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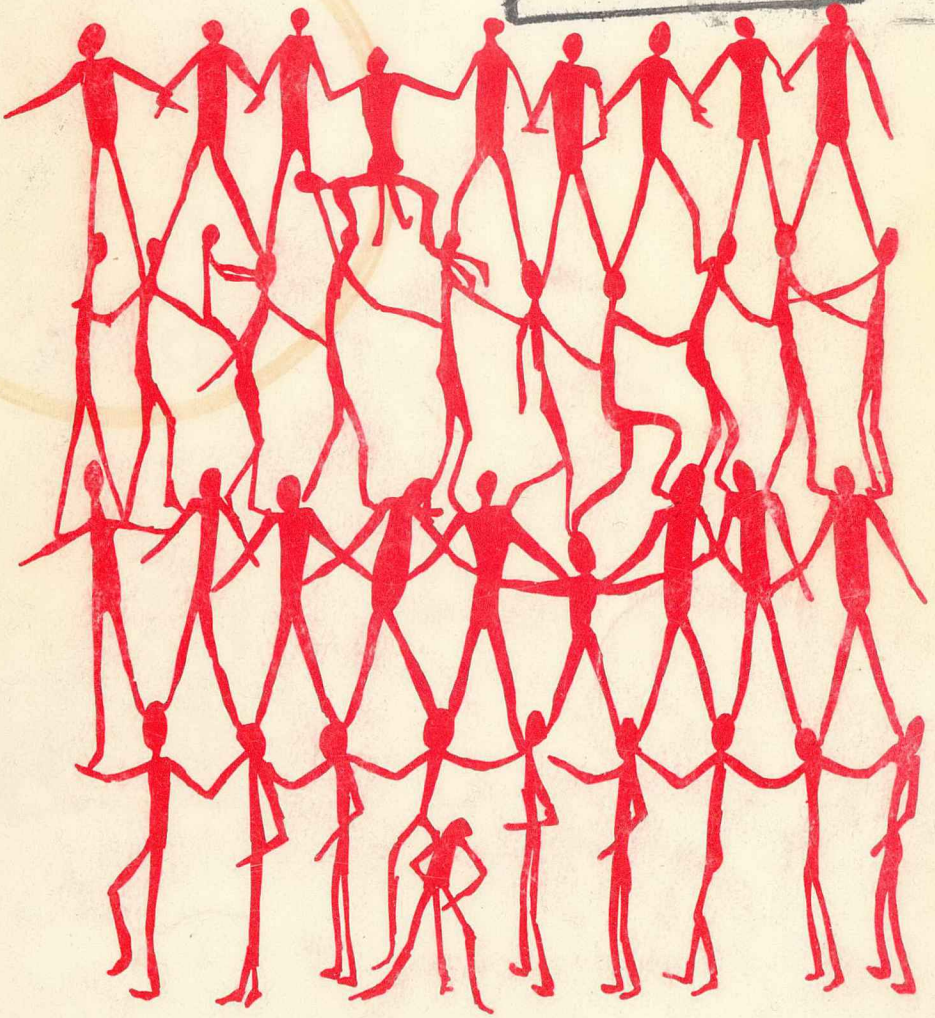

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Research Monograph Series

New Zealand Sociology is about to launch a research monograph series. There is a great deal of social science research carried out in New Zealand each year which is not widely known as the market for such findings is not 'commercial' with the small population base that exists in New Zealand. The purpose of the monograph series is to make important research-based studies on aspects of New Zealand society and culture more readily available to the social science community, and to the wider public.

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Representations of Caregiving: the Writing-up Process[1]

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This article is about the production of two texts. Both describe some of the work of the REACH project (Research with Elders and Carers at Home). One text, *Caring Alone* (Opie, 1991), is an edition of seven of the twenty-eight transcripts from the study. Apart from a short introduction which outlines my interpretive framework and reasons for writing the book, the voices of the caregivers dominate. The second, *There's Nobody There* (Opie, 1992a), is a feminist post-modern analysis of caregiving with a strong social policy emphasis where the caregivers' voices are interwoven through an analytic and theoretical text. Two different but complementary texts, raising many common issues affecting their writing. But before I go on to describe some of the issues generated in writing these texts, I want to place my comments in a wider context.

I have called the article 'Representations of Caregiving' in order to focus attention on my own representations of caring. I wished to foreground some of the different experiences and issues affecting the production of representations which are embedded in the writing-up process. While I shall not be able to address all of the issues touched on, raising them accentuates the point running through this paper - that the creation of a text is not a neutral action. It consistently involves choices about audience, language, density of analysis, the positioning of theory in the text, and epistemological issues - what is included and excluded? What is foregrounded, what is marginalised? Whose voices dominate? What constitutes a valid generalisation? These

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[1] This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Qualitative Health Research Seminar at Stella Maris, Wellington, August, 1992.

questions concentrate attention not just on writing as a descriptive and analytic process but also on the accompanying embedded processes of suppression and expansion.

These processes (suppression and expansion) are critical to writing. All texts develop from a multiplicity of texts (intertexts) which themselves offer competing representations of the social. What is given dominance in a text in part results from how the writer's theoretical and ideological stance directs the attention to particular elements within texts and, correspondingly, away from others.[2] In a report of a qualitative research study, the fieldwork data and experiences are central to textual construction; and indeed two of the

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2 As one of the reviewers of this article correctly pointed out, the word 'ideology' has complex associations. In using it here, I am not referring to what Kavanagh (1987:306) has noted as its (problematic) 'pragmatic' usage but to its interpellative function - the way in which ideology works as a 'system of representations, perceptions and images that precisely encourages men and women to "see" their specific place in a historically peculiar social formation as inevitable, natural, a necessary function of the "real" itself' (Kavanagh, 1987:310). In discussing the impossibility of being located beyond ideology, Kavanagh emphasises the function of ideology as 'producing an *obvious* "reality" that social subjects can assume and accept, precisely as if it had not been socially produced and did not need to be "known" at all' (p.3.11) while simultaneously obscuring 'the specificity, and peculiarity of one's social and political processes' (p.312). See also Althusser (1971) and Threadgold (1986).

Such a definition is of further value because it underscores the significance of the 'social', a critical concept in post-modern thought and qualitative analysis. The emphasis is not on the individual as somehow above or beyond the social, but rather as deeply implicated in its processes and power relations (Diamond and Quimby, 1988). At the risk of moving too quickly across a complex theoretical area, the value of the individual example lies not in whether it can be described as 'typical' but in the way it highlights the operations of the social, including the operations of the 'structures of exclusion' (Gordon, 1990:498).

primary responsibilities of the researcher are both to attend to, and be closely informed by, the fine detail of individual texts, yet not become engulfed by their particularities and unable to determine or conceptualise the diversity within the data as well as its recurring patterns. Conceptualisation (which properly is more than the development of familiar categories Geertz; 1988) develops out of the comparative reviewing and summation of a range of evidence. The pull, then, is away from reporting the intricacies of each piece of data generated by fieldwork, with the inevitable suppression of its peculiar particularities. Yet at the same time, this suppressive process is differently expansive.

The expansive part of the process lies in the way that the writer's conceptualisation of evidence moves the text beyond its initial starting point - a process Barthes (1986:61) has described as 'ludic'. The word refers here to the reader's creative interchange with the text. The text is not a passive document to be simply digested. Rather its function is to encourage the development of associations and ideas, which the reader-become-writer takes up to move beyond its boundaries, to *'make it go'* (Barthes, 1986:62). There is then a complex interaction between reader/writer, text and intertext; the creation of an interdependent space where the writer is both writer of her text and is written by text and intertexts.

The production of representations raises further issues. From what discursive positionings are representations constructed (Clifford, 1983; 1986; Gordon, 1990; Said, 1978)? How accessible is the evidence which has informed the representation? How is the permeability of the boundaries between fact and fiction addressed? What are the implications of the texts we write; and again, who is their audience? How does this conception to audience affect the nature of the text in terms of its complexity, its orientation or its function? Asking these questions focuses sharply on the political within writing and therefore the political within representational activity. Writing is not just about reporting a social reality but constructing it, a fact which deeply implicates writing and writers in power relations, and in rhetoric. Equally, power relations affect the nature of representations chosen by

the writer, while the representations derive from the writer's social, gendered and cultural positioning.[3]

Caring Alone and *There's Nobody There* describe the same research. In many respects, they share a primary purpose - making an activity which is typically suppressed visible and, as part of that increase in visibility, contributing to a fuller understanding of the psychological, gendered, social and financial impact of caring on caregivers of confused relatives. Both texts, albeit differently, are intended to be supportive, indeed empowering of caregivers. This statement is particularly true of *Caring Alone* which I intended to help caregivers to feel that their experiences were not unique, that their reactions to the demands of caring were not deviant nor the result of a personal failure to rise about the enormity of the stress such caring work creates.

This choice of purpose, my focus on visibility and then on understanding how caregivers are discursively positioned within the social, is closely associated with what Said (1978) has referred to as the writer's strategic location, ie. the author's position in relation to the material about which s/he writes; a location which has a profound influence on structuring the writing. In my case, I came into this research with basically no experience of dementias nor any personal knowledge of their effect on family members caring for demented relatives at home. (As a consequence of my experience, I fully support Marshall's (1989) suggestion that health policy makers ought to spend at least eight hours with someone who is demented). I want to underline that word 'personal' because I was certainly not ill-prepared in relation to the available literature. I had read a considerable amount. I appreciated that caring for a confused relative

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[3] Pfohl and Gordon (1986) provide a fascinating discussion of some of the issues raised here. Their work draws attention to the complicity of criminology in the construction of its own subject, and thus to the problematic nature of criminological (and sociological) 'facts'.

was stressful. But this literature had not made any emotional impact on me - in this area, the texts I had read were, to borrow Smith's word (1990:120), 'inert'. They were sanitised, there was a certain element of erasure of the personal and of the distressing (although paradoxically, the literature frequently referred to the distressing and stressful nature of such caregiving).

In contrast to reading the literature, interviewing the caregivers was a profoundly shocking experience. Despite the fact that I am a trained and experienced social worker, ostensibly with the ability to shield myself to some extent from others' distress, these self-protective strategies were not effective. I found much of what I heard extremely distressing; yet intermingled with my distress was my high respect for the strength and integrity of many of those with whom I spoke. My predominant and abiding impression, however, was that the complexity and demands of the caregiving role in conjunction with the problems generated by community care policies contributed to caregivers' (women's and men's) marginalisation and disempowerment within the wider community.

My experiences during the fieldwork had a profound influence on what and how I wrote, on my own political/rhetorical construction of caregiving. However, it is important to stress the partial nature of my account. Clifford (1986:7) refers to 'first-time knowledge', an expression of the Suriname people which reflects the way that a 'person's knowledge grows only in small bits'. Under such conditions, no account can be complete. There will always be gaps, spaces. I did not, for instance, interview the relatives of the primary caregivers. Ideally, this would have allowed the development of a more triangulated account[4] through the exploration with other family members of the issues arising from supporting their caregiving relatives. But even if I had followed this line, this more triangulated account would have still not have been definitive. Conducting those

[4] See Patton (1990) for a discussion of this term.

interviews would have resulted in my awareness of other fruitful avenues of enquiry.

These are practical considerations. What I think is also embedded in the Suriname proverb is awareness that the production of knowledge requires time - time to make connections and to reconceptualise dimensions of the field of enquiry; and that the act of reconceptualisation is merely the stepping stone to further conceptualisations and theorizing which, while addressing some spaces, opens new ones.

My (partial) account then, evolved from an interaction between some texts, some experiences and (post-modern/feminist) theory. In developing this account, the research participants' texts were far from inert. They played an active role in determining the nature of the texts. Responding to the range of emotional and gendered positionings, to their bleakness, and moments of humour, often overlaid with multiple implications - that moment where the caregiver who for ten years had trailed across town on two buses each way to cook and clean for her dead sister's husband realised that she could do so no longer.

> I looked after her husband for 10 years doing his housework and ...making meals and leaving others in the fridge in the nights I wasn't there, for 10 years. And when the 10 years was up and I though, "I don't think I can do this much longer"... and within a few months he upped and married again so I thought, "Well, that was the easy way out (*laughing*). I *didn't* have to be the wife there"!

- these texts then determined in part what should be written. In both books, I wanted to capture the richness and varied texture of the research data, to comment, directly and indirectly, on the disjunction between the positive rhetoric of community care policies and their practical outcome as part of my belief that social policy should reflect the realities of those affected by such policies (Bernardes, 1987; Finch, 1986). (It is perhaps pertinent to note that had I been positioned then, as I am now, in relation to the activity of informal caregiving I

would have wanted to give more weight to the practical difficulties for formal caregivers (ie. community services staff) in providing services).[5]

Despite the books' central common purpose (making visible what is suppressed), my perception of the audience for each book affected what and how I wrote. Believing that the 'Introduction' to *Caring Alone*, had to be accessible to caregivers whom I saw as a primary audience,[6] I wrote it with a specific older family member, who has not had a great deal of formal education, in mind. What would she respond to? How could I most usefully raise issues of gender in a way which would make sense to her? These questions affected the language I used. I found myself removing words that could be regarded as technical, replacing them with what felt like clumsy substitutions which at times did not properly represent what I wanted to say. Nor did I seek to present a detailed analysis of the politics of caregiving, partly because that was not the purpose of the book and partly because the length of the Introduction was constrained by the word limit agreed on with the publisher.

On the other hand, *There's Nobody There* is intended for a more feminist, academic and social policy audience, resulting in a text which is, at times, quite dense in its conceptualisation of the gendered experiences of the caregivers and which explores implications for practice and policy. It also observes certain sociological conventions such as the conventional methodological account. But writing from

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5 My current research is into social work services to caregivers and their confused relatives, research which foregrounds some inherent difficulties in service provision from the perspective of formal care providers.

6 This decision was not without its tensions. On the one hand, I wanted to make the caregivers' accounts of their experiences available as they had been spoken; on the other, I also wanted to control the reading - to say, 'This is the context; this is what you must take note of; its significance lies here'.

a post-modern perspective requires that the methodological account should go beyond what is customarily included in such a chapter. Consequently, the chapter includes a detailed analysis of the textual issues inherent in the interview data and their effect on my interpretive strategies - part of my response to questions I raised early in the paper: What is the evidence? How are representations constructed? My attempts to answer these questions are also reflected in the inclusion of quotations from the transcripts throughout my text and in presentations of my analysis of some of these.

A critical feature of both books, then, is the way I have used the interview texts. In addition to the functions I have just described, their use also has rhetorical and structural significance. *Caring Alone* is constituted by the caregivers' accounts whose voices are not subordinated to others in order to highlight their specialist knowledge and expertise. Equally, as I have said, the theoretical discussion in *Nobody* is closely informed by the interview data. In terms of structuring, many texts, sociological and otherwise, place quotations from the relevant canon at the beginnings of chapters. Similarly, each chapter in *Nobody* begins with a quotation from a caregiver's transcript. While each quote is illustrative of some issues addressed in that particular chapter, its strategic purpose is to underscore the nature of caregiving and to give due weight to the extensiveness and importance of the informal carers' everyday knowledge, so creating a (typically not acknowledged) parallel between their knowledge and expertise and that of health professionals. Moreover, they work to disrupt what, in a slightly different context, Spivak has called the 'strategically repressed marks of the so-called private' (quoted in Gordon, 1990:491), to elevate the typically excluded 'private' dimensions of everyday life. Strategically, then, beginning each chapter with a quotation is to ascribe authority to informal caregivers and, by reiterating their centrality in the provision of care, to emphasise the social and economic significance and implications of their activities. The quotes become one way of orienting the reader to my interpretative stance. They also serve another function - they highlight my dependence for the development of my expertise on the

caregivers, a dependence of researcher on informant which is often suppressed in the sociological literature.

However, the use of quotations or the reproduction of interview transcripts is also potentially problematic. Rhetorically, such texts or extracts have considerable power in conveying the sense of how it really is and hence the construction of *factual* knowledge (Geertz, 1988), so contributing to the text's persuasive dimension and capacity to draw people in (Atkinson, 1990). While wanting to avail myself of the unquestionable power the quotations and transcripts provided because of their vividness and immediacy, I saw their value not as offering *the* definitive statement about caregiving, implying that there was nothing more to be said, but as making available the range of 'an interplay of voices, of positioned utterances' (Clifford, 1986:12), which focused the analysis not so much on typicality, but more on difference. For instance, my analysis in Chapter Four in *Nobody*, of the contrasting textual features of two caregivers' accounts of their early morning responsibilities heightened my awareness of carers' location within the field of caring affected their orientation to the task and their means of coping with the stress inherent in the caring situation.

Writing *Caring Alone* raised two further but associated issues. One relates to the status of the book as a representation of the research and how different possible outcomes may be evaluated. One of the means by which research output is evaluated is in terms of its input back to the research community - in this instance, that phrase has dual connotations. Its conventional reference is to the professional research community but it also refers to the community that was researched. One of the valuable aspects of this qualitative research project was that the fieldwork was therapeutic and empowering for most of the participants themselves; and further that the research 'subjects' (those who took part in the research and caregivers in general) become readers of the book, benefiting directly from the research through their encounter with a representation of the caregiving experience which foregrounded a diversity of responses to the task. I would argue that a research outcome which offers those already within the situation of

caregiving a means gaining knowledge through credible representations, allowing them to recognise the significant features of their won specific experiences, is as valuable in terms of its production of knowledge as the more systematic analytical text which produces knowledge in a form recognisable in a specific academic discipline.

Embedded in this question of status is one of definition: what type of book is it? Defining it as a collection of case studies overlooks the inherent problems in such studies, the synecdochal implication that the particular case instantiates the total pattern (Green, 1983). I can further describe my sense of the case study as problematic by referencing a semiotic interpretation of a tourist bus trip through the Australian Blue Mountains - a trip purportedly tracing the paths of the early European 'explorers' (Payne, 1986). To borrow Payne's terminology: there is danger of constructing the 'architectural viewpoint', where the tourist, arriving at the pre-selected site, takes in the 'already constructed image of what is to be seen' (Payne, 1986: p.16), and where the despair, uncertainty, struggle and joy experienced by the 'explorers' are eliminated in the armchair view of the world gained from the tourist viewing platforms or from the air-conditioned comfort of the bus. From this perspective, there is an overview from which much that could also be seen is lost.

It would have been easy to have replicated the frequently rehearsed 'truths' about the burdensome and oppressive nature of caregiving. Generalisations such as these are not, in broad terms, without some validity. But as researcher-cum-editor, part of my responsibility was to encourage the tourist/reader to expand the familiar through opening up conventional readings of gender and, by allowing the words of the research participants to foreground the inherent contradictions in their role, to address the complex intermingling of desire and reluctance to care. The data from the interviews *and* my reading of that data from a theoretical perspective that addressed exclusion and marginality, allowed me to open up some of the discourses of caring; to describe a significantly more fissured field of caring than is generally acknowledged; and to attend to the ways in which participants were

both circumscribed by gender *and*, in a number of instances, challenged conventional behaviour. Moreover, given the current political climate and the emphasis in the health restructuring on community care policies, both books question government assumptions about the absolute value of community care policies; and by implication, raise questions about the intensification of discourses of caring in such a way that women are likely to be even more forcibly positioned as caregivers.

The second issue which my decision to write *Caring Alone* highlighted is epistemological. A major strength of qualitative research is its phenomenological grounding, its focus on individual experience and on the construction of individual realities. It makes available a breadth of experiences and sensibilities that cannot be achieved through quantitative research. This phenomenological grounding is both a source of great strength and great weakness. One of the dangers of working with incredibly interesting, detailed textual data is the ease with which one can be caught up in the vividness and intensity of individual transcripts. This conflicts with the obligation to conceptualise across accounts rather than to remain embedded in a particular one. The tension is always there: vividness of individual experience/immediacy/reality against conceptualisation/redefinitions of reality/reconceptualisation of the field. One of the tasks I have tried to address in all my work is how to keep both dimensions - to keep the vividness, particularity, and richness of the individual account, and to develop the theoretical representation. This has required a conceptualisation of the individual as structured within discourse. Writing both books allowed me to respond to both imperatives. Moreover, my choice of transcripts for inclusion in *Caring Alone* was not a neutral act. Selecting them after I had written *Nobody*, I chose transcripts that were representative of the gender and kin relationships of those taking part in the study and which reflected the way in which I had come to understand different positions within the field of caring.

Editing *Caring Alone*

In this section, I have addressed the editing issues specifically associated with *Caring Alone* because they concentrate attention on some key issues. My choice of the seven transcripts for *Caring Alone* was not related only to their informational or content value. As Smith (1990) has remarked, texts have to be regarded as phenomena in their own right. My analysis of all the transcripts generated by the fieldwork with the 28 caregivers (which then provided the wider context for the choice of the seven) demonstrated the different ways in which carers where inserted and inserted themselves into caring relationships, highlighted the significance of the affective and social dimensions of their experience and opened up dimensions of the caregiving literature to further scrutiny. Thus I chose the transcript of a wife and a husband positioned within 'commitment', a son whose caring position was more dissociative, a husband who had repudiated caring but was now moving towards obligation, and a daughter, positioned within repudiation (for a fuller discussion of gendered positioning see Opie, 1991; 1990a; 1992a, espec. Chapter 4).

There were also other, more personal reasons affecting my choice. There were some which were in different ways extremely moving. In the section below, John Fuller describes waiting for his wife to finish her breakfast. The text captures his (past) outrage at what was happening to him the complexity of the caring situation and the personal and interpersonal consequences of a dementia.

> 'Here's your breakfast'. 'Yes'. 'Well, pick up your knife and fork...there. Now go ahead... Wait. I'll cut it up for you. There's a fork. Put it in your mouth. No put it in your mouth dear. There you are. Go ahead. That's right. Now put it in your mouth. No, in your mouth, dear. Eat up. It's breakfast'. *[increasing anger in voice]* I can't bear watching her fiddling around with her food. I said, 'It's annoying me too much. I can't take it any more I can't put up with this... You need fulltime... hospital sort of thing'. *[anger disappears from voice, leaving sadness]* And I, that's not kind! That's not kind from a loving husband so I go and sit down there and leave her (...) *[voice becomes very sad]*. There's no - it's all gone. (Opie, 1991, 68-69).

Editing principles

The caregivers' texts were too long to be published as they stood. In deciding how to edit them, I was concerned not just with content but very much also with textuality. While there were some obvious passages that could not stay (because of issues of confidentiality), I wanted to ensure that I did not interrupt the flow of the account and lose the range of tones and emotional positionings accessed by each caregiver. In other words, my representation of caregiving concentrated on the complexity of the response to the task, changes, contradiction and emotionality. As part of this last dimension, I retained many of those points where the caregiver suddenly slipped from a position of coping into one of not coping because of the way they powerfully illustrated the emotional knife edge on which caring is performed.

My desire to represent the full demands of caregiving as part of informing social policy made the articulation of the typically suppressed labour of caring important. This desire also meant that I included passages which did not smooth over the nature and repugnance of some tasks associated with caregiving. Having to confront my embarrassment at these passages suggested the importance of not sanitising the text despite the distastefulness of the subject. My most overtly political piece of editing was taking a line from the middle of the transcript and repositioning it as the last line in the book: 'If all the public services are falling apart, and it's going to be user pays all the time, how long can I afford to live?' (Opie, 1991: 121) - a line which I continue to find quite chilling in its bleakness and hopelessness.

I cut out or pruned some of the questions I asked. I had intended to include these in toto in order to give a sense of the dialogic flow (with my own various moments of incoherence) but faced with a word limit and a superabundance of material, I decided to remove myself much more from the text.

Ethical considerations were very much in the forefront of my mind. I don't want to repeat what I have said in the book itself about how I worked with the caregivers on their texts, but to address those earlier moments (and those subsequent to the book's publication) when I pondered on the questions of appropriation, of vulnerability, and on the nature of informed consent. Trying to think through these issues and to define my ethical responsibilities made it very difficult to ask people for their permission to use their transcripts. I decided that not to discuss the possible use of their transcripts was to assume they would refuse. (In fact, their incredibly prompt and positive responses to my proposal helped me to feel that doing this was important for them). The most difficult ethical decision lay in asking the man I have called John Fuller about the use of his transcript. His transcript refers often to his abuse of his wife as well as his very gradual transition to a more accepting and loving relationship - the fact of his addressing both these dimensions so directly made it all the more important to include. I believed that participation in the research was in fact cathartic for him. I worried he would not appreciate possible implications, especially since I could not guarantee his anonymity. Obviously, he did agree for his interviews to be used (I might say with alacrity). I spent some time discussing with him why he should not.

My doubts about the ethics of the request re-emerged after the book was published. For some time, he identified himself to a range of people as 'that man who hit his wife'. In the end, I rang him and talked with him about whether doing this was helping him. I find it hard to separate out my sense of discomfort and guilt (I put him in this situation) from a feeling (easy to characterise as self-justification) that his actions were psychologically necessary for him. All I can say is that over this time, he became much more accepting of himself, and subsequently he has been able to integrate and come to terms with dimensions of his life which he had been unable to accept before. His behaviour has changed quite radically - he seems much more at peace with himself. There is no easy ethical lesson to be drawn from this.

Preserving orality

My presentation of the transcripts (*Caring Alone)* and incorporation of quotations (*Nobody*) contributed to my representation of caring. I have consistently argued for the importance of retaining the oral structure of an account (Opie, 1988; 1992). *Caring Alone* is not a conventional oral history. While I have not gone as far as Tedlock (1983) in presenting a written transcript where the full range of the qualitative dimensions of the voice can be 'heard' through the visible appearance of the transcript; an effect achieved through marking what he has called 'the phenomena of contouring, timing and amplitude' (Tedlock, 1983:9), I have indicated tonal and emotional changes in the speaker's voice, as well as what Tedlock (1983:5) has called the 'internal timing' through preservation of the pauses and moments of hiatus. These add immeasurably to texture and to textual analysis. There was also another reason for retaining each account's oral structure. A text which can be easily scanned can lose much of its emotional impact. The impact of the spoken voice was important in imparting the emotionality inherent in the material. I wanted readers to have to come to grips with the textual density of these transcripts, if necessary by reading passages aloud to themselves. For example, the pauses in each transcript are not just about thinking what to say next; they represent part of the struggle to go on, the uncertainty, the loss of hope; they are also those moments where the caregivers *did* find the strength to go on.

