury'.[34] The 'indiscipline' of the 1970s in New Zealand took two main forms: industrial militancy which undermined the successive attempts to implement incomes policies and expansionary fiscal and monetary policy funded through extensive government borrowing. The latter reflected the inability of the National Government to face up to the 'tough decisions' that were necessary to set the economy back on the road to growth and prosperity in the medium term. This failing was compounded in Treasury's view by the fact that the National Government's approach to economic management was 'out of step' with the free market consensus prevailing in the business community. The resurgent neoclassical economic approaches to policy-making also promised a way beyond the various 'corporatist arrangements', involving sectoral business associations, employers' organisations, trade unions and government departments, which Treasury saw as distorting and fragmenting the economic policy-making process, thus leading to the inconsistent and ad hoc application of policy instruments by the National Government. By 1984, Treasury considered that if business confidence was to be restored, then the incoming government would have to implement neoclassical policies which were both desired by the business community and in accord with the recommendations of official economic advisory bodies. Corporatist arrangements would have to be eliminated so that a coherent and comprehensive economic strategy could be developed. Finally, it is important to recognise that 'Treasury's traditional function of financial management heightened its interest in, and made it receptive to, a neoclassical viewpoint, in particular the importance of allocating resources efficiently' (Whitwell, 1986: 269).

For all these reasons, the reorientation in the economics profession towards the supply-side of the economy, characterised by the resurgence of neoclassical approaches within macroeconomics, was reflected in the evolution of the Treasury line in New Zealand. Thus, by 1984, the entire business community was united in calling for a turn towards 'free market' economic policy and this was compounded as Treasury and the Reserve Bank adopted the new neoclassical orthodoxy prevailing in the economics profession. If the incoming Labour

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[34] Whitwell is referring to the Australian Federal Treasury but the argument is also applicable to the New Zealand Treasury.

Government was serious about establishing the conditions for economic recovery, then it was clear that profitability had to be restored to the economy in order to stimulate investment and generate growth. In light of this, there was no question that the Fourth Labour Government would have to pursue the only 'realistic' alternative to the Keynesian policies which had failed in the past. If the pace and comprehensiveness of the programme of economic reform surprised many, the basic direction of that reform was much more predictable. In New Zealand, as in Britain, for those entrapped within the ideological prism of capitalist social relations there appeared to be no other 'realistic' alternative to Keynesianism apart from that provided by New Right neoclassicism.

3.4. State Structure

The economic crisis, shifting balance of power between capital and labour, and the ideological ascendence of the New Right, have all, to varying degrees, combined to determine the general direction of state economic policy. But the *uniquely rapid* and *comprehensive* nature of the Labour Government's programme of economic reform was largely a product of the *specific institutional structure of the state* in New Zealand.

While I cannot discuss the institutional structure of the state in any depth here, a number of factors were particularly significant and are worth noting. First, as noted in Section 2.2., Treasury and the Reserve Bank are strategically located within the state apparatus to exercise influence over the formation and implementation of public policy. Second, New Zealand is a highly centralised unitary state system unlike Australia, Canada or the United States which are more fragmented federal state systems. Federal state systems place major institutional barriers in the way of comprehensive programmes of economic reform because powers, roles and responsibilities are shared by a large number of agencies at both federal and state levels (see Davis et al., 1988). Thirdly, the executive dominates the state system to an extraordinary degree in New Zealand because the small size of parliament ensures a majority for cabinet within caucus and because the electoral system usually provides the governing party with a clear majority in the legislature.[35]

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35 For a theoretical discussion of policy formation and implementation see Ham and Hill, 1984.

Any assessment of the weight which has to be accorded to the institutional structure of the state in the development of explanatory accounts of historic shifts in public policy inevitably raises questions which are at the very heart of the debate between neo-Weberians, neo-Marxists and contemporary classical Marxists concerning the role of the state in capitalist society. Obviously, I can not enter into these debates here but a brief remark is called for. The policy-making of state agencies in New Zealand since 1974 has undoubtedly been centrally preoccupied with managing the economic crisis. Only the veritable ostrich would deny this. For this very reason, the call of Skocpol for 'state-centred' research seems particularly inapposite since the reality, at least in the New Zealand context, is that you simply can not make sense of the recent transition in policy-making if the state itself is the *primary* focus of analysis. Most neo-Weberians recognise this to varying degrees and fruitfully argue that historical-sociological research with a policy orientation should focus on two overlapping and historically contingent triangulations: (1) economy, civil society and the state; and (2) capital, labour and the state. Here it is important to recognise that the classical Marxist tradition to a considerable degree shares the basic empirical focus but differs with respect to both the theoretical coordinates and the methodology employed in the investigation of these triangulations. Thus, state structure can be accorded considerable weight in historical research which remains faithful to the classical Marxist tradition. This section has been exceedingly brief, not because the state is viewed as unimportant, but because state-centred analyses of the policy-making of the Fourth Labour Government are legion.

Conclusion

An adequate explanation of the historic shift in economic policy-making from Keynesianism to neoclassicism must integrate analysis conducted at different levels of abstraction. While containing many valuable insights, the existing accounts have not done this. My explanation of this historic shift in policy-making was articulated through a critique of the methodological individualism and subjective preference theory of value which underpin conventional economic analyses of New Zealand's relationship to the world economy, the regulationists' interpretation of contemporary class structure and the trajectory of class struggle, and the empiricism of state-centred policy analysis. In opposition to the existing accounts, this explanatory account has clearly

identified the underlying structural contradictions of capital accumulation (rising organic composition, falling rate of profit), the historical trajectory of the class struggle between capitalists and workers, the ideological crisis of Keynesianism and the ideological ascendancy of neoclassicism, and the significance of New Zealand's highly centralised unitary state system for the implementation of a comprehensive programme of neoclassical economic reform. The result is an account of the formation of economic policy in New Zealand which, while being far from definitive, does go some way towards providing a Marxist explanation of the transition from social democratic Keynesianism to New Right neoclassicism.

At the risk of oversimplification, this explanation can be summarised in four key points. First, state capacities, initiatives and responses have been channelled within the dynamic structural limits imposed by a capitalist economy in crisis. In particular, the nature of the economic crisis inherited by the Fourth Labour Government was fundamentally different to that inherited by the first. Whereas the First Labour Government came to power ***after*** the widespread devalorisation of capital, and consequent decline of the organic composition, which occurred during the 1930-32 recession, the Fourth Labour Government came to power ***before*** capital had been devalorised on this scale but after 10 years of prolonged economic crisis ultimately determined by the historically high level of the organic composition of capital. Without being fully conscious of the real processes involved, the incoming Labour Government had to 'facilitate the crisis' so that capital could be 'restructured' in ways that would ultimately restore profitability, investment and growth. The severity of the crisis has meant that the state has had to be concerned, not merely with restructuring capital, but also with restructuring the conditions of wage labour. Thus 'labour market flexibility' has been a primary policy objective. The aim has been to ensure that productivity growth exceeds wage growth which, in Marxist terms, implies an increase in the rate of surplus-value (and the rate of profit). Finally, the Labour and National governments have attempted to reduce unproductive state expenditure through public sector reform and the 'redesign' of the welfare state. In each of these areas, state policy-making has ultimately been driven by exigencies which spring from an economic crisis determined by a rising organic composition, an overaccumulation of capital, a declining rate of profit, and an intensification of the struggle between capital and labour.

Second, the balance of power between the capitalist and working classes altered fundamentally during the 1970s and 1980s. Whereas from 1968 to 1977, there was an upsurge in industrial militancy and political activism, from the late 1970s there has been a marked decline in working class struggle and the political activism of progressive social movements. This is extremely significant because the collective struggles between employers' organisations and the state, on the one side, and workers' organisations and social movements, on the other, play an important and, at times, a decisive role in shaping the formation and implementation of economic and social policy. Welfare benefit cuts, anti-union industrial relations reform, user charges for health and education, to mention three recent examples, can only be successfully implemented if working class resistance is defeated. In this respect, the historic weakness and bureaucratic misleadership of the trade union movement has enabled the state to implement economic policies which are diametrically opposed to the socio-economic interests of workers, welfare beneficiaries and their dependents.

Third, the monetarist or new classical 'counter-revolution' in macroeconomics involved a paradigmatic shift in the prevailing economic orthodoxy. This resurgence of neoclassicism within economics has not, despite the efforts of business associations, Treasury and other partisans of the New Right, engendered a fundamental transformation of the popular consciousness. Neoclassicism has been spectacularly successful, however, in giving ideological coherence to state economic management. Apparently, remote intellectual fashions in macroeconomics are often closely related to historical developments occurring outside the discipline. In this respect, it was suggested that the repeated failure of incomes policies to contain wage growth during the 1970s, stagflation, which many economists viewed as anomalous for Keynesian theory, and the intellectual confusion created by the collapse of the Long Boom, undermined the 'Keynesian' orthodoxy and encouraged the adoption of monetarist and new classical approaches. The resurgence of a neoclassical orthodoxy was important because the economics discipline shapes, to a considerable degree, the symbolic order or structure of signification that is shared by business leaders, official economic advisers and, to a lesser extent, politicians. Consequently, the demise of Keynesianism and the ascendance of neoclassicism formed an integral component both of the class struggle during the 1970s and 1980s (shaping the representational activities and industrial strategies of business organisations, legitimising austerity policies, etc.) and of the formation of economic policy

within the state (promising a solution to the crisis of the Keynesian Welfare State).

