NEW ZEALAND
SOCIOLOGY

NOVEMBER 1993
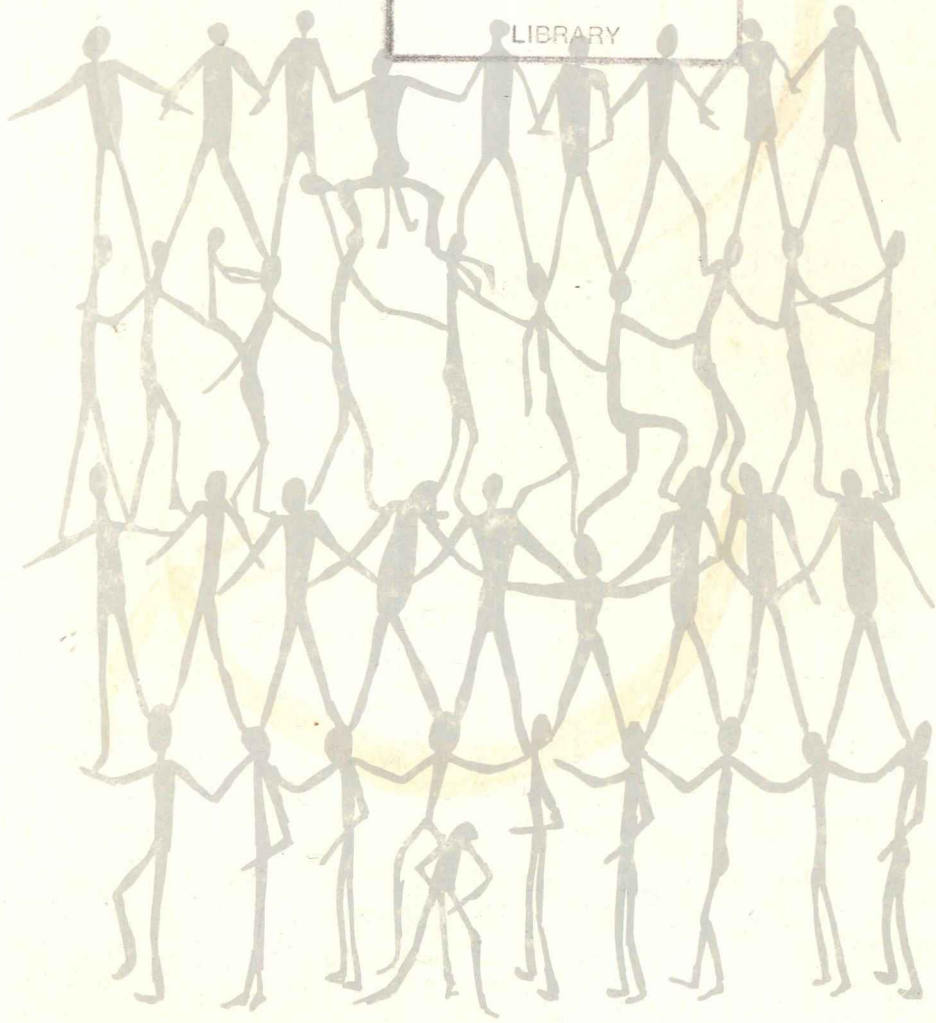
VOLUME 8, No. 2

Serials

Articles for publication: Contributors should consult the detailed instructions inside the back cover, and submit two copies together with a computer disk to:

Books for review and **advertising copy** should be sent to:

Issues: 1 Volume per year, 2 issues per Volume.

NEW ZEALAND SOCIOLOGY

NEW ZEALAND SOCIOLOGY

CONTENTS

Page

ARTICLES

SYMPOSIUM

REVIEWS

The Moral Career of the Psychiatric Nurse

John Caygill
Dunedin

Abstract

Material from interviews with 31 fellow nursing staff
within a particular psychiatric institution is used to give
an insider account of the job of psychiatric nursing. The
characteristic changes in understanding and awareness
that take place with the movement from the 'back wards'
to the 'acute' area and from student to staff nurse are
portrayed as a 'moral career', analogous to that suggested
by Goffman (1986) for psychiatric patients. Such a 'career'
is marked by 'happenings' that generate revised
conceptions of self and others. While acknowledging the
diversity of nurses' attitudes and approaches, with
variations according to individual temperament, past
experiences and the current setting, the suggestion is
made of a common and distinctive 'meta-awareness' that
develops with the job.

Introduction

Professional nursing is a distinctive human enterprise,
concerned as it is with the wellbeing of those strangers
designated 'patients', and according to the dictates of
professional standards and employment obligations rather
than a solidarity among kith and kin. The singularity of
such an enterprise is heightened in the case of psychiatric
nursing where the professional agent has to deal routinely
with extremes of behaviours and emotion, following the

often coinciding and sometimes incongruent agendas of 'caring, curing and controlling' (Dowland and McKinley, 1985).

This unique moral order is poorly represented in 'true to life' portrayals, both fictional or biographical. Most first-hand accounts of institutional reality are from a patient's perspective, while academic nursing texts generally depict either 'how to' or 'how not to' rather than the actual norms of practice for any time or place.

There is, of course, a sizeable body of research on 'the socialization of students into the professional role of nurse' (Andersson, 1993), which deals with nurses' actions, attitudes and feelings as they encounter specific practical and interpersonal challenges entailed in the work. Professional role performance is commonly assessed using concepts such as 'reality shock' (Kramer, 1974 in Wilson and Startup, 1991), 'burnout' (McConnell, 1982), and various aspects of role theory (Riggins, 1982) to explain major departures from 'professional standards' or supposedly essential features of the role.

In this paper, I would like to take a broader, less evaluative view, and deal with aspects of personal as well as professional development over time. The subject is the significant experiences in training of a mixed group of psychiatric nurses, and the purpose is more ethnographic than nursing-theoretical, although Goffman's notion of a 'moral career' is adapted to link some underlying commonalities in personal awareness and understanding.

The data comes from participant-observation research undertaken in 1987/88 as part of a M.A. (Anthropology)

thesis about psychiatric nursing (Caygill 1989). At the time, I was working as a student nurse in the latter stages of my training at a regional psychiatric hospital. Thirty-one fellow nurses were individually interviewed about their past and present experiences of the job. Some were current students in polytechnic ('comprehensive') or in hospital-based ('psychiatric') training programmes, while others had been 'on the job' for a number of years. A few were registered general nurses seeking to extend their qualification with a 'comprehensive' registration, and several had already worked in the institution as 'hospital aides' before entry into the training programme.

The interviews took place off the ward and were taped, then later transcribed. Questions were open-ended, intended to elicit personal experience of nursing as a job, starting with: 'Why did you choose to go nursing?', and covering much the same ground in each case - that is, first impressions, subsequent placements and career path, feelings about the training, likes/dislikes in the job, special experiences, changes in nursing over time, and changes in self and the view of others since starting psychiatric nursing. Most interviews were of more than 30 minutes duration, and interviewees generally spoke freely and in some depth of their personal views and experiences in nursing.

The notion of a 'moral career' derives from Goffman's classic essay 'The Moral Career of the Mental Patient' (in *Asylums*, 1961). He defines this as 'a standard sequence of changes in [a person's] way of conceiving of selves, including, importantly his own'. These changes correlate with 'happenings which mark a turning point in the way in which the person views the world' (Goffman 1961: 154).

In a somewhat looser sense, I am suggesting an analogous series - if not an actual sequence - of changes for new recruits to the distinctive tasks of psychiatric nursing. Of course, the consequences of a revised view of self and others are different for nurses compared with patients, given the real power differential within the institutional structure. Nurses are much more in control of their own destinies at the time. However, I suggest that the effects of the progressive changes in their understanding of the moral order are likely to have consequences for them in their work and to endure beyond the work place.

From the interview material, significant experiences included 'happenings' to do with patients and 'happenings' to do with 'the system', although these two contexts were often merged in the actual accounts. Negative comments predominated over positive, particularly in regard to views of 'the system'. 'Culture shock' and disillusioning experiences with patients could be offset by growing confidence and pride in the delivery of nursing care, but the workings of the institution were universally productive of a sense of frustration and an awareness of discrepancy and dilemma. Particular experiences tended to occur in particular settings, although these were not always encountered in the same order during training; and similar experiences could be associated by the interviewees with a variety of subsequent attitudes and patterns of performance. While this undercuts the notion of a unitary moral career at any superficial level, it nonetheless allows for a common 'meta-level' of awareness over time, as proposed in the conclusion.