Retaining the repetition of phrases in quoted passages or in the fuller transcript (as distinct from retaining some repetition of content) was also a vital contributory dimension to my representation of caregiving. For example, one woman said:

> Well, I just stopped doing {knitting}. Um, I like knitting, I love knitting. I haven't knitted I suppose {for} three year. I haven't really done any knitting. I used to sit here and knit all his jerseys, my jerseys. I haven't been able to do that. I like to garden, but I haven't had a show of doing any gardening. (...) I couldn't even watch a tele programme that I liked because he probably wouldn't like that. I have got a little tele in my room.

> But I couldn't go in there and watch because I'm up, down, up down. But even just watching a tele programme had become very difficult. He's want to go to the toilet. You'd just sit down to watch something and he'd decide to go to the toilet (Opie, 1990).

The rhetorical effects of such repetition, heightened by her short sentence structure, are substantial. In the context of comments like these, defining caregiving only as burdensome is to elide the monotony, frustration, the fragmentation of her day, and the loss of direction. And yet, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (Opie, 1992), interspersed through some texts were moments of personal affirmation, deep expressions of affection and a desire to continue, and satisfaction - moments which also had to become part of the representation, and not lost in the, at times, quite overwhelming despair.

Conclusion

All discourse is, as Said (1978) remarked, constituted by power relations. Feminist literature on caregiving is no exception. It brings a concerted critique of gender relations in this field of activity, highlighting the ways in which caregiving results in the marginalisation of women's needs and their continued economic subordination. It addresses the complex and powerful ways in which women are discursively inserted into caregiving and the real difficulties of resisting this insertion, a focus which highlights women as acted on, rather than acting, as determined, rather than determining. Approaching this intricate field was to address the wider issues of gender (which have considerable social policy and practice implications) in a manner which recognised the power of social knowledge about caring responsibilities, and to analyse how women and men positioned themselves within the field of caring. Writing a more complex analysis of gender which moved beyond kinship and sex depended on my initial decision to involve male carers in the study, on my reading of the texts generated by the fieldwork, and the refinement and development of, for example, the analysis of gendered

relations throughout the process of the study and, particularly importantly, in the process of writing up.

Here again, my own positioning is important. While on the one hand, accepting women's constraints within caring, I was not prepared to be dismissive of male constraints, but to explore how they were constituted, and the different effects on men differently positioned within the life course; to address not just differences between genders but the differences within gender and the intermingling of gendered behaviours. Qualitative research is valuable because it makes such an exploration possible. There is, however, a further proviso. Difference does not emerge by itself. It has to be *read out*; and the ability to construct a valid reading is closely linked to the questions asked, the quality of the interviewing, the way in which the transcripts are done, the researcher's ability to conceptualise and not just describe the data, and the breadth of literature (sociological and non-sociological) against which the researcher is able to evaluate and weigh her texts.

Developing a complex representation depended on a close reading of the interview texts, a reading which did not discount 'marginalia', those fleeting comments, the implications of which a predominant focus on content tends to overwhelm. It meant including tone as a critical dimension of analysis because the content of two texts can be identical, but the tone in which that content is spoken results in a highlighting of difference. It also meant attempting to theorise the contradictory (Wetherall and Potter, 1988). Part of this meant avoiding closure and the sharp definitions of boundaries through attending to evidence which pointed to boundaries as fluid, not stable.

Green (1983), in his analysis of the reality effects of the Poor Law reports of 1832 and 1909, has suggested that reality effects are produced by a familiar vocabulary, the assertion of the 'taken for granted' and typical: 'a text must play upon pre-existing plausibility structures in order to achieve referential realism' (Green, 1983:102). One of the functions of my texts is to offer alternative realities of everyday caring as part of a process of disruption of common sense

and ideologies, while recognising my own insertion in ideology as the starting point of the critique.

I want to conclude with a brief analysis, as a further element in my representational practice, of two of Joanna Paul's works - one, a drawing, the other, a small watercolour. The drawing which provided the idea for the cover of *There's Nobody There* is a large charcoal drawing. The foreground is empty, and one's eye is drawn back into the picture to the lightly sketched lines of a doorframe and, in the room beyond, is the outline of an empty chair. Although the chair suggests a human presence, the overall emptiness of the drawing with its unarticulated spaces, highlight absence.

The second drawing is reproduced on the cover of *Caring Alone*. It is one of a series in a collection, *Bound Images*, and is of delicately toned peonies on a largely white background seen through a barred window. On the page next to the title page is a sentence, 'My garden has no colour any more' - a quote from one of the texts reproduced int the book. The significance of the drawing lies in its mirroring of the singular elements of caregiving which the texts in the book address. The flowers themselves are delicate, fragile and beyond reach. They provide a moment of intensity of focus within the whole composition, yet the lines emanating from them diffuse that energy. The organisation of the picture is such that the dominant, intense focus on the flowers must be read in relation to all other features, including the frame of regulation or control; the largest part of the space is unshaped, capturing the more typical features of formlessness, emptiness, fragmentation of experience characteristic of caregivers' texts. To grasp the *relationship between* these diverse components is the principal gain of qualitative analysis.

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RADIO GAGA: POPULAR MUSIC AND THE RADIO QUOTA DEBATE IN NEW ZEALAND

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Making it in the music business in New Zealand is like being a haemophiliac rabbit dragged through barbed wire backwards
Tim Finn

Introduction

The question of a content quota in the public media of communication only acquires cultural and political force in countries faced with a considerable volume of imported material. Aotearoa/New Zealand is obviously one such country. Within the global communications arena, these small islands tucked away at the bottom of the South Pacific have a relatively minimal cultural profile, and yet within the country itself the need to foster and cultivate an emergent cultural identity has, for numerous groups, become a burning issue over the course of the last decade. The yoking of cultural practice to an embattled or insular nationalism seems to us a highly regrettable side of this issue, tending to conceal a range of social inequalities beneath the banner of a mythic community. Nevertheless, while bearing in mind the various regressive aspects of cultural identity on a national scale, we need also to recognise that the concern for local allegiance and association is not in itself necessarily reactionary. It has provided a rallying point in various democratic movements and popular definitions of viable ways of life. In this respect, a sense of belonging to a place or community today exists in relation to the economic powers of transnational communications empires, in so far as these are perceived as militating against the realisation or resilience of local identity. That such a concern may indeed be exploited by globalised capitalist enterprises does not alter the real popular needs on which it

may be based. Of course, and not surprisingly, how the cultivation of local cultural identity may be achieved or revitalised is a matter of some controversy, and not the least contentious aspect of this in New Zealand over the past few years has been connected with the production and promotion of local popular music.

In this article, we intend to review the widespread debate in New Zealand which has taken place over the past few years with respect to locally produced music[1]. There are several reasons for doing this. The first of these is that there is now a need, following the failure of an attempt to introduce in New Zealand a compulsory quota along the lines of those existing in Australia and Canada, to bring together the various arguments for and against a music content quota. Our purpose extends beyond this, however, for we wish also to consolidate the case in favour of quota legislation. Our own position, reached after weighing up the arguments on both sides, is that a quota or some such measure is necessary if locally produced popular music in New Zealand is to prosper. In advocating this position, it is the vitality of Kiwi music which is our basic line of consideration.

Secondly, while the Broadcasting (New Zealand Music Quota) Bill was unsuccessful, the local content issue remans high on the communications agenda. Steve Maharey, the Labour Party broadcasting spokesperson, sought, through a Parliamentary bill presented to the House in late 1992, to provide for better provision of

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1 For an earlier, abbreviated version of this article, see Roy Shuker and Michael Pickering, 'We Want the Airwaves: The New Zealand Music Quota Debate', *Illusions*, 18, Summer 1991: 40-44. Our main source in this, as in the earlier article, is the collection of submissions to the Parliamentary Select Committee set up to deal with the New Zealand Broadcasting (Music Quota) Bill before its reading in the House, through we also draw on press coverage of the music quota debate. (Particular submissions are referenced in the text by the abbreviation 'sub'.)

NZ television content[2]. Among other things, his bill intended to promote broadcasting developed for local audiences, produced with NZ creative control, which showcases local talent on-screen, and which recognises the diversity of cultural backgrounds, perspectives, idioms and identities represented by the NZ community. The bill proposed the achievement of these ends through a points-system and other content requirements, and prescribed that not less than thirty percent of broadcast time between six a.m. and midnight, averaged over a calendar year, be devoted to the broadcasting of NZ programmes. This quota was to be increased to forty percent at the turn of the century, six years on from the point at which the legislation would take effect. Such a quota would do much to provide stability and continuity for the local media industry, to nurture local talent, and to increase funding for programmes that would carry a distinctive NZ flavour. The point of such measures is to energise the connections between the communications media and the processes by which people make sense and meaning in everyday social life, to make where they are resonate with who they are so that they can look confidently out at the world instead of retreating into a self-defensive 'culture cringe' or a position of 'antagonistic' acculturation' (on this, see Pickering, 1990).

Thirdly, the questions of cultural identity and cultural policy which are raised by the New Zealand music debate are not simply parochial. In terms of the general issues of corporate economic power and cultural dependency which they involve, such questions are clearly relevant on a broader scale. Fourthly, the debate in question has implications for current international concern with the dynamics of the local-global nexus in cultural communications, and the power relationships which are manifested in this nexus. Anglo-American dominance of world music markets may now be declining, and both multinational music

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2 We are grateful to Steve Maharey, M.P. for Palmerston North, for making the provisions of the Broadcasting (New Zealand Television Content Development) bill known to us, helping us with useful information and providing us with considerable inspiration. Not surprisingly, in view of Government opposition, the bill failed.

industry policy and advances in music technologies may present localised music production with new opportunities. Listening to FM music radio stations in New Zealand, however, does little to raise one's hopes.

Towards a Music Quota

Recommendations for a broadcasting music quota were first made in the mid-eighties. David Lange's claim in 1985 of 'a breakthrough in New Zealand music appearing on radio and television' was, however, to remain over the following years more wishful thinking than realised achievement. At the time, there was perhaps some ground for optimism. In November 1985, the NZ Music Promotion Committee was set up by Radio New Zealand and the Independent Broadcasting Association, and at a Kiwi Music Convention organised by the committee in 1987, a voluntary ten percent radio quota was introduced. It gradually transpired, however, that the main intention of the committee and the voluntary quota was to forestall legislation bringing in a mandatory quota. Judy Anaru, the student radio representative on the committee, aptly described it as 'a forum for discussion, not action'. A mandatory quota was in fact recommended by the September 1986 Report of the Royal Commission into Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications, which sought a compulsory radio quota of ten percent of 'music composed, arranged, performed or recorded and produced by New Zealand citizens or residents'. This recommendation was not acted on.

While the general pressure for increased airplay of NZ music seemed to be having an effect, it then became apparent that the reluctance of commercial radio stations to risk ratings and advertising revenue by following the example of Radio New Zealand which, during 1987-8, managed to increase its airplay of local products, meant that the voluntary quota was proving deficient (See Fig 1). It is not possible to give exact figures on this, primarily because - unlike the RNZ stations, who submitted the percentages of different categories of music which they had played over a given period - the independent

stations refused to publish individual figures for each station (See Fig 2). Instead, what was usually presented to the NZ Music Promotion Committee was an average of all IBA stations throughout the country. However, in the last IBA survey conducted before the bill went before the NZ Parliament, only sixteen of the twenty one private stations reported, and only two of these had reached the agreed minimum ten percent quota. The average level among the other fourteen stations was only 6.9% (sub 326). These figures point to the main reason why a station-by-station breakdown was usually kept confidential; the figures for locally produced music were low, particularly in metropolitan areas like Auckland, where competition is most fierce (See e.g. Fig 4: there is not one Kiwi product in the listings). As Glyn Tucker, of Mandrill Recording Studios in Auckland, succinctly put it: 'The further you get away from the big cities, the more New Zealand music would get played' (*NZ Herald*, 8/4/1988).

The unimaginative marketing policy of commercial FM stations in sticking to safe-and-narrow foreign material in their playlists has long been a source of resentment among local artists frustrated at the lack of broadcast time given over to their material. The strength of this feeling among the majority of those concerned with the production of NZ music, not to mention a fair proportion of the consuming public, has carried little weight with the dominant, doctrinaire free marketeers in Parliament. The Labour government of 1987-1990 generally eschewed any policy that might smack of State interference in the market. It was in some measure as a response to the extent of the anger and frustration with local airplay for NZ product that, towards the end of its term of office, the Broadcasting (New Zealand Music Quota) Bill was put forward as a private member's bill by Graham Kelly, M.P. for Porirua, with the approval of both the Labour Party caucus and the Prime Minister[3].

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3 We thank Graham Kelly, M.P. for Porirua, for his generous help in the pursuit of our research. Without his help, our research would have been hobbled from the start. In addition, we would like to thank the NZ Lottery Grants Board for its assistance in getting this research under way.

As a reminder of the bill's provisions, it may be useful to offer a brief summary. The bill proposed that an initial quota of 15 percent NZ music would be followed a year later by an increase to 17.5 percent, culminating in a quota of 20 percent of locally produced music on radio two years after the passing of the act. The obvious danger with a mandatory quota is that some stations would seek to thwart its intentions by ghettoising local product to the wee small hours of the night when very few people are listening. The bill sought to prevent this by stipulating that the NZ music component of the total broadcast by any one station should be scheduled between 6.00 am and 12 midnight (an amendment to the Australian quota in 1986 had entered exactly the same clause). Failure to comply with the quota system would result in a series of fines, rising after each successive offence. New Zealand music was defined as music in which any two of the three coordinates of recording, composition or performance derived from the input of a New Zealand resident.

The bill was referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee during mid-1990, and some 342 submissions were made to it from interested parties across the country. Those opposed to the bill - principally Radio New Zealand and the private radio sector - were in the minority. Most of the submissions, coming from New Zealand performers, producers, local record studies, music critics and private individuals, were strongly in favour. The return of the bill to Parliament was pre-empted by the General Election of October 1990. The bill's second reading in the House in April 1991 was obviously doomed from the start, but the National Government, still at that time riding the wave of its election victory, went so far as to refuse the measure the benefit of a vote, justifying this on the grounds of a denial of funds for the enforcement of the quota. But the bill failed largely because it appeared politically to be dislocated from its time. In a period when 'free' market policies and deregulatory practices constitute the prevailing economic and industrial orthodoxies in the 'developed' world, Kelly's bill had about it too much of the odour of State cultural protectionism. The ready assumption was that it was a measure which would interfere with the prerogative and discipline of commercial enterprise.

This was unfortunate. To a great extent, the bill was wrongly construed by its opponents. In New Zealand as elsewhere, what is often overlooked in talking about deregulation is the amount of communications regulation which still exists, as for instance with respect to technical standards, advertising and public decency. A mandatory music quota is, if viewed in a positive light, little different to other kinds of statutory requirement. As Graham Reid, feature writer for the *New Zealand Herald*, put it: 'All this bill is aimed at doing is to ensure that the stations acknowledge the artists of their own country. No one is telling them who to play ...' (sub 89). In liberal democratic societies, it is a common requirement of licensing authorities that broadcasting stations and companies adhere to certain principles, such as percentage of content devoted to different areas of output, so that quiz and game shows, for instance, are balanced by news and current affairs coverage. The twenty percent music quota was intended to introduce a requirement of this kind, rather than manifest the Orwellian bogey of unbridled State power. Further, the bill was meant only to have a pump-priming function. It was not spawned out of some absolutist spirit of antagonism to the principle of competition among consumer products in the marketplace. Indeed, what was sought were fairer and more equal grounds of competition. In Graham Kelly's words:

> We're not denying the free market, we're not denying competition. What we are insisting on is a level playing field. They [NZ musicians] are not being given a chance to compete, and what this bill does is give them that chance. If they're no good then they won't make it (cited Brickle, 1990)

A second aspect of accusations of regression was that Kelly's bill appeared to some as a hangover from the days of Reithian broadcasting policy. Its opponents in the parliamentary debate, for example, made some easy passes of the sword by referring to the bill's 'elitism' and 'paternal approach' (Hansard, 17.4.91: 1330, 1336). The attenuation of the Reithian tradition was indeed a key factor contributing to the inhospitable climate in which the bill was launched. Even so, as the political currency of the orthodox economic and political values of the eighties begins to diminish, the quota proposals

will, we believe, be understood differently, for they contain points of considerable merit. As a means of underwriting their merit, we turn now to further consideration of the arguments in which they have been embroiled.

The Necessity of Radio Exposure

The majority of music played on NZ radio stations is of overseas origin (See Fig 3). Radio commitment to locally produced music is generally minimal. There are various reasons for this, but the most important is the cut-throat competition between radio stations for audience ratings and advertisers. From this follow the reliance on tried-and-tested formulas for airplay material and the unwillingness to experiment with up-and-coming bands and with sounds which fall outside the run-of-the-mill ingredients of daytime radio fare. Anything which does fall outside is a risk, and in a highly competitive business people are reluctant to gamble unless they become desperate. Radio programmers and executives in New Zealand consider the marketing of proven foreign material a much safer option than that of promoting new local artists or offering a diversity of musical styles and idioms. There seems little doubt that this situation stifles innovative airplay policy. A number of submissions to the Select Committee spoke of the experience of submitting locally produced material and having none of it broadcast. We may suppose that this would have arisen for one of two reasons: either programmers listened carefully to all that was submitted and rejected it as unsuitable for their format, or they rejected it out of hand. A general lack of commitment to local music would suggest that the latter was most generally the case. The charge of indifference was very common in the submissions. A point made by Chris Bourke, a local music journalist, is representative: 'The problem is [that] the radio programmers, with their "anti" attitude to local music, don't do their homework... They don't know what is actually out there, because they don't want to know' (sub 250). Some witnesses even went so far as to accuse radio programmers of laziness (see e.g. subs 131 and 218), with their continued reliance upon the 'dead certs' of the international phonogram companies who dominate the New Zealand market. Whether or not this charge is generally true,

at the very least one can say that it is seldom that FM radio programmers risk their reputation or jeopardise their all-precious ratings by 'pushing an unknown quantity, ie a locally made record' (sub 197). This flies in the face of the pledge which stations make in applying for a broadcasting licence, whereby they are enjoined 'to ensure that a New Zealand identity is developed and maintained in programmes'.

This situation creates disadvantages for local musicians in several ways. Firstly, without a reasonable degree of exposure, no band or musician is likely to achieve commercial success. There is no doubt that high rotation airplay on radio is a vital factor in building up the requisite level of exposure. Over the last ten years or so in New Zealand, music videos have become increasingly important in the promotion of recorded music, but as yet this importance is not as high as in Britain or the United States, and does not equal that of frequent radio airplay. Radio is a very versatile medium of communication. It can be listened to in a much wider range of situations, and is more easily adapted to act as a background accompaniment to other activities, than television, mainly because of its various hardware outlets and its greater portability. People listen to the radio in the home (and not just in a specialised domestic setting), in cars, on boats, on the beach and in a number of other milieux; and they can tune into radio stations through music centres, transistors, Walkmans and various other sorts of everyday technology. There are no other music-transmitting media with quite this degree of flexibility, and this means that failure to achieve regular airplay following publication is effectively the kiss of death for most music products.

Occasionally, a song may become commercially successful without much airplay. The Pagan release 'Sweet Lovers' by the Holidaymakers is an example of a record which was still not being played by many Auckland radio stations on a regular basis two weeks after it had achieved the top slot in the singles sales charts (sub 99). Shona Laing, Dave Dobbyn, Herbs, When the Cat's Away, Ardijah, Rikki Morris and Tex Pistol are other NZ artists who have had big hit singles over the last few years despite lack of radio coverage. This

should not be taken to mean that, after all, radio airplay is insignificant in the domestic promotion of a New Zealand record. Rather, it means that there is a high degree of interest in local artists despite the lack of a fair hearing for them across the airwaves. Generally, though, these examples are exceptions proving the rule, and the majority of submissions to the Select Committee were adamant on the necessity of adequate radio exposure for market breakthrough. For example, Euan Silva, a singer, songwriter and musician for the past thirty years, considered NZ music in 'great need' of airplay, for in his view 'songs are hits when local stations play them repeatedly'. He stated that the lack of airplay is a major concern among musicians in this country, and argued for the support of 'our home-grown talent' and the promotion of 'good quality music of different styles and cultures' in that this would 'generate vision, inspiration and ... a healthy environment for NZ music' (sub 10).

Secondly, radio exposure is not only a vital first step in achieving market success but is also an important basis for other forms of exposure, such as that achieved through national tours and TV appearances. Now to a certain extent bands will achieve exposure by performing live in their immediate region or touring the country and playing in pubs and other venues, but this is generally small-scale and often limited to specialist audiences. To travel overseas or undertake a national tour at any more ambitious level requires the back-up of prior broadcast exposure, not to mention other forms of industry promotion. Jim Rowe, manager of When the Cat's Away, Midge Marsden and others, declared from experience that 'it is almost always a financial disaster for local original acts to work and tour in this country without support from radio'. With solid radio support, however, there is not only a greatly enhanced chance of chart success but also of 'large grossing shows which generate money for radio advertising, car and truck hire rental firms, production companies and lighting/sound hire firms' (sub 138). If the core of the business is touring, as Rowe alleges, then touring clearly expands the employment opportunities in the business and in areas adjacent to it.

Thirdly, the criteria by which playlists are compiled are derived from overseas music publications and agents. The highly competitive urban stations in particular base their playlists on information (sales figures, promotional hype etc.) provided in the main from the United States, with *Billboard* magazine perhaps the most notable example of such sources. In many cases as well, programming is done by Americans and Australians whose reputations were first established in their own countries. Lack of cultural orientation to Kiwi music is the result, and it casts a cold shadow across the ground upon which a local identity in popular music is struggling to develop.

Fourthly, lack of airplay for local products leads to a gradual disinterest in that product on the part of the major phonogram companies. For Robert Scard of CBS, 'the investment and commitment made by the performer and CBS is wasted' without a sufficient degree of rotation; 'it is not justified unless airplay can be assured for high quality ... recordings' (cited sub 326). If this leads to withdrawal of investment in local products by the majors, the radio programmers can then aver that this has occurred as a result of the lack of quality in local products. This is a classic instance of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Local artists are then forced to work and record overseas, particularly in Australia, where there is a greater assurance of the degree of airplay required for success. Examples abound: Crowded House, Dave Dobbyn, Jenny Morris, the Hunter brothers from Dragon, Margaret Urlich and so on.

Fifthly, a quota or similar measure would be of greatest benefit to singers and musicians who are striving to get themselves established. Many of those who have achieved success, usually by going overseas, would undoubtedly welcome a quota, but its advantages for them would have been felt most of all during the early stages of their careers. As Glynn Tucker, Chair of IMPPA put it: 'Ask Neil Finn of Crowded House and he will tell you that he does not want to be included in a NZ quota on radio; but he would have enjoyed such a situation when he was a struggling young performer in Te Awamutu' (sub 139). Crowded House now live and work from a studio base in Melbourne, and as a result of 'going into exile' have begun to build

up an international reputation, largely following their much acclaimed 'Woodface' album.

Lack of exposure through the airwaves places local musicians in a double-bind. In order to become playlisted in the first place they need to achieve chart success, but in the majority of cases chart success is dependent on radio airplay. There are few ways of avoiding this situation. One is to achieve success first of all in another medium. Dave Dobbyn's 'Slice of Heaven' was initially rejected by radio, but as a result of its promotion through the film 'Footrot Flats', it achieved a sufficient level of sales for the broadcasting media to be forced into taking a second listen. The outcome was a number one hit. This says little for the perspicacity of radio personnel, but that is not the point. What this example demonstrates most of all is that such a route to commercial success is always going to prove the exceptional case. It also emphasises the restrictive commercial environment in which local artists operate. To quote from the 1986 Royal Commission Report on Broadcasting: 'It would seem to the Commission a discouraging scene for New Zealand record producers and musicians when an extremely successful band may have to "force" radio stations and television stations to have a closer look at their music' (para. 451)

In a speech given to a 1990 international music and media conference in Amsterdam, the President of MCA Music Entertainment Group, Al Teller, made two points of great significance for debates concerning radio music quotas. The first of these is the necessity for radio stations to concentrate on developing a specific identity in every community and every country, and to become an invigorating part of the fabric of everyday cultural life. Secondly, he emphasised that the music industry is 'an artist-driven business, and whenever we lose sight of that, we get ourselves in big trouble. Radio is not the tail that wags the musical dog' (Teller, 1990:19). The first of these points is actually built into the requirements mentioned earlier which prospective candidates need to meet if they are to secure a NZ radio broadcasting licence. Once a warrant to broadcast is obtained, this obligation is ignored all too soon by many stations. Teller's second

point makes abundant sense to any composer, recording artist, studio manager and independent label executive, not to mention many outside the local industry. Of course there are some who think the 'musical dog' in New Zealand is a mongrel and pariah unworthy of any serious consideration as a cultural phenomenon. Muldoon's pronouncement on what is and what is not 'culture' is well known, but his elitist values are relatively inoffensive by comparison to Bob Jones's characterisation of NZ rock musicians as 'diverse mobs of wailing and bellowing factory hands' (Jones, 1990).

The Question of Quality

One of the central components of the case against the New Zealand quota, particularly in the opposition mounted by the radio industry, has been the lack of sufficient quality output from the local music industry. This is taken largely as an unproblematical factor, a reflection of 'the way things are'. Such a claim is difficult to substantiate on a number of grounds, but most generally it is difficult to advance when what is meant by quality goes undefined. In arguments against the quota, both in the press and in private submissions to the Select Committee, the category of quality has been largely taken for granted, and its specifics and implications rarely made explicit. This is a fundamental shortcoming, because quality is in itself a fugitive phenomenon. How it is interpreted and assessed depends upon the criteria which are brought to bear.