Fourth, in comparative terms, the pace and scope of economic reform in New Zealand is virtually unparalleled. For example, the federal Labor Government in Australia has applied policies derived from the resurgent neoclassical orthodoxy on a largely pragmatic and limited basis. The Conservative Government in Britain and the Reagan/Bush administrations in the United States have only partially implemented the programme of the New Right. Consequently, it is important to identify why and how the specific institutional structure of the state in New Zealand has facilitated the rapid and comprehensive implementation of this programme. The strategic location of Treasury and the Reserve Bank within the state system, the unitary state structure, and the dominance of the executive have been institutional factors of considerable significance in this regard.

An implicit objective of this article has been to demonstrate both the possibility and the value of developing a theoretically coherent, historically sensitive and, in important respects, empirically open-ended explanation of the fundamental transition in state policy-making from Keynesianism to neoclassicism by the Marxist tradition. One of the profound ironies of recent intellectual history is that at the same time that the actual movement of history has corroborated many of the central hypotheses of Marxist theory, most intellectuals on the left have abandoned Marxism (and in fact some have become the most rabid anti-Marxists).

Yet, the intellectual strength of criticism of Marxist theory has been inversely proportional to the political strength of the New Right. While there are important exceptions - Giddens in sociology, Habermas in philosophy and Offe in political science - much of the criticism of Marxist theory today amounts to little more than unexamined prejudice and the parroting of fashionable anti-Marxist terms of abuse: economism, essentialism, reductionism, productivism, and so forth. Geras (1990: 72) observes in this regard that recent critics of Marxism first define Marxism 'in the most most uncompromisingly necessitarian or determinist, most rigidly economistic, and - if one must - most simplifyingly "essentialist" terms" 8before then proceeding to dismiss Marxism "for being determinist, economist, "essentialist"'. This has been compounded in recent years by the common but unsustainable equation of Marxism with Stalinism (see Callinicos, 1991).

As we face the dawn of the twenty first century in the context of global recession, imperialist military conflict, enormous inequalities in the distribution of wealth within and between nations, widespread class conflict, and with our planet on the verge of ecological collapse, the research programme with the most powerful set of explanations of these phenomena is the social scientific research programme which is the most unfashionable; it is, quite simply, 'passe'. Remarkably, Marxism in the 1990s is neither a research programme progressing in an ocean of anomalies nor is it a research programme progressing on inconsistent foundations: it is a research programme progressing through the crucible of historical corroboration on consistent analytical foundations, but in opposition to fashionable intellectual doctrines which decry both reason and realism.

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ISSUES IN RESEARCH

Troubles With Team Research: A Personal Account of a Sociology Graduate Entering a Health Research Unit

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Abstract

This paper analyses the experiences of a graduate of post-empirical sociology who entered a health research unit committed to an empiricist model of social science. Contextual factors are outlined which contributed to a situation within the unit of an anti-sociology discourse. The experience of teamwork was a troubled one, but more at the level of mental anguish than direct conflict. It is suggested that sociology graduates need to know that the post-empiricist sociology they have been taught may place them in conflict with people they conduct research with, and that as raw graduates, there may be constraining features of research units that may be difficult to modify.

Introduction

Social research is often done by teamwork rather than by lone researchers. Teamwork may have several advantages, including: enabling the study of complex situations beyond the scope of an individual (Wax, 1979); facilitating greater contact with respondents (Douglas, 1976); introducing more varied skills and talents into the team (Cass et al., 1978); and an opportunity for critical discussion and 'divergent ethnographic styles' (Fujisaka and Graysel, 1978).

However, there are also many possible disadvantages to team research, including problems of: organisation, administration, leadership, communication, funding, publication, and others (Bradley, 1982; Fennell and Sandefur, 1983; Luszki, 1957; McEvoy, 1972; Roth, 1966; Stoddard, 1982). While these disadvantages have been discussed in traditional academic fashion (see the references above), a better

understanding of the problems of teamwork may be provided by personal accounts. There are two such accounts by sociologists that stand out: Vidich and Bensman (1964; 1968) on their involvement in the Springdale community study, and Colin Bell (1977) on the Banbury community restudy. Both provide frank comments on negative aspects of team research. Bell found teamwork harrowing mainly because of a lack of organisational clarity while, in contrast, Vidich and Bensman found working within a large team overly bureaucratic and inflexible. Vidich and Bensman (1964:323) felt sufficiently strong about their experience of team research to comment that '...from the perspective of the individual researcher all group and bureaucratic research is a form of torture'.

Given the frequency of teamwork in social research and the possibility of major problems with it, personal accounts of team research should be a useful part of any discussion of research methods. However, such accounts are relatively scarce and there are at least two reasons for this. Firstly, it is difficult to avoid giving such an account a negative, destructive tone - or of it being interpreted in that way. Bell's (1977) paper, for example, was followed by an editorial comment that summarised the response of the other team members: the point was made that his account was '...more a rationalisation or an attempt "to get something off his chest" than a serious organisational analysis' (Newby, 1977:64). A second reason for the scarcity of personal accounts of team research is that they may be too sensitive and damaging to be published. Bell and Roberts (1984:9) note that in compiling a book on the practice of social researching, they withdrew one paper because of its possible damaging effect. It was written by research assistants from a well known project and involved considerable criticism of the director - a person likely to have some influence on future employment of the prospective authors. Hence, it was not deemed beneficial to publish the paper.

With the above points in mind, this paper offers a personal account of problems with team research: the story of a raw sociology graduate entering a well established health research unit. The aim is not for catharsis or for self-justification, but to be as constructive as possible. The paper may be of most interest to graduate students who are about to leave the relatively protected enclave of university sociology departments and embark on their first research employment.

Individual Biography

I entered university straight from school in 1980 and quickly found that university was not to my liking - coming from a working class background, I felt out of place in the middle class culture of the university. However, I did find that sociology offered a new and exciting perspective on social life. Despite this interest, I left university after my first year and found employment with a landscape contractor. Subsequently, I eventually became a technician in the Department of Horticulture at Lincoln College. Being in a university environment, I again thought of study. After some consideration, I decided to enrol part-time at Canterbury University, taking a stage one education paper and a stage two paper on environmental sociology. My appetite was whet: by mid-year, I had decided to resign from my job, pick up some half-year courses and do a BA in sociology.

After completing my first degree in 1987, and given the late 1980s economic climate, I decided my job prospects would be that much better with a postgraduate degree, and so I continued to BA Honours. However, after completing my Honours degree, I found that the same logic applied, and so I enrolled to do an MA thesis. It was before my thesis work was underway that I saw and applied for a position as junior research fellow at the Christchurch Child Development Study. The advertisement stated that the job provided the opportunity for enrolment in a higher degree, and so I saw it as an ideal opportunity to combine further study and employment. I was offered the position, which I accepted, and began my first experience of social research in mid-April 1989.

As Mills' (1959) classic work has made clear, individual biography is an important part of the analytic of sociology. I offer a brief account of my biography for a reason: it shows that I was committed to sociology. Firstly, I was committed enough to leave secure employment, and secondly, I was committed enough to go on to thesis level study. Further, this biography situates my introduction to sociology within a particular historical period - the late 1980s. This is important because it meant that the sociology I became committed to was of a particular form - it was a post-empiricist sociology. Giddens and Turner (1987:2) have summarised post-empiricism as focussing on:

> ...the idea that there can be theory-neutral observations is repudiated, while systems of deductively-linked laws are no longer canonised as the highest ideal of scientific explanation. Most importantly, science is presumed to be an interpretative endeavour, such that problems of meaning, communication and translation are immediately relevant to scientific theories.

It was my commitment to a post-empiricist sociology which provided the major source of my troubles with team research, for the research unit which I entered was committed to an empiricist model of social science. Below, I will describe the Christchurch Child Development Study and then draw out the contextual factors which contributed to a clear sense of antagonism between empiricism and post-empiricism.[1]

The Christchurch Child Development Study

The Christchurch Child Development Study (hereafter the CCDS) is a longitudinal study of a birth cohort of 1265 children born in the Christchurch urban region during mid-1977. The children and their families have been studied annually since birth with the general aim of describing their health, education and social welfare. Data is gathered from a variety of sources including: parental interview, health diary information, teacher questionnaires, psychometric assessment, hospital notes and general practitioner records. The CCDS is part of the Christchurch School of Medicine, although it is housed separately from the main buildings of the medical school. It is funded mainly by the Medical Research Council (now the Health Research Council). While the majority of research published from the CCDS is concerned with epidemiology and health-related issues, areas of sociological interest have also been analysed. For example, papers have been published on: family background and childhood

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[1] I use the terms empiricism and post-empiricism as convenient labels and the paper does not attempt to explicate their characteristics or genesis in any detail; nor do I consider the relation to other labels (e.g. positivist/interpretive sociology; qualitative/quantitative sociology). The paper is a personal account of an experienced dichotomy in an extant health research unit and I am not concerned with the issue of whether the dichotomy itself makes any sense, or indeed, needs to be deconstructed.

disadvantage; family dissolution; maternal workforce participation; single parenthood; and social background and educational achievement (see Lloyd, 1990, for a bibliography of publications from the CCDS).

The CCDS has a rigid hierarchal structure which has been only slightly modified throughout its history. Up until 1990, the study had, as overall director, the Professor of Paediatrics who by the time I joined the unit was not directly involved in the production of research papers. There were four full-time members of the CCDS: the principal investigator (hereafter the PI); the senior research fellow (hereafter the SRF); junior research fellow; and the secretary. The day-to-day direction of the unit fell to the PI, who had been with the study since its beginning. Next in the hierarchy came the junior research fellow, and then the secretary and interviewers. The study relied on a number of interviewers for its data gathering and they were employed for about three to four months in the middle of each year. They comprised: psychometric testers who administered tests to the study children in the Canterbury area schools; interviewers who did the parental interviews in the Canterbury area; and two interviewers who travelled throughout New Zealand interviewing the parents who had since moved from Christchurch. Throughout the 13 years that the CCDS had been gathering data, all interviewers had been women; the junior research fellow had also always been a woman. Prior to my appointment, the junior research fellow had combined the work of travelling interviewer with the analysis of data and production of research papers. I took up a new role in that I was not involved in interviewing but worked solely in the post-data-gathering stages of the research process. This also meant that the CCDS displayed a clear gender-based division of labour: men did the research, women did the data collection and secretarial work.