Both hospital-based and polytechnic students tended to proceed in the following order: from the 'long-stay' wards with psychogeriatric, behaviorally-disturbed intellectually handicapped, and chronically ill or functionally disabled patients, to the 'acute' psychiatric area. This provided a sequence of looking after physically dependent patients with mostly static or declining levels of functioning, to overseeing acutely disturbed individuals with a generally improving though often relapsing course. While hospital-based students would spend several months at a time as part of the nursing workforce on the wards, with 1-2 weeks taken out for 'study blocks', their polytechnic counterparts spent much more time in the classroom, with shorter placements on the wards and closer supervision.

The main limiting factor to any conclusions from this study relate less to some variation in the order of 'happenings' and the mixed backgrounds of students at the time, but rather the major structural changes to the entire mental health system in recent years. These changes include the move away from large-scale 'omnibus' psychiatric institutions to smaller-scale specialized units, and the general replacement of hospital-based 'single registration' training programmes with the polytechnic 'comprehensive nursing' course.

Significant Experiences on the Job

(1)   'Long-Stay' Areas

Those who started work in 'geriatrics' or 'intellectually handicapped' without knowing what to expect were often in for a shock.

> They gave me a key and pointed me towards
> the door. There were these fingers and hands
> scratching away at the window, and I can
> remember thinking: 'In there? You want me to
> go in there?'

> I remember walking into this villa to see an old
> lady pick up her slipper, shove it into her
> mouth and wave with both hands. I wondered
> what the hell I'd struck.

> As soon as I walked in the door all these
> freaky-looking people descended on me and
> started touching my hair, pulling my shoelaces
> - it was very scary.

The experience of dirty and repetitive physical labour
soon commences. Most patients have to be dressed and
undressed, bathed regularly, and may have to be helped
with feeding and drinking. Many are routinely
incontinent, requiring frequent changes of clothes by day
and bed linen by night. A few patients are bedridden for
most of the time and require full physical nursing care on
all shifts. Physical repugnance at handling urine and
faeces, the contact with decrepit or deformed bodies, and
the mess of spooning mashed-up food into unresponsive
mouths, is likely to be accompanied by grief in the face of
the inexorable wasting of powers, and boredom at the
endless repetition of routines.

> Nothing that I'd read about at varsity prepared
> me for my first week in geriatrics. Sometimes
> it seemed more like a cattleyard than anything
> else.

When I first started there I was appalled by the
depth of misery and distress and the sense of
human waste and loss. I cried most nights for
the first few weeks.

Adaptations varied, after the initial shock. People quickly
learned to tolerate what had at first seemed intolerable.
The student who had been horrified by the hands at the
window found that 'after six weeks I got to like all those
guys and I could appreciate their personalities and
individual quirks'. Another who had cried a lot at night
soon realized that 'to be effective I had to get over this.
I wanted to stay on and to play a part in relieving the
distress. At that stage it was a sort of Florence
Nightingale fantasy. Later on I became blunted, I think;
though I still cared'.

These experiences posed existential challenges which
some students seemed more able to contemplate than
others. Some were aware of a deadening of sensitivity
and blunting of effect which helped them to cope at the
time. Another was able 'to get closer to the thought of
dying, and what my life was about, and why we are here.
I found that geriatrics has made me more caring and
helped me become a better person'. Most adapted quickly
in overcoming their initial shock and 'getting stuck into
the job' as a generally welcome member of the
hardworking nursing team, although many were still
subject to vivid and frightening dreams for several weeks
after starting. As in other areas of psychiatric nursing, the
comradeship of a small group of people cooperating in an
often thankless but essential task provided a significant
positive experience. Staff support was often seen as
crucial in coping with the unfamiliar and disturbing
environment.

Most people found significant rewards in 'doing simple things for people that they appreciate at the time'. Simply to be recognised and greeted by a patient who was usually disoriented and confused could be a gratifying experience. Even young students would speak of 'being like mum or dad' to patients several times their age - although, ironically, the patient also would sometimes lay claim to this role.

Along with the high value placed on nurturance and compassion, there was a general diminishing of a sense of tragedy in adaptation to the unique circumstances of the job. Thus the student might not perceive the pathos of a particular patient's situation until they encountered the spouse or a friend who was visiting and had become visibly distressed at no longer being recognised by their loved one.

Many found it easier to adapt to the patient's physical helplessness and dependency then to the widespread loss of dignity. In these wards, human dignity is compromised both by the frequent violation of the normal rules of social comportment and in consequence of severe intellectual handicap or dementia (e.g. undressing or exposing oneself in public; playing with faeces; calling out or singing aloud out of 'normal' context). It was easy in the geriatric wards to think of one's own parents or grandparents ending up in this situation and of how distressing this would be for all concerned. Thus students readily accepted the textbook tenets of the need to promote individuality and preserve dignity for the sake of the patients' emotional well-being and for the morale of visitors and staff.

This awareness had several consequences, which were either directly acknowledged or intimated by the interviewees. Firstly, it was often significant in the development of a personal professional ethic:

> To see each of the patients as individual human beings, regardless of their level of functioning: that's been my basic aim throughout nursing, starting from my time in geriatrics. So often they'd just get the basic care, but no acknowledgement as individuals with their own past history and personality even though they might be 'ga ga' at that stage.

Secondly, it often led to dissatisfaction with 'the system' which required the bathing/dressing/feeding of X number of patients by Y number of staff according to various deadlines throughout the day.

> It was a bit like the Golden Shears: the best nurses were the ones who could undress people the fastest.

Similarly, out of empathy with the patients, students sometimes voiced unease at the behaviour of a few permanent staff whose own idealistic concerns and standards of care had diminished with the passing of time.

> I hated to see other nurses being rough with them - getting frustrated and taking it out on the patient, who can't give back what they get. I'd hope that I would be looked after properly if I couldn't take care of myself any longer. If nurses can't do that, they shouldn't stay in that area.

Another student encountered a prickly response from certain staff which she attributed to their defensiveness at her enthusiasm and idealism. Finally, some interviewees described a disturbing sense of weirdness that might be characterised as an 'ontological stress'. This arose from the surreality of both the patient's obliviousness to their own bizarre and 'disgraceful' acts and the nurse's protective forbearance in response. For example, an old man pours his tea into an ashtray (taking it to be a saucer) and raises it to his lips. The nurse smiles pleasantly, asks politely if she 'could borrow that for a moment', and deftly substitutes a saucer for the ashtray without offending the patient.

> I found it really wired, knowing that these people had been 'normal' all their lives and now they had less real intelligence than a pet dog - yet you certainly couldn't treat them like you would a 'dumb animal'.

In summary, for most of the interviewees the first few weeks on a psychogeriatric or intellectually handicapped ward was a memorable experience: bizarre, horrific and frightening for some, and strange but less upsetting for others. The nature and intensity of this varied according to the particular point of entry, and also according to differences in temperament and previous life experience. Many, including some of those who were most positive about the job, had difficulty over subsequent weeks in reconciling their current perceptions with previous beliefs about the nature of sanity, and dignity and the meaning of suffering and compassion.

Other wards in the 'long-stay' area house patients with a chronic psychiatric illness who have been unable to maintain independence away from the institution. They may be less disturbed than on admission, but still significantly disabled by their disordered mental state and their loss of confidence and motivation through the insidious effects of institutionalisation. Progress is slow and there are frequent setbacks. Occasionally the patient may have a major relapse- particularly if pushed too far in the 'rehabilitation' process - and may have to be transferred to an acute unit for a while.

Such work demands high levels of energy and patience in the often paradoxical art of persuading people who are functionally disabled to take more initiative for themselves within an institutional setting where concerns of safety and order are paramount. Understandably, this is often hard for nurses to sustain.

> Initially it's a novelty, but then it becomes routine after a few weeks. You do your bathing and your dressing and look after them and take them for walks, and you try to communicate with them, but once the novelty goes it gets harder and harder to keep your enthusiasm up.

From this often followed an awareness of the need for professional commitment.

> There are a lot of areas in psychiatric nursing where it is possible to get away with doing as little as you like. It's very important in these areas to have enthusiastic and professionally motivated staff, because you don't get the

> feedback and the immediate rewards from the
> patient. You need to get it from your fellow
> staff.