The criteria deployed in opposition to the bill were predominantly technical. That is to say, the majority of locally produced music was adjudged to fall short of the technical standards of the international music industry. Obviously a degree of technical proficiency and quality is always an important factor in the aesthetic appreciation of music, but it is by no means the only factor, and support for this point does not need to rely solely upon the evidence of alternative or specialist music audiences, important though this is. What is also involved is music education in the most general sense of a lifelong process of advancing and extending knowledge and appreciation of a diverse range of different types of musical styles, idiomatic modes and

culturally contextualised aesthetic values. There is of course a certain idealisation, perhaps even elitism, in this kind of argument, and it is worthwhile pointing out other more pragmatic considerations concerned with the predominant mode of use of much mass media products. Within the everyday contexts of consumption of most radio music, the degree of attentiveness of most listeners is not as high as in those processes of more careful, individuated immersion in music samples - whether these be arias, rap numbers, blues songs or traditional ballads. In view of this generalised mode of everyday consumption, often as background or accompaniment to other activities such as those of work, raising a technical measure of quality to such an elevated level is to fetishise the technology of music production and reproduction. Of course most listeners want a reasonably clear and crisp sound in their consumption of the music. But this desire and the pleasure in having it satisfied is not equivalent to according technical quality a greater weight in the field of music aesthetics than the content of the song and the music, the virtuosity of performance by singers/musicians, or the cultural origins, meanings and values implicated in the product with respect to both artists and listeners.

Rockey Douché, managing director of Marmalade Recordings Studios in Wellington, reports that in a five year period of marketing NZ music internationally, he never once had a potential distributor remark negatively about the quality of NZ recordings (sub 326). This speaks for itself. The shibboleth of high technical standards should not be used to confine radio programming access to products manufactured in the most sophisticated 'state-of-the-art' studios. These require a huge initial financial investment that is beyond the budget of most independent phonogram companies. This is not to say, however, that the music produced by such companies is qualitatively inferior, for the error into which many private radio executives seem to fall is in conflating aesthetic value with technical sophistication. It is debatable whether up-to-the-minute, highly capitalised production technology is invariably the most crucial factor in the creation of what - judging by sales figures alone - may be regarded as artistically successful and culturally resonant musical products. Two related, and now classic

cases in point are the seminal 'Basement Tapes' and 'Music from Big Pink', produced by Bob Dylan and The Band on fairly low-tech recording in a Woodstock mansion. The criteria of quality cannot be reduced to quality of production, for while this is always in some degree a factor, music is about more than the fineness of its technical reproducibility. The enthusiasm which greeted 'Life in One Chord' by the NZ band Straitjacket Fits was generated more by its spirit of performance than by its studio production technique. Secondly, the excessive regard paid to technical standards, and to the actual shaping of the recorded sound by digital multitrack recording equipment and technologically produced musical effects, results in an homogenised, or at least normative pattern of product; any rough-edged feel of spontaneity is polished away by studio expertise. This is by no means a blanket consequence but it is certainly a predominant one, and it militates against innovation and deviation. One aspect of independently produced music is precisely the different 'feel' it is considered to have in relation to internationally mainstream music.

There are specific artists in New Zealand who argue for the arrangement and production of recorded songs uncluttered by their technological mediation. The work of Chris Knox is one of the finest local exemplifications of this argument. Cartoonist, painter and columnist as well as songwriter and musician, Knox has been a highly influential performer on the NZ rock scene, moving from the anti-disco punk thrash band The Enemy, through the more mainstream pop outfit Toy Love to the current duo with Alex Bathgate as Tall Dwarfs, who, in one estimation, have produced 'some of the most interesting experimental music' of the last decade (Cartwright, 1990: 119; see also Dix, 1988: 221-231). Knox is perhaps as well known internationally as in New Zealand, having a cult following in Europe, but he remains committed to a part-time, DIY ethic and a low-tech recording approach. As he puts it, 'the vast majority of songs are chocka with unnecessary distractions', and these obstruct the effort to produce a recorded sound which is 'close to a live human experience'. His bête noire is the style of production favoured by FM radio:

> FM radio wants something that appeals to the sort of (largely mythical) punter who can only handle graphics that are airbrushed to chrome perfection and constantly lusts after smooth, glossy but shriekingly vibrant perfection. Thus, such radio is full of shiny things that whistle and hiss at you while displaying their perfectly rounded ... bass frequencies and smooth-as-silk mid-frequencies. These "shiny beats" bear little resemblance to a human being singing a heartfelt song (Knox, 1991; cf Young, 1992).

The disruption of a melodic line by inventive sound-effects or brutal rants is hardly likely to endear Knox to mainstream music radio programmers, yet when as an experiment he released a specially rearranged single called 'Not Given Lightly' - a gentle Lennonesque love ballad that could fit comfortably and inoffensively into FM formats - he was still ignored by NZ radio.

The insistence upon particular technical standards of quality in mechanically or electronically reproduced music also entails a built-in obstacle to the broad circulation of other types of popular music. By the application of these standards, pre-rock'n'roll music, say, or much of the music produced in African, Latin American or Asian countries are, so far as potential consumption through radio FM stations is concerned, rendered out of bounds. They are effectively cast out upon the waters of oblivion. This makes sampling the music of other cultures and other periods difficult, and the consequences for locally produced music in this country can hardly be considered positive, unless of course one is prepared to adopt a position of redneck national chauvinism, parochial isolationism or obsessive chronocentrism. The simple question is: how can quality exist extensively without diversity? The enrichment of a particular region's or country's musical practice as a result of exposure to idioms and styles from elsewhere has been widely noted in ethnomusicology and in historical studies of popular music. This is quite a different phenomenon to the feeling on the part of local peoples of being swamped with commercial cultural forms from an industry that is not rooted in any particular geographical culture or tradition, and which is primarily motivated by the maximization of profit, ratings and advertising revenue.

Since exposure influences taste, and taste can in cultural terms be broadly or narrowly based, the predominance of international hits on FM radio and music TV has broad implications for musical aesthetics within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Taste grows upon that which it is fed, and when the cultural dietary regime is to a high degree homogeneous, this is likely to engender prejudice to other musical forms and styles not usually encountered in the processes of everyday media consumption. Prejudice often masquerades under a more respectable argument. While it is by no means always the case, antipathy to, say, a domestic production ethic and a garage-band type of sound is detectable behind the appeal to elevated technical standards. But of course this is not the only kind of local product available, and arguably that kind of production ethic in New Zealand is - contrary to claims repeatedly made by commercial radio - one which is largely characteristic of the punk and immediate post-punk period, rather than of the 1990s. But the evaluation of quality is not invariably made on technical grounds alone, and unlike the many artists and fans who have expressed support for the quota bill, media programmers and executives rarely come clean in respect of their own musical aesthetics. This is a critical issue, for within it are implicated the politics of popular music, and of popular culture more broadly. The question of whose music is heard on the airwaves is relevant not only to technical or economic considerations, but also to cultural and political ones. The salience accorded to technical criteria of excellence has obscured the avoidance of any explicit discussion of aesthetic value on the part of leading opponents to the quota proposal. It is significant that this factor looms large among the considerations advanced by supporters of the bill. Avoidance of an explicit discussion of the question of values does not signal their absence, however, but rather an assumption of the lack of any need to refer to them on the part of those in positions of power, within the radio and television industries. That assumption exists precisely because the aesthetic values operative in the criteria of selection of music for airplay have become narrowly institutionalised. The case for the quota is in part a case against the culturally negative consequences of that institutionalisation.

Yet certain aesthetic values are at times invoked, albeit in a rather muddle-headed manner. For instance, the RNZ/IBA submission refers, without definition, to what it calls 'broad-appeal music'. There is a curious inversion here of what, in respect of other media, is usually taken to be meant by the ascription of quality to a product. Quality there is generally an anti-popular category underpinned by a traditional aesthetic discourse predicated upon a separation of 'high' art from the vulgar dross of 'mass' culture. Can we take it, then, that the reference to 'broad-appeal music' is populist in its value-position? Or is the postmodernist celebration of a collapse of artificial aesthetic and generic boundaries being indulged? Hardly likely, on the face of it, and in defining the stance being taken we should perhaps opt for a commercialist-based populism underlying the kind of 'irritation-free' approach - 'good music without extremes' - advocated by the operations manager of Rupert Murdoch's Sky Radio (Teller, 1990, p. 11). But the problem is we cannot tell. All that can be said about the basis of arguments presented is that the question of how 'quality' is reconcilable with 'broad appeal' has not been addressed by opponents of the NZ music quota. Debates around other 'mass' cultural forms, such as the feminist arguments in favour of the consumption of TV soap operas, could have provided a number of clues as to how the case for such a reconciliation might be positively advanced. Yet as it is, the unproblematised reference to 'broad appeal music' runs counter to the contingency and relativism of quality. As Charlotte Brunsdon has argued in another context, that there are no objective guarantees of quality should function not to inhibit discussion, but to predispose us to the promotion of variety and diversity as the single most important principle to extend and preserve - variety and diversity, that is, of both production and audiences. The extent to which this requires that certain sorts of programme-making be protected from the imperatives of the market place is one of the key issues for policy debates (Brunsdon, 1990: 76).

It may well be that the whole issue of quality is something of a smokescreen. We make this suggestion on two counts. Firstly, commercial radio in New Zealand plays a great deal of 'golden oldies' from the 1960s, and yet these are of an inferior technical quality to the

output of even the smaller contemporary NZ studios/companies. Does this mean that they are inundated with a flood of letters and phone calls complaining about the characteristically 'thin' sound of music from that period? Of course not. Further, private radio has no compunction in using advertising jingles produced by the same companies whose music product is deemed of an unacceptable technical standard. Secondly, in the opinion of Mike Bradshaw of CBS (NZ), radio programmers rarely listen with any care to local music and never 'rely on gut feeling [which is] what we as a record company have to do - you have to take a punt'; while Anna Miller of EMI in Auckland reports that even when her company has handpicked local artists 'of good quality', with 'commercial appeal', and attempted to interest private radio in them, 'it still didn't seem to make any difference' (*NZ Herald* 23/11/1989). A number of other submissions from those concerned with music promotion recount the same experience.

Some Telling Cases of Radio Indifference

New Zealand produced music constitutes what could be called a 'deaf spot' for the country's radio system. There have now accumulated some telling examples of the indifference and disfavour with which NZ radio views local products. During the first historic Nelson Mandela concert at Wembley, a 'supergroup' including Paul Young and Midge Ure announced they would perform a special song. When they began the whole stadium erupted. It was Neil Finn's 'Don't Dream it's Over'. NZ radio had turned the song down and refused it airplay (sub 310). It went to No. 2 in the United States before being picked up here. In December 1989 Te Aroha Records, a local independent label, released the album 'Workshop' by the Maori entertainer Tama Renata. Tama is widely acclaimed as an exponent of electric guitar artistry, and as a singer and songwriter. The album received highly favourable reviews from NZ's leading music critics. The first single taken from it spent eight weeks in the national charts, but it was only playlisted on Maori and student stations. In the large population areas of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, the record

received no major station airplay (sub 313). Shona Laing's 'Glad I'm not a Kennedy' (until it was successful overseas, achieving No. 1 slot in Australia), the Chills' 'Heavenly Pop Hit' (a BBC Radio One record of the week), Ardijah's 'Give me your Number', Tex Pistol's 'The Game of Love', and the Holidaymaker's 'Sweet Lovers' (all big NZ chart successes, the latter being the biggest selling single of 1988) have all been the objects of programme directors' snubs (*NZ Musician*, February 1990, p. 29). The list goes on and on.

But perhaps the most damning example of the obtuseness of NZ radio is told by Wayne Laird, musical director of the spectacular opening and closing ceremonies of the XIVth Commonwealth Games, held in Auckland in 1990. The intention was to show New Zealand as a modern, culturally diverse society through a musical presentation that ranged from Kiri Te Kanawa and Howard Morrison through dance music, brass and concert bands, Cook Island drummers and exponents of Celtic traditional music, to various rock performances. Via an agreement between the Commonwealth Games Company and CBS Records (NZ), much of the Games music was recorded and released in November 1989. Despite what Laird considered to be its very high production values, the recording was not played on local radio. There were only two exceptions: Howard Morrison's 'Tukua Ahau' and Chris Thompson's 'This is the Moment'. The latter, however, was only broadcast following its notable public success as the Game's theme song; prior to that, for the first three months of its release, the song was almost entirely ignored. In one case it was openly derided. Auckland's 1ZB morning radio's rude dismissal of the song was justified on the grounds that 'it couldn't be performed by a (brass) band or choir' - a wildly incorrect claim, in Laird's view, revealing 'that the influential opinion expressed was not that of a musical person'. In another case, following a verbal prod from a PR person hired by Laird, Radio 91 FM played the song and invited calls from listeners. The majority of these calls were very positive, but only three negative calls were broadcast. According to Laird, the 'negativity seemed to be somewhat led by one of the two presenters' (sub 303).

The CD of the Games music was distributed by CBS to a large number of NZ radio stations. It received virtually no airplay despite its high-profile performers and the great diversity of its eleven tracks, which should have ensured that whatever a station's format - classical, MOR, house, rock, ethnic etc - there was a track that would fit. When Laird approached CBS NZ to ask why the CD was not among those being given special pre-Christmas promotion, as he had been promised, he was told that the lack of radio coverage prevented them from pushing the product at the retail level. This illustrates yet again the necessity of radio exposure, and the knock-on effects of a lack of exposure. Laird concluded his submission with the view that his experiences strongly suggest that [NZ] broadcasters are not necessarily able to accurately assess musical quality or the potential popularity of the material they vet' (sub 303). Graham Reid is even more emphatic on this point: 'Radio here hasn't taken chances over the past decade or so. They've lost their mandate to speak for Kiwi music' (*NZ Herald*, 25/8/1989).

The Question of Quantity

A recurrent contention among opponents of a music quota, is the insufficiency of available musical or songwriting talent in New Zealand. This is usually advanced as a self-evident claim, and it is precisely because of this that it requires serious scrutiny. The first point to make is that the claim was refuted over and over again in submissions to the Select Committee. Arthur Baysting's is a representative example. Baysting is a songwriter, music columnist and critic, editor of *Getting Started in the Music Business* (Baysting, 1987), and regular judge for New Zealand music awards. He reported that as a panel member for the NZ Music Awards for 1990, he 'was amazed at the variety, the quality and the sheer number of records, tapes and compact discs released in New Zealand throughout 1989'. He went on: 'The experience of listening to all the entries leads me to disagree totally with those who say this material is substandard. Some of it is world-class. Significantly, very little of even the best material received commercial radio play' (sub 310).

The second point is that it lends nourishment and support to the ideological phenomenon of 'culture cringe' in New Zealand. The crux of this phenomenon is a widespread feeling of cultural inferiority in the face of artistic products from overseas, and from Europe and America in particular. In a recent interview, Tim Finn spoke of his ambivalence to New Zealand: 'Part of me loves the place, and it'll always be a part of me', he said, 'I draw from it in imagery, I dream about it, but another part of me hates the small-mindedness and self-loathing' (Doole, 1991: 11). A collective inferiority complex of this kind is not a necessary condition of belonging to an emergent nation, for cultural assertiveness based upon strong indigenous traditions is often an important factor either in the emergence of nationalism, or in its resurgence against the forces of a colonialist or centralised government. In Aotearoa/New Zealand an entrenched sense of cultural inferiority has arguably been manifest almost wholly among middle-class Pakeha. It is this sector of the population, despite its political dominance, which suffers from its own sense of a yawning lack of national cultural identity. Two major consequences for the question of artistic quality follow from this reflex habit of Pakeha mentality.

Firstly, it breeds that which it fears. It generates a vicious circle: cultural and artistic products disseminated from other Western societies are *ipso facto* superior to those produced here; these are then inevitably held up against local product, and local product either becomes a mediocre imitation of other people's artistic preoccupations or styles, or condemns itself to obscure experimentation in the immense shadow of its international competitors. Mike Corless, co-director of the largest booking agent and music management company in New Zealand during the 1970s and '80s, spoke of the widespread assumption that 'local product just can't cut it with the overseas stuff' (sub 314). The fatalistic character of 'culture cringe' sees inferiority in the homegrown product because that is what it expects to see, particularly when that product is measured against the magnitude of its own awe of what has been achieved elsewhere. This is what Jim Poreman of Air Force Recording Studios referred to in his submission when he wrote that 'New Zealanders, both individually and as a

nation, have a tendency to under-rate both themselves and their achievements. We feel, possibly due to our global isolation, that our products, ideas, art forms and personalities are inferior to those of the Australians, Americans or English' (Sub 248; cf McGlashan, 1985).

Secondly, when those who are not prone, or have never been subject to this habit of thinking, produce music which is innovative or which bears a localised 'feel', they are often ignored and kept culturally at a long arm's length. The phenomenon of 'cultural cringe' guarantees their neglect or scorn. Neil Finn speaks of how if 'you try for anything grand there, people tend to sneer and equate you with pretension' (Doole, 1991: 11). The result, over and over again, has been that this flowering of local talent proves short-lived, a sudden flourishing that just as suddenly dies as a result of media disinterest or deprecation, or in defiance seeks - and often finds - sources of positive feedback and promotion overseas. The accomplishment of overseas success then acts back, in a final twist of irony, to confirm the 'culture cringe' phenomenon which required it in the first place. Only by going overseas, the argument then runs, was such success in any way possible.

Some opponents to Kelly's bill argued that while there is a fair amount of what they call 'niche market' music available, this is not the case with regard to the kind of product commensurate with existing radio formats, whether these are classic hits, current pop or MOR. Here, as so often, the 'quality' argument merges into the 'quantity' argument, the boundary line between them being generally hazy. Both RNZ and the larger FM stations have been vocal in expressing their lack of confidence in the ability of local musicians to attain a twenty percent quota. But in an unhappy coincidence for advocates of the scarcity argument, twenty percent of the top forty chart was comprised of Kiwi songs during the last week of February when the bill passed its first reading in Parliament. The well-known music reviewer and journalist, Chris Bourke, suggested that this

embarrassing fact, even if the proportion was unusually high[4], indicates how much our radio stations are out of touch with public feeling on locally produced music. Contrary to the assertions of Beverley Wakem and others, local record companies do not only produce 'niche market' music (*The Listener*, 20/3/1990). In his own submission to the Select Committee, Bourke reported that he was astounded at how 'every month there were a couple of singles aimed at the mass market that were ignored by commercial radio', and he contrasted this with the result of sixteen percent local music achieved by RNZ stations when, in late 1988, they began taking the voluntary quota seriously. As a judge in the NZ Music Awards, he has, along with Baysting, been astonished by the dozens of single and album entries which amount to 'hundreds of songs the New Zealand public never gets to hear'. Bruce Morley, a freelance musician, puts the Catch 22 situation well in saying that: 'Broadcasters claim that a compulsory quota won't work because there is not enough New Zealand product, and major record companies don't put enough time, energy and money into developing local music because they feel there aren't enough opportunities to expose it to the public' (*Music in New Zealand*, Autumn 1990, p. 9).

Economic Gains

According to the 1986 Royal Commission Report on Broadcasting: 'The question is not whether New Zealand artists will continue to succeed. Rather the question is whether the benefits of that success will be retained within the New Zealand economy'. In discussing the gains made to the national economy by a content quota, we are in our view on firmer ground than when we come to argue for a quota for cultural reasons, particularly when these are promulgated in more or less exclusive terms. We shall explore some of the difficulties which follow from this in the next section. Here we wish to outline the economic aspects of the quota issue.

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[4] On the basis of our four week content survey in May 1992, the average weekly percentage was only five percent.

There are a number of economic advantages that would follow from an expansion of NZ music airplay. Firstly, there would be foreign exchange savings as reductions in the proportion of radio air time occupied by overseas music would lead to a concomitant reduction in the outflows of broadcasting performance royalties. Disregarding income from retail sales, nearly five million dollars were being paid yearly in royalties on broadcast music to overseas companies at the time the Select Committee for Kelly's bill was sitting. Put another way, 95% of the royalties from radio stations are paid to foreign companies (*NZ Musician*, April 1990: 25). If we assume a close correlation between percentage of radio content and market share at retail, as does the Recording Industry Association of New Zealand, then with the proportion of local as opposed to overseas music airplay increased to twenty percent, royalties payable to NZ music publishers, producers and artists on a twenty percent share of the retail market would, taking the 1989 total retails sales on music products as an example, come to approximately $3.4 million per annum, as opposed to the present figure of less than half a million dollars per annum (sub 139). Further to this, if reductions in airplay time lead to reduced sales levels of overseas music products, then less money will flow out of the country in royalty payments to overseas phonogram companies and artists.

Secondly, foreign exchange earnings are likely to increase as the spiralling consequences of increased airplay for Kiwi music encourage further growth and enhance the vitality of the local music scene, which in turn would increase international sales by NZ artists. The New Zealand Trade Development Board report, *New Horizons for the Arts Business*, estimated that the recorded music industry could be earning $30 million per annum in foreign exchange within five years of the introduction of quota legislation (sub 255). Overseas interest in NZ popular music continues to grow, and indications are that the small independent labels are poised to build up lucrative export markets in Europe and the United States. The 1991 New Music Seminar in New York gave NZ music a huge fillip. Funding for the NZ stand at the seminar came from Music New Zealand, a joint action group set up by the Trade Development Board to help the local music

industry develop its overseas export markets. The seminar was attended by eight thousand participants from over fifty countries. Roger Shepherd, founder and manager of Flying Nun, reported after the seminar: 'The level of interest in New York just builds up every year and now it's higher than ever before' (*Dominion Sunday Times*, 11/8/91). This is a healthy situation but, as Mark Cubey of Cadre Communications Ltd warns: 'we have to have the local support from radio to help build the exposure, the knowledge, the publicity, the following and the sales necessary to take on the world' (sub 99).

Thirdly, radio airplay has a roll-on effect in that the exposure it creates encourages more people to go to see performers live. This makes the live circuit more healthy, and that in turn stimulates the growth of performers and of recorded material. The process then comes full-cycle in that more local product becomes available for radio to choose from. Further, the international success of local music acts provides horizontal economic gains by way of increased employment opportunities, new or technologically revamped recording studios, more diverse music venues, and expanded input from support services such as sound and lighting companies. This may then lead to vertical economic gains through investment in other forms of entertainment. For example, the success of INXS enabled them to invest in the Australian film industry: their first investment was a $US10 million backing for *Crocodile Dundee*, the box office takings for which topped $US100 million (sub 250).

In sum the economic benefits of a music quota would cut back on the imports of leisure goods and services, provide a much-needed fillip for the export economy in New Zealand, provide new employment opportunities, enliven the domestic music market and increase the volume of capital flowing back into all sectors of the local music industry. In addition, rather than blunting competitiveness in the international economy, as detractors of a quota have alleged, it would sharpen and toughen the country's competitive edge in markets other than its own.

But for many on the right of the NZ political spectrum, and even some on the left, the case for fixing a specific airplay percentage of locally produced music remains associated with excessive legislative interference on the part of the state. Rather than passing statutes which run counter to the values and practices enshrined in the ideology of a free market, it is private enterprise which should be stimulated through the reduction of taxes and government regulation. Any attempt to introduce impediments to a free market is seen either as inherently authoritarian in tendency, or as a further manifestation of the 'nanny' state. The protection by the state of what are referred to as unbusinesslike enterprises, or the advancement of allegedly anti-individualist notions wrapped up in the glossiness of some dubious 'social good', are anathema to this view of what is conducive to the nation's economic health and prosperity. The belief is that any cushioning from free market forces is parasitic on those who are engaged in the genuine production of economic wealth, that free market forces produce good business discipline and efficient commercial enterprise. Why should certain groups be defended against competition or afforded the luxury of an unearned share of society's resources?

Clearly there is a danger in state intervention in industry, but the resurgence of a free market ideology among many Western nations has tended to exaggerate that danger. It seems to us obvious enough that to suggest such intervention necessarily entails the first steps towards the command economy associated with historical communism is wildly alarmist. This was precisely the scare tactic adopted by New Zealand's self-appointed alter ego, Bob Jones, in his intemperate attack on Kelly's bill. He associated the bill with 'the general advancement of mediocrity and dictatorship' and referred to the 'Stalinist endeavours' of the 'compulsion mobsters' (Jones, 1990). It is all very well for Jones to say that 'compulsion is out and freedom is in', but whose freedom he is talking about remains undefined. If the conditions for participating in the circuit of production, distribution and sale are unequal, and indeed operate heavily in favour of those corporate bodies with the greatest resources then talk of freedom of competition is either disingenuous or deceitful. A more reasonable

argument could be made for a certain degree of state intervention in order precisely to offset the weaknesses of a capitalist market economy. One can apply a reverse logic to that of Hayekian free marketeers and say that because market forces do not prevent domination of industrial production and control of the mechanisms of distribution of commodities, then freedom should not be measured negatively in terms of reducing state intervention and provision, but instead assessed positively in terms of protection from the predations of the economically privileged upon the social and cultural life of majority populations. Exaggeration of the dangers obscures the increasing ability and tendency on the part of transnational conglomerate managements to operate across state boundaries. These key players in panglobal business structures are able to wield resources and command a bargaining power in the market which are quite beyond the capacities of individual social citizens within any given nation-state.

It is in relation to such considerations that one can say that the unimpeded control by private sector production and marketing presents a more dangerous threat to musical diversity, the vitality of local music cultures and consumer accessibility to a wide range of transcultural music forms than does a judicious degree of state intervention. A healthy music scene cannot flourish either under excessive state control or under the corporate control of transnational capitalist enterprises. But it is important to avoid the easy conflation of such intervention in an enabling mode - whereby legislation establishes a common protocol that is designed to encourage the development of such desirable media goals as variety of products, diversity of audiences, freedom of speech and exuberance of cultural expression -with state intervention of a disabling kind, involving the proscription of certain cultural forms, the censorship of views regarded as subversive of the status quo, the protection of media monopolies, and so on.