The research products from the CCDS were a result of a specific form of teamwork and a clear division of labour. The PI specialised in drafting research papers, correspondence, public speaking and the overall directorship of the study. The SRF specialised in statistical analysis and computing, while I was assigned more varied tasks including literature reviewing, computer analysis, and drafting papers. Shared tasks included the checking of completed survey codebooks and input into draft papers. Even though the PI did no direct computer analysis, the actual process of analysis was also a shared one as results and conclusions were always discussed amongst the three researchers.

Anti-Sociology Discourse

It soon became apparent to me that the type of research conducted at the CCDS fitted neatly into an empiricist model. This was exemplified in several ways: there was a clear belief that the social sciences should emulate the natural science model of deductive investigation; there was a clear interest in measurement with a particular focus on accounting for errors of measurement; mathematical models of survey data were used to analyse relations of cause and effect between variables; and there was a clear belief that the knowledge produced by the CCDS was objective and value free. It was also apparent that the PI and SRF believed that this was the way all social science should be conducted. They tended to view New Zealand sociology in a poor light because of its acceptance of qualitative methods and the supposedly unsophisticated nature of quantitative research by New Zealand sociologists.

It is difficult to accurately convey the atmosphere at the CCDS. On one hand, as part of a medical school, the CCDS was removed from any close contact with post-empiricist thought in New Zealand universities, but on the other hand, there was a backdrop of a strong oppositional discourse of 'Us and Them'; 'Us' being the CCDS as a bastion of empiricism, and 'Them' being sociologists and other qualitative researchers influenced by post-empiricism. There are three immediate questions which this situation raises: firstly, why was there an outright rejection of the arguments of post-empiricism; secondly, why was the conflict between the two paradigms seen in such vehement terms; and thirdly, in what position did this put me, and how did I respond.

Why the outright rejection of post-empiricism?

There are several contextual factors which help to explain this. At a personal level, the PI gained his academic training in psychology and sociology in the late 1960s, a time when psychology was still firmly empiricist and when sociology in New Zealand was relatively young and also empiricist in nature (see Catton, 1971, for an empiricist manifesto for New Zealand sociology). Popper's ideas about the nature of science held considerable force at this time and undoubtedly contributed to the dominance of empiricism. Certainly, the PI and the SRF regarded Popper's (1959) work on the nature of scientific discovery and falsification as a good philosophical basis for their endeavour. Popper's work

was an important attempt to clearly define scientific methodology, but since the 1970s, his arguments and allied empiricist ones have come in for critique, often focussing on the weakness of assuming that observations are neutral (Woolgar, 1988). Of course, this critique has been part and parcel of the development of post-empiricism.

There are also further contextual factors which clarify the empiricist/post-empiricist antagonism within the CCDS. Firstly, the CCDS is situated within a medical research establishment and most of its research is focussed on health and epidemiological issues. Within this context, the hypothetico-deductive method tends to be naturalised as the way that research is done: because of the location of the CCDS in such a context, it is perhaps not surprising to see post-empiricist arguments treated scornfully. In addition, medical researchers tend to view research conducted by survey methods as less than ideal - the randomised clinical trial is held up as the ultimate form of medico-scientific research. This results in the ironic situation where, on one hand, the CCDS could be criticised by post-empiricist social scientists as having a naive belief in the possibility of objective social science while, on the other hand, it could be attacked by medical researchers for not being scientific enough.

There is also a pragmatic reason for the rejection of post-empiricist ideas. Longitudinal studies are expensive to fund and success in gaining funding brings with it a high expectation in terms of published output. Thus, once such a study is underway, arguments about epistemology and methodology tend to be regarded as of little consequence. Rather, the majority of time is devoted to the day-to-day practicalities of keeping the study running and continuing to produce published results.

Why was the conflict seen to be so vehement?

I have noted above that the percentage of CCDS research devoted to sociological areas was small. Why then was the opposition between empiricism and post-empiricism a strong backdrop to the work at the CCDS? Again, I think this is a result of a combination of factors. Firstly, try to imagine what it would be like conducting traditional epidemiological analysis for ten years: choosing a dependent variable of interest, seeing what independent variables were associated with the dependent variable and then controlling for compounding variables.

After ten years, this form of research ceases to captivate.[2] While the same techniques of analysis may be applied to analysing social issues (e.g. pay equity, sexual abuse), they often have the added interest of being slightly more complex and having associated policy implications. Hence, the analysis of social issues, although small, becomes an important part of the CCDS.

Venturing into the analysis of social issues brings with it likely contact with post-empiricist sociologists. This contact may often be confrontational, although this conflict does not often reach published form (see Smith, 1982; 1983 and Du Plessis Novitz, 1990, for exceptions). Sociologists have continued to be critical of both the research methods and the research conclusions of the CCDS.

Another factor which helps explain the attitude towards post-empiricism is dissent from within the CCDS itself, namely from the interviewers who were employed in the crucial task of gathering the data for the researchers to analyse. Many of these women had completed or were undertaking study at university, and had been exposed to post-empirical critiques of empiricism. This knowledge may have only rarely surfaced as spoken criticism of the CCDS and its research methods; nevertheless, the consequences of even minor dissent should not be underestimated. As Douglas' work shows, conflict from within strongly demarcated groups (e.g. religious cults) often serves to reinforce the group's belief in the threat it faces from outsiders (Spickard, 1991). While the CCDS is not a strongly demarcated group in the sense of a religious cult, I believe that even the infrequent critique of empiricism by the interviewers had the consequence of reinforcing a sense of threat from post-empiricists. As Roth (1966) pointed out several years ago, hired hand researchers do not always do what they are expected to; and in the case of the CCDS, the hired hands were

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2 An anonymous reviewer commented that this statement was 'unnecessarily patronising' and I can see that it could be read in that way. However, my intention is not to imply that post-empiricist research is effortlessly superior to empiricist research. Nevertheless, I do stand by the statement that traditional quantitative analysis of variables can become mundane with time. The point I make is that this partly explains the appeal of research on social issues to the CCDS - regardless of how you analyse social issue data, it becomes enlivened by its more obvious applicability to public debate and the policy endeavour.

also occasionally bold enough to tell the hirers that they could see problems with what they were being asked to do.

Related to the above factor in terms of its consequence is a point of historical context. I entered the CCDS during the time that the 'unfortunate experiment at National Women's (Coney, 1988) and the Cartwright Inquiry were a major national event. Undoubtedly, this criticism of medical research reverberated throughout medical research establishments in New Zealand. Again, I believe that a consequence of this event was to reinforce the sense of threat from outsiders. In this case, the outsiders were probably clearly labelled as 'feminists' and not specifically as 'sociologists' or 'post-empiricists'. Nevertheless, it is a short step to link feminism with sociology and thereby reinforce anti-sociology beliefs; and regardless of specific labels, the effect is the same: Us against Them.

My position and how I responded

Quite simply, my position was one of extreme unease. The factors I have outlined above contributed to a strong overall feeling of anti-sociology, sociology being connected with post-empiricism. As someone strongly influenced by post-empiricist sociology, my position was one where I felt like 'meat in the sandwich'. I felt I was being constituted as a live specimen of the species 'sociologist' (i.e. a non-empiricist) who needed to be converted to belief in the one true way - Empiricist Social Science. However, I would note that it would be a mistake to think that my time at the CCDS was one of open conflict and bitter debate. Rather, the situation was much more one of personal mental anguish. I found myself constantly asking 'what am I doing here', and on a more optimistic note, 'is there anything I can do to resist'. My answer to the first question emerged as an instrumental one (more on this below) and my answer to the second question was for the most part a negative one.

There were very strong structural reasons for this pessimistic conclusion, and I suspect that my account may have aspects in common with the experience of other sociology graduates entering research work. There are four structural features that must be taken into account. Firstly, there is an asymmetry of power. I knew that I was fortunate to have gone from an Honours degree into a research position. At the interview where I accepted the position, it was pointed out that there would be an initial probationary period (3 months) and if my performance

proved to be unsatisfactory, employment would cease. Indeed, the story was told that this had happened previously - a junior research fellow had been fired. Until this probationary period was over, I was understandably not keen on provoking conflict over the status of sociology and the empiricist-post-empiricist debate. This point was even more salient given that this was my first research job and would serve as an important entry point into further research work. Therefore, the strategy I adopted for the first few months became one of ignoring differences of opinion about the merits of sociology and getting on with the practical business of learning to use new statistical packages in the complicated analysis of longitudinal data.

Secondly, I was faced with an asymmetry of experience. Although university study in sociology provides skills in the construction of arguments and critique, this, for the most part, takes a written form - essays. This is very different to a face-to-face verbal debate, especially where the opposing party is numerically stronger - two to one - and has had at least 12 years experience of such debate. I quickly found that no matter how hard I tried, I could not successfully rebut arguments presented against qualitative methods. (I was not sufficiently familiar with Popper's work and the critique of it to make a strong argument on this front either). This is not to say that I agreed with the opposing argument, but because debate seemed to degenerate into 'talking past each other', it was apparent that there was little point in continuing.