Just as the psychogeriatric area had posed 'existential' and 'ontological' challenges to newcomers, so the long-stay area posed a challenge to the will. Several interviewees alluded to the enervating 'double bind' experience of recognising the dynamics of institutionalisation as the cause of patient's apathy yet also becoming sceptical about the prospects of rehabilitation for those who still remained in hospital years after the 'easy' chronic patients had been discharged into boarding houses and rest homes. Many voiced frustration with the general lack of professional resources such as occupational therapists, and sometimes insufficient nursing staff.

> It takes a lot of staff input to get people to take
> initiative and do more for themselves. Usually
> there weren't enough staff available for that to
> happen. It was easier just to do things for
> them.

This area also provided a significant learning experience. Patients displayed many signs and symptoms of the major psychoses or organic impairment (often from chronic alcohol abuse), although their 'mad' behaviour was generally adapted to the tolerance levels of the doctors and staff nurses. However, there could be frightening reminders that 'safety' considerations extended beyond the well-being of the patients.

> Often I was working alone on afternoon duty
> as a first-year student in the back wards with
> some really crazy people. I spent most of my

> time just holding on to myself and not really
> knowing what I should be doing, and dishing
> out cigarettes on the half hour.

One young student developed a deeper understanding of
disturbed behaviour by observing an old 'chronic
schizophrenic' patient.

> He used to sit by himself and listen to the
> voices in his head and laugh at the funny
> things they'd say. I used to ask him what his
> voices had said to him, and actually it was all
> quite amusing. And a lot of his odd behaviour
> made sense in its own peculiar way.

Observation of the 'moral loosening' process (Goffman,
1968: 151), in an individual context, could also be salutary.

> It was a real eye-opener at times. There was
> this middle-aged lady who everybody joked
> about: she used to go behind the bushes with
> all and sundry for a couple of packets of
> cigarettes. That was a bit of a shock when I
> first heard about it - I was pretty naive, I guess.
> But I got a different sort of a shock when I
> read through her file one day and discovered
> that she'd been a 'respectable' middle class
> housewife for years until she'd had a
> breakdown after her third child was born, and
> had to come in here. That was twelve years
> ago. She never really got back to being the
> same person again.
>
> .

(2)   Acute

At last, 'the real thing'. In fact, the student nurse will probably have seen many of the signs and symptoms of the supposed 'disease entities' while working in the long-stay or rehabilitation areas. The main differences are that such behaviour may be more acutely disordered - with consequences for the safety of staff and other patients - and the patients are often less reconciled to the fact of their illness and recent hospitalisation. Their social identity apart from patienthood is more visible. With the passage of time, the effects of their separation from 'normal' society will become apparent as the problems of institutionalisation and amotivation occur.

Many interviewees reported initially feeling both excited and apprehensive: on the one hand, the prospect of comprehending madness, helping to control disorder and relieve emotional distress, and on the other hand, a fear of what they might see. Could they cope? Would they be assaulted, manipulated, or made to look stupid?   And what should they say/how should they interact with these patients?

> I'd heard all these stories about crazy people and what you had to watch out for, and I was really nervous. But it wasn't like that at all. I was so relieved by how normal everything seemed, and how much freedom there was. It took me quite a while to realize just how sick some of the people were. The biggest problem was understanding how the ward was run - there was so much going on there.

Although the 'culture shock' was minimal compared with their first experience of psychogeriatrics, the nurses often felt a sense of continuing challenge after the initial anticlimax. They talked, often approvingly, of constantly being tested; having to stay alert and be accountable - in both senses - for their patients.

> It's a challenge - with elements of perversity in it. It's so different and so stupid and difficult and crazy sometimes. And the element of danger at times adds excitement.

It was also a manifold learning experience, as much in personal awareness as in nursing praxis. Nearly all the interviewees described a series of changes in their understanding of themselves and their colleagues. They discovered their own and others' sensitivities and prejudices, strengths and weaknesses, and the large areas of similarity as well as differences between themselves and their patients. Such insights were often painfully achieved: the product of conflict or self-doubt, gained at the risk of losing direction and initiative. A degree of self-protective dissociation or 'switching-off' was widely acknowledged.

> I've learnt to keep my distance and not to let everything affect me personally. It did when I first started there, and that made it very difficult... You get a lot less sentimental about life - the ordinary and the dreadful things that occur, in your own life and in theirs.

The following section presents some of the 'happenings' or significant experiences for nurses in the 'acute' area that led to changes in their awareness.

(a)   *Experiences With Patients*

New nurses in this area generally expected to encounter unpredictable or violent behaviour as a consequence of an acutely disturbed mental state - perhaps exacerbated by resentment at compulsory hospitalization. However, the fear of random violence and assault soon abated with the realisation that such incidents are uncommon, nearly always safely contained, and often preventable with foresight and early intervention. Some nurses honestly admitted that the challenge of containing violence could be exciting - given that experienced staff seldom get hurt. Female students might initially voice their fears more than their male counterparts, yet later acknowledge a gender advantage when 'talking down' aggressive and disturbed male patients.

Other difficulties in the nurse-patient relationship were frequently reported, such as the problem of negotiating between 'over-involvement' and detachment, collusion and confrontation, and of trusting a patient and being let down by them. Rejection and abuse by patients were corrosive experiences that challenged a nurse's commitment to an 'objective' and clinical view of behaviour rather than a personalistic and judgemental response. The co-existence of these two perspectives was unanimously acknowledged, and many interviewees unreservedly stated the need for 'backstage' opportunities with other staff to express their personal frustrations, ironic awareness and judgemental evaluations of patients.

You need a lot of support from the people your
working with. You have to be able to go away
and say: 'This guy's a bastard and I hate him',
to another nurse, and know that you'll get the
support and not be made to feel guilty for 'not
coping' or 'not understanding'.

Certain common experiences stood out as particularly
memorable: the unique blend of apprehension and morbid
expectancy when maintaining constant observations on a
'high-risk' suicidal patient; the chilling awareness of being
incorporated into a psychotic patient's paranoid delusions;
and the painful breakthrough of emotion in response to
particularly tragic circumstances or to the situation of a
patient with whom one felt a special bond.

More singular than these, but still widespread, were
particular 'one-off' experiences that had made an impact
on the student's subsequent nursing career. Several
students found themselves struggling to cope in their job
when a relative or close friend became mentally ill. Two
nurses had themselves been psychiatric patients in the
past and knew first-hand the reality of stigma and the
importance of maintaining a respectful approach to
patients. And the salience of 'professionalism' was
reinforced for one student when her friend resigned from
the course after a disastrous romantic attachment to a
patient.

High expectations and enthusiasm were gradually
tempered by the experience of repeated setbacks, relapses,
and readmissions. Many interviewees spoke cynically of
the 'revolving door' syndrome; yet most acknowledged
the intrinsic reward of seeing patients improve over time

and with good nursing care - even if they still had ongoing problems.

> We're working with people who may have been damaged from a long way back, and you can't expect instant success when the dysfunction has been years in the making. I see what we're offering as assistance for people to mature, and that takes time, and never proceeds smoothly or without setbacks along the way.

The task was generally thankless and accepted as such. Several nurses mentioned the bonus of chance encounters with grateful ex-patients outside the hospital, or second-hand reports of how their care had been appreciated at the time. Some found satisfaction in the depth of interpersonal relationship - the psychotherapeutic role - regardless of the final outcome and gained a valued sense of each patient as a distinctive individual.

> Working there, you don't often get satisfaction from seeing somebody cured once and for all; but the big thing is just being able to develop a relationship, and that's where you get your satisfaction from.

Others mentioned an enduring fascination with the mysteries of the mind: the variety of personality and behaviour; and the meaning of sanity and madness: '...it's endlessly intriguing. It challenges so many aspects of your own experience.' They were grateful for the opportunity of learning more about themselves in the process of trying to help others.

> One thing I've enjoyed about psychiatric
> nursing is more of a reflective thing - a way of
> looking at myself and my life and my attitudes
> which has been quite valuable.

And a few spoke positively of their own professional
development within the institution and beyond.