The kind of cultural policy we are discussing entails intervention in the context of an international capitalist market. Within this context the ideology of a free market is espoused in the interests of

stimulating open and rigorous competition. But as soon as we view the media sector of this market in a historical perspective, we see an unmistakable pattern of development; increasing concentration of ownership, initially on a national and then on an international scale; increasing conglomeration and integration of companies and holdings; and increasing rationalisation of market output, both in type and range. In what is now a widely recognised process, the logic of competition in the capitalist market leads inexorably to its opposite. Competition reduces competition. Free trade engenders unfree trade. The small independent producer is squeezed out or bought up. Small nations become economically subservient to the big capitalist countries, with their citizens forced to consume a greater percentage of cultural products from those countries than from other small nations or from their fellow country men and women.

Over and over, those advocating a case for a quota have returned to the metaphor of the level playing field. Graham Cockcroft, a freelance market analyst, and Malcolm Black, lecturer in the Faculty of Law at the University of Otago, both have experience of the music scene as members of the band Netherworld Dancing Toys. In their joint submission, they argued for an equitable trading environment for New Zealand musicians comparable to that now existing, as a result of quota legislation, in Australia and Canada (Sub 299; see also Shuker and Pickering, 1991; Wallis and Malm, 1984; and Berland, 1991).

The Question of Cultural Dynamics

In making the case for a content quota of any kind, it is important not to fall back on the easy assumptions of cultural standardisation and ideological manipulation that were associated with the mid-century critique of 'mass' culture. It is now commonly accepted in media studies that the cultural sign or text is multi-accented or polyvalent, that the 'readings' which are made of them are specific to the context and the agent involved, that they variously relate to and inform individuated accumulations of experience, and are necessarily implicated in fields of competing values, conceptions and interests.

We have no wish to quarrel with the general drift of this movement away from the elitist 'mass' culture model of cultural homogenisation and the deterioration of audience taste and discrimination, but want to touch on a few difficulties which these now orthodox assumptions about cultural texts and their socially located reception raise in relation to our topic.

Deena Weinstein exemplifies the populist over-emphasis on the autonomous status of popular music audiences, arguing that 'the "same" music is experienced in radically different ways by different audiences' (Weinstein, 1991, p. 98). This exaggerates the extendability of textual meaning and valuation, for while the texts of popular songs are open and polysemous, they are also structured in favour of certain understandings and pleasures; their modes of reception vary between being relatively active and relatively passive; and the extent to which they may be adapted by different audience members is dependent on the particular range and combination of discourses upon which those members are able to draw. James Curran has put this well in saying that:

> The location of individuals in the social structure will tend to determine which discourses they have ready access to. This influences the range of 'readings' that they will derive from media content (Curran, 1990, p. 152).

Blanket insistence on pluralism in music consumption worries us not only because it blurs the questions of product domination and the marginalisation of local traditions and movements, questions generating the need for a quota in the first place. It also dissolves the identity of the cultural product itself. So why fight for the promotion of certain products when all products are all things to all people? The legislative claim for a quota is itself rendered insupportable: there can be no ground for a content quota when this 'content' is forever shifting, in a constant semiotic flux. Against this emphasis, we insist upon at least two disclaimers. Firstly, cultural texts are not illimitably interchangeable: if this was so then generic conventions in popular music or group-oriented music aesthetics would simply melt into an indistinguishable welter. Secondly, consumption and such attendant

factors as choice and taste are delimited by that which is made available in the marketplace.

While we need to recognise the dynamics of cultural consumption and the interpretative/evaluative processes which are central to these dynamics, we should resist the decline of cultural analysis into an uncritical celebration of the semiotics of reception and of the sovereign consumer, for then we are swinging to the opposite pole from the conspiratorial cultural imperialism thesis, with its generalised emphasis on unmediated effects and an uncontested imposition of foreign cultural products. Once upon a time the reformulation that it is not what the media do to audiences, but rather what audiences do with the media, marked a major break in mass communications research. This was a salutary break in all sorts of ways, but revisionist media critics have in their different ways taken that reformulation to a polarised extreme. It is both what audiences do with the media and what the media do to audiences which count, though it is upon the 'doing' in both cases that all the theoretical difficulties rest.

Conclusion

The polarised opposition of pluralism and imperialism in relation to the question of cultural process and identity is as unhelpful as the sense of a rigid dichotomy between authentic and commercial music (eg., rock vs 'bubblegum'). There is often some intimation of this sense in the idea that it is the ersatz, commercially tainted (often American) product which threatens to swamp the authentic, indigenous culture or the creatively vibrant local product. It is certainly vital for our sense of what is local to make distinctions and discriminations, but the danger lies in making our evaluative categories absolute, and in burying the recognition of the possible pleasures, exhilarations, questioning of values and broadening of outlook, which may follow from intercultural communication. The problem lies in turning the threat of coca-colonisation in popular music into a defence of an exaggerated distinctiveness of local product, when in reality it is the

local adaptation of imported forms, which characterises much popular culture in New Zealand. It is for this reason that we have (at times implicitly) distinguished throughout this article between local music and locally produced music. The latter category refers simply to popular music created, produced or performed by New Zealanders. To establish, let alone define, the former category - ie., a unique and distinctive 'NZ sound' (or sounds) - is by contrast much more difficult, and would require some very fine shading, never mind special pleading. The only exception to this, significant in itself, is the music of Maori and Polynesian cultures. In terms of Western-oriented meta-genres, local music in New Zealand is for us more of a putative than a demonstrable category of popular music. As Geoff Lealand has put it, if there is anything distinctive it is in the incorporation of 'our own dreams, myths and fantasies into forms that are not invented here' (Lealand, 1988:35).

Popular culture in any localised sense is today a hybridisation of symbolic forms and practices. How such interactive processes occur and their results are the important and exciting issues, though as we have been arguing throughout this essay, it is vital that the conditions for such interaction are maintained in any particular region or country of the world. There is no point arguing for these conditions on the basis of static-indigenous conceptions of locally produced popular music. Such arguments must not fall back on ideas and values deriving from the now largely discredited 'folk culture' paradigm. Locally produced music has rarely had the fixity of association with specific contexts which have been key features identified with that paradigm in the past. Certainly, in the space-time relations of late modernity, locally produced music can be defined as local only in the sense of being a synchronically observable, interactive cultural practice occurring within a particular spatial frame for a particular unit of time. Any contemporary sense of the local-popular cannot, however, be confined to a specific locality. It may, for instance, be annexed by certain geographically dispersed communities of interest as by any more traditionally defined communities of place. We must get away from the tendency to idealise the local in making evaluations of either the quantity or quality of imported products.

Our case rests instead on the contention that the local today only acquires symbolic resonance as a result of structural forces which disrupt, undermine or erode it in the perception of those who live it out in anything other than a superficial or touristic manner. As it acquires cultural resonance,, so it is also implicated in a politics of cultural relations defined in terms of a market of commodified goods that is increasingly global in its operation and reach. For small countries with a relatively low population like New Zealand, this raises the key questions of control over the manufacture of local products, access of that product to channels of public communication, command of the major vehicles of publicity, and definition of local market value. These questions are increasingly determined not only by the small domestic market, but also by the relatively insignificant stake which both locally produced music and the local music industry have in the international field. Since there is little chance of major competitive success in that field, the only alternatives seem to reside in the development of a domestic media policy that will at least offset the imbalances caused by the country's position vis-à-vis the world market for popular music.

It is a rather bizarre situation where the music which constitutes an unknown quantity for radio programmers in New Zealand is locally produced, and that which they feel is already widely familiar in its general 'feel' is foreign. In a more healthy cultural environment this situation would be reversed. This is not some nostalgic harking-back to the relatively restricted intercultural trafficking of earlier times. When such trafficking is absent, cultural innovation is at the very least slowed down. Yet when a local culture is swamped by material from outside, the possibilities for indigenous development are also diminished. It is a question of creating a creative and dynamic balance of forces. For the point remains that while cultural parochialism is to be discouraged, a large dimension of that protean phenomenon we call 'culture' is for many people about belonging, about feeling a sense of identity rooted in various ways in a geographical area or group which is quite different to that strategically constructed, mythic community of the nation. Popular cultural creativity is enhanced or even given purpose and point by association

with this symbolic belonging, and music, perhaps more than any other art-form, should contribute to it by developing its own localised content or its own variations upon more broadly pervasive features.

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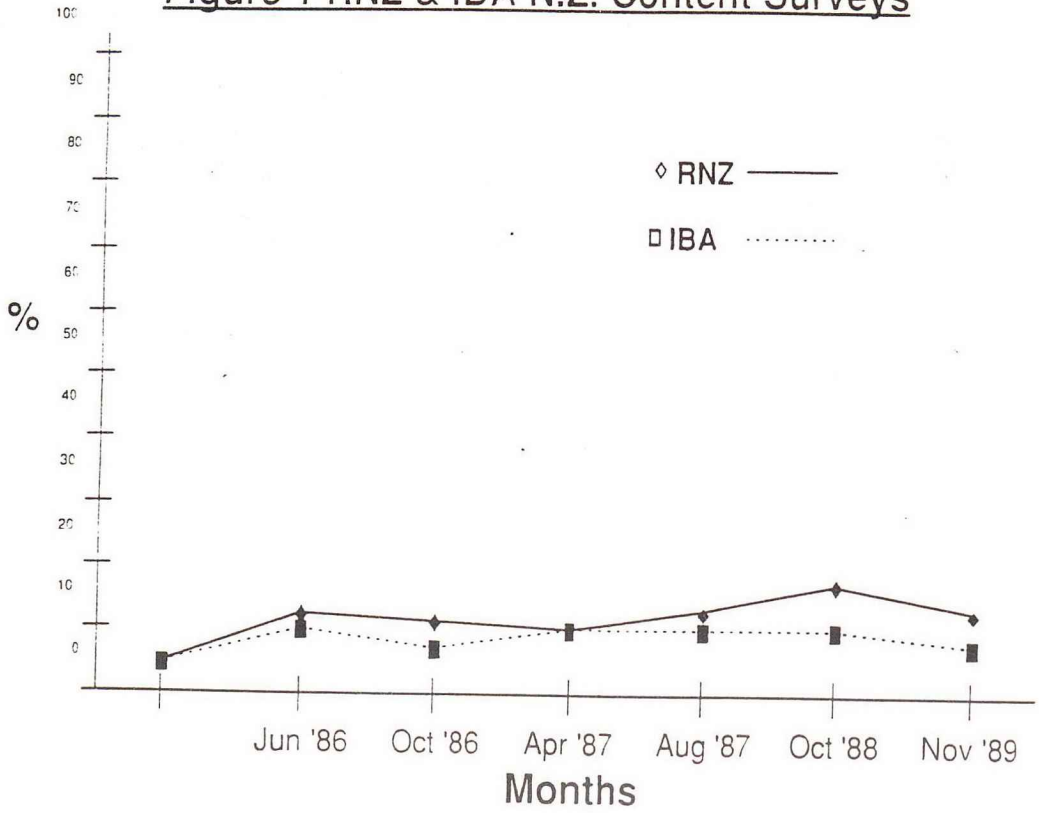
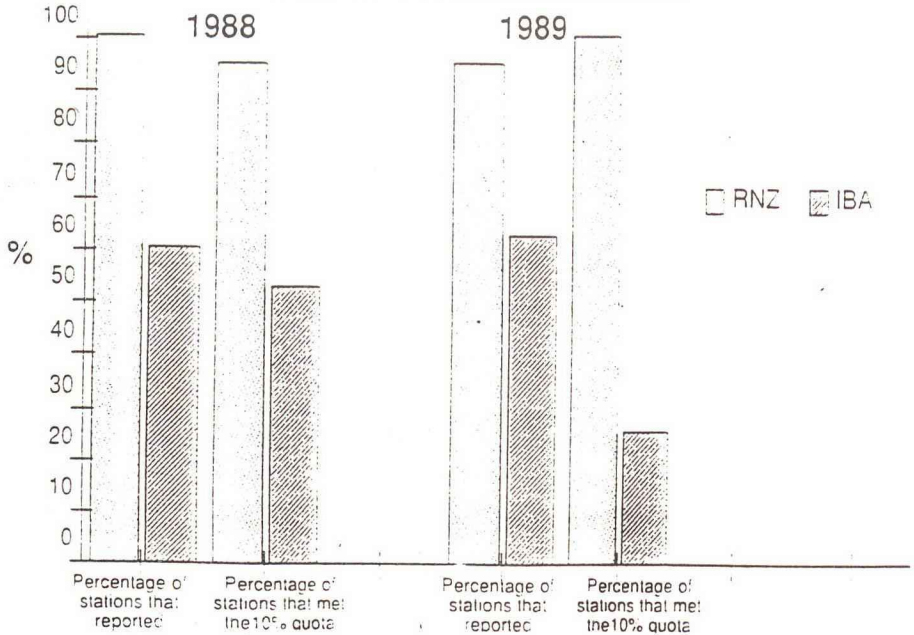
Figure 1 RNZ & IBA N.Z. Content Surveys



Source: Rocky Douche, Sub 326

Figure 2. New Zealand Music Promotion Committee Radio Surveys: New Zealand Content



Source Rocky Douche Sub 326

Figure 3 Air Play Survey

Radio Windy 6.00am - 12 midnight **4 April 1990**

Time:	No. Of Records Played	Kiwi	%
6.00 - 9.00AM (3 hrs)	20	1	5%
9.00 - 12.00 (3 hrs)	32	0	0%
12.00 - 3.00 (3 hrs)	33	0	0%
3.00 - 6.00 (3 hrs)	29	2	6.8%
6.00 - 9.00 (3 hrs)	34	1	2.9%
9.00 -12.00 (3 hrs)	34	1	2.9%

Over 18 hours the percentage of NZ music was 2.8%

Radio Windy 12 midnight - 6.00am **8 March 1990**

Time:	No. Of Records Played	Kiwi	%
Midnight to 6.00	96	6	6.25%

Source: Rocky Douché, Sub 326

Figure 4

Week Commencing 9 October, 1989

91FM HITS

L.W.	T.W.		
2	1	GIRL I'M GONNA MISS YOU	Milli Vanilli
1	2	POISON	Alice Cooper
6	3	RIGHT HERE WAITING	Richard Marx
3	4	ON OUR OWN	Bobby Brown
16	5	18 & LIFE	Skid Row
4	6	YOU GOT IT (THE RIGHT STUFF)	New Kids on the Block
8	7	NOTHING BUT A GOOD TIME	Poison
13	8	RIGHT BACK WHERE WE STARTED FROM	Sinitta
15	9	BETTER DAYS	Gun
17	10	PUSS IN BOOTS	Kon Kan
8	11	AMERICANOS	Holly Johnson
9	12	A NEW FLAME	Simply Red
11	13	OH WELL	Oh Well
12	14	ALL I WANT IS YOU	U2
20	15	SWING THE MOOD	Jive Bunny & the Mastermixers
22	16	I FEEL THE EARTH MOVE	Martika
—	17	GLAMOUR BOYS	Living Colour
—	18	ROCK WIT'CHA	Bobby Brown
14	19	NIGHTRAIN	Guns 'N' Roses
10	20	I LIKE IT	Dino
—	21	BUST A MOVE	Young M.C.
18	22	KISSES ON THE WIND	Neneh Cherry
23	23	SOWING THE SEEDS OF LOVE	Tears for Fears
—	24	REVIVAL	Eurythmics
7	25	TOY SOLDIERS	Martika

HIT ALBUMS

L.W.	T.W.		
1	1	ALL OR NOTHING	Milli Vanilli
5	2	RATTLE & HUM	U2
2	3	DON'T BE CRUEL	Bobby Brown
3	4	STEEL WHEELS	The Rolling Stones
9	5	CLUB CLASSIC VOL. ONE	Soul II Soul
6	6	TAKING ON THE WORLD	Gun
16	7	DR FEELGOOD	Motley Crue
11	8	"BEACHES" THE SOUNDTRACK	Bette Midler
4	9	MARTIKA	Martika
12	10	REPEAT OFFENDER	Richard Marx
13	11	WALTZ DARLING	Malcom McLaren
8	12	RAW LIKE SUSHI	Neneh Cherry
14	13	BATMAN - THE SOUNDTRACK	Prince
—	14	HANGIN' TOUGH	New Kids on the Block
7	15	A NEW FLAME	Simply Red
18	16	ATOMIC PLAYBOYS	Steve Stevens
20	17	MATCHBOOK	Ian Moss
23	18	PAUL'S BOUTIQUE	Beastie Boys
19	19	TEN GOOD REASONS	Jason Donavan
17	20	THE RAW & THE COOKED	Fine Young Cannibals
—	21	THE SEEDS OF LOVE	Tears for Fears
—	22	PARADISE	Inner City
22	23	VELVETEEN	Transvision Vamp
24	24	APPETITE FOR DESTRUCTION	Guns 'N' Roses
21	25	UNION	Toni Childs

Religious Affiliation - Change Over Time: An Analysis of Intercensal Change in Religious Affiliation of 5 Yearly Age-cohorts in Recent New Zealand Census'.

John Wilson

Previous studies of age-related patterns in religious affiliation in New Zealand have compared patterns found in one census directly with patterns found in other census'. Such studies have found trends of: (1) ageing and decline in adherence amongst the mainstream churches; (2) growth in adherence to some, but not other, sects/conservative churches; (3) significant growth in 'No Religion' affiliation. What these studies do not establish, however, is whether these changes in affiliation apply across older as well as younger age-groups.

This study analyses the change in religious affiliation which occurs within a given group or cohort of people over a 5 year period. The major findings are: (1) young people aged 15-19 and 20-24 years are the key groups in the decline or growth of any given religious grouping; (2) growth in affiliation amongst people aged 25-29 and 30-34 years is associated with an overall growth in affiliation to the sect/church concerned; and (3) decline in affiliation occurs across all age-groups in the mainstream churches while growth in affiliation occurs across virtually all age-groups for both those sects/conservative churches showing growth and for the 'No Religion' category.

INTRODUCTION

To the author's knowledge, no research has been published on patterns of religious affiliation with the same age cohorts over time. The importance of cohort analysis is stressed by Greeley and Hout (1988:75) who point out that such analysis is necessary to determine whether trends in religious affiliation apply across the population as a whole or to particular age-groups only.

The usual approach to analysis of age-related patterns, taking census data for any given year and making straight comparisons of any patterns with those found in other census' yields valuable suggestions. Such an approach can suggest: life-cycle effects on religious adherence; whether a religious group can be seen as a 'church' relating society as a whole, with age-groups comparatively evenly represented; and whether a religious group shows a trend which is likely to lead to growth or decline in adherence.

The foregoing approach is unable to establish, however, the extent to which any findings are distorted by generational effects in which, for example, a particular generation such as the post WWII 'baby boomer' generation might show trends in religious affiliation which differ from trends found in other generations. Nor can it establish whether the growth and decline trends found in particular groupings apply to all age-groups within the grouping, or whether virtually all significant changes in affiliation occur in the young adult age-groups.

The intercensal studies by Nolan et al (1986) and Moore (1989) certainly provide some information in this regard. Valuable as this information is, it is insufficient to provide the detailed analysis which cohort analysis yields of the age-related changes which are occurring in specific religious affiliations.

In this study, the analysis focuses not only on age-related changes (with major findings listed above) but also on gender-related findings. Affiliation to 'No Religion' and 'Object to State' categories is higher for males than females. For all other religious groupings selected for study, there is a higher level of affiliation for females than for males. This is in keeping with the findings of other studies (Finke, 1989; Webster and Perry, 1989).

Several issues of census data interpretation also arise which affect the conclusions of the study. Most noteworthy are: (1) the impact of changing the question on religious affiliation to include selected affiliations in the 1986 Census and to include yet two further affiliations in the 1991 Census; (2) the meaning of the label 'No

Religion'; and (3) the importance of cohort analysis as a methodological tool.

The findings of this study cannot be understood in isolation from social processes operating in New Zealand. or in western society, and these broader social influences are referred to in the following discussion. The findings of this study support the view that as New Zealand society has modernised, it has become more secular. However, secularising social influences do not account for the entirety of religious affiliation change patterns. Other social processes have an impact on religious affiliation which may counter-act secularising influences. Such factors are also referred to below and can be seen to account for the growth of some sects/conservative churches. The literature review focuses particularly on the three more specific areas analysed in this study of religious affiliation: interpretation of census data; age; and gender.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1. Interpretation of Census Data

A number of factors have an impact on how the census data in this study is best interpreted.

Firstly, the difference between affiliation and active church involvement needs to be noted. This difference is much more marked with the mainstream Protestant churches than for other religious groupings (Hill and Bowman, 1985:92). Withy (1993:123) reports the ratio for church attendance to census adherence in New Zealand. for Anglicans to be 6% whereas for the Assemblies of God, the ratio is 128% .

Secondly, the question of who answers the census question (Hill, 1981:26) may affect our understanding of the answers given. For example, the high proportion of children aged 0-4 years of 'No Religion' affiliation may not reflect a genuine 'No Religion' affiliation

(which in turn would indicate a very high fertility of this grouping) so much as the reluctance of parents who themselves adopt an affiliation to apply a specific affiliation to their child before s/he is old enough to indicate any kind of religious preference.

Thirdly, there is a very significant impact of change in the census question, particularly in 1986, but also in 1991. Donovan (1990:258) comments that in 1986, for the first time, there were boxes to be ticked for the five largest denominations, and for 'No Religion'. The outcome was an apparent reversal of downward trends by the major churches and a 300% increase in the figure for 'No Religion'. Specific attention is paid to this issue in the study below.

Fourthly, there is the issue of migration. The preponderance of immigrants from Great Britain over all other immigrants to New Zealand raises a question (not addressed in this study) of the extent to which the decline in affiliation to the mainstream churches might be even greater than is the case had there not been regular replenishment for these churches from British immigrants.

A fifth issue is the meaning of specific affiliation labels. Hill and Zwaga (1989:175) comment that the explicit inclusion of 'No Religion' as a choice for affiliation in the 1986 religious question not only largely absorbed the comparatively small (c. 1% of the population) Atheist and Agnostic categories but coincided with the halving of the much larger (c. 15% of the population) 'Object to State' category. These changes suggest 'No Religion' affiliation does not reflect a single category of irreligion. Indeed studies by Vernon (referred to by Hill and Zwaga, 1989:166) and Bibby (1985:297) have found the 'No Religion' category includes those with positive religious commitment as well as those who reject religion.

Finally the volatility of census affiliation should be noted. In the New Zealand intercensal consistency studies (Nolan et al, 1986; Moore, 1989), between a quarter and a third of the traced groups changed affiliation. Most of this change in affiliation involved the religious non-aligned categories, with the mainline churches showing the kind

of consistent patterns of affiliation ('encasement') found in Canada by Bibby (1985). This volatility should discourage the drawing of definitive conclusions about trends in religious affiliation over a period of a few years only, but should not blur the fact that certain long-term trends of change in affiliation are discernable.

2. Secularisation

A number of sociologists have rejected any triumphalist scenario of secularisation (Beckford and Luckmann, 1989:2; Robbins and Anthony, 1991:10; Martin, 1991:47). However, Hill (1981:24) lists several components of the secularisation process: (i) loss of social influence of religion, (ii) loss of adherence due to religious pluralism, (iii) privatisation of religion, and (iv) growth of irreligion; each of which may be seen to have occurred in New Zealand. The present study finds clear signs of growth for some groups, notably the Jehovah's Witnesses and Assemblies of God, but in keeping with overseas trends, there has been a very dramatic increase in 'No Religion' affiliation in New Zealand..

As discussed above, the 'No Religion' category includes varieties of people who do not wish to apply any specific religious label to themselves. Thus the continued growth of the 'No Religion' category in New Zealand cannot simplistically be read as a direct growth in irreligion. Further, as has also been noted above, the 'No Religion' category is a volatile category. One source of this volatility may be a parental reluctance to commit very young children to an institutional identification (Hill and Zwaga 1989a:174). The low levels of belief in a 'personal God' found by Webster and Perry (1989:21) amongst those who professed 'No Religion' may indicate that a reluctance to assign children a specific affiliation may be associated with a decline in the religious socialisation of such children. This would indicate a trend towards growth in irreligion in New Zealand.

3. Causes of Growth and Decline in Particular Religious Affiliations.

A number of studies have identified 'growth factors', such as evangelism and goal orientation (Hadaway, 1991:181; Poloma and Pendleton, 1989:415; Finke and Starke, 1989:27ff; Bedell, 1991), which are found to explain the growth or decline of particular religious affiliations. This kind of thinking has been applied in New Zealand by the Apostolic Church which has recently simplified its structure to give more responsibility to local churches (Brown, 1985:103). Since that time, this church has experienced remarkable growth, an annual rate of 13.2% (Withy, 1993:142).

Other sociological factors have also been found to play a significant role in the differential growth of various religious groups. One such factor found by Hadaway (1990:370ff) is that new churches are more likely to grow than older churches. Data provided by Withy (1993:136) indicates the dramatic growth of the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic church in New Zealand in recent years has resulted primarily from the establishment of new churches.

The most important factor affecting the affiliation of particular individuals is religious socialization Greeley (1982:140) and McAllister (1988:259) suggest that. In support of this view, Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1985:187 ff.) find that churches (e.g. Mormon) which cost members the most are also valued most by their members. And McAllister (1988:261) goes further to conclude that groups which immerse their members in the life of the church will retain their members commitment more effectively than religious groups which pursue an open membership policy. Cornwall (1987:44) suggests that religious socialisation occurs as individuals join communities which sustain the world view of the religious group concerned. The inference is that the level of effectiveness of religious socialisation for any religious grouping will affect the level of affiliation to the group concerned.

Also important in the differential growth of various religious groupings are the fertility rate and age of marriage (Hill, 1985:127). Of those groups analysed in this study, the Assemblies of God are found to have the highest fertility rate and also to be the fastest growing church. The same kind of pattern is found in Canada (Heaton, 1986:59) and the U.S.A. (Perrin, 1989:86). Further support is Bibby's (1985:292) finding that it is the higher birth rate, and retention of children and geographically mobile members, rather than evangelism or proselytism, which has led to the growth of conservative churches in Canada. This suggests that differential growth rates of churches relate to their different denominational norms, and that it is the particular mix of values and religious practices currently found in the mainstream Protestant churches which account for the decline in affiliation of these churches.