Thirdly, there was a real constraint in terms of entering an existing research unit with a well-established method of research. Selection of research topics was something that was discussed with the PI; if I could provide a good plan for a new topic, I could have proceeded with it. Thus, on the surface, there was a possibility of researching a topic I found interesting given my sociological imagination. In reality, ny search for data to suit my sociological interests proved fruitless. The CCDS data had been gathered with specific research questions in mind; once data is collected, it is difficult to twist it to suit a different need. For example, I had intended to do an MA on the social aspects of infertility, and I discovered to my interest that amongst the CCDS data was a question relating to contraceptive practices used before the survey child was born. A small number of the survey children's parents had not used contraception because they thought they were sterile or infertile. I immediately thought of using this as the basis of a research paper. However, further investigation showed that this was the only

piece of information of any direct relevance to infertility. It is difficult to construct good sociological analysis from such meagre information, without even considering the problem of the meaningful nature of fertility experiences. I quickly abandoned any thought of using the CCDS data to satisfy my sociological imagination.

Finally, to be honest, I adopted an instrumental approach to my work within the CCDS. I stopped worrying about the anti-sociological discourse that surrounded me, decided that I would not be staying long, and put my head down and got on with the work. Given that all research in the CCDS was a result of a teamwork process, there seemed to be little else that I could do - I needed to be able to work with the other team members and the adoption of an instrumental approach enabled me to do this. My instrumental approach had an ironic element : I had invested some time in gaining a sociological imagination, but I found myself avoiding research topics associated with social issues - I probably got most enjoyment from my time at the CCDS from a simple quantitative analysis of cycle helmet ownership (Lloyd and Fergusson, 1990).

Amidst this period of mental anguish, I applied for a scholarship to do a PhD and was fortunate enough to be offered one. I left the CCDS with just over a years experience as junior research fellow and returned to being a sociology student.

Conclusion

Despite my introductory claims about trying to avoid catharsis, I would not deny that this paper has been good for me. It has allowed me to look back on my own actions at the CCDS and analyse why I felt so constrained and powerless within the team research process that existed. The ability to analyse my experience may stand as a useful lesson for any future social science work I undertake which involves teamwork. In addition, this account will hopefully be of some benefit to other sociology graduates. I suspect that a lot of sociology graduates find employment in government departments and other research units where the philosophy of research is an empiricist one; it is likely that what I experienced will be common. Therefore, I believe that sociology graduates need to know that the post-empiricist form of sociology they have been taught may place them in conflict with people they conduct social research with, and that as raw graduates, there are certain constraining features of research units that may be difficult to

overcome. My account has identified assymetries of power and experience, pre-existing research methods, and the day-to-day practicalities of working with other people as some of these possible constraints.

I would like to finish by offering some comments on why that mental anguish of working with people committed to empiricism can be so severe. It is certainly interesting to work with people who espouse empiricism and see the value-laden nature of what they do as a process of objective knowledge production. However, if you have had some part in that knowledge production, what does that do for your sense of integrity? It is common for research findings to be reported in the mass media and for them to be sent directly to policy makers. It is in these spheres that the constructed knowledge of social research is most likely to become naturalised as 'fact'. After Foucault, knowledge can no longer be seen as unconnected from the constitution of society and the (re)production of power relations (see Foucault, 1980, for example). The knowledge produced by social scientists is not an element of some objective body of scientific knowledge outside of, and free from, existing power relations. Instead, it has a part to play in the constitution of subjects and the normalising process implicated in any knowledge of society. Roy Turner (1989:13) has stated that: 'Ethnographers who have read Foucault lose their innocence', meaning that they should now be aware of the possible constitutive effects of their discourses. It is not possible to know what these effects will be as even purposive actions have unintended consequences. However, I would argue that a recognition of the constitutive nature of knowledge is far more desirable than a retreat into intellectual bad faith.

In conclusion, I do not wish to convey a view that my experience of team research was totally negative. The research team was very productive. I learnt some useful computing skills and also gained confidence through learning that I could master methods of analysis that at first seemed totally incomprehensible. I would reiterate that it would be wrong to think that I was subjected to unfair practices or that there was outright conflict. Nevertheless, to return to Vidich and Bensman's phrase, if team research is a form of torture, in my case, it was a mental torture brought about by a combination of differing thought styles and constraining features of the team structure.

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REVIEW ESSAY

Graham T. Crocombe, Michael J. Enright and Michael E. Porter **Upgrading New Zealand's Competitive Advantage.** Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991, 235 pp.

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Introduction

This important book summarises the work of the so-called Porter Project and is one that should be read by anyone interested in the future of the New Zealand economy. Its importance stems not from its treatment or its style. In its treatment, it is far from definitive and its style is lightweight and contentious. It should be read for three principal reasons. The first is the importance of the issue with which it deals, New Zealand's international competitiveness and how this might be enhanced. Second, the project has been the subject of much adverse publicity and discussion (Edwards, 1991) and it is important for those interested in these issues to form their own views. Third, a principal aim of the book is to elevate public debate on these matters and an informed debate will benefit from as wide a readership as possible.

Background

The background to this volume was the commissioning in 1989 by the Trade Development Board of a study of New Zealand's international competitiveness. Graham Crocombe, the lead author of this book and, at the time, an MBA student studying at Harvard, was attracted to the possibility of applying the then embryonic ideas of Harvard's Michael Porter on the determinants of national competitiveness to New Zealand. The project, with an initial budget of $180,000, was originally based at the University of Auckland with Brian Henshall as director. Subsequent developments, with cost escalations rising to $1.8m, the reassignment of research projects from a number of experienced academics, allegations of extreme inflexibility on the part of Harvard participants and

threatened litigation over copyright assignment and academic dishonesty, read like the blurb of a David Lodge novel. Sadly, these problems are all too discernible within the book. It appears to have been written with great haste, there is little that is new and the content is repetitious and, in many places, superficial with very little reference to other pertinent research. Given the importance of the topic material and the fact that informed debate on these issues is well overdue in this country, this is unfortunate.

Structure

The book comprises four principal sections. The first, largely descriptive, summarises New Zealand's recent economic performance. As is well known, this has been disappointing and is reflected in falling relative living standards, rising overseas debt and unemployment levels and declining terms of trade. An analysis of New Zealand's trade structure also raises concern with a heavy dependence on a narrow range of seemingly unattractive (low value-added and cyclical) export products and the continuing importation of high priced and complex products.

The second substantive section, and the most controversial, attempts to apply to New Zealand Porter's (1990) model of the determinants of national competitiveness. Porter argues that international business success depends on the development and continuous renewal of competitive advantage. These days, international success can no longer be assured by natural factor conditions (comparative advantage) but must be built around proprietary assets, the most important of which are innovation, product differentiation, investments in branding and superior management. Those industries (and nations) most likely to succeed are able to capture this process within a dynamic interaction of four key attributes (termed the Porter Diamond). These are:

1. Factor conditions - for competitive advantage, the possession of sophisticated factors (infrastructure, skilled labour) is more important than simply factor endowments (the amounts of labour, land, capital, etc).

2. Demand conditions - industries benefit from the existence of sophisticated and demanding consumers who force producers to upgrade to meet the most discerning demand.

3. Related and supporting industries - the development of clusters of related industries, both upstream and downstream, provide an important stimulus to innovation and upgrading.

4. Firm strategy, structure and rivalry - Porter is a clear advocate of unfettered competition and argues strongly against monopoly power. Again, a high degree of rivalry is seen as conducive upgrading and the maintenance of competitive advantage.

   Government and chance factors are also included in the interactive process.

Nations are seen as attaining, on the basis of their competitive diamonds, four stages of national development. The process is not invariably sequential nor need it necessarily encompass all stages:

1. Factor-Driven - at this initial stage, the economic driving force is factor endowment, particularly basic factors. Production focuses on basic commodities and unsophisticated manufactures. Nations experience difficulties breaking out of this stage as there is little incentive to upgrade.

2. Investment-Driven - here investment enables the development of a significant manufacturing sector, albeit one which competes on the basis of scale and cost in price sensitive simple manufactures. The commitment to saving and longer term economic growth at the national level is shadowed by an increasing ability on the part of firms to absorb technology and develop marketing skills.

3. Innovation-Driven - at its most effective in this stage, the mutually reinforcing effects of the diamond allow the economy to break away from dependence on foreign technology and marketing expertise and to develop an indigenous capability. A virtuous circle of innovation-profit-investment-innovation is created. Perhaps Japan best personifies this stage at the present time.

4. Wealth-Driven - a failure to sustain the necessary investment for continuing innovation will trigger a stage of economic malaise and eventually decline. The focus becomes one of wealth maintenance and issues of equity may take precedence over efficiency. As companies and industries suffer declining international competitiveness, they resort to domestic consolidation (mergers and acquisitions) and are vulnerable to foreign takeover.

The third section of the book attempts to apply this model through detailed case studies of some 19 industries (the authors claim 20) but the book summarises only 4 of these (dairying, forest-products, electric-fencing and software). Interestingly, the cases are not used in the traditional way as a test of the model's validity; rather, the reverse seems to apply with the model being used for case study selection. It has been suggested that the reason why so little of the case material is presented in the book is its incompatibility with the model. Having read the various industry studies, I would have some sympathy with this view but the overriding concern must be the highly unorthodox way in which the empirical material is used. This failure to test the model denies the opportunity to see how well the Porter model fits the New Zealand case and in what ways it requires modification (Cartwright, 1991).

The fourth section of the book provides a pulling together of ideas in the 'Misaligned New Zealand System' and a range of policy recommendations.

The book concludes that New Zealand's difficulties can be attributed to both structural and institutional factors. Structurally, New Zealand's trade sector is overly specialised with a very high degree of dependency on a narrow range of primary commodities. Within these industries, we are competitive only in the low value added stages (production, harvesting, slaughtering) and we eschew the more profitable stages (adding value through branding and downstream activities like marketing, servicing, etc). In 1987, almost 70 percent of New Zealand export earnings came from primary commodities. Of the $200m spent on R & D in the private sector in 1989/90, almost one-third was related to the processing of primary products. These sectors are generally characterised by weak prices, poor margins and relatively declining revenue as well as very limited opportunities for rapid productivity growth. In part, New Zealand's balance of payments and trade problems result from the fact that her principal import

commodities reveal very different characteristics, high technological content, differentiation, strong profits and margins and rapid productivity growth.