> You relate to people on a much deeper level
> than you would normally in any normal
> human endeavour. A lot of bullshit is cut out.
> And in relationships with patients, you learn
> about yourself from other people's misfortunes,
> quite frequently. Also, it has led me into a lot
> of areas that I wouldn't have encountered
> otherwise. Through starting to learn about
> psychotherapy, to be more effective in what
> you do, obviously it takes you to a point where
> you start to apply things to yourself. It's led
> me into personal growth directions and things
> like that, that I don't think I'd have got
> involved in otherwise.

(b)   Experiences With 'The System'

Frustration with 'the system' was frequently expressed,
including complaints about the lack of resources and
treatment options; the rigidity of ward routines; and the
lack of support from the nursing hierarchy and the
hospital administration. However, the satisfactions of
successful teamwork and the camaraderie of a small
group of diverse individuals united in a singularly
challenging task were widely noted - although often with
reservations about the 'attitude' of specific individuals or
cliques. Interviewees sometimes voiced annoyance at the

way in which the approach of certain other staff (often but not always males) would wittingly or unwittingly antagonise patients, thus lowering the threshold of disorder and increasing the risk to all.

Day-to-day cooperation with other staff was often problematic and included differences of opinion with associates about patient management, and difficulties in coordination and sharing responsibility with other 'health professionals' (occupational therapists, psychologists, doctors, etc).

> I actually enjoy my contact with the patients -
> if everybody else in the ward would just leave
> me alone and let me get on with my patients,
> it would be really good.

The balance between staff solidarity and a more professional independence was not easy to attain. A general nurse observed:

> In the acute psychiatric area the staff support is
> very important, but it also means an incestuous
> situation - nurses in each area get inward-
> looking and collude with each other's
> shortcomings and lowered standards.

Students with a more acute professional or humanitarian sensibility often felt unhappy at colluding by not speaking out, yet felt powerless anyway to change the status quo.

> Later on in my training I'd voice my opinion a
> bit louder; but I was never really in a position
> of power. I was aware that when there were
> staff nurses or charge nurses on who

disapproved of these [destructive] tactics then
the others just became more sneaky, anyway: it
didn't really stop them.

Several students had encountered a situation in which
their complaint about an unsafe nursing practice or an act
of cruelty towards a patient had either been ignored or
had resulted in the obverse of staff solidarity: the power
to ostracise and harass.

> ...The 'old boy' system has really gone against
> me. I think the system stinks. All these non-
> professional forces. They've always been there,
> but haven't affected me until this year, and
> now I really notice it. Within the system there
> was no support for me. There seemed to be
> nothing that anybody could do. I was getting
> all this shit behind my back - and sometimes to
> my face.

Under these circumstances, the everyday sense of
discrepancy between ideal and reality became intolerably
acute.

(c)   *Underlying Issues*

From the interviewees accounts and from my own
reflections, it seems that each area of psychiatric nursing
within the institution presents particular challenges or
dilemmas for which there are no simple resolutions. In
geriatrics, it is the construction of dignity in dementia,
and elsewhere in the long-stay area, it is motivating
dependent patients to make changes in the same setting
that fostered their dependency. In the acute area, the

157

underlying issue is the conflict between therapy and control, or nurse domination and patient autonomy occurring as a consequence of the general preoccupation with safety and order. Where the most noticeable or alarming sign of mental illness (or 'disorder') is 'unsafe' or 'inappropriate' behaviour, then therapy and domination may be hard to distinguish. Over this issue, the contexts for significant happenings ('the patients' and 'the system') become merged.

> There's too much of a need to control - to win every issue, when a lot of things don't matter so much. Safety's important, but it can easily become an obsession. Often we're scared to let them take a chance - scared to let them crap out for fear it will react badly back on us.

At its narrowest, the issue was seen as the potential for damage to rapport.

> Sometimes I think we get a bit heavy-handed with the use of medication and seclusion. And sometimes we intimidate patients - surrounding them with four male staff when they could be talked-down with a less threatening approach, or persuaded to do what you want them to do with a bit more time. Coming-on too strong can do a lot of damage to their trust in you.

Nonetheless, the need to take control during actual phases of acute disturbance was readily acknowledged - though not without personal reservations.

Sometimes you need to take control - they're there because they can't control their own behaviour. And sometimes they seem to be quite grateful in the end that you have taken control. They often feel out of control and find that a really frightening experience. Sometimes you feel a real cow - you know you're doing the right thing but it seems very heartless and calculated at the time. I guess we're all doing it basically with the patient's best interests at heart - hopefully.

But from a wider view:

I believe that institutions have to address the whole issue of control if they're going to progress. The fear is that without total control there will be chaos, and people harming themselves and acting irresponsibly. And at another level the fear is personal: that I will have lost control, and I can't handle my anxiety over that.

These remarks convey a sense of the extraordinary situations integral to the psychiatric nursing role, and a sense of the often tenuous and ambivalent nature of the nurse-patient relationship.

The Career in Conclusion

In the above outline of 'the nurse's progress', a range of sometimes divergent responses to situations has been presented. Some variation occurs according to initial baseline awareness and the subsequent order (and ordering) of experiences, as well as according to factors of individual temperament such as 'personality hardiness'

(Boyle et al 1991). Variation also occurs in adaptive responses to current settings. In writing of the inmates of 'total institutions', Goffman (1968) describes a number of 'lines of adaptation', including 'situational withdrawal', 'intransigence', 'colonization', and 'conversion' (Goffman, 1968: 61-63). Similarly, several variations in adaptation to the job of psychiatric nursing have been indicated above. These include 'putting your head down and making the best of it' according to one's own level of ideological and personal commitment; 'drifting along' with a high degree of apathy and detachment (paralleling the phenomenon of 'institutionalisation' in the patients); and actively criticizing 'the system' and seeking alternatives to the institution. All of this might seem to undercut the notion of a common moral career or 'standard sequence of changes in ... [the] conceiving of selves' (Goffman, 1968: 154). However, beyond the differences at one level in conceptions of self and other, I would suggest a common 'meta-awareness" associated with the job, as outlined below.

By the end of their placement in the 'acute' area, many students were aware of changes in their understanding and their expectations of themselves and others. These changes, which were sometimes difficult to specify exactly, included a greater tolerance of odd and deviant behaviour - perhaps a sense of moral relativism in some, though not in others; a replacement of idealistic hopes and expectations with a more realistic and sometimes cynical view of oneself and other people; a distinctive 'touch-minded' insightfulness (often outspokenly expressed) and detached concern; and a more critical understanding of the limitations and vicissitudes of

psychiatric treatment in 'the system'. This new awareness could be contradictory in effect:

> Although we broaden out outlook on people, at the same time we feel we've seen it all and so can become very narrow, cynical and resistant ˙ to change.

Despite acknowledged problems, some made a generally positive evaluation of their career.

> Those three years as a student really opened my eyes to a whole lot of things - such as developing my own personal esteem and finding out who I was; becoming suddenly aware that there was a whole lot more to people than just simple nine to five, Monday to Friday life; and realising that there were all sorts of things about human behaviour - people go crazy, and they can actually be helped. And my own personal development went a long way in those years. I learnt a whole lot about myself, and if I hadn't done that training I think I would have been a lot worse-off as a person.

In other cases, the increased complexity of awareness and the depth of human understanding was not welcomed unequivocally, nor felt to be internally consistent or reconcilable to other aspects of personal identity.

> I've learnt a hell of a lot, especially since I started acute nursing. I'm more self-aware. I see people differently than I would if I'd not gone psychiatric nursing. I'm more aware of the shortcomings of people - and my own

> shortcomings. I don't expect so much from others: I'm more realistic, but less hopeful. From that point of view I might have been better off if I hadn't gone psych' nursing....

> I think that I'm a lot more cynical than I would have been had I not done my training. I think I'd probably have liked myself a bit better had I not worked there.

However this awareness was greeted, there was commonly an at least implicit acknowledgement of nursing as a self-conscious act; of the essential 'constructedness' of many human values and expressive modes; the plurality of interpretative schemes (clinical and moralistic); and the ambivalence of one's role within a system whose effects if not intentions were not always benign.