4. The Relation of Age to Religious Affiliation

The decline in affiliation to mainstream churches, the modest growth of sectarian affiliation, and a marked growth in religious non-alignment in New Zealand are each age-related phenomena (Webster and Perry, 1989:21). Indeed, Nolan et al (1986) and Moore (1989), in their studies of New Zealand intercensal data, found age to be the primary factor correlating with changes in religious affiliation. The change in affiliation was greatest for those under age 40 years.

The rejection of parental religious values by adolescents should not be unexpected but is not inevitable according to Dudley and Laurent (1988:409). And Hill (1985:127) notes the particular appeal of the Mormon church to young people as a result of social activities they provide. The implication of these findings, in line with the discussion above, is that the presence or absence of effective religious socialisation is an important factor in the explanation of the extensive change in religious affiliation which occurs in young adulthood.

It is precisely churches, such as the Anglican Church, which have a voluntary membership and are most 'open' to trends in society, which have suffered the greatest decline in adherence in Australia, particularly amongst young adults. In contrast, churches which demand more from their adherents, generally fare better (McAllister, 1988:261). Mol (1982:80) makes much the same point where he notes churches which aim at 'separation' from society, such as the sects and the Roman Catholics [before the second Vatican Council, see Isichei (1990)] have a much stronger 'hold' on their membership than do the main Protestant denominations in New Zealand The present study would support these findings.

5. The relationship of Gender to Religious Affiliation

Gender ranks second amongst the factors related to change in religious affiliation in the New Zealand intercensal studies, with major differences between the level of the male and female changes showing for the 20-39 year age-groups in both studies (Nolan et al, 1986; Moore, 1989). Finke (1989: 49-50) refers to a body of literature showing women are more likely than men to participate religiously. The finding applies across age, ethnicity, education and social class. Webster and Perry's (1989:21) study of religious attitudes and values in New Zealand found the same gender effect .

To account for this gender difference, Hill (1981:36) notes Luckmann's suggestion that in a modern society women are marginalised to the extent they are not employed outside the home. The implication is that this marginalisation may provide a reason why women exhibit higher religious professions than men. In support of such reasoning, de Vaus and McAllister (1987) found that the lower rate of female workforce participation is an important factor influencing the higher degree of religious interest in females in Australia. They note that this is not the case in the U.S.A. Hoge and Roozen are highly critical of such inferences. They assert that deprivation theory has been extensively researched, with most research contradicting it (Hoge and Roozen, 1979:51 ff).

To reconcile such contradictory findings, we might note that women 'are found in all research to be more conforming to social norms' (Hoge and Roozen, 1979:44). This could explain why women in western societies exhibit higher religious affiliation than men. One might expect the impact of the women's movement to alter this pattern of female social conformity. Changes in social conceptions of what it means to be female may provide a reason for the lower level of religious participation shown by working females in Australia. Perhaps the reason this pattern does not obtain in the U.S.A. is that a comparable change in social attitudes of what it means to be female may not have occurred there. The findings of this study relate more closely to the U.S.A. pattern than to the Australian pattern.

DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

1. Data

The data used is the religious professions from the New Zealand Census' of Population and Dwellings for the years 1976, 1981, 1986 and 1991. For the religious groupings selected for study, the numbers of professions for each 5-year age-group was converted to a percentage of the total number of persons in that age-group. This process was also carried out on the same age-groups, by gender. The use of percentages in this way, rather than the 'raw' numbers, enables trends over time to be more readily detected by eliminating any bias which might arise from a larger or smaller than average number of people in any particular 5 year age-group.

2. Method of Analysis

Cohort analysis was used to discover any age-related patterns. For any given religious affiliation, the percentage of the population with professed adherence in one census, for each age-group, was subtracted from the percentage with professed adherence found in the succeeding census for the age-group 5 years older.

The assumption is, for example, that the cohort aged 0-4 years with Anglican affiliation in 1976 is approximately the same group as the people aged 5-9 years of Anglican affiliation in 1981. Thus comparison of the affiliations, as a percentage of the total population for the age-groups concerned, should reveal the level of change in Anglican affiliation for this cohort. Obviously, the cohorts will not be exactly the same since deaths will have occurred, as will migration. Here is another reason it is important to use the percentage of the population, rather than the absolute number of professions, since this methodology has an effect of partially controlling for movements in population numbers due to death or migration and, very importantly, for change in the census question.

To analyse the effect on professions of religious affiliation caused by the change in census question in 1986 and 1991, the overall professions for each of the selected affiliations for the census' 1976-1991 were compared.

Discussed above is the role fertility ratios have in affecting levels of religious affiliation. These were calculated, following Mol(1982:79), by finding the number of 0-4 year old children per 100 women aged 15-40.

3. Choice of Religious Affiliations Studied

Trends in religious affiliation in New Zealand in recent years have consistently shown:

(1) clear-cut decline in affiliation for the mainstream Protestant churches, with a somewhat different pattern of affiliation for the Roman Catholic church;
(2) growth in affiliation for some but not other sects/conservative churches;
(3) significant growth in the 'No Religion'' category.

To investigate these trends this study analyses data relating to the following groupings: for trend (1), Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches; for trend (2), Jehovah's Witness, Latter Day Saints, Baptist, Assemblies of God, and Brethren affiliations; and for trend (3), 'No Religion' and 'Object to State' affiliations.

RESULTS

1. Profession by Age-group and by Gender.

Graphs 1 to 3 allow the type of analysis usually given in discussion of age-related trends in religious adherence. The customary trends are found and are noted below.

Graph 1 shows an ageing trend in the Anglican church, with a trough in the 15-29 year age-group, and higher affiliation for females than for males. The pattern shows little change over the 15 year period. The same patterns could readily have been shown to apply to the Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

Graph 2 (i) indicates a very high level of 'No Religion' affiliation for the under 5 and the 15-24 year groups which is more marked amongst males than females. **Graph 2** (ii) reveals no clear pattern for the Roman Catholic church other than a slight, but not consistent, decline in affiliation for groups over 30 years of age, and a higher affiliation of females than males.

As Hill (1983:141-2) notes, the decline in Roman Catholic adherence is much less marked than that for the mainstream Protestant churches.

Graph 3. shows a trend for Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witness of gradually decreasing affiliation with age. There is a slightly greater rate of decline in affiliation for the groups aged 15-24 years, and higher affiliation amongst females than males.

The findings here that there is a higher percentage of affiliation for males than females for the 'No Religion' category, but with the reverse the case for affiliations to each of the churches or sects listed, support the findings of other studies. There is no detectable change in this pattern over the 15 year period covered by the data analysed in this study. The graph patterns indicate no reduction in gender difference in religious affiliation for the mainstream churches (those churches most 'open' to prevailing social influences) over the period 1976-81 through to 1986-91 which is not accounted for by the decline in the overall level of affiliation to these churches. As discussed above, this suggests that changes in social mores of what it means to be female have not had much impact on those social factors most closely associated with choice of religious affiliation for a majority of New Zealanders.

A cohort analysis is needed to determine with clarity whether an ageing trend, as shown in **Graph 1**, necessarily indicates an overall decline, or whether it may include a trend for affiliation later in life. Similarly, the trend found in the Assemblies of God needs further analysis to determine if the increase in affiliation of young people is the whole pattern or whether there is some disaffiliation with age as well.

2. Cohort Analysis

Graphs 4 to 6 allow an analysis of any change in affiliation which occurred between the 1986 and 1991 census for each of the cohorts listed. The graph key indicates the age-groups of each cohort. Thus cohort 1 gives the percentage difference (of the total of the population for the age concerned) between the level of affiliation for the age group 0-4 years and the level of affiliation for the same group when they were 5 years older. The trends we may detect from this series of graphs are outlined below.

Graph 4. In spite of the difference shown between the patterns of affiliation for the mainline Protestant churches (**Graph 1**) and the Roman Catholic church (**Graph 2**), there is actually a similar pattern

of age-related change for all mainstream churches. The percentage decline is very much higher in the young adult cohorts, but the pattern is one of decline in affiliation across all age-groups. It is not the case that as people age they are more likely to adopt mainstream church affiliation.

Although affiliation patterns are similar for each of these churches, the level of decline is proportionately smaller for the Roman Catholic church. This difference may, in part, be related to different patterns of religious socialisation, since the nadir of decline is reached with cohort 3 (aged 15-19 years) with Anglican and Presbyterian churches, but is reached with cohort 4 (aged 20-24 years) for the Roman Catholic church.

Graph 5. demonstrates the major point of similarity between the 'No Religion' and 'Object to State' affiliations is a peak at cohort 3, then a decline to cohort 4. Young adults aged 15-24 years are the people most likely to 'Object to State' their religious affiliation and are very much more likely to state their religious affiliation as 'None'. The scale is dramatic.

Graph 6. Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witness affiliation increases for all age-groups. The peak in growth occurs for cohort 5 (age group 25-29 years) and cohort 1, the children presumably of cohort 5. The pattern for this affiliation is growth.

3. Fertility Ratios

Graph 7 gives one indication of why the Roman Catholic church should be declining at a slower rate than the mainstream Protestant churches. The fertility ratio associated with Roman Catholic profession is higher. The comparatively high fertility ratios for the Assemblies of God, Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses is clearly a factor in the growth in adherence to these affiliations. The Brethren high fertility ratio does not fit easily with the overall pattern of lack of growth for this group. The decline in affiliation which occurs for cohorts 3-6 (see **Graph 18**) would appear to nullify any growth effect of higher

than average fertility. And as discussed above the very high apparent fertility ratio for the 'No Religion' group may, at least in part, be explained as the reluctance of parents who themselves adopt an affiliation to assign a specific affiliation to their child.

4. Effects of Change in Census Question

Graphs 8 to **13** reveal effects due to changes in the census question. That incorrect conclusions can be drawn by reading age-related affiliations as set out in **Graph 8**, instead of following cohort analysis as in **Graph 9**, is readily apparent. It would appear from **Graph 8** that the change in census question in 1986 made little major difference to the pattern of Anglican affiliation. **Graph 9** shows a major impact from changes to the Census. One would expect smooth changes in affiliation trends in a body the size of the Anglican church; for the pattern in the 1981-1986 intercensal period to be intermediate between the pattern for the 1976-1981 period and that for the 1986-1991 period. Cohort analysis shows that for every age-group, the results found for the 1981-1986 period are inflated.

The halving of the 'Object' category in 1986, in conjunction with the large increase in 'No Religion', would appear to indicate that a large proportion of people who formerly opted to 'Object to State' were now opting 'No Religion', affiliation. This inference is partially correct. **Graph 10** shows a major amount of the increase in 'No Religion' affiliation which occurred in 1986 did come from the 'Object to State' category. But an almost equally large increase in the 'No Religion' affiliation came from those who had formerly indicated affiliation with a mainstream church. And **Graph 11** shows that a major portion of those who formerly opted to 'Object to State' were now choosing 'No Religion' affiliation. But an almost equally large number of those who had formerly opted to 'Object' were now choosing a mainstream church affiliation.

Before 1986, the only religious affiliation or non-affiliation listed was "Object to State". In the 1986 census, six other categories were listed: Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist

and 'No Religion'. The effects of that change for the affiliations most affected are shown in **Graph 12**. These changes include:

(1) the anticipated decrease of 2% (of New Zealand population, the approximate level in decline each successive census since 1966) in Presbyterian affiliation was converted to a 2% increase in affiliation, with the 5 yearly trend of 2% decrease in affiliation resuming in 1991;

(2) Baptist affiliation had been constant at 1.6% and again seems constant, now at 2.1%;

(3) 'No Religion' affiliation had been progressively increasing with a rate of increase of 2% between 1976 and 1981, with a sudden increase of 11% between 1981 and 1986, but with the resumption of a more gradual increase of about 3.5% between 1986 and 1991;

(4) now that those who formerly opted 'Object to State' were offered an explicit choice, for many apparently no longer objected to state;

(5) now that those who could not specify were given specific choices, more opted to specify;

(6) the Brethren were not listed in the census question and (like the All Other grouping, not shown here) declined in affiliation.

In each case, the underlying trend in affiliation, which appeared to have altered in the 1986 figures for religious affiliation, is shown to have continued. In 1991, the list of categories was expanded to include Mormon and Ratana affiliations. Graph 13 shows the change in affiliation which occurred. The inference is that the growth in these affiliations is not what the appearance indicates.

5. Changes in Cohorts Indicating Growth or Decline

Graphs 9 and **14-23** show the percentage change in successive cohorts for the affiliations selected. The patterns are:

(1) there is a serious decline in affiliation for Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches. No church can afford, over the course of 5 years, to lose the affiliation of 6% of the population of New Zealand for one specific age-group. But this is what happened with cohort 3 of the Anglican church between 1976 and 1981. The number of people in this 10-14 year age group in 1976 who had discontinued Anglican affiliation 5 years later, by which time they were in the 15-19 year age-group, constituted 6% of the population of New Zealand of that age-group. And the graph indicates that at no future stage of life does Anglican affiliation increase. Once one has made allowance for the figures for the 1981-1986 cohorts (inflated because of the change in the 1986 census question), it can be seen that the pattern found in **Graph 15** shows the same general trend for the Anglican church for all three intercensal periods studied. The same is true for the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches (**Graphs 16-18**).

After allowance has been made for the inflated figures for the 1981-1986 cohorts, the pattern of percentage change in the affiliation of cohorts is seen to have remained remarkably constant for the three consecutive intercensal periods, that is, for the past 15 years. It is a trend of decline. If this trend continues, and if the Roman Catholic church continues to have a higher fertility ratio than the mainstream Protestant churches, and its religious socialisation practices are able to continue to hold back the peak years of decline in affiliation to the age-group 20-24 years, the outcome for this church is one of a gradually ageing population, with a gradually declining level of affiliation, rather than the rapid pattern of

decline currently found in the mainstream Protestant churches.

(2) There is no change in overall level of affiliation for Baptist and Brethren groups. Cohort analysis shows the apparent growth in Baptist affiliation to be a distortion caused by a change in the 1986 Census question, as is the apparent decline in Brethren affiliation.

(3) There is growth in affiliation for the Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witness groups. This growth is associated with a high fertility ratio for both these groups and was unaffected by the changes in the 1986 and 1991 census', which indicates strong group identification.

(4) There is no clear pattern of growth or decline in affiliation to the Latter Day Saint or 'Object to the State' groups.

(5) There is massive growth in affiliation for the 'No Religion' group.

Graph 22 is difficult to interpret because the change in census question in 1986, including 'No Religion' as an option for the first time, impacted more heavily on 'No Religion' affiliation for the consecutive intercensal periods shown than for any other affiliation. For nearly all groups analysed in this study, the patterns of change in affiliation for the 1976-1981 and the 1986-1991 intercensal periods are virtually identical. This possibly permits an interpretation that the 1981-1986 figures are a falsely inflated, one off aberration, and allow one to expect that a correct adjustment of the 1981-1986 figures for 'No Religion' would show a pattern very similar to that for the 1986-1991 period. If, on this assumption, one simply applies the figures for the 1986-1991 period to the 1981-1986 period, one could then note that approximately 9% of the group aged 15-19 years adopted 'No Religion' affiliation between 1981 and 1986, and a further 7% of the same group, now aged 20-24 year, adopted 'No Religion' affiliation. That is, for the period 1981-1991, of the group which aged 10 years

from 10-14 years to 20-24 years approximately 16% of the population for this age-group adopted 'No Religion' affiliation. It is a very large scale movement of affiliation, one which is not matched in scale by any of the religious groups showing signs of growth.

For all of the churches and sects, the cohorts showing most decline in affiliation are the 15-19 and the 20-24 age groups. It is particularly noteworthy that the religious groups showing most growth, the Assemblies of God and the Jehovah's Witnesses, are the groups which have succeeded in minimising, even eliminating, drop-out from the young adult age groups, with any limited decline in adherence which occurs for these groups doing so in the 15-19 year age group. It is also noteworthy that these groups show growth in the 25-34 year and the under 10 year age-groups. This phenomena might best be explained by postulating that these 25-34 year olds are parents of comparatively large young families.

Conversely, it can be noted that the churches which show greatest decline are those which have significant loss from both 5 yearly age-groups in the range 15-24 years, and show no increase in affiliation during the critical child-rearing ages, 25-34 years, or indeed at any other age.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms the general findings of other studies, discussed above, on religious professions by age and by gender. Specific findings are set out below.

(1) Cohort analysis allowed conclusions to be drawn on the generational effects and the level of distortion caused by changes in the census question. Conclusions with any degree of specificity can not be drawn on these points using a direct analysis of professions of adherence.

(2) Changes in the census question, listing specific categories in 1986 and 1991, had a significant effect in increasing the reported adherence to each category listed.

(3) As found in other studies, female religious affiliation is higher than that of males, and male affiliation to 'No Religion' is higher than that of females. These differences are most marked for the groups aged 15-19 years, and 20-24 years.

(4) Gender differences in religious affiliation for the mainstream churches are similar in the 1986-1991 period to those in the 1976-1981 period.

(5) Fertility ratios are a factor in growth and decline in church adherence, as found in other studies.

(6) Age-related effects were also as found in other studies. There is an over-representation of older people and an under-representation of young adults in the mainstream Protestant churches, with a preponderance of young adults, particularly males, in the 'No Religion' category.

Cohort analysis showed that the current pattern of age-related change in the Roman Catholic church is analogous to that of the mainstream Protestant churches, such that if this trend continues, then the age-profile of those with Roman Catholic affiliation will very gradually alter to replicate the ageing profile currently found in the mainstream Protestant churches. Cohort analysis also showed that although the bulk of the decline in affiliation to each mainstream church comes from the young adult (15-24 years) age group, the decline occurs at every age level.

Conversely, the groups with growth in affiliation, Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witnesses, showed growth across virtually all age-groups, particularly in the 25-34 year age groups. Most critically, these groups have succeeded in retaining the affiliation of most or all

of their young adults. It would appear that religious groups decline unless they develop and maintain effective methods of achieving religious socialisation of their young adherents, and growth in overall affiliation is associated with success in attracting adults at an age when they are having families.

As noted above, the proportion of nominal adherents to the mainstream Protestant churches continues at very high levels. Loss of only nominal members fails to explain the decline in affiliation of these churches. The consistency of the pattern of decline in affiliation to these churches, in spite of changes in society at large and in the churches concerned, would seem to indicate a level of decline which is unlikely to be altered by anything less than massive changes in church policy and practice.

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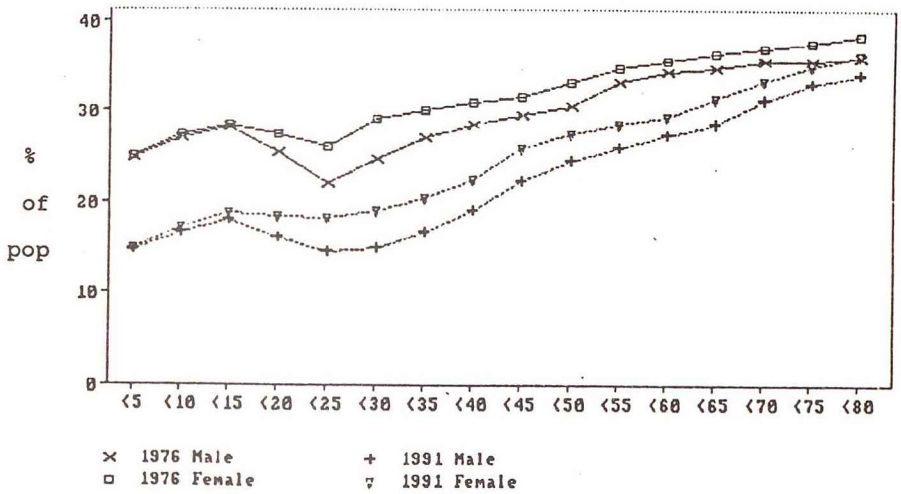
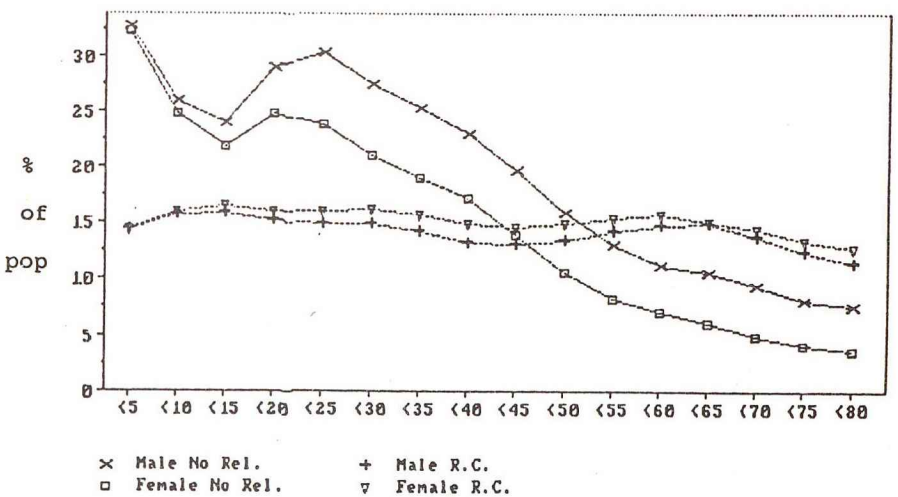
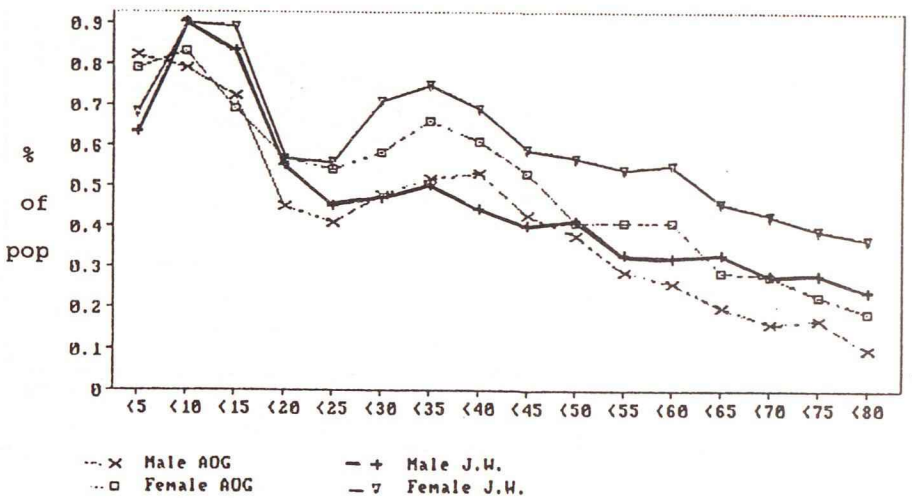
GRAPH 1
% Anglican professions by gender, for 1976 and 1991



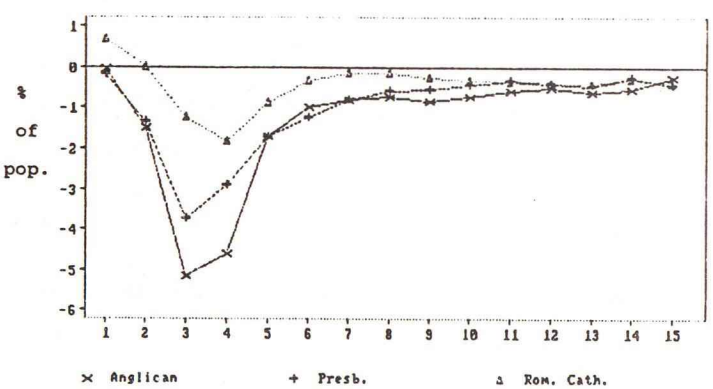
GRAPH 2
% No Religion and Roman Catholic professions by gender



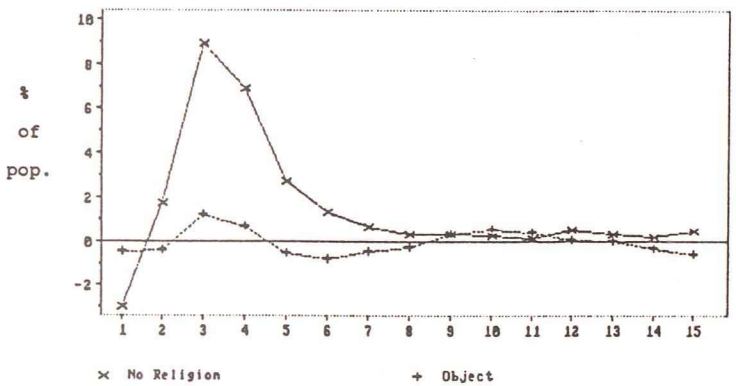
GRAPH 3
% Jehovah's Witness and Assemblies of God professions by gender



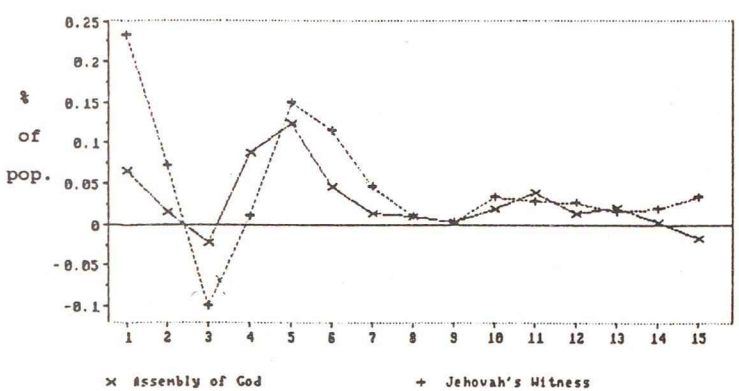
GRAPH 4
% change in Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic professions by Age-Cohort for the 1986-1991 Census



GRAPH 5
% change in No Religion and Object to State professions by Age-Cohort for the 1986-1991 Census

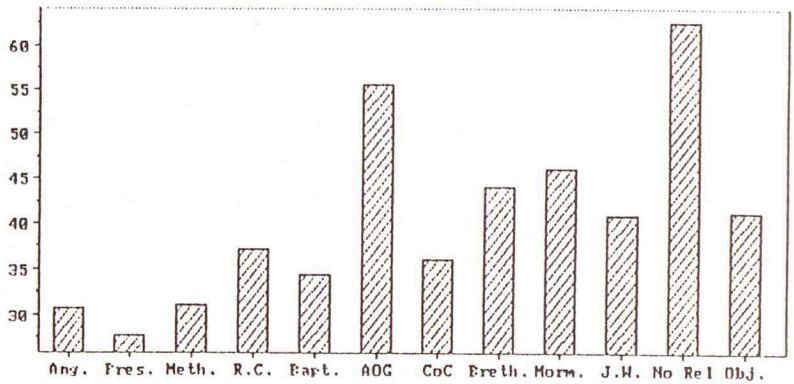


GRAPH 6
% change in Assemblies of God and Jehovah's Witness professions by Age-Cohort for the 1986-1991 Census



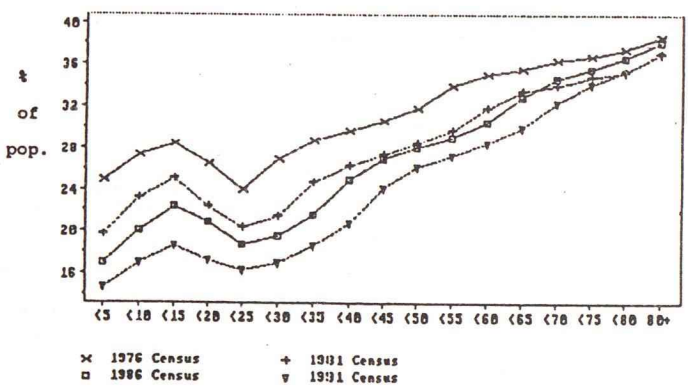
GRAPH 7

Fertility Ratios
(No. of children aged 0-4 years
per 100 women aged 15-39 years from the 1991 Census
for selected religious professions.)