Institutional factors influencing New Zealand's poor performance include low levels of R & D expenditure (business R & D in 1989/90 was 0.31% of GDP, well below the OECD average), the very large proportion (approximately 2/3) of total R & D accounted for by the public sector, low education participation rates, a relatively poorly qualified workforce, capital market weaknesses, short-term, introverted business strategies and low levels of new business formation.

The solution offered by the authors to New Zealand's problems is one of higher value added. However, the book offers very little indication of either what such a strategy entails or how it is best achieved. The idea of value added seems to encompass three distinct, but related, developments. The first, and the most feasible, is the adding of value through further processing in New Zealand of commodity exports like timber, meat and dairy products. Such a move could add significantly to export earnings. In forestry, for example, increased processing and marketing of wood products could increase forecast export earnings of $1 billion in the year 2000 and an additional $2.1 billion by 2010 (MORST, 1991).

The second involves the fostering of industry clusters built around areas of existing strength to encourage greater local sourcing of inputs and the development of a broad skill base. A notable feature of many New Zealand industries is their truncated development with an emphasis on largely unprocessed exports and very little indigenous development in related industries. This would be true of industries like computer software, engineering consultancy and venison. Some limited cluster development has occurred in industries like tourism, fishing, boat-building and cut flowers.

The third, and most radical, alternative in added value involves the creation of completely new competitive industries. Computer software is a recent but successful industry within New Zealand. However, suggestions made a few years ago for the creation of an internationally competitive money market based in New Zealand are a good example of the difficulty of identifying potentially successful activities, particularly when these are unrelated to existing areas of strength.

Implications of the discussion are developed on three levels: company strategy, industry associations and government policy. The implications for company strategy are predictable. New Zealand companies are urged to move beyond cost-based competition and to seek to build, through value added, competitive advantages within existing areas of strength like forestry and fishing. They will need to develop more sophisticated competitor intelligence, focus on innovation and invest heavily in human resource development. Competitive strategies must become global and more proactive. Very little indication is provided of how these sweeping changes can be brought about.

A major role is envisaged for industry associations. They are expected to shift from a traditional focus on political lobbying to play a strategic role in human resource development, industry standard setting, generic marketing and information diffusion.

The logic for their role seems to be based on the structure of the New Zealand economy with a large number of small firms, individually reluctant or incapable of making the necessary investments. Industry associations are expected to step in to solve these problems of 'market failure' through collective provision. This part of the book clearly demonstrates the superficial nature of much of the underlying research. Few industry associations have either the resources or the inclination to take on these roles. Ongoing research at the University of Waikato suggests that these functions will not be assumed by many industry associations.

The government's role is an indirect one, facilitating rather than trying to create competitive advantage. This is obviously consistent with the withdrawal that we have witnessed since the mid-1980s of the state from direct economic involvement. Rather than working on cost and monetary variables (interest rates, exchange rates), government policy should support the creation of competitive advantage through upgrading New Zealand's human resources (and this is likely to involve more than just raising the school leaving age by one year!), stimulating domestic competition through a strict competition policy (including producer boards), overcoming capital market weaknesses and upgrading both infrastructure and incentives for business formation. There is very little here that is new or different. Governments around the world are adopting the same selective disengagement and a focus on micro- rather than macro-economic variables.

Note here the almost exclusive domestic focus of a programme designed to increase international competitiveness.

Contributions

This book offers a contribution in two principal ways. It has focused attention on first, the comparatively poor performance of the New Zealand economy in international terms and second, the need for a new conception of international trade within New Zealand, one founded on a much more sustainable basis than simply relative commodity costs. Earlier this year in commenting on alternatives in economic policy, the Prime Minister argued that 'the status quo is no longer an option'. The Porter Report has, at the very least, helped to stimulate debate on the nature of these alternatives. However, for $1.8m we could surely expect more than just debate, even if this is a satisfactory outcome for the chief executive of the Trade Development Board (Birchfield, 1991).

Criticisms

Despite these contributions, more attention has focused on the apparent shortcomings of the book. There are six principal weaknesses.

The first concerns the insufficient external orientation of the book. While the central topic of analysis is international competitiveness, this is approached through a study of the national determinants of competitiveness. There is no analysis of changing trade patterns, emerging regional economic groupings or overseas market servicing modes other than exporting. For a country like New Zealand which has traditionally relied on serving existing markets rather than creating new ones, this is a strange omission. Similarly, the authors appear to be unaware of, or choose to ignore, the very considerable international management literature which has provided valuable insights into the question of international competitiveness. For example, this literature focuses more on the issue of the **control** of economic activity rather than the **location** of those activities which is the perspective of this book.

Many of the problems New Zealand industry faces are the result of its truncated development because of a high degree of external dependence. In some cases, this dependence even extends to critical business functions. For example, the

meat processing industry has always been characterised by a high degree of overseas, particularly British, ownership. This has resulted in a New Zealand focus on output and supply while the marketing function was controlled largely from overseas. One recent estimate suggests that the industry has 760 livestock agents (buyers) in the North Island compared with less than 200 people involved in offshore marketing. With markets in the UK assured for many years in a number of industries, the externalisation of the marketing function was often an intentional decision. A recent study of the overseas operations of New Zealand companies revealed the limited importance assigned to marketing activities and the strong tendency to place this function in the hands of domestic or overseas agencies (Akoorie and Enderwick, 1991). If New Zealand companies wish to develop value added strategies then it is essential that they acquire the requisite skills and make the necessary organisational changes.

Second, the thrust of the book's recommendations are excessively supply oriented. While emphasising innovation as the basis of a value added strategy, the book pays insufficient attention to the translation of innovative capability into market success. As the recent literature reveals, technological success necessitates a close relationship between innovation, manufacturing and marketing. The report fails to recognise the importance of these complementary activities and New Zealand's weakness in marketing in particular.

The third difficulty with the book is a failure to identify a problem of aggregation in ignoring the fact that the strategy recommended for New Zealand is also one being pursued by a number of other developed and newly industrialising economies. These countries, which may enjoy larger markets, more experience in adding value, and greater pressures perhaps because of a lack of indigenous factors, are better placed to successfully implement such a strategy.

The fourth weakness, the appropriateness of the Porter model to New Zealand, is possibly the most significant one. The book adopts a framework (Porter, 1990) which is derived from a study of ten industrial nations. This framework is based on a Schumpeterian conception of a smoothly evolving economy and is ill-designed to explain the sort of economic dislocation that has been experienced in New Zealand since 1984 (Gray, 1991). Furthermore, the object of attention appears to be technology-intensive, differentiated products characterised by a high

degree of price insensitivity. The applicability of this to a commodity exporting nation like New Zealand is clearly limited.

Cartwright (1991) argues that resource-based industries do not enjoy resource mobility and when based in an economy as small as New Zealand are forced to operate in offshore markets from inception. They do not enjoy the option of gradual internationalisation. In a similar vein, there is a strange omission in the Porter model, the operations of multinational enterprises.

Dunning (1991) has developed the implications of this in terms of the model's likely explanatory power while Rugman (1991) argues the importance of such considerations for an economy like Canada. While foreign ownership may not be as significant (yet?) for New Zealand, the ahistorical nature of the book's treatment means that post-colonial dependencies and the pervasive role of government cannot be adequately modelled. Partly as a result of this, the book fails to ground its analysis firmly in the key features of the New Zealand economy - small firm size, late entry into world markets, over reliance on comparative advantage and a legacy of pervasive protectionism (Akoorie and Enderwick, 1991).

Fifth, while offering a strategic direction for change, upgrading and adding value, at no stage does the book offer any indication of how this can be achieved. The development of a value added strategy will necessitate major changes in at least four functional areas - production, marketing, innovation and workplace organisation.

Within the area of production, one of the effects of international competition, and particularly Japanese competition, has been to establish product quality as the primary basis for competition. This elevation of quality has significant implications for operations management. Production goals, traditionally based on output maximisation, give way to a concern with optimising quality, even at the expense of quantity. Functional tasks such as quality control which, traditionally, take place upon completion of the production cycle are replaced by in-process quality control with employees assuming responsibility for quality.

This indicates the second area of change, that of workplace organisation. Under a strategy of high quality production, distinctive patterns of workplace behaviour

are required. While the organisation of production encourages repetitive and predictable behaviour, this is sought for reasons of consistency. The management focus shifts from the short term to the intermediate and long term, the period over which the returns from quality improvement can be expected. With a quality orientation comes a focus on process rather than results, and employees assume a high degree of participation in job related decision-making. To encourage cooperative behaviour, evaluative criteria shift from a concern with the individual to a greater focus on team behaviour. Reward structures need to be similarly aligned. While there are limited returns to risk taking behaviour, employees must understand and accept organisational goals. This is facilitated by continuing training and development and a commitment to a high degree of employment security. Overall, the aim is to ensure reliable and predictable behaviour from a highly skilled and committed workforce.

When a strategy of value added involves cluster development or the creation of entirely new industries, innovation plays a central role. Once again, this is likely to necessitate significant changes in company organisation and management. A firm seeking to stimulate and commercialise creativity will encourage cooperative behaviour and a long-term orientation carefully balancing both results and processes. The firm will be characterised by a high degree of risk-seeking behaviour and the acceptance as normal of uncertainty, ambiguity and change. The successful innovative organisation will encourage group-based achievements, multi-skilling, equitable and flexible compensation schemes and broad career paths with the aim of fostering information-sharing and risk-taking. There is some question as to whether New Zealand is capable of, or willing to embrace, an innovation-based culture (Webster and Perry, 1991).