As noted in the introduction, the sorts of experiences presented in this paper have been discussed elsewhere within the field of nursing studies, generally from an assumed professional (evaluative) standpoint. This paper has adapted the theoretical notion of moral career to encompass the personal as well as professional, and to allow for a consideration not only of 'attitude formation' but more subtle and pervasive changes in awareness. Although theoretically under-developed, the depiction of a distinctive moral career for psychiatric nurses (or those of a particular time and setting) gains some credence in comparison with its nearest 'nursing studies' equivalents: the notions of 'role transition' and of 'burnout'. Allanach et al (1990) describe the transition from student to staff nurse as commonly accompanied by a sense of disconnectedness and feelings of disillusionment,

frustration and lack of self-assurance (Allanach et al, 1990: 27). McConnell (1982: 736) cites Maslach's definition of 'burnout' as 'a syndrome of emotional and physical exhaustion involving the development of negative self-concept, negative job attitudes, and loss of concern and feeling for clients'. Undoubtedly there are similarities or even an overlap between the moral career as depicted above and these two notions. Some nurses themselves describe a progressive loss of energy and confidence during certain placements.

> Your confidence can actually decrease over a period of time. You get a bit shaky and apprehensive even when nothing's wrong at the time. Before my holidays, when I was in the acute area, I was feeling that something was going to happen, although nothing ever did. I'd go away on holiday and be fine.

> After six months I get really critical of the place, and pissed off with it, and really short with the patients sometimes. My attitude changes a whole lot, and I need more time out for myself. But when I come back from holiday I can get right into it again for the next few months.

This certainly fits the 'burnout' paradigm and in fact both these cases happen to meet the underlying assumption of an initial high degree of personal commitment to a professional identity and therapeutic objectives. The moral career paradigm, however, suggests a stable rather than transitional or cyclical state of adaption and response: a loss of naivety and a tempering of awareness, an insulating of emotional sensitivity, and an acceptance

of a sustainable level of compromise between ideal and reality, rather than the supposed 'burning out' of high ideals and motivations that in many cases may have been only partially incorporated in to the person's sense of self.

The changes subsumed by the moral career concept are suggested as more or less ubiquitous for psychiatric nurses. Underlying such diverse adaptations as diminished expectations and compromise, cynical detachment, a dedicated professionalism, and even radical challenging of the status quo, there is a common sense of the fragility of integrity: one's own, that of others and the very notion itself. This is inherent in a job where contradiction, conflict and a duality of awareness predominate; where strategic concerns are prominent; and where the individual cannot avoid being 'different things to different people. Such stressors promote anxiety and doubt, contained by a general sceptical insightfulness as well as some degree of protective detachment. These may harden into outright cynicism or narrow-minded certainty and a disengagement from others, or a zealous advocacy of ideals. Alternatively, the 'career' may lead to more integrative gains in the understanding of oneself and others and a self-enhancing sense of being tested and having endured.

References

Allanach, B and Jennings, B., 1990. 'Evaluating the Effects of a Nurse Preceptorship Programme; *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 15 (1): 22-28.

Andersson, E., 1993. 'The Perspective of Student Nurses and Their Perceptions of Professional Nursing During the Nurse Training Programme', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 18 (5): 808-816.

Boyle, Grap, Younger and Thornby, 1991. 'Personality Hardiness, Ways of Coping, Social Support and Burnout in Critical Care Nurses', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 16 (7) : 850-857.

Caygill, J., 1989. *Professional Care: Structure, Strategy and the Moral Career of the Nurse in a Psychiatric Institution*, M.A. Thesis in Anthropology, University of Otago.

Dowland, J. and McKinley, R., 1985. *Caring, Curing and Controlling: An Outsiders Look at Life and Work in New Zealand Psychiatric Hospitals*, Wellington: Special Report Series No. 75, Department of Health.

Goffman, E., 1968. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Harmonsworth: Penguin.

Kramer, M., 1974. *Reality Shock: Why Nurses Leave Nursing*, St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.

Maslach, C., 1976. 'Burned-Out', *Human Behaviour*, 5:22.

McConnell, E., 1982. 'The Burout Syndrome', in E. McConnell (ed), *Burn-out in the Nursing Profession*. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.

Riggins, O., 1982. 'Role Theory in Nursing Practice' in Lancaster and Lancaster (eds), *The Nurse as a Change Agent*, St. Louis: C.V. Mosby.

Wilson, A and Startup, R.,1991. 'Nurse Socialization: Issues and Problems', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 16: 1478-1486.

Class Theory and Class Analysis

Margaret Denton

Abstract

Neilson's attempt to synthesise Marx's different accounts of class 'theory' are examined in relation to So and Suwarsono's distinction between class theory and class analysis. A model of social movement is developed which distinguishes class struggle from non-class struggle, yet situates both in the context of a social movement governed by the directionality of the sociologic of capitalism, and the cyclical momentum of the economic logic of capital. Class analysis is distinguished from class theory by its focus on the more immediate, politically visible social processes of that social movement. Class analysis is also distinguished from class research, which collects data but does not examine the causes of the observed relationships. The interaction between gender and class is briefly examined as an example of class analysis.

David Neilson ('Marxian Class Theory: Towards Synthesis') is surely right to point to the problem of reconciling Marx's basic theory with Marx's approach to history as a continuing central debate in Marxist thought. How can you have a theoretical model of two classes that miraculously transforms itself into multiple classes when confronted with history? How can you have a theoretical model in which class predominates when actual struggles are marked by other types of social relations? Perhaps the real fear is that class may not matter any more, that key conflicts today are around different types of social

relationships, such as gender and ethnicity. The fear may be that Marxism provides nothing more than a critical impetus to heterogenous movements; it has lost its centre.

I think not. When graduate sociology 'courses on ethnicity are generally available, and gender/feminist courses somewhat, but there is no course directly focusing on social class' anywhere in New Zealand (Crothers, 1993:6) after a decade in which the gap between rich and poor in New Zealand has been steadily growing it may not reflect the inadequacies of Marxism; the more likely explanation is that there is a blind spot in academic perceptions. The academic void does not reflect the actual withering away of class and class-based issues. Rather, the apparent demise of class is more likely to be caused by the synergism between the academic sociologist's own class location and the silence of the working class, at a time when the most visible movements are so competently led by fellow middle class members who speak the same language.

Academic fashions are dictated by the availability of tools to deal with particular problems. In this respect, David Neilson's brave attempt to resolve the tensions between Marx's different usages of the concept of class provides a useful starting point to examine ways of sharpening the tools that we can use to analyse class.

Neilson suggests that Marx uses three different accounts of class. The first account theorises social relations under capitalism in terms of the fundamental antagonism between capital and labour. The second account deals with the theoretical dynamic of social relations under capitalism, specifying particular theories that predict the

future history of capitalism, and allow the conditions necessary for socialism to develop. The third account teases out the actual dynamics of social relations in particular capitalist societies, examining the fluid political interaction between various classes and class fractions, and political, economic and ideological circumstance.

Neilson suggests synthesising these accounts by utilising Marx's own methodological progression from esoteric to exoteric, by connecting Marx's discussion of the value of commodities to the esoteric core of capitalism, the antagonism between capital and labour, and similarly connecting the exchange of equivalents, or price, of commodities to the exoteric, surface form of capitalism which cannot be simply reduced to the esoteric core. Thus, while the visible realities of capitalist societies are partially independent of the capitalist core, they must remain within the limits of the capital-labour antagonism for the society to remain capitalist.

Theory or Praxis?

So and Suwarsono (1990) also discuss Marx's use of 'class', comparing the Communist Manifesto with The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, to arrive at a distinction between Marx's class theory which they consider to be a set of testable propositions and predictions; and Marx's class analysis, which they describe as an interpretive scheme to make sense of changing political events. Their analysis is summarised in the following table (So and Suwarsono, 1990:52).

Table 1. Summary of Marx on "Class"		
	Class Theory In the *CM*	Class Analysis in the *EB*
The Aim of the Writing	A political work aimed at promoting revolution. Style: bold statements.	A historical work aimed at interpreting events. Style: in-depth analysis.
The Level of Generality	Highly abstract. Class as a universal category.	More concrete. Class as an historical process.
The Number of Classes	Two-class model rooted in the structure of exploitation. Stressed polarization and simplification of struggle.	Multi-class model; little discussion on exploitation. Focused on class alliances and class fractions.
Economic Interests and Politics	Stressed the unity of economic interests, class formation, and political struggles.	Recognized the problematic linkages between economic interests and political struggles.
Class and State	State as an instrument of class domination.	State as an autonomous entity.
Class and Non-Class Relations	Class relations will eradicate other social relations.	Non-class relations can explain the contour of struggle.
Direction of Class Struggle	Prediction of proletarian revolution and classless society.	No prediction; struggles are historically contingent.