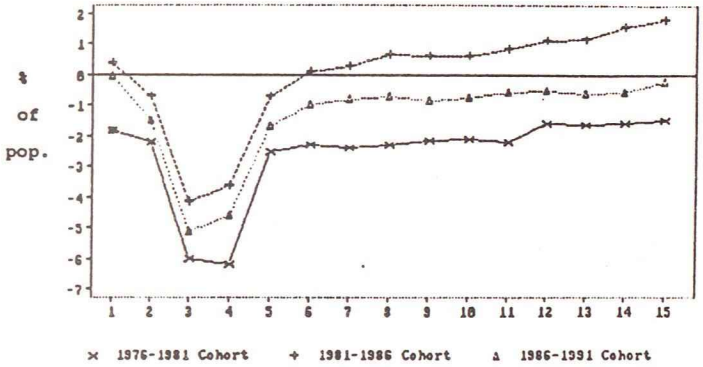
GRAPH 8

Anglican affiliation as a percentage of the population



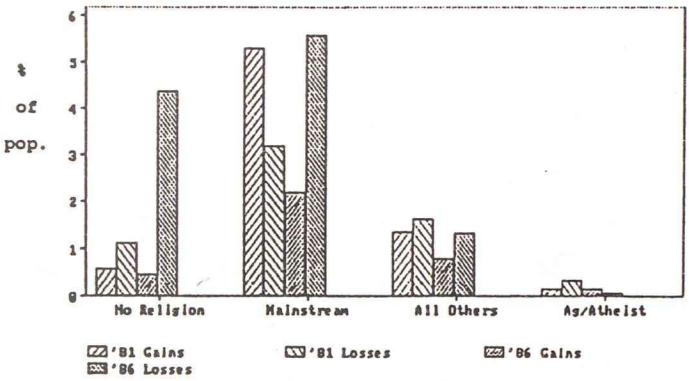
GRAPH 9

% change in successive cohorts of Anglican affiliation



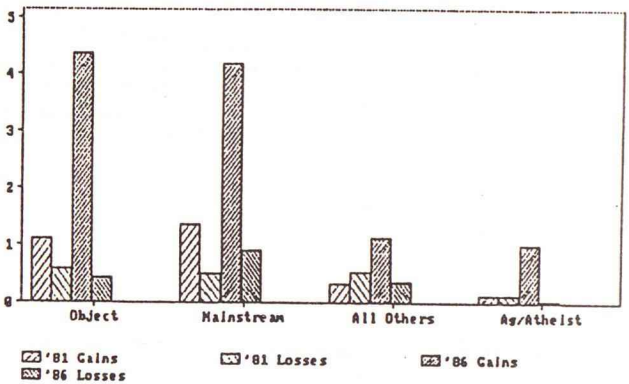
GRAPH 10

Sources of gains and destinations of losses for Object



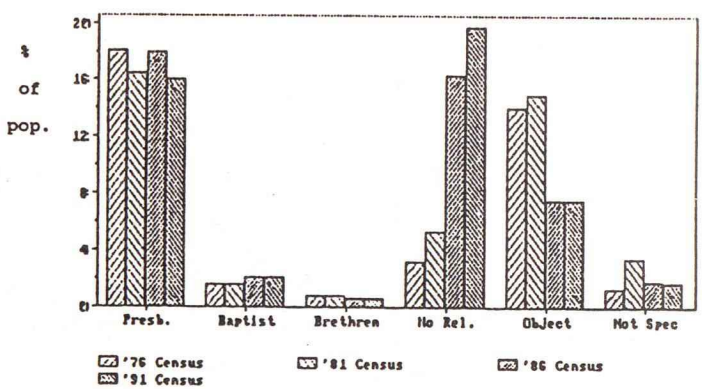
GRAPH 11

Sources of gains and destinations of losses for No Religi



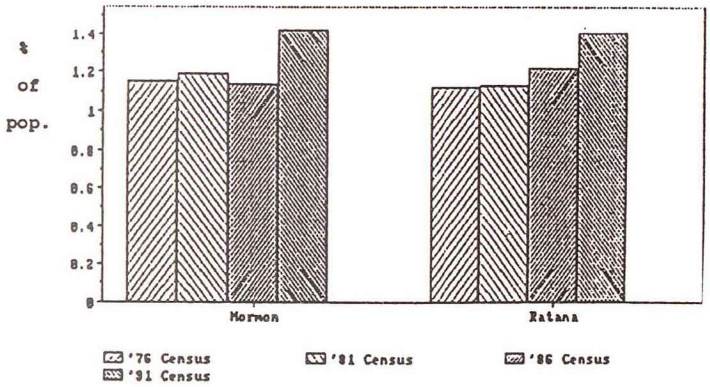
GRAPH 12

Effect on choice of religious affiliation of change in the 1986 Census question



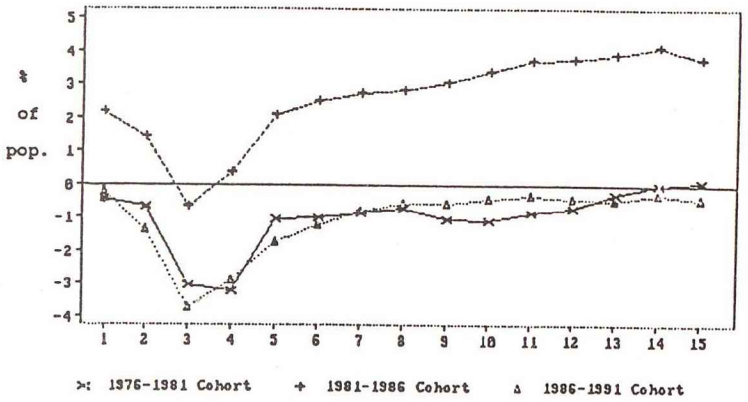
GRAPH 13

Effect on choice of religious affiliation of change in the 1991 Census question



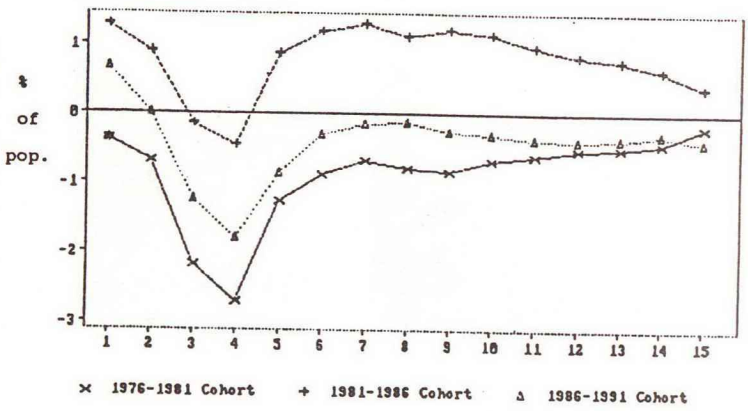
GRAPH 14

% change in successive cohorts of Presbyterian affiliation



GRAPH 15

% change in successive cohorts of Roman Catholic affiliation



KEY TO COHORT GRAPHS

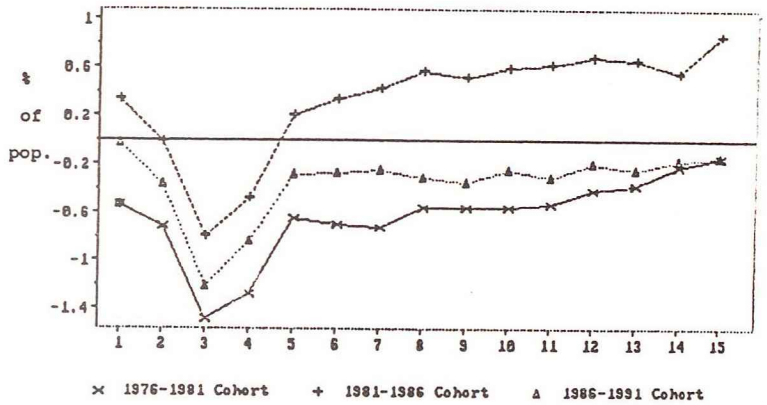
Age-cohort 1 is the cohort comprising the age-group 0-4 years in any given census and the age-group 5-9 years in the succeeding Census.

Similarly age-cohort

2	is cohort 5-9 - 10-14,
3	is cohort 10-14 - 15-19,
4	is cohort 15-19 - 20-24,
5	is cohort 20-24 - 25-29,
6	is cohort 25-29 - 30-34,
7	is cohort 30-34 - 35-39,
8	is cohort 35-39 - 40-44,
9	is cohort 40-44 - 45-49,
10	is cohort 45-49 - 50-54,
11	is cohort 50-54 - 55-59,
12	is cohort 55-59 - 60-64,
13	is cohort 60-64 - 65-69,
14	is cohort 65-69 - 70-74,
15	is cohort 70-74 - 75-79.

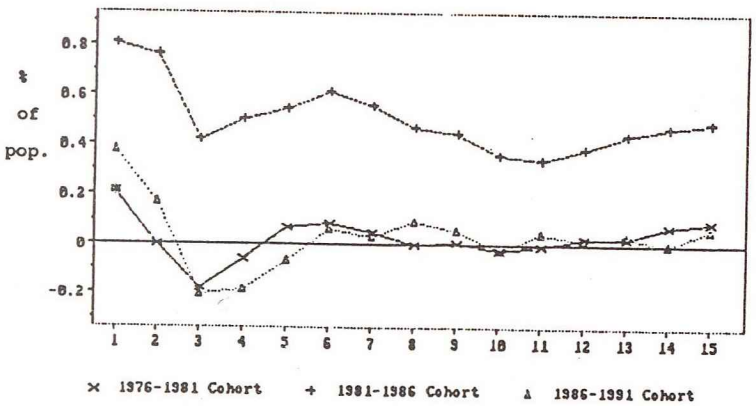
GRAPH 16

% change in successive cohorts of Methodist affiliation



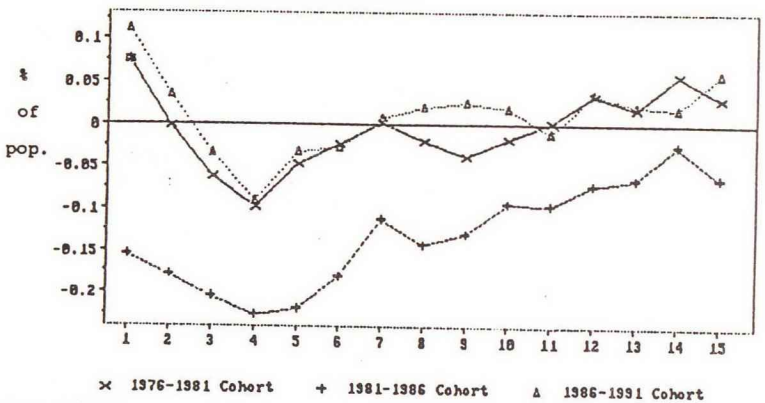
GRAPH 17

% change in successive cohorts of Baptist affiliation



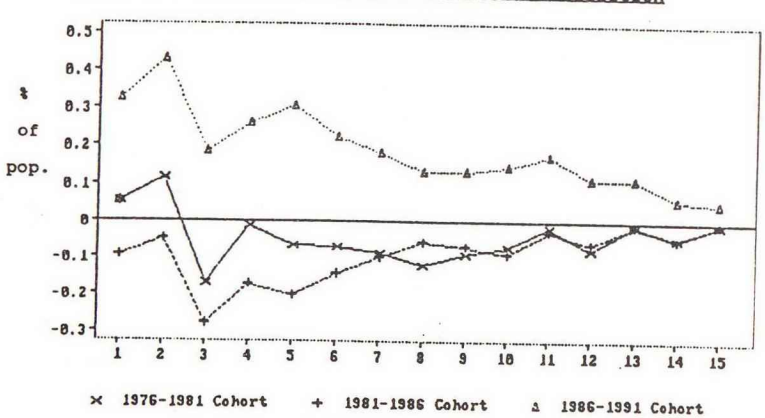
GRAPH 18

% change in successive cohorts of Brethren affiliation



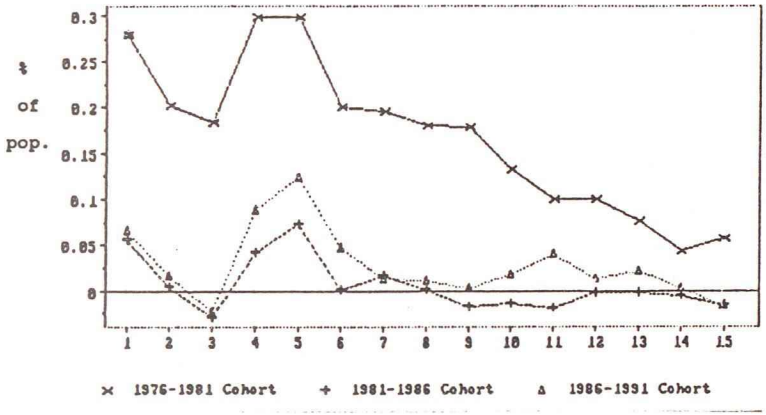
GRAPH 19

% change in successive cohorts of Mormon affiliation



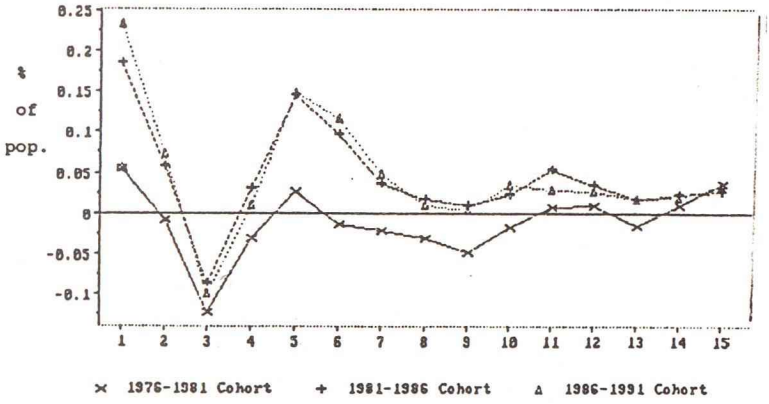
GRAPH 20

% change in successive cohorts of Assemblies of God affiliation



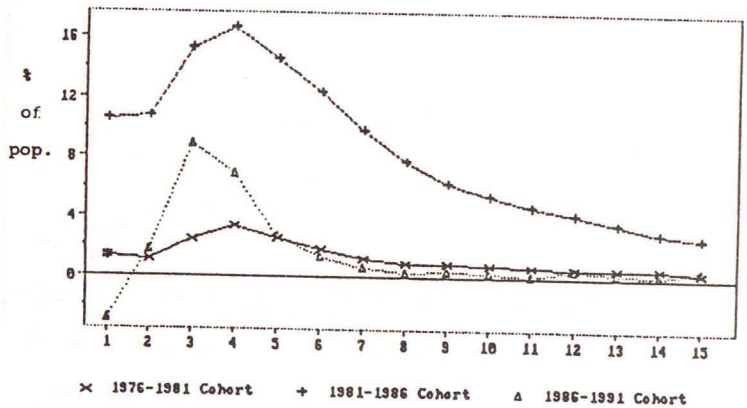
GRAPH 21

% change in successive cohorts of Jehovah's Witness affiliation



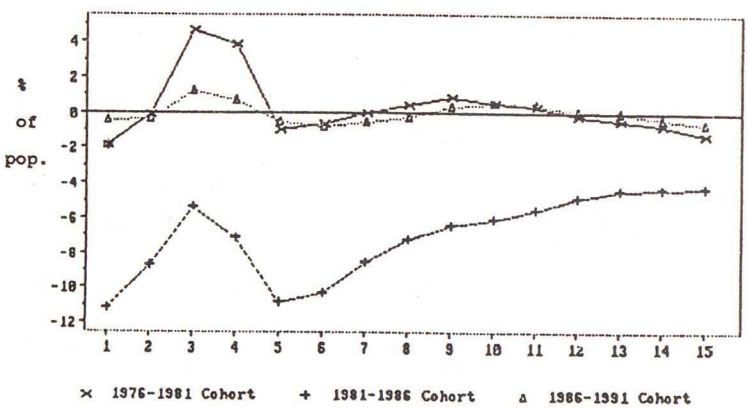
GRAPH 22

% change in successive cohorts of No Religion affiliation



GRAPH 23

% change in successive cohorts of Object to State affiliation



New Zealand SOCIOLOGY 8 (1) May 1993

Review Essay

Gary McCulloch (ed), **The School Curriculum in New Zealand: History, Theory, Policy and Practice.** Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992; and Roger Openshaw (ed), **New Zealand Social Studies: Past, Present and Future.** Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992.

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> To approach the curriculum as though it has arisen overnight, fully formed, without reference to its history, is to inspect only the tip of a huge iceberg. (McCulloch, 1992:9)

Both these collections could be labelled 'curriculum history' and are centrally concerned to increase our understanding of the 'iceberg' of the New Zealand school curriculum below the 'tip' of official syllabi and prescriptions. Their attention is focused on the curriculum of primary and secondary schooling, although the influence of the university curriculum is evident in a number of the accounts. Both make links between the histories they tell and current issues in curriculum in New Zealand. And both link curriculum continuity and change to wider political and social, as well as educational, issues.

I have read these books as a sociologist rather than a historian, and review them from my own particular slant as a teacher of the sociology of education. As a consequence of my background and interests two interrelated issues arise for me in evaluating these collections: as a teacher I am interested in their usefulness to students of the sociology of curriculum; and as a sociologist I am aware that my view of history is inevitably coloured by my sociological bias and

wonder about the relationship between the two disciplines. I will return to these issues in my discussion.

The School Curriculum in New Zealand (SCNZ) begins with an Introduction by Gary McCulloch. This is a very useful chapter which sets out what its author considers to be the key aspects of curriculum history (p.10-11), then contextualises the present collection with reviews of work on the curriculum and history of education in New Zealand (p.11-15) and recent British and American work (p.15-17). The chapter concludes with a brief overview of recent education policy and reform in New Zealand (p.18-20). Such overviews pinpointing major issues and debates are extremely useful to orient students and other readers new to the field.

Following the Introduction, the book is divided into two sections. 'Part One: Historical Structures and Inequalities' is based on discussions of curricula and social issues. The former include a number of chapters exploring the successes or failures of various curriculum developments. The latter include chapters on the inequalities of race (Barrington) and gender (O'Neill). An immediate point to note is the lack of discussion of social class as a source of educational inequality. The links between the drive for a technical curriculum and the perceived 'problem' of education for working class and Maori students are mentioned in McKenzie's account of the failure of this initiative, but the focus remains on the battle over the curriculum as a case study of the failure of a 'top-down' innovation that did not win the support of parents and students. Barrington's generally excellent treatment of the removal of the academic curriculum at Te Aute College likewise manages to avoid any mention of social class in his discussion of how this move operated to prohibit Maori social mobility. As a teacher faced with convincing students of the realities of social class in New Zealand and the place of education in perpetuating class inequalities, I find this a disappointing omission.

'Part Two: The Culture and Politics of School Subjects' consists largely of analyses of specific school subjects. The absence of any

discussion of English is interesting. Is English too taken-for-granted to be interesting? Less surprising, given their more marginal status in the curriculum, but still open to question, is the lack of any discussion of Music, Art and Physical Education. As no rationale for this selection of subjects is given by the editor, I can only wonder whether the selection was based on the availability of the authors, or on an acceptance that these are the important subjects to study. This section also includes an interesting chapter by Linda Smith on the curriculum implications of Kura Kaupapa Maori, which I think sits more logically as a curricular issue in the first section.

Roger Openshaw argues, in his Introduction to *New Zealand Social Studies (NZSS)*, that Social Studies remains relatively low status, while retaining a high degree of commitment from those teaching it; a position relatively unchanged since the Thomas Report in 1944. The major reasons for this continuing insecurity make Social Studies an interesting case study that encapsulates the major political dimensions of curriculum development. Openshaw's overview of the subsequent chapters links these major points usefully for student readers.

Briefly, Social Studies is a good example of a subject hampered by low academic status linked to its lack of both university support and exam status. It is also inherently 'political' in its content and aims, which raises both pedagogical issues for teachers about the degree to which they should teach prescriptively, and demarcation issues for the education bureaucracy which must give teachers direction but must not be seen to encourage political indoctrination. While the New Zealand state supported its establishment as a subject to teach citizenship values, Social Studies' political content can make government uncomfortable. For example, in *SCNZ*, Lockwood Smith is quoted as describing Social Studies as 'a barrow for the latest popular social agenda' (p.19). This is all in all an overview that convinced me of the subject's interest to those involved in curriculum studies.

Like *SCNZ*, this collection is divided into two sections. 'Part One: Origins and Development' includes chapters focusing on the aims of Social Studies teaching (Archer and Openshaw, Diorio, Shermis) and

chapters which focus on the politics of its development (Shuker, Openshaw and Archer). 'Part Two: Theory Into Practice', looks at current issues in Social Studies content and pedagogical practice. This includes one chapter each dealing with issues of gender (Smith) and ethnicity (May). Social class, as in *SCNZ*, is ignored. Both collections generally marginalise issues of gender and ethnicity also. Their inclusion is in the ritualistic 'we need a chapter on women and Maori' mode, while they continue to remain marginal issues in other contributions. While one or the other occasionally receive a brief mention (McKenzie, McGeorge, Shuker in *SCNZ*; Archer and Openshaw in *NZSS*), issues of ethnicity are reasonably central only in Joce Jesson's discussion of the recent Curriculum Review in Science and Judith Simon's analysis of 'social amnesia' in Social Studies teaching (both in *SCNZ*). Rex Bloomfield's critique of Kelvin Smythe's approach to Social Studies centralises both gender and ethnicity (*NZSS*), while in his reply, Smythe makes the comment that his approach empowers...

> '...all children - girls, boys - whether Maori, Pakeha, or Pacific Islanders' (p.154).

This amounts to a claim that he has isolated a set of universal social values whose meaning remains constant and that he has perfected the means of teaching them to all social groups equally - an interesting contrast to the separate schooling system Linda Smith outlines and the different language *ropu* underpinning the multi-cultural education described by Stephen May (*NZSS*).

Reading the chapters that focus on social inequalities in both books, I was struck by what could be gained from comparing the experiences of female and Maori students and the suggestions made by the authors for improving the situations of both groups. In both cases, a chapter on Maori (or in *NZSS* multi-cultural) education is followed with one on gender that deals with similar concerns. In *SCNZ*, the focus is the struggle for academic curricula for Maori and girls; in *NZSS*, it is appropriate pedagogical styles for multi-cultural and anti-sexist education. As a reader, I would like someone to do the work of

comparison for me, but the simple juxtaposition of issues may possibly be more productive for comparing and discussing with students. Linda Smith's chapter on Kara Kaupapa Maori as an alternative curricular and pedagogical model could also be useful in such a discussion in conjunction with the chapters in *NZSS*.

The two volumes also complement each other well in other ways. *SCNZ* focuses more directly on curriculum history and curriculum 'pure' (i.e. official policies, the politics of developing, implementing and examining them, and curriculum content). *NZSS* on the other hand, combines a consideration of these curriculum issues with related pedagogical issues. By focusing on one curriculum subject, this collection provides an insight into the interdependence and complexities of these aspects of educational practice that are otherwise often treated in isolation. Particularly in my role as a teacher of trainee teachers who are directly concerned with pedagogy, I find this a refreshing focus in a local resource such as this.

However, there are a number of issues involved in the curriculum/pedagogy relationship that, as a teacher of sociology of education, I would have liked to have seen drawn out in these books. One interesting thought arose while reading McGeorge's discussion of the 'moral' curriculum. He gives two reasons for the lack of any inclusion of morals in the overt curriculum, i.e. teaching moral values as a timetabled subject. One is related to the difference of opinion on the issue that exists within the wider society; the second is epitomised by this quote from MP Charles Bowen:

> [A] namby-pamby textbook of moral maxims will go in at one ear and out at the other (in *SCNZ*, p.45).