The fourth area of significant change is marketing. For a firm pursuing a strategy based on innovation and quality as opposed to simply cost, there are strong incentives to invest in product differentiation and effective marketing. The size of New Zealand companies and limited opportunities for achieving economies of scale within New Zealand mean that many companies will seek international 'niche markets' where they can enjoy a degree of competitive shelter.

These changes are both substantial and far reaching. They constitute part of a very fundamental paradigmatic shift. It is important to recognise that what is

being recommended to New Zealand companies, and a number are already responding (Enderwick, 1991), is a very fundamental and a very long term reorientation.

Sixth, some parts of the book reflect poor and superficial research. This is particularly true of the economic analysis. There is virtually no consideration of the role of macroeconomic policy and what there is is flawed (Bertram, 1991). As already indicated, the role assigned to industry associations was based on considerable ignorance of their ability to assume such a role. Assertions concerning our educational attainments (Chapter 5) are simply this, assertions, and are not supported by available evidence (Elley, 1991). Generalisations like the need to break up the monopoly position of producer boards fail to capture the considerable performance differences which exist between say, the dairy industry and the meat industry, which are the result of disparities in strategy and not simply the result of structure. There are glaring inconsistencies like the relationship between local market dominance and international success (p63) which have been partially resolved in other work for the Trade Development Board (1990) but which seem to have escaped the authors. Finally, there are a number of niggling criticisms: poorly labelled diagrams, no index and fifty pages of appended data the purpose of which is never fully developed.

Unresolved Issues

It is pertinent to ask where does this book take us, and perhaps more fundamentally, where does it leave us? It takes us through an issue of central importance. But ultimately, it is an unsatisfying journey, one which never reaches its proffered destination and one which offers a bland and superficial landscape on the way.

It leaves us with the need for more research and more appropriate research on a number of issues. We need a better understanding of what determines success for New Zealand companies. Why is it that so many of our internationally competitive firms are small? What stops this success being emulated within a broader range of New Zealand businesses? Answers to these sorts of questions could provide us with models of the competitive strategies of New Zealand firms and free us from the current danger of applying inappropriate models and policies.

Second, we need further research on the question of how New Zealand companies can best make the not insubstantial transition from cost-based competition to a strategy based on value added. The principal research questions have been outlined here.

Third, we need work on the role and functions of government in improving international competitiveness. The present government, while setting the general direction for the future, seems to favour very limited direct involvement. Given the history of government success, or rather the lack of it, in determining strategic economic direction (the build-up of manufacturing behind protectionist barriers, 'Think Big' etc), this may not be a bad thing. There is some concern, however, that government is not doing enough to provide a coherent set of policies for corporate change or in setting out some strategic vision for the economy. There is also the important issue of how a government, bound by a short-term political imperative, implements a long term policy of substantial economic reorientation.

Finally, if we are to salvage something from this book and the research which it embodies, it is important to maintain the interest and debate. In large measure, the problems identified by Crocombe et al are principally attitudinal ones. For success in the long term, we need to ensure that there is understanding of the issues, their causes and possible solutions. This book adequately addresses only the first of these.

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Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, **Mana Wahine Maori Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture and Politics.** Auckland: New Women's Press, 1991.

Reviewed by Christine Teariki
Ngati Kahungunu Ki Heretaunga

KA ORA TE WAHINE! PUAPUA
KA ORA TE WHANAU! PUAWAI
KA ORA TE HAPU! PUAWANANGA
KA ORA TE IWI! PUROTU

'The woman is well, so is the physical female element. The family is healthy allowing for the germination, the budding. The Hapu thrives as evidenced by the blossoming. The people flourish, true beauty!'

Whakatauaki (Proverb) by Canon Wi Te Tau Huata, Ngati Kahungunu.

Just as the above whakatauaki acknowledges the pivotal role Maori women have in the well-being of Maori people, so this book offers a clear, powerful statement about the same issues. This is done by means of the title, the writer's definition of the issues, the organisation of the selected writings, and the supporting bibliographical references and glossary. To mention the physical ordering of the book is to indicate the structure and the power of the arguments presented.

One particularly powerful statement is that the writer is a Maori woman. The paradox of this self-evident statement is that the singular, often painful journey described mirrors the realities of all Maori women despite defined individual differences. There different explorations of this central theme which are autobiographical, historical, traditional and pre-colonial, modern, and forward-looking.

A lesbian, the writer was born into 'a colonised tribal patriarchy in the thermal districts of Aotearoa'. Academic achievement supplied the opportunities and tools to research and analyse the past and the present as guides for the future. However, this is not to deny the innate 'knowing': '... ancestral art holds many

different meanings [which] ... inspire and confront; they relax and soothe; they provoke and energise; they empower and sustain... they represent hope, fortitude and resilience: the survival of the spirit'. Or, even more elementally, '...te whenua, the word for land and for afterbirth ...Underlying her relationship with the land was the traditional Maori woman's perception of the environment as a source of emotional, spiritual and physical sustenance, identification and strength'. Then: 'As ravaging of the land...was and is a masculine indulgence, so is the abuse of women and violence against them...a scene of abysmal ugliness and grief...everywhere machines and noise and men. Obscenity-carnage-rape...That is what is happening to our world: to Aotearoa. By male greed, for male power and male gratification'.

A feature of this book are Te Arawa experiences. Tourism, tipuna tales, the fabled terraces, the development of their women's dance, the guides, (and Makereti in particular), the 1974 Ohinemutu streets crisis and so on are all discussed. However, again the singular, in this case one Iwi, mirrors the developmental experiences of all Iwi, if not of events, then certainly of processes. For instance, with the Ohinemutu streets crisis, a $1,000 fine was handed out to a local businessman who fired a .22 rifle at point-blank range into the windscreen of a car with two women in the front seat. The day before the incident, legislation had been enacted supporting the local council and businessmen.

Another powerful section centres on the typically meticulous reporting of the 1983 first national Maori and Pacific Weavers' Hui held at Tokomaru Bay. The attention to detail enhances a recurring theme of the balance required between generic 'man' and the environment for the physical, emotional and spiritual well-being of humans. The weaver's metaphor of taking disparate threads to create something that is both functional and pleasing to the senses is not new, and one variation that came out of the hui was: 'Let us weave all our canoes together to form a common thread'. On a more personal level, many attending declared: '...We will become ill if we stop weaving'.

The writer is a skilful wordsmith who is unafraid of putting contrary views and, although there are universal truths expressed and this is an important written record, one of the strengths of this collection is the example it provides of substance and integrity. The adaptability and resilience of the Maori, and particularly the women, is an every day wonder. And what of the future?' 'For

the future, despite the depletion and abuse of natural resources, we must find hope in the wisdom of the past: the past as it is preserved by the present - such as the work of the weaver of fibres, the woman who cultivates, gathers, recycles ... the woman who knows and loves Papatuanuku and celebrates the bounty of the earth, the woman who teaches, and strengthens. And endures, endures'.

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Anne Opie (ed), **Caring Alone: Looking After the Confused Elderly at Home.** Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1991.

Reviewed by Robyn Munford
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Massey University

The title of this book is particularly apt and clearly summarises what caregiving often represents - caring alone with little or no support. As David Wilson explains:

> 'You know in some way there is a feeling of relief to be able to talk about it now, I should think. Well, there's nobody really one can talk to about, about the problems of caregiving looking after a person all day and every day...'. (p.54)

Caring Alone is a timely edition given the present economic and political climate and the current changes to the delivery of social services. The book 'documents the everyday experiences of seven family members caring for their confused spouses or parents at home'. These family members were participants in Anne Opie's Research with Elders and Carers at Home (R.E.A.C.H.)

Opie in this edited collection of interviews has been able to capture the richness of the daily lives of carers. The introduction to the accounts provides a context for the stories. It highlights some of the key issues associated with caring for confused spouses or parents. It provides a link between individual concerns and current state policies.

Opie's aim was to present the transcripts in such a way as to allow the individual characteristics and experiences of the carers to come through. She wanted to produce a volume that highlighted the realities of caregiver's worlds and, in so doing, emphasise the significance of the experiences. For this book, Opie wanted their words, rather than hers, to dominate. The accounts allow the reader to experience just how it is for these carers. In-depth analyses of the stories can come later, but for now, as Opie emphasises, one must explore this world through the eyes of those who care 24 hours a day, every day.

Opie's introduction does, however, begin this analysis for the readers. She points to some of the key questions one must address in this important area of social scientific investigation. The first relates to the ways in which 'caregiving has been taken for granted' and how caregivers have mainly been invisible. Given that such realities have historically been unrecorded and, hence, given 'little sociological or economic significance', it has been difficult for policymakers and, at times, practitioners to develop appropriate services and responses to the needs of this group of people.

In identifying the key aspects of caregiving, the transcripts and Opie, in her introduction, provide us with some meaningful data which can influence the ways in which we may respond to the dilemmas associated with providing good quality care. As Opie suggests:

> 'These very personal accounts represent a detailed exploration of caring work and its impact on caregivers. But they are more than just personal observations: they reflect, and at times comment directly on, New Zealand's changing social, political and economic climate. Their significance lies in the fact that more New Zealanders are likely to be involved in family care of confused dependent elderly relatives as our population ages and the Government emphasises the desirability of community care' (p.1).

The accounts explore the assumptions that are made with respect to the existence of informal networks in the community. The stories graphically illustrate the fragility of these networks. Given the nature of the illness, many friends and extended family members are unable to provide sustained and consistent support to the carer. The changes to New Zealand's welfare state have left carers uncertain as to the availability and quality of more formal services such as intermittent care.