If we collapse the first two accounts that Neilson offers, the distinction between the theoretical dynamics and the actual dynamics that Neilson proposes seems similar to the distinction between class theory and class analysis of So and Suwarsono. Yet the synthesis that Neilson offers of these accounts is different to that of So and Suwarsono. Neilson seeks to develop an understanding based on the idea that the theoretical dynamic forms the inner logic of capitalism, without which society would not be capitalist, while the actual dynamic 'involves a complex mutual determination between the economic and political dimensions of the class process which can never be reduced to the esoteric core' (Neilson, 1992:164). So and Suwarsono seem to have broached the division from the perspective of what it was that Marx intended, as Marx did not himself specify any connection between the different usages of the concept of class. So and Suwarsono consider that class theory describes the 'long-term structural trend of the emergence, development, and the transformation of capitalism, class analysis developed as a historical method to practise "theoretical ideas" so as to interpret short-term political struggles in a concrete social formation' (So and Suwarsono, 1990:51).

Neilson (1992:156) views the progression from esoteric to exoteric as a progression from abstract to concrete, and So and Suwarsono make the same point about the difference between class theory and class analysis. This superficial similarity hides an important difference. Neilson (1992:156), takes a realist view that 'the deep abstract structure of value represents the fundamental nature and limit of capital' whereas So and Suwarsono view theory and analysis as distinct areas of study, which opens up

the possibility of viewing both as being on the same 'level'. So and Suwarsono are concerned with Marx's praxis, whereas Neilson seeks an internal theoretical reconstruction.

So and Suwarsono's acceptance of the tension between class theory and class analysis allows them to present a traditional Marxist prognosis of capitalism, while Nielson is inclined to argue that 'the future history of capitalist societies, like their past, will be characterised by class complexity and political indeterminacy. Neilson thus finds it difficult to accept a prognosis that ultimately simplifies struggle to two diametrically opposed classes. Yet he does understand the core of capitalism as a constant limit that society must remain within to be capitalist, and furthermore, he also envisages the core capitalist contradiction as being eventually broken down through political struggle. The only element missing from a classical Marxist prognosis is the specification of which political struggle it is that will eventually break down capitalism. Given that the core capitalist contradiction is the antagonism between capital and labour, it seems strange indeed to suggest that the political struggle that overturns capitalism could be anything other than a struggle between capital and labour, whatever outward appearances may be.

Perhaps this is Neilson's point, that outward appearances may differ, whereas Marx insisted that the final struggle that overthrows capitalism would not happen until labour recognised the reality of their antagonism with capital, and acted on that knowledge in an entirely transparent manner.

We also might need to remind ourselves of why it was that Marx reached this conclusion. All previous revolutions have required ideological legitimation, but the overthrow of capitalism requires the abandonment of ideology. The ideological legitimation of the bourgeois revolution against feudal production was the argument for equality and freedom. This social logic of the capitalist mode of production can be appropriated by the workers in their own struggle against the inequality and servitude of the capitalist mode of production. Not only is there no need to develop a new ideological legitimation, because the legitimation is already there in the social logic of capitalism; but the social logic of capitalism, the argument for equality, is already working in the social field; working against every form of inequality apart from the labour-capital inequality, until all that remains is this contradiction at the centre of capitalism.

Inserting the Social Field

What is specific to the capitalist society, the fundamental antagonism of capital and labour, needs to be understood in the context of what is common to all societies, an inherited social status quo that is changed by the social relations arising from the mode of production.

Engels attributes to Marx alone the basic thought running through the Communist Manifesto, that: 'Economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising there from constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch' (Engels, 1883: 44). In a later preface, Engels reiterates the same ideas that:

'The prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch' (Engels, 1888: 48).

What Engels is not saying is that the 'economic simply generates a political and ideological superstructure as a reflection of the economic base' (Neilson, 1992:157). The twin ideas expressed here are that social organisation/structure is the basis on which political/intellectual history is built; and within the social field, it is economic production that is the motive force of social change.

Marx argued that the social field at any particular point in history was a consequence of the interface between the logic of economic imperatives (deriving from the mode of production) and the existing social conditions:

At each stage of history there is a material result, a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation of individuals to Nature and to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessors, a mass of productive forces, capital and circumstances, which is indeed modified by the new generation but which also prescribes for it conditions of life and gives it a definite development, a special character (Marx, 1846: 70).

The interface becomes particularly explicit at a time of revolution: 'At a certain stage of their development, the

material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production...From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then occurs a period of social revolution' (Marx, 1859: 67-8).

Marx did not argue that the social field of any society remained static between the revolutionary eruptions that ushered in each new era: 'There is a continuous movement of the growth of productive forces, of destruction of social relations, of formation of ideas, nothing is immutable but the abstract movement' (Marx, 1847: 109). Marx argued that the social field of capitalist society was peculiarly unstable: 'The bourgeoisie can not exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society' (Marx & Engels, 1848: 6).

Without the motive force of economic imperatives, there would be no movement from the prevailing social status quo. Thus it is the logic of the dominant economic mode that forces the conflict. It is the social logic of capitalism, the present dominant economic mode, that is the progressive element in social conflict.

It is the social logic of the dominant economic mode that raises, in the short term, the particular questions that come to be addressed in any given historical political situation. The outcome of this interface then becomes the historical social status quo to which the next particular questions deriving from the social logic of the dominant economic mode are addressed. From this particular dialectic movement, there emerges the more general

dialectic movement, in which the social logic of the dominant economic mode, the progressive movement, directs the historical social field in the long term.

> (The working class) know that in order to work out their own emancipation...they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant (Marx,1871:58).

To develop an understanding of the social logic of capitalism, then, we need to distinguish the almost imperceptible long-term historic process from the diverse, local, almost haphazard shorter-term historical processes that are funnelled by it. In So and Suwarsono's terms, we must distinguish between class theory and class analysis. So and Suwarsono (1990:50) argue that class theory postulates that the historic, long term trend is that: 'After eradicating other social relations, class struggle will be intensified, leading to a proletarian revolution and a new communist society'. In the meantime, taking the shorter-term view, other social relations are necessarily involved in the struggles that continue the process of their being eradicated. Marx writes: 'With the exception of only a few chapters, every more important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carries the heading: Defeat of the Revolution! What succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, the results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms - persons, illusions, conceptions, projects from which the revolutionary party

before the February revolution was not free, and from which it could be freed not by the victory of February but only by a series of defeats' (Marx, 1850: 30). Here Marx makes it quite clear that he considers that the 'traditional appendages' are non-class distinctions in the social status quo. As long as non-class distinctions do make a real difference to an individual's social location, the effect of class differences will remain masked.

The non-class relations foregrounded by social theorists in recent times can be seen as shorter term struggles to eliminate non-class distinctions. These struggles arise from the conflict of the social logic of capitalism with the social status quo.

Any movement against the social status quo, and towards equality between non-class groups, must also be a movement toward the abolition of non-class distinctions. In other words, any such movement fulfils Marx's prognosis that all social relations will be reduced to class relations. Any movement towards greater equality is thus a consequence of the logic of capitalism, and is thus 'progressive' in the sense that Marx intended: 'It has been shown that the recognition of the rights of man by the modern State has only the same significance as the recognition of slavery by the State in antiquity' (Marx, 1845: 224).

In the light of this, it would be quite correct to assert the interdependence of economic and political dimensions that cannot simply be reduced to the capital-labour antagonism. The mode of economic production is not itself the basis on which political and intellectual history is built, but rather the demands of the mode of

production have activated a principle of change which informs the progressive impetus within social organisation. It is the tensions between the social status quo and the demands of the mode of production, visible in conflicting social relations, that form the basis of political and intellectual history.

Thus within Marx's own theoretical work, there is the basis for dealing with history in a contingent manner without necessarily moving from a traditional Marxist prognosis.

The Spiral of Social Movement

Even if we have reservations about such a prognosis, we may still agree that social change under capitalism does seem directional, in that the restraints of the social status quo established under previous modes of production are progressively removed. The directionality, when combined with the social consequences of the capitalist economic cycle, produces a spiral-like effect in social movement. This movement is not a simple 'two steps forward, one step backward' notion of progress; the movement in a spiral is always forward.