What struck me about this idea was the implication that morals education might be seen as too important to be taught in the curriculum. The point seemed to be that the effect would be more powerful and assured if moral education was part of the *hidden curriculum*, but this connection is not made in the paper.

The hidden curriculum in general is ignored in these books. To sociologists of education, the hidden curriculum is a central concept which overlaps with, and adds to, our understanding of both curriculum and pedagogy. The term 'hidden curriculum' is occasionally used (*SCNZ*, p.40 and p.80; and in *NZSS*, p.138) but not defined. The term 'curriculum' itself is left undefined in the introductions to both collections. It seems to me that clear definitions of central terms are essential in any academic writing, especially texts written as teaching resources.

The only definition of curriculum I have been able to locate in either book is provided by Anne-Marie O'Neill in *SCNZ* (p.74) and then it is one that encompasses both formal and hidden curriculum without differentiating between them. There are a number of points at which the operation of the hidden curriculum is apparent and could add explanatory power in these collections, in addition to McGeorge's paper. Its operations are inherent in the aims underpinning the drive for a technical curriculum (McKenzie), for a common core curriculum (G. Lee), and in the moves against academic curriculum for Maori (Barrington - all in *SCNZ*). It does get mentioned, but again not clearly defined, in both chapters on gender and the curriculum (P. Smith, in *NZSS* and O'Neill, in *SCNZ*). This could in part be a result of the difference in approach to theory between historians and sociologists, which I will discuss below.

Geoff Whitty has outlined how the term 'hidden curriculum' has developed from being seen as a deterministic process of social control to the view that it is a more contested terrain...

> '...on which ideological and political struggles are fought and hence a potential site of interventions for change' (1985: 46-7).

He argues that, to examine this terrain, study must be directed at the 'curriculum-in-use' (ibid, p.48). Within these collections Judith Simon's paper (*SCNZ*) on the teaching, or lack of teaching, of the history of Maori-Pakeha relations in Social Studies best exemplifies Whitty's point. This well theorised and interesting paper is based on

observations of Social Studies teaching in classrooms from primary to secondary. The differences Simon found in the treatment of New Zealand history indicate the openness of the ground of the hidden curriculum to conservative or emancipatory goals.

The majority of points of critique in this review arise from my desire for more theorising of the histories told in these collections. There is a wealth of information and examples given that could be used to illustrate the links between knowledge and power made theoretically in the sociology of knowledge tradition following M.F.D. Young's (1971) *Knowledge and Control*, but most are never made. Nor is there much use made of the more recent post-structuralist tradition linking curriculum as discourse with the construction of subjectivities. The exception here is Joce Jesson's interesting section on language and meaning in the development of 'Science Aotearoa' (*SCNZ*, p.243-6).

I am aware that there is a level of disagreement between sociologists and historians about the place of theory, and that some historians go so far as to consider sociology 'failed history' (Tilly, 1981:214), as more interested in theoretical models (true or false) than the 'facts'. In answer to this, all I can say is that we are now extremely aware of the impossibility of objective truth, even within the telling of historical 'fact'. Anne-Marie O'Neill discusses this 'act and fact' history in her account of the gendered curriculum (*SCNZ*, p.76-7). There are many histories that can be told and, as a sociologist, my view is that theorising those histories enhances our learning and enables us to make links between the processes and tendencies underlying different instances of social change. Making such links is indeed one of the aims of *SCNZ* set out in the Introduction (p.10). This accounts for the bows to the National Curriculum in each chapter. However, they remain fairly ad hoc additions in most cases precisely because the processes outlined remain under-theorised.

Having said that, I have found a number of articles in these collections that I will use in my teaching this year. Joe Diorio's discussion of the different traditions within Social Studies teaching will be a useful

resource when discussing the aims of education and their impact on pedagogical practice. Jim Collinge's paper on peace education (both in *NZSS*) will also be useful to those of us interested in the relationship between state and education, despite the failure of this and Diorio's contribution differentiate between different constructions of citizenship. For an insight into important current issues in New Zealand education, the chapters on peace education (Collinge), multi-cultural schooling (May) and Kura Kaupapa (Linda Smith) will be an asset.

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Patrick Day, **The Making of the New Zealand Press. A Study of the Organizational and Political Concerns of New Zealand Newspaper Controllers 1840-1880.** Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990.

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The ideological role of the media, the major theme underlying this study, is an issue of perennial concern in the sociology of the media, and for all sociologists interested in the interactions between knowledge and power. This pioneering sociological study of the origins and establishment of the New Zealand press in the nineteenth century approaches these questions from the study of patterns of press ownership and the relationship between the political interests of the owners and the commercial imperatives of the industry. The study originated from a doctoral thesis. It still bears the hallmarks of an academic thesis, which could limit its appeal to a wider audience. This would be regrettable since the issues discussed are of continuing relevance.

Day argues that the years 1840-1880 represent the critical period of New Zealand press formation. By 1880, all the major newspapers of the late twentieth century were already in existence, except for the *Dominion* and *National Business Review*. The development of the press is explained as the outcome of interaction between the political interests of newspaper proprietors and the organisational constraints which emerged from the need to establish daily newspapers as profitable enterprises. These two imperatives were, he suggests, often contradictory and imposed modifications on each other. Day's collection and recording of the fragmented information about this early period are among the valuable contributions of the work.

Day argues that the press played an influential role in the political evolution of New Zealand during this time. Indeed, they were in the vanguard in establishing the sense of national identity. He traces the evolution of the press, from weekly gazettes in 1840, with limited class-based readerships and concerned with publishing information and regulations, to daily papers publishing news for what was, in comparative terms, a mass audience. He argues that the roots of this transformation are to be found in new patterns of migration, which brought the arrival of an increasingly literate working class, and improved technology. The introduction of the steam press and the telegraph link between both islands and Australia were particularly important. The demands of daily publication saw both the emergence of journalism as a profession and a reliance on advertising to maintain profitability. The telegraph link made cooperation advantageous, leading eventually to the establishment of the United Press Association, one of the first organisational expressions of a common national interest. The increased investment required heralded a change from personal private ownership to limited liability companies.

These organisational changes correlated with changes in the political role of newspapers. Day insists that change did not mean the press abandoned politics. Rather, it modified the nature of political activity. The continuity of press involvement in politics is one of the central arguments of this study.

Between 1840 and 1853, the colonial press advocated the interests of landowners. In two areas in particular, the question of land and the demand for representative government, the press played the role of political opposition. In the absence of any public mechanism for challenging official views, the press provided a public forum. Journalists and newspaper owners were among the leaders in the movement for representative government and many were elected to office when provincial government was established. The emergence of mass circulation papers, dependent not only on a wider readership but also on advertising, made direct involvement in partisan politics more problematic and organisational and economic concerns

paramount. Newspapers had to make profits and avoid offending readers, advertisers or shareholders.

These factors transformed the political role of the press. There was a gradual movement from direct advocacy and personal involvement by owners to the adoption of a more independent position. The press defined itself in terms of the responsibilities of a 'Fourth Estate' and claimed to represent the general interest. This did not preclude support for a particular party or Ministry. In fact, the press continued to represent the interests of the upper classes, although particular papers represented different segments. But the press became confined to ideology rather than direct involvement in practical politics. The formation of the United Press Association facilitated the ideological role. It provided monopoly control over the news service which served as a vehicle for the development of a uniform national, as opposed to provincial, viewpoint. Day argues that this development was of particular importance because it facilitated the national presentation of a cohesive class view.

This study meticulously documents the multitude of journals that appeared and disappeared during the forty year period. However, in its concern with detail it neglects some more general issues which would have substantiated its argument. For example, there is no acknowledgement of the publication of Maori newspapers, in Maori, by Maoris and for Maoris. I would argue that this issue is pivotal in any discussion of the definition and maintenance of ruling class ideology in New Zealand. This is particularly so in the nineteenth century, when the normative model was being constructed. The pattern established in the nineteenth century casts its shadow onto contemporary New Zealand, as can be seen by the continuing importance of questions about the representation of Maori and Maori issues in the media.

Day makes a convincing case for the role of the press as a voice for the ruling class, presented as the 'national interest', and traces the effects of the interaction between economic and political imperatives. However, we are not given any systematic or detailed analysis of the

links between the press, land and commercial interests and politics, except in two cases, one relating to Vogel, and the other examining the initial use of the telegraph cable. The structure of common overlapping interests within the upper class is assumed rather than substantiated and there is no discussion of the content of the press to support the argument for its ideological role.

The latter is, I believe, the more serious omission since the argument assumes that the viewpoints presented in the press are a process of ideological construction and maintenance. There are two areas of particular significance in any discussion of the links between dominant ideology and an emerging New Zealand culture. These are the questions of land and race, two central organising principles of our cultural ideology. The nineteenth century was the critical period in which representations of these concerns crystallised as central themes. The book contains passing references to land and land sales, the Maoris and the New Zealand Wars, but there is no discussion of the way in which these issues were constructed and presented. While it might not have been possible to treat these issues in detail, nevertheless any study of the media as an ideological institution must recognise the importance of content and identify the major ideological themes.

Despite these criticisms, this study represents a major contribution to our understanding of the New Zealand press. It roots the contemporary press in the nineteenth century. Issues of ownership, monopoly control and concentration, and the ideological power of the press are of continuing concern and relevance. Day has established the groundwork for further studies. It is to be hoped that his research will stimulate other major sociological studies of the political economy of the press in New Zealand.

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Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (eds), **Women and Education in Aotearoa II**. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992.

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> The first task of any theory is to make sense of the reality of the women who live within its framework. The second task is to provide women with a framework which will assist in emancipating them from racism, sexism, poverty and other oppressions. (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Women and Education in Aotearoa II*, pp 35)

This new volume of 13 essays by well-known educational specialists 'makes sense' of the contemporary reality of girls and women in education in Aotearoa. This review picks up on the two tasks identified by Smith and evaluates how well the book lives up to the claims for educational theory.

The essay collection gives insights into the lives and working theories of girls in the classroom and playground, and of women as administrators and researchers, educators and feminists. It shows that the educational framework positions girls and women through its structures, curriculum and classroom processes. Finally, it provides a framework to assist 'processes of emancipation' for girls and women in the education system.

There are many ways of using such a collection. As a starting point, various examples of the positioning of the female subject are given to express the reality of girls and women in education. Such a reality is characterised by diversity of experience and the range of positions assumed. The changes women have made to alter the positioning of female subjects within the system help to clarify this reality. The role of the 'personal voice' is explored in the stories Kathie Irwin and Alison Jones tell of their lives as academics and researchers. Lise

Bird, Karen Newton and Bill Rout describe the reality for girls at school (and the parallel but different experience of boys). Marian Court captures the frustrations of women in education management.

Kathie Irwin shares the influences of whakapapa and whanaungatanga upon her work, positioned as she is by the system as a Maori feminist academic. She describes the ways interactions between these three positions assisted her when faced with the dilemma of how, as a Maori woman, she could maintain her cultural identity and integrity in an academic fraternity which 'was really not ready for me - or for my work' (p.60). The dynamic process of claiming the personal voice is given further legitimacy by Alison Jones as she retraces research in the 1980s. Reflecting on the contradictions of her position as both participant and observer amongst groups of girls in her local secondary school, Jones tears apart the notion of the researcher as a detached, neutral being. Using examples from her research and university teaching, along with postmodern theory, she guides us in how we can insert 'I' into a text and thereby create a story which inevitably exposes the subject as much as the process of subject positioning.

Just as Irwin and Jones have contrasting understandings of the processes of education, further interpretations are found in the work of Lise Bird. Postmodernist approaches are also taken up in this discussion of the positions girls occupy in the primary school classroom. Such approaches encourage us to make sense of the contradictions girls and women may experience in education by seeing them as part of the shifting, multi-layered complexity of power relations within society itself. Bird details the many different positions of authority that girls are allocated, or volunteer for, in daily classroom interactions, hypothesising that the leadership opportunities girls assume empower them to act as authorities. The roles of 'monitors', 'couriers' or 'chooser', however can also be seen as fulfilling traditional feminine stereotypes of acquiescent and compliant students. Whether such authority positionings lead to improved outcomes for girls remains unclear.

Lise Bird ends her segment of the book with mention of children who cross gender boundaries and some disturbing findings which illustrate the complexity of girl/boy aggression. This leads into Bill Rout's study of Pakeha boys at two secondary schools, which reveals the impact of 'hegemonic masculinity' (p.171). The concept of 'being staunch' is represented as the dominant ideal amongst such groups as rugby players, 'surfies' and 'metalers'. Physical, sexual and verbal hassling is glorified as affirming masculinity. The victims of such violent male sexual power, as exhibited in the graffiti and posters Rout describes, are the girls who share the same playground or social relations as these boys.

The positioning of female subjects in the context of power relations is also usefully explored in Karen Newton's study of the interactive patterns of boys and girls in the morning talk time of an inner-city primary school. Student talk in these sessions is exposed as creating opportunities for boys to dominate public speaking, control the agenda, and marginalise women's knowledge and experience. A 'sharing time' is systematically subverted into lessons of subordination for girls and domination for boys, with only occasional exceptions providing a moment of challenge. The positioning of female learners as either those who are silenced, or those who covertly resist such positionings (as in the case of Rosemary who made the choice **not** to talk), has implications for female educators. Such powerful case-studies as those provided by Bird, Rout and Newton reinforce a need for action to better position girls and women in education.

Newton suggests that the dominance of boys in the classroom creates space for men to later define the learning culture and control the decision-making positions they take up. Marian Court further details the associated silence or marginalisation of women in educational administration. The dilemmas women face in management structures dominated by qualities of 'forcefulness, independence and competitiveness' are contrasted with preferred styles of 'webs of inclusion'. From her case-study of six women educators, Court sees four themes as significant: the sexual division of labour, women's struggles to 'win' authority and the 'right' to lead, their responses to

their anger when meeting discrimination and 'the importance of the concept of affiliation in their holistic management styles' (pp.181-196).

This volume also considers the methods and theories that have provided fruitful in empowering analysis. It is the particular insights that this collection contributes to feminist educational theory that I find of most value. In the introductory chapter, Sue Middleton uses the framework of the 1989 school charter to comment upon how girls and women fare in the various interpretations of gender equity. She compares this statement with policy statements in 1939 and 1943 to tease out both past and current theoretical debates. This chapter provides a beginner's guide to gender equity, covering issues of sexual harassment, gendered subject and career choice, streaming, occupational gender segregation, role models, contradictions between Maori and Pakeha knowledges, targeting of resources, non-sexist curriculum, feminist theory, and arguments of sameness vs difference. The breadth of the task, as Middleton's chapter shows, can become problematic for an editor or reviewer. The multiplicity of voices appearing in this volume is the reality and should be celebrated and embraced as such. Indeed, more voices need to be heard! To weave such voices into one volume, however, creates a dilemma. The need to make connections and to present a common voice has to be balanced against the impossibility of unifying diverse strands. Consequently, there are some cases where these strands come unstuck.

For instance, although framed in a contemporary context, historical accounts are randomly selected to broaden the scope. Whilst of value for the background they provide to current policy developments, there is little attempt to contextualise such accounts. Barbara Day provides an interesting analysis of the development of technical education, recording the ways it reinforced the feminisation of particular areas of work and minimised the opportunities to broaden women's participation in technical areas through a lack of policy. It was unfortunate that a connection with the 1990 election platform to raise achievement in the core competency of Technology was not made apparent in this chapter. Such a connection may well have moved

current analysis towards reconceptualising technical education to fit the requirements of the changing labour market.

Likewise in the section Helen May writes, it would have been interesting to compare the progressive educational ideas in Early Childhood services of the period 1920-1950 with the intention of the current Government to introduce the Parents as First Teachers programme and to develop National Guidelines for an Early Childhood Curriculum. The innovative experiments of these earlier times, and the many creative women who planned and implemented them, provide a vital framework for recent initiatives. In particular, the exciting model pioneered by the Christchurch nursery schools of the 1940s provides a useful frame of reference, with 'their successful blend of parent education, support to mothers and progressive education practices' (p.92).

In a similar vein, the popular discourse of achievement and how girls and women are positioned within it could well have been made explicit in the sections by Geraldine McDonald and Jenny Young-Loveridge. Such an orientation could have been usefully applied to the current framework for educational assessment. These criticisms aside, both writers suggest some fascinating areas for further research. McDonald deconstructs explanations of the supposed intellectual superiority of males by opposing hallmark evidence like the 'normal curve', TOSCA and PAT tests, statistical adjustment in School Certificate examinations, hierarchical means analysis of subjects and manipulation of scores at scholarship level. Tables of data, verbatim explanations, and a fictional account of assessment myths illustrate how entrenched beliefs that boys are smarter than girls are maintained.

Young-Loveridge's research on the development of number knowledge in five to nine year olds makes apparent the complexity of the relationship between gender and achievement. In her study, the analysis of overall gender differences in number knowledge revealed no statistically significant differences between boys and girls. However, when the sample was divided into high and low achievers and analysed separately, significant gender differences emerged at ages

eight and nine, but only among the low achievers. There were similar differences, though less marked, between boys and girls from low socio-economic status families. Clearly, these findings demonstrate a need to understand more about the experiences of these 'low' girls, both in and out of the classroom, so that they can be given the extra assistance they need to sustain expected rates of progress.

The new research direction suggested by Young-Loveridge is just one of a multitude of options suggested by this book. How, then, to tie together what could seem many disparate strands and use this text as a reference point for assisting what Smith terms an 'analysis for emancipation'?

In their pivotal chapter, 'Towards a Gender-Inclusive School Curriculum', Adrienne Alton-Lee and Prue Densem suggest a way to better understand theoretical frameworks and change educational practice at the same time. Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her analysis of the discourses and projects of Mana Wahine provides a key to identifying the theories in action of Maori women. It is within these two key chapters that I find both a rationale for action and the strategies for change that can usefully transform our understanding of the contemporary educational experiences of girls and women in Aotearoa.

The concept of a 'gender inclusive curriculum' is integral to the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, the official policy for teaching, learning and assessment launched on 7 April 1993. Schools will be required to implement a curriculum which acknowledges and includes the educational needs and experiences of girls equally with those of boys, both in its content and in the language, and practices of teaching. To do so, they will need all the help they can get.

Alton-Lee and Densem provide this help with research findings based on detailed data of students' experiences in the classroom while undertaking science or social studies curriculum units. A gendered curriculum is enacted, and 'is critical to the process by which many girls come to accept the subordination and invisibility of women' (p.199). The data reveals how the experience of school curriculum

serves to construct and maintain patriarchy. Strategies for curriculum change are discussed, which include deconstructing gendered curriculum, changing resources, challenging the hidden curriculum and encouraging a reflexivity in theory and practice to consistently reflect on, and modify practice.

The desire for transformative practice is further enhanced by the theoretical challenges of Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Smith conceptualises four strands of mana wahine discourse to inform contemporary debate over the different experiences and interests of Maori women. Mana wahine is a dynamic that is contested at the site of whanau structures, in historic-mythological struggles and in state discourses. The tension inherent in the relationship with white women's projects and the role of Maori men is also spelled out as a backdrop for Maori women's struggle for rangatiratanga. In making the differences visible, Smith makes a vital contribution to current educational concern for both Maori education in general and for that of Maori girls and women in particular. In theorising the experiences which make sense for Maori women, she engages them in an understanding of their own position. Furthermore, she sets a lead in applying analyses which add insight to the complexities of the contemporary situation.

This, then, is what the book does best. *Women and Education in Aotearoa II* highlights the range and diversity of the contemporary life of girls and women in education. It illuminates the complexity of the dynamics apparent at classroom, administrative and institutional levels. It offers us an overwhelming selection of 'key words' and research topics to follow up, and suggests new areas of discovery for the feminist enthusiast. To empower us in our own processes of emancipation, it suggests analyses which may enable us to create strategies for change. Perhaps Volume three will document the successful implementation of the range of options proposed!

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John Pratt, **Punishment in a Perfect Society: The New Zealand Penal System 1840-1939.** Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1992.

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A major gap in the reference literature available in New Zealand concerns the country's innovative penological history. *Punishment in a Perfect Society*, written by senior lecturer in criminology at Victoria University, John Pratt, goes part of the way to filling this deficiency.

John Pratt's book consists of seven chapters, which take us from the birth of the prison in England last century to the beginning of the Second World War. A chapter on the 'Maori way' in punishment points to an indigenous predecessor and a concluding section deals with how lessons of the past may assist the study of crime and criminal justice today. Throughout, there is reference to developments overseas, so that, for the first time, we are able to see penal change in New Zealand not as an isolated phenomenon, but as a part of a worldwide trend.

The most useful chapters are those which focus on New Zealand's penal progress after 1840. With meticulous and detailed precision, four central chapters follow the transition of New Zealand penology from its *ad hoc* and disorganised origins to the systematic deterrence of the 1880s. They then show how, early this century, deterrence was replaced by a 'new penology', in which scientific principles were deployed in an attempt to reform criminal behaviour.

Apart from being the most complete history of this nation's early penal development, *Punishment in a Perfect Society* also provides relevant detail to contemporary policy makers. One American penologist has described the field of corrections as 'a graveyard of abandoned fads', where new ideas soon stagnate. Such ideas are

inclined, however, to be periodically revived. Pratt recognises that this is as true of New Zealand as it is of other nations, but comments cynically that always, it has been the crimes of the weak rather than those of the powerful that have been targeted by correctional agencies.

The casual reader wishing for enlightenment will wade with difficulty through this text. It is not an 'easy read'. The writing style is somewhat dry and the book is aimed at the serious researcher rather than the interested historian. As a reference, however, it has a number of defects. Pratt attempts here, as he has elsewhere, to provide an understanding of justice in traditional Maori society. The analysis is incomplete. It is short on facts and it lacks what Weber would have called *Verstehen*. Pratt never really comes to grips with Maori society, philosophy and culture, and erroneously seems to assume that Maori had a justice 'system' in something like the European sense. As with most horticultural communities, of course, there was no such 'system' in Maori society. Prehistoric justice was *ad hoc*, did not follow procedural rules and its definition was deeply influenced by power relationships. Pratt is no anthropologist and his mistake is partly to rely on populist, but often erroneous interpretations, such as those of Moana Jackson (1988), and to ignore well-informed scholars like Vayda (1970) and Hanson and Hanson (1983).

There are a number of important omissions in the historical sections. There is no reference to Peter Mayhew's (1959) informative study of penal evolution in New Zealand (1840-1924). Women are almost omitted, so that a large gap in the historical literature remains. Two other areas which get incomplete treatment are corporal and capital punishment. Discussion on these begins but, inexplicably, the subjects then disappear. No mention is made of the suspension of corporal and capital punishment in 1935, of the debate which followed suspension, or of the interesting events which led to final abolition in 1941. Admittedly, 1941 is two years after the study's cutoff, but 1939 is not a logical place for the research to end in any case. Penologically, there is nothing significant about 1939. That year, in fact, comes in the middle of the great stagnant era in penology which ran from 1926 to 1949. To cease analysis in 1939 is rather like *coitus interruptus*.

Perhaps the truth is that John Pratt just got tired of what he was doing. I make this suggestion seriously because, contrasting with the careful way in which the early years are handled, treatment of the later phases is cursory and incomplete. The final 30 years of the century under analysis are dispatched in just 16 pages out of 150. Charles E. Matthews, who engineered a revolutionary 'New Method' in penal reform (1913-1924) and wrote the first New Zealand book on the subject in 1923, is not even mentioned. B.L.S. Dallard, the conservative and controversial Controller General of prisons (1926-1949) is mentioned only in passing, and receives no critical appraisal. His book is not cited either. And, as mentioned, capital and corporal punishment are introduced then dropped. For all practical purposes, the usefulness of this study ceases in 1910.

So *Punishment in a Perfect Society* rises and falls. At its best, it is a fastidiously researched and insightful documentary of a neglected area of New Zealand's past. At its worst, it is incomplete and narrow. Its shortcomings are evident but, notwithstanding them, the breadth of primary research which has informed the colonial period make this book essential reading for anybody concerned with crime, justice and law in early New Zealand.

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REJOINDER

To Charles Crothers' Review of **Crime and Deviance** (Auckland : Oxford University Press, 1992)

Greg Newbold

The November 1992 volume of *New Zealand Sociology* carries a review by Charles Crothers of my book, *Crime and Deviance*. The review is a lengthy one which, after mistitling the book and getting a key reference wrong, continues to be critical in a number of respects. Oddly, given that little praise can be found in the body of the critique, it concludes that the book is 'arguably the best monograph in New Zealand sociology we have seen for some time'.

A major criticism made is the 'lack of an explicit overall guiding theoretical framework'. This neglect of an explicit framework is quite deliberate. Although, at the height of the postmodernist critique, comment on such an 'omission' surprises me, the book was never intended to be driven by any perspective other than its author's. The introduction did pay homage to the conflict model, but this model did not hang from every limb. Along with other titles in the 'Critical Issues' series, *Crime and Deviance* was aimed at being intelligible beyond the academy, in the realm of the general public. It seems to have succeeded in that endeavour and is currently finding use as a resource document for government policy advisors.

Probably the most cutting accusation in Charles Crothers' review concerns the presence of 'dated' material. Some figures used are in fact a few years old and it is suggested that this could have been remedied by reference to police and justice statistics. Ironically, it is also alleged that I ignore Fergusson's research of the early 1970s (some of which I cite on pages 90 and 137).

In fact, when I wrote *Crime and Deviance* I used the most up-to-date material that was available. The only time I used dated figures was with the caveat that nothing else was around. The reviewer was apparently unaware that justice statistics stopped in 1990, that none were produced for 1989 and that the most recent justice figures available when the book was being compiled were for 1988. These figures were supplemented by those from official news releases. Police statistics were also referred to, but the categorisation of police figures is different from justice's and they relate to reported, not proven offending. So the two cannot be combined or compared.