It would be useful to see subsequent volumes take up these issues in more depth. This volume provides the evidence by allowing us to understand the 'actual' situations of carers. Subsequent work can use this book to further examine and analyse community care policies and the implications for similar groups. In this way, positive alternatives to current situations can be identified.

As Opie emphasises, the analysis must include exploration and understanding of the needs of confused people. It must also consider the needs of carers. In order to enhance the quality of services and provide support to carers, one must have an understanding of the positions carers occupy. Opie's analysis of the carers' accounts reveals four 'affective or emotional positions' adopted by carers. She labels these as 'commitment', 'obligation', 'dissociation' and 'repudiation'. 'Commitment' corresponds to a positive relationship and acceptance on the part of the carer; 'obligation' is characterised by the expectation to care; 'dissociation' represents a distance from the confused person'; and 'repudiation' describes a relationship where carers have little warmth towards the person they are caring for. These positions, according to Opie, are not gender-specific and caregivers may move through different positions over time.

Lois Newman talks about coping with changes in the relationship with the feelings toward the dependent person:

> 'Oh just do what you can...and, and try and remember that the person has changed although you don't *really* want to think so... Do what you can and just go along quietly and try not to raise your voice. I know that it is *very* hard because sometimes you feel like shouting at them but....oh well, but you won't always have them, so just...make the best of what you can do...' (p.30).

It is also interesting to note that the accounts highlight that 'caring for an increasingly dependent confused relative involves both genders in learning caring behaviours'. The transcripts chosen by Opie reflect a wide range of caregiving situations. Not only do the accounts cover a range of medical conditions such as those who have had strokes or those who have Alzheimer's type dementia, but they also incorporate a range of relationships - husbands and wives caring for confused partners and adult children caring for parents. These reflect a diversity of feelings, stresses and commitments on the part of the carers. Opie emphasises that factors other than gender and kinship can also be important in determining the nature of the caring relationship. Factors such as other caring responsibilities

(for example, caring for a number of dependents at any one time), the quality of the carer's relationship with the dependent person and the way carers view their role are important in determining how successful the caregiving relationship will be.

These psychological factors must also be situated in a socio-economic context for the caregiving relationship and its quality is also profoundly influenced by the ways in which caregiving is viewed in our society. If this role is devalued, and services such as intermittent care and adequate medical services are not forthcoming, caregiving will continue to be a stressful, lonely job for the carers:

As Edith Barrett points out:

> 'I've got this 28 day 'Aid to Families'. I used to have to struggle to get Mum's coinciding with Dad's intermittent care, so that I could get away for a little. But now it's getting more and more difficult to find a rest home that'll take Mum because she's beyond their stage of care.... You see, they haven't got the staff. They don't like having somebody for a short stay who needs a bit more attention, it seems to me...' (p.107).

I hope this book encourages readers to delve more deeply into the subject and read the findings from the R.E.A.C.H. project. This book is certainly relevant for carers, practitioners and policymakers alike. While some readers may wish to have a more extensive sociological analysis, I feel that the stories included in this volume are sufficient in themselves to illuminate the key issues associated with the caregiving experience. Their value is in the ways they raise questions about dependency and the ways in which caregiving is to be organised in our society. What I find refreshing is the emphasis on the need to recognise that this issue is one that will confront us all, not just some of us. Our analysis will be more relevant and meaningful if we take note of what the transcripts are telling us.

What would be useful as a companion to this volume is a resource list for carers including information on the illnesses and a list of current services. It is these very practical things that make the caregiving task a little easier.

The strength of this book is that it details the complexities of the caregiving task. It is not all doom and gloom - a helpless situation that has inevitable consequences. Rather, this book provides us with some options as to how

caregiving may be re-organised. For this reason, it will appeal to a wide audience and makes a valuable contribution to this important area of research and practice.

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Piet de Jong, **Saturday's Warriors.** Palmerston North: Sociology Department, Massey University, 1991.

Reviewed by Bob Gidlow
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Saturday's Warriors is a development of the author's Masters thesis at Massey University, and the Department of Sociology at Massey is to be congratulated on publishing a work which is probably too short (70 pp. including endnotes and bibliography) to interest a commercial publisher but which is well worth a public airing.

Saturday's Warriors constitutes a social history of rugby in the town of Eltham, in Taranaki, beginning in the 1880s and continuing up to 1991. In the author's words: 'Much of the evidence in this study and all of its colour has been leant by nine elderly rugby gents of Eltham rugby' (p.ii). As well as making extensive use of his tape-recorded interviews with these 'gents', the author makes use of club records, coaches notebooks and newspaper reports to provide a deeper understanding of the Eltham game. He also uses a variety of sources to provide a picture of the changing community in which the game takes place, so that the reader is provided with a valuable context within which to locate a changing sport. The points at which these interconnections receive their fullest expression are in the chapters on the game in the inter-war years. Not surprisingly, information on the earliest period is scanty, and none of the respondents were then of an age to provide anecdotal material based on any direct involvement in rugby.

Eltham began as a typical frontier settlement, carved out of the Taranaki bush, with farmers moving onto the land in the wake of the loggers. During its earliest period, men considerably outnumbered women, and '...photos...show that it might

easily have served as a rather muddy set for a Western film' (p.7). Quoting Jock Phillips, de Jong agrees that rugby at this time fitted the 'muscular virtues of the pioneer heritage'. It might take, for example, 4-6 hours to travel the 30 miles over very rough country required to play a 'nearby' Opunake team.

De Jong emphasises the informal and highly sociable nature of early rugby in provincial New Zealand. Following the Great War, the game was subject to an increasing institutionalisation of administration and a standardisation of rules. By contemporary standards, however, the game and its attendant activities - training, technique and travel - were quite unsophisticated. The great majority of the players were single men, and the sociable aspects of rugby were as important to them as the game itself. The rugby world, in this small Taranaki town, was a substitute family, offering a kind of intimacy and mutual support, but also demanding conformity of its members (p.30), on and off the field.

In the context of the 'volatile' economic and social environment of the 1920s and 1930s, offering boom to bust conditions for agricultural-dependent rural communities, '...the appeal of a vital game like rugby is obvious. For Eltham men, it was a safe and familiar world of rituals, an absorbing, hospitable club of like minded people... On the rugby field, and in the social interactions surrounding it, a man could still make a difference. He could exert control over a piece of the world, even if, in reality, the world was exerting control over him' (p.20).

In the second half of the 1930s, and following the election of a Labour Government, 'The combined effects of growing community sentiment, increased incomes, the creation of a weekend and the publicity and promotion of rugby were quite dramatic' (p.42). One result, following the creation of a donating and gate-paying public, was the growing seriousness of rugby and, accordingly, increasing pressure to win and to train (p.43). The game was '...moving away from its 'pleasurable' origins and getting closer to that sphere of necessity, work' (p.44).

The post-1945 period saw a continuation of pre-war trends, notably a growing commercialisation of the game and, more recently, sponsorship. At the player level, one major change from the pre-war situation was a gradual loosening of the moral shackles associated with the previous community controls over the game

and players. So long as their responsibilities on Saturday afternoon were met, what players now did with the rest of their time was largely their own business. This was the era when womanising and heavy drinking, activities which came to stereotype the game, were probably at their peak.

Although much of **Saturday's Warriors** is descriptive, it offers valuable theoretical insights, mostly from an implicitly functionalist position. An 'occupational analysis' of the inter-war game suggests that the division of roles between different strata in the community provided a 'mutual benefit of ...exchange' (p.25) whereby working men obtained financial assistance and upper class men gained acceptance and influence in the community that they might otherwise be denied. Rugby provided a means for people in a small community to co-exist amicably and it symbolised community solidarity in the face of unwelcome outside forces.

On a critical note, the introduction to **Saturday's Warriors** would benefit from a statement by de Jong as to the purpose of the book (a task left to the author of the foreword, Professor Graeme Fraser), and a rationale for dividing Eltham history into four periods, 1880-1915, 1919-1934, 1935-1939 and 1945-1991. For the most part, these divisions prove to be self-explanatory, given the watershed political events which preceded or followed them. A good case could surely be made, however, for dividing the post-1945 discussion into two parts, in the light of the events of 1981. In any event, 'Dramas of the Night', the title of the last chapter covering the period 1945-91, is hardly likely to symbolise the character of Eltham rugby and community life before 1981.

The post-1945 period receives only a brief coverage, and one which is largely devoid of local, as distinct from national, colour. (The exception to this is the coverage of the anti-tour demonstration in Eltham in July, 1981). I suspect that in writing the thesis on which **Saturday's Warriors** is based, de Jong was particularly interested in the early years, and chose his informants accordingly. The brief, but poignant, biographies suggest that seven of the nine informants had ceased their playing careers by 1947, with the bulk of them having been at their peak during the inter-war period. To provide as colourful and evocative a picture of the post-1945 era, de Jong would have needed a younger sample of ex-players.

It is a pity that this final period is dealt with so briefly, since, as de Jong is well

aware, it covers a time of increasing soul-searching in rugby in response to cataclysmic social events, stimulated by growing Maori and female consciousness and mounting opposition to rugby contact with South Africa.

The author mentions that '1981 was an initiation rite for a country' (p.61) and offers the opinion that 'Rugby survived the battle of 1981 but in the 10 years since, has badly lost out to a liberal alliance of women, Maori, intellectuals, environmentalists, foreign television and market forces' (p.62). Whereas in earlier chapters, however, de Jong's observations and conclusions were clearly grounded in the experiences of his informants and a knowledge of community events, in this chapter we do not see the same attention to detail, and the discussion loses its persuasiveness. Perhaps, without stating it directly, the author is recognising that with improvements in communication, and the spread of the mass media, sport increasingly responds to national developments. Local communities are no longer self-contained and cease to 'capture' or control the sports which take place within them, except in superficial ways.