At the surface level of politics, social indicators can regress, and the circumstances seem quite adverse for social advancement there can simultaneously be a continuing reorganisation of social relationships. These can be considered progressive in Marxist terms, as, once the necessary individual adjustments have been made, the change in material circumstances drives a changed

perception that allows further social change to occur at the political level.

Although in each political cycle, there are gains that seem to slip away, there are also gains that stay. It has been a century since women have been given the right to participate in politics by voting, and it seems unlikely that women will lose the right to vote. It is two decades since women were given the right to the same remuneration as men for the same job, and it seems unlikely that we will ever again see job advertisements with separate pay rates for men and women. Social attitudes have changed in such a way as to make such a change unthinkable. When we look beyond politics to the changes that are actually happening in social relationships, there is not the same sense of 'forwards' and 'backwards' or 'progress' and 'backlash', but rather of change: a bumpy road to be sure, but change that is on the whole in one direction, in accord with the sociologic of capitalism.

While Neilson (1992:164) argues that the esoteric core of capitalism only very loosely determines exoteric relations, I am arguing that it is not the internal contradiction of capital as such which imbues social movement with directionality. The directionality of social movement is due to the sociologic of capitalism worked out in specific historic circumstances. The inner contradiction between the capital-labour antagonism and the sociologic of capitalism marks one struggle that can be differentiated from the struggles of the social logic of capitalism against the inherited social status quo, and may be given particular status as the final struggle. But the capital-labour antagonism does not directly determine

anything but the nature of the final struggle that overthrows capital.

The cyclical nature of politics can be accounted for in the economic logic of capital. As Polanyi (1947: 267-8) notes: 'Since no human aggregation can survive without a functioning productive apparatus, its embodiment in a distinct and separate sphere had the effect of making the "rest" of society dependent on that sphere'. Marx's theory of the economic crises of capitalism identifies causes of economic cycles in the underlying structural conditions of capital accumulation, such as rising organic composition and the falling rate of profit. This abstraction of the economic logic of capital is not directly 'class theory'. It remains true that the economic logic of capital is entirely dependent on the surplus value extracted from labour, and thus on the capital-labour antagonism, so there is a fundamental relationship of Marxist economic theory to class theory, but it is indirect.

To Neilson, as a political scientist, this will doubtless appear to be a caricature of the complexities of politics. After all, I have not to mentioned the role of the state or the role of ideology, as Roper (1991) does when dealing with the recent political history of New Zealand. I would agree that to develop an adequate understanding of the political cycle as it impacts on class does require an appreciation of the multifarious aspects of politics, but I would also argue that when we begin to engage in these concerns, we become removed from class theory per se, and enter into class analysis. We are developing an appreciation of how class intertwines with other political phenomena in a particular historic location.

Class-gender Interaction: An Example of Class Analysis

While class theory is focused on the impact of the mode of production on the social status quo, class analysis deals with the much more complex matter of the actual concrete struggles taking place in the social field. It may be helpful to elaborate a little with a concrete example. I will take the right women won to have the same pay as men doing the same job as an example of a political peak. This victory has been of benefit to middle class women, but its impact on working class women has largely been negated by an increase in the gendered division of labour for the working class. Cavendish (1982: 78) describes how women in supervisory positions were put back on the line, and men on the line moved off into supervisory positions with the advent of equal pay. Management trained male school leavers, while giving females a job on the line. Cavendish, from a middle class perspective, regarded this as patriarchal, which it is, as management is placing the interests of male employees before that of female employees. However, it is also a logical response to the social circumstances of the workers, given the necessary wage restraints in maintaining a profitable factory. The male workers in the factory would typically be expected to support a wife and baby at a relatively early age, while the females would typically leave to be mothers. As much as feminists may wish it otherwise, this was the material reality that people were responding to.

The 'backlash' to feminist initiatives such as equal pay comes as women and men begin to adjust to this circumstance in their daily lives. The income gap between one and two income families grows as a consequence of this legislation, in spite of employers

attempts to support the status quo. Women find themselves increasingly unable to enjoy the lifestyle their mother enjoyed, and that they may wish to enjoy: staying at home, raising a family on their husband's income. Anne Else (1992: 248) has noted that the post-war entry of wives and mothers into formal employment cannot be reversed, as most men's earnings are insufficient or unavailable to support their 'dependents'. This is the reality but this does not mean that all women accept that this has to be the reality. Some may resent being 'forced' out to work. Given the nature of work most married women are 'forced' into, their interests may well be better served if they could remain at home. If these women decide that they must go out to work, like it or not, they may well find that they still do all the work around the house as well as their work outside the home. Indeed, as R Habgood (1992: 168,172) has noted, it is not merely the case that men fail to respond to increases in their partner's participation in the paid workforce, but women themselves try to make up for the fact that they are not able to do what is expected of them and, I would add, what they expect of themselves. It is hardly surprising that these women resent this double load, nor is it surprising that many married women who are 'forced' into boring, low paid work would prefer to stay at home. Working women may be fully aware that their adverse material circumstances may be largely attributable to broader economic and political events, but they are quite justified in thinking that feminist 'victories' have also adversely impacted on their material well being, and so these women contribute to a conservative 'backlash'.

For their part, conservative politicians have been quick to attack provisions that primarily benefit working class

women, such as pay equity and the Family Benefit; while they have allowed provisions that primarily benefit the more politically active middle class women, such as EEO and equal pay, to remain intact. Thus, even though feminists themselves may have been active in promoting the interests of all women, what has actually been historically achieved has served the material interests of middle class women and, in practice, further disadvantaged working class women.

During a period of 'backlash', indicators such as the pay differential between men and women may grow further apart. Pay disparity increases not only by the deliberate company policy of instituting a more rigorous gendered division of labour but, indirectly, for reasons such as married women being increasingly forced into poorly paid jobs because they do not have access to the unemployment benefit, and therefore do not have that level of pay protection in a time of economic recession.

Meanwhile, women and men are adjusting to the adverse circumstances. Some find it difficult to adjust their sense of self-identity to the changed material reality, and will concentrate on adjusting their own localized material reality to their sense of self-identity. For example, some women may try to retain their sense of self-identity by caring for children in their own home, rather than earning money by going out to work. Most people will begin to readjust to the larger realities. This provides women with the possibility of resisting the social pressure to accept the double load. They may begin to pressure their partners and/or children to take on more work around the home, or they may decide that they are better off without them. They may begin to raise new questions about their double

role as mother and worker. A new political consciousness may begin to form.

A Note on 'Backlash'

Susan Faludi (1992) considers 'backlash' to be an ideological phenomenon. Feminism is blamed for a series of media constructed 'women's problems' which effectively not only encourages women to withdraw from politics and into the mystical essence of womanhood, but also allows economic and political agendas which she regards as being antagonistic to women's interests to flourish. Faludi suggests that men are responding to the threat to their own material interests by initiating such political agendas, whereas women are forced to respond to the hegemonic construction of reality presented by the media, and thus have little energy to fight for their own material interests. I would suggest that women as well as men respond to their own material interests, whether it be the female career elite who have benefited from feminist advances, or ordinary working women who have been materially disadvantaged, and therefore may react against feminist initiatives. Faludi (1992: 492) regards the increasing age at first marriage, decreasing family size and increasing numbers of working mothers as examples of the triumph of women's desire for emancipation over the 'unremitting campaign to thwart women's progress', without recognising the material circumstances that compel women to make such decisions irrespective of their own ideological perspective. In this way, she fails to capture an understanding of how people's own material experience interacts with contested constructions of reality to produce their own ideas of what is in their interests.

It is these perceptions that people act on. Class analysis thus needs to start with the material experience of people so that it can elucidate the origins of class action. 'Backlash', I would argue, is better understood in terms of people's own material experience, than as a counter-progressive ideological imposition.

Class Research

From the perspective I have argued for, class analysis is similar to analyses of other types of social inequality, other struggles of the sociologic of capitalism, while at the same time being fundamentally different. Class differences are based on the inevitable forms of present exploitation, whereas other forms of social difference are based on the continued survival of anachronistic social relations and their political saliency. Even though it is the case that capital can and does continue to exploit these anachronistic social relations, such exploitation is not fundamental to capitalism itself.