One cannot write provocatively and expect not to be criticised for it. Nonetheless, authors of academic material still have a duty to research their work properly and to present their findings objectively. Reviewers may expect authors to read their assessments carefully and to take note of comment which is informed and fair. But by the same token, reviewers also have obligations, not only to authors but to potential readers. They too should be assiduous in their reading. And where the quality of research is questioned, reviewers should ensure that they know their subject areas and the nature of the primary material available within them.

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Elvin Hatch, **Respectable Lives: Social Standing in Rural New Zealand.** Berkeley : University of California Press, 1992.

Reviewed by David Pearson
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The research monograph is becoming a rare beast these days as publishers become even less inclined to support specialist works, and

social researchers, by fate or design, burrow even further into exegesis.

Elvin Hatch's study of 'South Downs', a small sheep-farming community in South Canterbury, is about status and stratification within circumscribed spatial and temporal boundaries. The author is rightly cautious in making claims for generalisability beyond 1981, when the study was undertaken, and the reader is constantly reminded that much has changed since the early 1980s. Moreover, South Canterbury may bear comparison with Wairarapa or Hawkes Bay but no claim is made beyond these distinctive settings. As Hatch's book is also aimed at the American market, New Zealand readers may be impatient with what might seem at times 'common knowledge'. But the unfolding of how such knowledge becomes 'common' is precisely what this book is about.

The author's central argument is that local status systems 'are grounded in historically variable, cultural systems of meaning' (p.1). Such systems can only be discerned by adopting the stance of actors within them, and by being sensitive to processes of change in discrete local settings. Hatch, by virtue of the classic fieldwork techniques of observation, participation and conversation, laced with some archival and statistical sources, seeks to reveal the tensions between hierarchy and egalitarianism in his chosen locale.

The national and regional historical background to the study is set out in an early chapter that takes us through the literature on major shifts in rural hierarchy from mid-nineteenth century to the 1980s. This summary reveals the solidity of the author's acquaintance with the local literature and his sensitivity to local debate, bar a surprising lack of attention to the importance of Maori land purchase in the history of Pakeha landholding and agriculture.

Once the general scene has been set, the reader is plunged into particularity. The local occupational system is described and we are introduced to the broad parameters of distinctions between run-holders, cockies, business persons, workers and no-hopers as defined by the

locals. There is mention of gender distinctions here and throughout, but the author argues that the local occupational system 'is a masculine scaffolding, even if women occupy some of the space' (p.69). One suspects closer attention, given time and accessibility, to a more in-depth appraisal of gender differences, would reveal that the relations within and between the sexes are a vital force in the creation and maintenance of status hierarchies. Particularly when the subtleties of personal attribution are set against the positional structure of material assets.

Hatch's book provides further evidence of the importance of understanding how egalitarian beliefs and actions serve to support systems of inequality as well as undermine them. The reconciliation of positional systems of ranking on the basis of occupation, wealth and authority with interpersonal judgements of self and group worth is the central strand of argument that holds the text together. This is most notable in the core chapters that examine social standing among local landholders. An interesting comparative dimension is introduced here as the author contrasts his earlier work in California with the South Canterbury study. He argues persuasively, drawing on a finely drawn picture of what he calls the developmental cycle of South Canterbury farm ownership, that the ranking criteria of local landholders differ from their American counterparts. Whereas Californian farmers stress farm type and wealth in ranking one another, New Zealand farmers place greater emphasis on farming ability as a measure of local prestige. A fine-grained evaluation of personal proficiency set within the contingencies of economic risk and life cycle position tends to outweigh monetary measures. Not least because an avowal of 'natural' rights of superiority are open to egalitarian sanction from those of similar and lower rank.

The intricacies of general and situational measures of prestige are extended further in chapters that compare changes in life styles pre- and post- Second World War. Here the author uses the rather effective device of changing patterns of eating arrangements between farm employers and employees as a measure of refinement and shifting egalitarian mores. Contrasts are drawn between the Canterbury

'gentry' of the 1920s, where Anglican gentility (the Otago Scots are seen as far less status conscious) still seeks to distance itself from the rougher gustatory habits of the lower orders. The most refined, indeed, used to confine their staff to eating at the kitchen table or worse, the outhouse, whilst their employers appeased their appetites in the dining room.

By contrast, Hatch argues, a relative greater levelling of status between the respectable and the rough was a conspicuous feature of the affluent '60s and '70s. By 1981 the three and two table family has almost entirely given way to a situation where farm employer and employee will sit around the same table to partake of refreshment. Whether this situation remains unchanged in the 1990s is something to ponder on. Be sure to count the tables next time you are invited round to dine by a Chief Executive.

Respectable Lives adds to an uneven but growing literature on local stratification patterns in New Zealand. We know far more about some selected areas and time periods than others, so questions of generalisability inevitably arise. And yet one suspects the nuances of interpersonal evaluation of equality of opportunity, outcome and regard portrayed in this study are more far-reaching than the author, rightly cautious, claims. A recent national survey of New Zealand attitudes to changes in wealth and income (Department of Marketing, Massey, 1993) still brings forth the contradiction in the 1990s between more visible inequalities and a marked reluctance to perceive oneself as overly advantaged or disadvantaged.

Hatch dwells fleetingly on the lessons to be drawn from, for example, Elias and Bourdieu in analysing the cultural contexts within which evaluations of wealth, ability and refinement are constructed and reconstructed. Tantalisingly brief concluding comments are made about the contested nature of local systems of meaning and how general qualities of stratification are set against cross-cultural situational interpretations of the bestowal and conferment of prestige. One can see the merit of comparing the findings of this book with, for example, earlier studies of deference and mateship, and setting them

beside, Dempsey's (1990) recent thoughts on egalitarianism, gender and community in Australia. From out of this insightful literature should come a more generalisable theory of egalitarianism as ideology. An ideology, moreover, in Thompson's (1990) evocative sense of 'meaning in the search of power', that both reproduces and undermines the hierarchical lines drawn between classes, sexes and ethnic groups.

That I have strayed rather further from this study of rural communities than the author may have intended is not a comment on the book's shortcomings. It is more a statement on the lines of enquiry that this interesting and well-written text opens up. *Respectable Lives* is therefore a welcome, although I suspect rather expensive, addition to local bookshelves for specialist and general reader alike.

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Geoffrey Rice, **The Oxford History of New Zealand** (second edition). Oxford University Press: Auckland, 1992.

Reviewed by Trevor Snowdon

To suggest, as Geoffrey Rice does (p.vii), that *The Oxford History of New Zealand* is now regarded as an indispensable reference work for

anyone embarking upon research into New Zealand's past seems to indicate either that Rice has a very vivid imagination, or that the alternatives open to researchers and teachers are not very numerous.

Rice assures the reader that this new edition of *The Oxford History of New Zealand* is laden with 'new fruits and foliage on several of the old branches' of the first edition (p.vii). However, my impression of the text is that what Oxford (and Rice) offer the reader is more akin to old fruits and foliage on dead and dying branches; and, all considered, the tree looks rather sad, the signs of decay manifest everywhere upon it.

The editor is ultimately responsible for the structure, criteria for inclusion/exclusion, articulations within and the general coherency of the text. My view is that the editor of a text such as *The Oxford History of New Zealand* has to be a very accomplished 'all-rounder', with fingers extending into other disciplines.

The publishers of this history took the view that there ought to be extensive coverage of the 1980s in the text - because of the rapid pace of economic and social change in New Zealand during that period (p.vii). However, it is also necessary to keep abreast of major developments relating to the forms and directions of historiography; and these developments, with all their significant ramifications for historical narrative manufacture, do not necessarily develop within academic history itself (conceived of as a discrete domain of academic toil). Indeed, metatheoretical debates which bear crucially upon historiography tend to move across the ever shifting margins between philosophy on the one hand, and a wide range of criss-crossing concerns and debates spanning the humanities and social sciences on the other.

Rice's detachment from, these concerns and debates is highlighted by the absence of an analytical introduction which might have addressed them discursively. Rice waxes enthusiastic about the future generation of historians who will write the 'new' Oxford History of New Zealand. Yet, if this 'new' history is to be significantly different to

the 'old', then clearly the younger generation of historians are going to have to be informed of these metatheoretical debates.

Interestingly, Rice alludes to one of the contributor's expressed surprise that a new edition should be contemplated so soon after the first (p.vii) - a period of ten years. However, during that ten year period New Zealand history appears to have insulated itself against the call for more 'structural' history (from the like of Peter Burke), the emergence of post-modernist discourse, the feminist attack on history, and new conceptualisations of power, conflict and struggle (as in the thought of Michel Foucault and feminist literature). Or is it the case that New Zealand academic historians are, for the most part, up with the play? And that many contributors to *The Oxford History of New Zealand* are simply unrepresentative of the discipline's present intellectual expanse and new directions in New Zealand historiography? Historians themselves will have to answer such questions.

The thrust of post-modernist discourse is to call into question conceptions of 'totality', 'truth' and 'progress', as they relate to the social construction of historical narrative and social commentary generally. The type of approach to history implied, if not practised in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, is one which clings blissfully to a **totalising** perspective on history, thereby implicitly sanctioning a representation of **truth** and of the possibility of an all-encompassing, objective history. Wedged between the textual strands of 'totality' and 'truth' is an equally 'modernist' conception of **progress**, built into the very structure of the text.

The Oxford History of New Zealand is comprised of a collection of value-laden and particularistically-interested articles, passed off as in some sense 'holistic' or 'definitive'. Now it is certainly true that neither Rice nor the publishers make any such claims relating to 'holism' or 'definitiveness'. But the point is that their acknowledgement of the limitations and partiality of the text has to be set alongside the observation that this is not just a history of New Zealand - but the *Oxford* history of New Zealand. The significance

of this is that the use of the word 'Oxford' in the title implies, perhaps, that the text in question is as authoritative as, say, the *Oxford* dictionary. This 'signification' within the title therefore plays a role in establishing a 'regime of truth', reinforced ideologically in academic cultures - as Rice points out, the text has in the past been a standard textbook for undergraduate courses in New Zealand history and in senior history classes in schools.

The types of history we 'serve up' to future generations of historians ought to affirm the principle that there is no 'true' representation of history, nor can there be. That, in fact, history is always written from particular points of view; that in terms of what it disqualifies, legitimates and highlights, historical narrative sits squarely at the intersection of power, conflict and struggle and may, in fact, be considered a pre-eminent source of oppression in society. The general history textbook, then, is a political 'technology' - at the ideological level - which has to be reckoned with if the teaching of history is to have any integrity at all.

Let us look a little more closely at the way an 'ideology of progress' is built into the structure of the text. The text commences with 'Beginnings' in part one, moves through 'Growth and Conflict' in part two, then into a 'Time of Transition' in part three, finally to arrive at a 'Precarious Maturity' in part four. This is a very curious set of abstractions with which to characterise New Zealand history. For many people (including some historians, no doubt), many policies of the fourth Labour and National governments are very ***regressive*** in certain respects.

The teleological approach to history that underlies the structure of *The Oxford History of New Zealand* arguably has its roots in philosophical premises which, though still powerfully pervasive in human society, ought to have perished with their progenitors - Hegel and Marx, who inherited them from enlightenment cultures of the eighteenth century.

Furthermore, power, conflict and struggle characterise all societies at every moment in their histories. However, such phenomena only

attain visibility when the historian has the capacity to shift the level of analysis with some degree of fluency - from the international to the national; the national to the local; from the international and national to the 'structural' (capitalism, the state and the role and forms of welfare state); class, gender and ethnic/cultural struggle; and a host of other 'micro' levels of analysis ranging from the internal dynamics of households to the shifting sands of social institutions such as marriage, the family and religion. Students of history should not be encouraged to think that conflict can be identified essentially with particular moments in New Zealand history; when, in fact, power, conflict and struggle are both temporally and socially all-pervasive.

The Oxford History of New Zealand is very much history. It fails to treat women's issues and feminist perspectives on New Zealand history analytically in their own right; therefore, the text is completely out of tune with recent developments across the humanities and social sciences - developments which the endeavours of historians ignore at their own peril. Only four of the twenty-two articles comprising *The Oxford History of New Zealand* are penned by women; and these contributors seem generally to be reproducing the concerns and orientations of 'masculinist' history.

The publishers of *The Oxford History of New Zealand* need to decide whether they want to market an encyclopedic reference source on New Zealand history (perhaps arranged alphabetically, with comprehensive chronologies, tables and miscellaneous compendia); or if it is a textbook they really wish to produce. If the former is to be the case, then the comprehensive indexing of the present tome and its wide-ranging coverage indicate a useful grounding for such an enterprise. If, on the other hand, Oxford does wish to produce a textbook which has integrity, credibility and topicality, then something of a different order to the form of the present *Oxford History of New Zealand* needs to be envisioned.

For a start, such a work would probably span several volumes; it would be written by a 'core' team of authors, sufficiently 'switched on' to activate a 'genuine' interdisciplinary approach and integrate

new theoretical perspectives on the writing of historical narrative. It might also be fashioned after the excellent texts consistently produced by the Open University of Great Britain. It is important for the publishers to realise that broadening the academic disciplinary base and concerns of *The Oxford History of New Zealand* extends its market potential into disciplines such as sociology, political studies, Maori studies, women's studies and so on.

A comprehensive introduction to New Zealand history can no longer be accommodated in a 'pocketbook' - not just because we know too much to be able to credibly condense it so; but primarily because the new developments (structural history, post modernism, feminist discourse, and new conceptions of power, conflict and struggle) collectively deny the plausibility of any such project.

Apart from the anachronism of its structure and orientations, *The Oxford History of New Zealand* 'homogenises' the bland, the trite and the superficial - perhaps reflected in chapter titles like the following; 'Towards a New Society', 'Between Two Worlds', 'The Climate of Opinion', 'Imperialism and Nationalism', 'The Politics of Volatility', 'The Social Pattern', 'The Recognition of Difference', and so on. Such headings arguably echo the catch-cries of a (hopefully now) bygone generation of historians and historiography.

Related is the fact that many, perhaps even most, New Zealand historians seem unable to structure their work in other than chronological and periodising form; so that the **succession** (of people, events, governments and so on) becomes either explicitly or implicitly focal in the text. That itself leads to an often discernible analytical confusion relating to causal analysis and causal attribution; although a lot of academic history in New Zealand is primarily descriptive and unimaginative when casual analysis is ostensibly undertaken, with the cause of an event or tendency, for instance, often located in some prior event or human agency, rather than in social structure. Furthermore, many New Zealand historians seem to overlook the fact that the various 'successions' they attend to, and which constitute the fount of their textual masterpieces, are simply often (violent and

oppressive) abstractions - figments of their peculiar and idiosyncratic rationalising subjectivities. *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, as a rather whimsical fusion of such idiosyncrasies, sustains the malady (and associated mythologies) in 'chronic' form.

An alternatively structured *Oxford History of New Zealand* would move through different levels of analysis and different volumes would address those different levels of analysis and different substantive areas of historical interest. The substantive areas might be organised around topics such as 'capitalism', 'agricultural capitalism' (as the economic and political dynamo underlying New Zealand's development), the state, capitalism and the state, interest groups (the Farmer's Union, Federated Farmers, the Federation of Labour, the Business Roundtable, etc), the welfare state, industrial relations, ethnic/cultural relations, Maori, sovereignty and nationalism, women and the family, religion, New Zealand and the world/global economy, New Zealand cultures and global culture, and so on (hardly exhausting the possibilities).

This review has not focussed upon the contributions to *The Oxford History of New Zealand*; rather, it questions the plausibility of the project itself. Nor does it address the first edition; rather, it poses the question: 'What does this text mean **now**, to the school or undergraduate student reader in **1993**?' *The Oxford History of New Zealand* remains a useful text. But its continuing utility, indeed its viability (in its present form), are questionable. The title of its final part (part four) sums up my case - 'Precarious Maturity'.

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F. Anthias and N. Yuval-Davis (in association with H. Cain), **Racialized Boundaries. Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle.** London : Routledge, 1992.

Reviewed by Paul Spoonley
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In the heady pluralism of the 1990s, one of the major challenges is to theorise the complexity of relations which characterise the 'isms' - sexism, racism, nationalism - and class. Inevitably, the resulting analyses are often highly prescriptive and overstretched theoretically. The sheer complexity and range of relations and institutions involved is daunting, and to encompass all of them in a theoretically informed and plausible way eludes most.

In this book, Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis stutter at various points, but come closer than a lot of others to indicating what lines of theory might prove to be the most productive. The book's principal title is a little misleading, and the sub-title is more indicative of the book's contents. But the positioning of 'race' and racialized does indicate their initial concern with the process and the products of racism. In the end, this book seems to represent a stage in an evolving theoretical project by these two authors, and future publications may well indicate a more complete and convincing theoretical position.

In the opening chapters, the authors argue that racism is part of a wider set of relations ('ethnos') and that the interconnections with ethnicity, nation, class, gender and state are critical to any understanding of the phenomena (it is always plural, hence 'racisms'). The rest of the book teases out these interconnections and ends with a chapter on resisting racism. But the starting point which concerns racism treads well-rehearsed ground. They make it clear that racism should not be reified or abstracted from other relations, and that it is

equally pointless to regard it as an epiphenomenon of some other 'essential' relations. They indicate the areas in which they disagree with Bob Miles, but, in the end, the points of similarity are as important as any differences they cite. The latter seem largely to hinge on whether it is legitimate to use 'race' in social scientific analyses, although later in the book there are criticisms offered of what is regarded as Miles' tendency to see ideology as false.

The next part of the book offers some more novel insights. Ethnicity is discussed using Barth's notion of ethnic boundary maintenance and the arguments of ethnic mobilisation theorists. Ethnicity as a political basis in competing for resources (rather than simply an identity) is the predominant theme. The interest is in how groups contest the social allocation of resources in a context of difference. As the book proceeds, the connections between ethnic and national projects are explored, with the authors arguing that there is no inherent difference between the two as they both construct 'imagined communities'. Racism makes a re-appearance as the discourse and practice of 'inferiorizing ethnic groups', with the state operating to sustain the cultural hegemony and differences of groups. But these do not exist as a set of relations apart from those of class (the sphere of production processes) and gender (the social organisation of sexual difference and biological reproduction). In the remaining chapters of the book, the authors explore the intersection between racism/ethnicity/nationalism and class/gender. All of these concerns come together in a discussion of the labour market as gendered and racialised .

There are two issues which I want to briefly highlight and which were prompted by reading this book. The first concerns nationalism and what it means for an analysis of racism and/or ethnicity. In terms of its origins, the nationalist project is intimately tied to the development of the nation-state as a political form and to the ambitions of the Enlightenment to reduce the impact and influence of exclusionary practices. The state and the nationalism which underscored it were the product of a form of liberalism which sought to replace various types of exclusivity - religious, racial, class-based - with a national inclusiveness. But even in the nineteenth century, nationalism took on

various manifestations, and these have been re-invented and re-emphasised throughout the twentieth century. Anthias and Yuval-Davis are right to point out the multifarious nature of these connections, and the quite different traditions which produce late-twentieth century nationalisms. Ultimately, perhaps neither our terminology - nationalism, nation, ethnicity - nor our theoretical instruments are adequate to the task of successfully classifying and explaining the quite distinct and often apposite forms of ethnic nationalism which exist. How do liberating and inclusive projects built around nationalism and ethnicity equate with exclusive and regressive projects, also said to be based on ethnic and nationalist ambitions? How can movements which seek ethnic autonomy and which require greater democratic participation be understood alongside those which also seek autonomy to practise oppression? The difficulty of answering this question is highlighted in this book.

The second local concern is whether this book offers an insight into New Zealand issues. It does not contain material on New Zealand, and where it does deal with examples in depth they are primarily from the UK. At a general level, there is a lot here that could be mined and easily appropriated for those who wanted conceptual and theoretical material to use locally. But the issues which predominate or are of increasing importance in New Zealand, particularly with regard to ethnicity and the nation-state, are not canvassed in this book. For instance, there is an interesting discussion of multiculturalism but nothing on the politics and implications of biculturalism. There is a lot on 'hegemonic Anglomorphic ethnicity' but very little about how it should be analysed as an ethnic/class/political form, or about progressive dominant group politics (cf. Pakeha ethnicity?) which might represent dissension and struggle within the hegemonic group. For these reasons, the book has very clear limitations when it comes to an analysis of Aotearoa/New Zealand, a fact which further underlines the immense difficulties of successfully including, much less analysing, those contemporary relations which centre on racism/ethnicity/gender/class/nationalism.

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Richard K. Brown, **Understanding Industrial Organisations: Theoretical Perspectives in Industrial Sociology:** Routledge, London, 1992.

Reviewed by Martin Tolich
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The focus of *Understanding Industrial Organisations* is two fold. Early in the book Brown declares one focus as being a critical review of industrial sociology in Britain since 1945. In the first five chapters he does that task well. Chapter One provides an account of the growth of British industrial sociology within an institutional, intellectual, social and an economic context. The next four chapters present in detailed text-book fashion a description with criticism of systems thinking, contingency theory, action theory and the labour process. These chapters are excellent and herein (the historical summary) lies the book's strength.

Following this extensive and rich review of the British Industrial Sociology literature, Brown ends the book with a second focus: an all too brief thirteen-page prescription of what new directions Industrial Sociology should take. Like many sociologists in recent time, Brown (re)discovers the utility of the action/structure approach for understanding sociological problems and he uses the duality of structure as the basis of his prescription for the future of workplace sociology.

Brown suggests that to understand industrial organisations two concepts, both found within the extant literature, are useful. *First,* Strauss' conception of organizations as 'negotiated orders' focuses research upon the negotiated framework within which organizations operate. Brown elaborates the model, suggesting that all actors party to any negotiations in the workplace are structured by their possession of unequal power.

Second, Brown puts forward a general notion of 'the social relations of employment' as representing the antagonistic social relations in work organizations. It would seem that Marx, Braverman, and now Brown see the transformation of labour into labour-power as problematic and worthy of further research. I was amused by Brown's choice of Strauss and Braverman as being worthy of replication. Both are American theorists chosen from a book that documents the best of British Industrial Sociology.

The brevity of the final chapter was disappointing. Brown was unable to fully elaborate his new directions and in no way did he extend the literature. If the author is so convinced that the two models he advocates are the future of understanding industrial organisations, I was left wondering why Brown failed to operationalize the two models himself. These disappointments aside, *Understanding Industrial Organisations* is a good read providing tremendous insight into the people, institutions, and conflicts of the time.

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Dwyer, T. **Life and Death at Work. Industrial Accidents as a Case of Socially Produced Error,** New York: Plenum Press, 1991.

Reviewed by John Wren
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Tom Dwyer's new book, *Life and Death at Work,* consists of a six chapter sociological analysis of the causes of industrial accidents, coupled with a critical review of the development and progress of the past and present range of safety management techniques. In the book, Dwyer sets out one possible approach which may be used by researchers to investigate the social production of accidents at work, and failures in the health and education sectors.

Dwyer begins his book by briefly reviewing the history of occupational safety and health from the period of the British industrial revolution to the late 1960s. In this historical review, Dwyer seeks to point out and illustrate the linkages between social and historical forces such as: technology, science, politics, social conditions, and the labour movement. In particular, Dwyer shows why explanations for accidents at work which omit these wider social connections are inadequate. One example that Dwyer gives of the connections between social forces is the development and use in British coal mines of the Davey safety lamp. While the Davey lamp was developed to protect miners in dangerous mines, as the result of a series of serious mining accidents, the technology was very quickly used by employers to justify the working in even more dangerous mines. For Dwyer, the inadequacy of accident prevention theories based upon industrial psychology, scientific management and safety engineering, was clearly demonstrated by the failure of these approaches to significantly reduce the rate of accidents at work in western industrialised societies by the late 1960s.

After his critical historical review, Dwyer develops a sociological theory of workplace accident causation which is influenced by the work of Touraine. The theory Dwyer expounds is a reiteration and a development of ideas that he has been writing about for several years. Dwyer's basic point is that workplace accidents are the result of the social relations of work: accidents at work are socially produced. As a result of this basic position, Dwyer sees individual workplace relationships and individual behaviour as being strongly influenced and circumscribed by the way in which the worksite is 'organised', 'rewarded', and 'commanded'. According to Dwyer, the extent to which the worksite is controlled by the dominant group, whether it be management, individuals or unions, and the methods used by the dominant group to maintain its control, govern the degree to which accidents are caused in the workplace. With this approach, Dwyer is moving away from explanations of workplace accidents based upon psychological and engineering precepts, to an explanation which focuses on the way in which work is organised in western industrial societies. Dwyer's position means that effective accident prevention

measures must include an analysis of the way in which work is produced and controlled.

Dwyer sets out to test and illustrate the explanatory power of his theory by reviewing work which he conducted in 1979-80 for the New Zealand Department of Labour. This work involved studying the effects of nightwork on accident rates in seven industrial plants. It is Dwyer's experience with this research, and earlier research in France for his Ph.D thesis, which led him to formulate his theory. Underlying this research work, and throughout the book, is a methodology influenced by Alfred Schutz's writings on Weberian sociology.

In the final part of the book, Dwyer picks up his historical review and proceeds to review and comment on recent developments in safety management techniques. The safety management techniques of Cost-Benefit Analysis and Systemic Safety are discussed, as are the issues of accident compensation, safety committees, legislative frameworks, and post-industrial society. Dwyer concludes that the current range of safety management approaches are largely 'ineffective' and even 'perverse' in their results. If the 'Rubicon is to be Crossed' - by which Dwyer means finding new methods to reduce the social production of industrial accidents - new strategies must be formulated which incorporate knowledge about the social relations of work. He suggests that his approach contributes to a better understanding of why accidents occur at work, whilst also providing avenues for the development of new accident prevention strategies.

While I think this book could be better organised, I also found reading it an enlightening experience. The brief but informative coverage of all the salient points pertinent to an understanding of occupational safety and health, coupled with rigorous social theory and methodology, has resulted in a thesis which makes an important contribution to our understanding of the organisation of work, and why accidents at work occur.

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   Baker, R.S. 1948. **Sociology and Social Change**. London, Charles Publishing Co.

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