I hope that de Jong, or another researcher, will soon provide an Eltham-eye view of developments in the post-1945 period, even if it is only to show that the modern world has made cosmopolitans of us all.

I also hope that someone will now be stimulated by **Saturday's Warriors** to write a social history of rugby in one of New Zealand's major cities, in order to provide comparative material. Was there the same functional relationship between rugby and the community, and between different social strata in the game, in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch or Dunedin as in Eltham? Was the game more rapidly institutionalised in the cities, and was it as easy, in the 1920s and 1930s, to exert a moral control over players, on and off the field, in these larger centres? How united were rural and urban rugby clubs in their pro-tour sentiments?

While it has a number of weaknesses, testifying perhaps to its origins as a thesis, **Saturday's Warriors** has much to offer a broad range of social scientists, particularly social historians and sociologists. Naturally it will appeal to leisure researchers, and hopefully, broader-minded rugby players and administrators will be challenged to look beyond the game itself to the structures and cultural processes in which their favourite sport is located.

As much as the book appeals because of its content matter, however, I believe it can perform a wider, pedagogic function. It provides post-graduate students with a fruitful example of how to produce a compelling thesis, interweaving sociology and history, and grounding the experience of individual respondents in their geographical, historical and structural context. Moreover, de Jong writes eloquently and with a wry sense of humour. Speaking, for example, of an interview with one respondent, de Jong says 'I felt like a soul burglar when, at the end, he said; 'Now you know everything there is to know about me'. I said yes and shoved his life in my bag and backed out the door' (p.4). Such writing, and the self-awareness evident in this quotation, are qualities which thesis students and we, their supervisors, would do well to emulate.

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1Paul Spoonley, David Pearson and Cluny Macpherson (eds), **Nga Take: Ethnic Relations and Racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand.** Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1991.

Reviewed by Jeffrey Sissons,
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University of Otago

This book is a timely up-dating and rethinking of *Tauiwi:Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand.* In a number of respects, it is also an improvement on the earlier work; the chapters are better integrated, their arguments are more clearly focused, and there is a greater recognition that contemporary ethnicity has become a political issue in the context of a nation-state seeking to retain legitimacy. While *Tauiwi* included a chapter on New Zealand Chinese, the scope of this work has been narrowed to include only Maori, Pakeha and Tagata Pasifica. Given that these are the largest ethnic groups/categories in New Zealand, this more restricted focus is understandable. However, there remains a real need to include Chinese, Indian and other smaller ethnic groups within our explanatory frameworks if these are to be properly tested.

The book is divided into three parts; Part 1 deals with migration (of Pacific Island Polynesians) and ethnicity; Part 2 contains chapters by Jane Kelsey and Andrew Sharp on the Treaty of Waitangi, its public, official and legal

significance, and the juridification of ethnic politics in New Zealand. Hauraki Greenland's valuable account of Maori ethnicity as ideology (previously published in *Tauiwi)* is also included here; Part 3, 'Debates and Issues', includes chapters by Paul Spoonley (on Pakeha ethnicity), Augie Fleras (on devolution) and David Pearson (comparing state ethnic policies in New Zealand and Australia).

While all of the contributions are well-informed and well-written, three of the chapters - those of Larner, Pearson and Spoonley - are outstanding in that they establish new research agendas. Wendy Larner's chapter on Samoan women is exemplary in its attempt to integrate considerations of class, gender and ethnicity into an analysis of the changing positions of Samoan women migrants in New Zealand. Larner highlights key contradictions between the roles of migrant women in production and reproduction and explores inter-generational changes in the way these contradictions are lived and resisted. Her research has opened up an important new line of inquiry, one that might be usefully pursued in relation to Maori ethnicity. Spoonley's piece on Pakeha ethnicity is a largely descriptive review of the contested use of the term 'Pakeha' as a means of self-identification in the 1980s. It is particularly valuable because it highlights the need for more research on 'pakeha'-label users. Who are these people? Do they, as Spoonley suggests, belong to an emergent political tradition that has accompanied the Maori ethnic resurgence? Does this tradition have the same 'new middle-class' roots as other new social movements? Pearson's chapter is important because it reminds us that biculturalism is a local variant of ethnic policies pursued in a number of other nation-states. He compares the development of culturalist policies in the context of two trajectories of nation-building; multiculturalism in Australia and biculturalism in New Zealand. He highlights differences in the way ethnicity is mobilised from 'above' and the different types of ethnic demand that were produced; distributive justice in Australia and reparative aboriginal rights in New Zealand.

Included with Larner's chapter in Part 1 are contributions from Patrick Ongley, Terry Loomis and Cluny Macpherson. Ongley ably demonstrates the continuing value of the political economy of labour migration perspective for an understanding of Pacific Island migration to New Zealand. By treating Pacific Island Polynesians as a fraction of the working class, analysts are able to better explore continuities between them and other workers rather than remain at the

level of minority-majority relations. This chapter contains a very useful summary of the features which distinguish the political economy of labour migration approach from others. The weakness of the approach, and hence of the chapter, is that it doesn't adequately deal with the relatively autonomous role of the state in balancing concerns of legitimation, commodification and social control. Loomis seeks to remedy this weakness in his materialist analysis of Cook Islands ethnicity in New Zealand. He argues that differences in the way the state responds to Maori and Pacific Island demands has had a significant impact on the way ethnic mobilisation has been pursued in each case. This is a good point. However, because Loomis argument is based on an overly reductionist understanding of the state drawn from the works of Miliband and Poulantzas, he doesn't develop its political implications as fully as he might have. Macpherson's essay contrasts sharply with the others in this section in that he opts for an extreme voluntarist position. Commenting on the changing contours of Samoan ethnicity, he rightly points out that there is marked individual variation in levels of commitment to Samoan language, beliefs and practices and that levels of interest in these three aspects of Samoan culture may vary independently of each other. However, rather than seek a structural explanation for these variations, Macpherson remains at the level of the individual differences. The result is a disappointing description rather than a penetrating analysis.

The chapters by Kelsey and Sharp in Part 2 develop and refine the positions established in their recent books. Kelsey continues her documentation of political back-tracking, and the containment of Maori political initiatives through diversionary tactics and the Waitangi Tribunal. She argues that Gramsci's notion of 'passive revolution' (buying loyalty with limited concessions that don't confer real power) aptly describes the actions of the New Zealand state in its dealings with Maori during the 1980s. Optimistically, she suggests that such tactics will not be adequate to contain Maori challenges during the 1990s. However, if Pearson is right, the nation-state may prove more elastic than Kelsey has assumed. Sharp's argument is a curious, and ultimately, I think, an irrational one. After highlighting the ubiquity of the Treaty of Waitangi in official, legal and public discourse about justice, he argues that it could never have served the role of an ultimate authority, indeed it only served to muddy the waters when clear-headed thinking was required. This is a strong and reasonable position to argue. What, then, is the reader to make of Sharp's suggestion that 'we' (and I

presume he includes himself) 'go on both appealing to the Treaty and denying its worth' (p.145)? The chapter by Fleras on devolution in iwi-government relations might well have been included with those of Kelsey and Sharp. It is a useful record of bureaucratic transformations in the second half of the 1980s, developments that Kelsey might regard as furthering the passive revolution by deflecting more radical Maori demands.

This book will undoubtedly be used as a key teaching text for courses on ethnicity. The relatively short, clearly written chapters make it ideal for undergraduate classes. New essay topics leap from the pages. 'Compare Kelsey and Sharp on the significance of the Treaty'; Compare Larner and Macpherson on Samoan ethnicity; Why is Spoonley a 'Pakeha' - label user?

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Bryder, Linda (ed), **A Healthy Country: Essays on The Social History of Medicine in New Zealand**. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991.

Reviewed by Kevin White,
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This book is composed of ten chapters on the 'social history of health' in New Zealand. They are organised thematically around the medical and paramedical professions; institutions; state health policies; and gender. In terms of content, this provides the following: the rise of the medical profession is examined by Belgrave and the social relations of dentistry by Davis; the hospital system is examined by Dow, psychiatric institutions by Ernst and the school medical service by Tennant; mortality and sanitation in Christchurch by Rice, and public health responses to tuberculosis by Bryder; women's health between 1885-1945 is covered by Brookes, medicalisation and childbirth by Parkes, and family planning clinics by Hercock.

What all of the chapters have in common is the depth of primary research in their relevant fields. Extensive use has been made of parliamentary debates, royal commissions, official histories, gazettes, professional in-house publications and so on. Those who have done this sort of historical sociology know the mind numbing impact of parliamentary debates, the local histories of hospitals, and commemorative histories of town councils. Each of the authors has done all of us interested in the historical sociology of New Zealand health a wonderful service in identifying data bases and in pulling together all the publications in their area. Bryder, in footnote two of her introduction, also provides an exhaustive list of M.A. and Doctoral theses in the area.

For a sociologist, some of the chapters are more satisfying than others. Peter Davis' chapter on dentistry presents a nice analysis of professional development, showing how knowledge claims, legal jurisdiction and market opportunities all interact. In this, he combines a sociology of dental knowledge with a political sociology of occupations. Ernst locates her study of Pakeha psychiatry against the background of imperial expansion and colonial ideology, thus lifting her case-study out of the narrow realms of a social history bounded by the nation state. Tennant in her chapter on the school medical service examines the way in which medicine interacted with the state as an institution of surveillance. She documents the medicalisation of morality in an interesting way. These three chapters in particular develop sophisticated theoretical concerns in the social history of medicine. They problematise the often taken-for-granted scientific base of medicine, link its development to the state, and locate it in the wider context of international developments. Bridget Williams Books, and Linda Bryder are to be commended for their work in developing this largely neglected part of New Zealands social history.