Goldthorpe and G Marshall (1992), seek to distinguish the type of class analysis undertaken in their own, (and similar) research programmes from the class analysis of Marxist sociology. In their article, they quote research into class mobility patterns, the effect of education upon class mobility, and class patterns in political voting. They claim that in such research 'no assumption of the pre-eminence of class is involved' (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992:382), 'no theory of history according to which class conflict serves as the engine of social change,...no theory of class exploitation, according to which all class relations must be necessarily and

exclusively antagonistic,... no theory of class-based collective action' (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992:383), and '(no) theory of political action...according to which such action can be understood simply as the immediate expression of class relations and the pursuit of structurally given class interests' (1992: 384). While these assumptions do underpin much traditional Marxist class analysis, they are at variance with the perspective developed by So and Suwarsono based on Marx's own class analyses. In Marx's own analyses, the primary concerns are to establish how each class, or class fraction, is represented politically, how classes come to gain and lose political representation, as well as the political actions the representatives of each class attempts to put in place to secure the well-being of their class.

Goldthorpe and Marshall conclude from the accumulating research findings that class relations are stable rather than dynamic, that there is a 'remarkable persistence of class-linked inequalities, and of class-differentiated patterns of social interaction, even within periods of rapid change at the level of economic structure, social institutions, and political conjectures' (Goldthorpe and Marshall, 1992: 139). I would suggest that Marx would not regard the persistence of class-linked inequalities under capitalism as being any cause for astonishment. Lack of social change in class features is more problematic for the liberal apologists of capitalism who somehow imagine that society can be simultaneously egalitarian and capitalist. Marx would be more concerned to analyse how this stability comes to be sustained: how have people acted or reacted in such a way that their class maintains its relative positioning? In Marxist terms. class research of the type discussed by Goldthorpe and Marshall is

hardly class analysis at all. Rather it is rather an information gathering exercise, a preliminary to analysis. Analysis itself requires answers to questions of 'how' and 'why', not merely 'what'.

Conclusion

Marx's major life work was as an economist, so when we utilise Marx's work as sociologists, we need to acknowledge the shift in focus. While a popular pedagogical interpretation of Marx's work seems to be that Marx was an economic determinist, and his theories taught that political phenomena are shaped entirely by economic circumstance, my own impression is different. It seems to me that as an economist, Marx was interested in how the social relationship between capital and labour necessitated by the mode of production was so essential to production that its dissolution through political struggle would destroy that mode of production. The capital-labour antagonism is thus central to Marx's thinking, and underpins his social and economic theories. Yet, as So and Suwarsono have shown, Marx's own analyses of specific historical circumstances are interpretative, treating class as a historic product rooted in specific conditions. Marxist class analysis is thus the development of class theory into a historically specific location, rather than merely an application of a theory in the manner of a 'proof', or 'refutation', of a theory. As So and Suwarsono (1990:50) note: 'class analysis is not a theory...the power of class analysis lies in the amount of light it can shed on the intricate interactions among human agency, political events, and structural conditions'. Class analysis also needs to be distinguished from class

research programmes of the type advocated by Goldthorpe and Marshall which analyses data on class to establish various relationships but does not analyse the relationships in their historical context.

The connection between class theory and class analysis, or between the 'second account' and the 'third account' remains rather fragile in the work of both So and Suwarsono, and Neilson. I have tried to make the connection somewhat less tenuous by presenting class struggle within a larger model of social movement which incorporates both class theory and class analysis. I would argue that we cannot develop an adequate understanding of social processes, including the role of class struggle, if we continue to insist on a so-called 'Marxist' causal mechanism in which the economic directly determines political and intellectual history. Instead, we should work through Marx's basic conception, that political and intellectual history is dependent on the social relations of the period; and it is the mode of economic production that determines the necessity of certain social relations, and the redundancy of others. Class analysis is situated in the former domain, the interaction between the political issues of a given historical period and the underlying social antagonisms; and class theory is situated in the later domain, the interaction between the mode of production and the extant social field.

References

Cavendish, R., 1982. *Women on the Line,.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Crothers, C., 1993. 'Review of Graduate Teaching Programmes: 1993 New Zealand Sociology Graduate Courses', *Sociological Association of Aotearoa (New Zealand) Newsletter*, March 1993: 4-6.

Else, A., 1992. 'To Market and Home Again: Gender and the New Right', in R Du Plessis (ed), *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press.

Engels, F., 1883 'Preface to the German Edition of 1883', in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848), *The Communist Manifesto*, D. McLellan (ed), 1992. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Engels, F., 1888. 'Preface to the English Edition of 1888' in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848), *The Communist Manifesto*, D. McLellan (ed), 1992, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Faludi, S., 1992, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women*. Great Britain, Chatto Windus.

Goldthorpe, J. H., and Marshall G., 1992. 'The Promising Future of Class Analysis: A Response to Recent Critiques', *Sociology* 26(3): 381-400.

Habgood, R., 1992. 'On His Terms: Gender And the Politics of Domestic Life', in R. Du Plessis (ed), *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Auckland, Oxford University Press.

Marx, K., 1845. 'The Holy Family', quoted in T.B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds), 1956 (1963), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.

Marx, K., 1847. *The Poverty of Philosophy*, quoted in T.B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds), 1956 (1963), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.

Marx, K., 1850. *The Class Struggles in France:1848 to 1850,* Moscow, Progress Publishers.

Marx, K., 1871. *Capital I.* (Translated by Samuel Moore & Edward Aveling, edited by Fredrick Engels, 1887, London, Lawrence & Wishart.

Marx, K., 1905. *Theorien uber den Mehrwert,* quoted in T.B. Bottomore and M. Rubel (eds) 1956 (1963), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy,* Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.

Marx, K., and F., Engels, 1848. *The Communist Manifesto,* D. McLellan (ed) 1992, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Neilson, D., 1992. 'Marxian Class Theory: Towards Synthesis', *New Zealand Sociology,* 7(2): 150-166.

Roper, B., 1991. 'From the Welfare State to the Free Market: Explaining the Transition', *New Zealand Sociology,* 6(1): 38-63; 6(2): 135-176.

So, A. Y. and Suwarsono (1990). 'Class Theory or Class Analysis? A Reexamination of Marx's Unfinished Chapter on Class', *Critical Sociology,* 17(2): 35-55.

The Funding of Social Science Research in New Zealand

Bob Gidlow
Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism
Lincoln University

and

Paul Spoonley
Sociology Department
Massey University, Palmerston North

Along with the science community in general, the social sciences have faced a substantially changed research funding environment in the 1990s. It began with the Beattie and Science and Technology Advisory Committee (STAC) reviews in the 1980s which were largely supportive of the social sciences in that they argued for a more substantial funding base. The STAC review in particular set the environment for some major changes in research funding, and the end result has been a competitive funding regime, via the Public Good Science Fund, and the establishment of the Ministry and Foundation for Research, Science and Technology. In the meantime, the social sciences lost the Social Science Research Fund Committee and the New Zealand Planning Council. The first was not universally supported but it was a critically important source of funding and it was committed to funding certain infrastructural needs of the social sciences. It was ours! Similarly, the New Zealand Planning Council had established an important critical

mass and expertise, along with data bases, which has been sorely missed.

The requirements and terminology of the new regime still confuse many social scientists. They have not been major players in non-university research institutes in the past, and are only just beginning to establish a foothold with the appearance of a social science Crown Research Institute (CRI) in the form of the New Zealand Institute of Social Research and Development. There has also been an increase in funding via the PGSF for the social science outputs. In order to debate the changes and what the implications are for the social sciences, we have reproduced two conference papers, one from Andy West and the other from Malcolm Menzies, with the permission of the authors and the *ASSR Newsletter*. Andy West has been a key advisor in the changes that have taken place, beginning with his participation in STAC. Malcolm is a policy analyst with the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology. In reply, we have asked Peter Enderwick, who was a member of the Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP) and Steve Maharey and Pete Hodgson (the former because he was - and is - a sociologist while Pete Hodgson has been the Opposition spokesperson on science) to comment upon the issues raised in the opening papers. Haami Piripi, a social scientist with Te Puni Kokiri, rounds off the responses by challenging those concerned with research funding to address matters of fundamental importance to Maori.

+ + + + + +

New Zealand's Social Science Research

Dr A W West
Science Advisor to the Minister of Research,
Science and Technology and
Minister for Crown Research Institutes

Over the last eight years, the New Zealand social sciences have experienced significant attention, with an almost annual review by government. During 1992, however, decisions were made which may instil a greater measure of certainty and provide a base from which the future of social science research can be appraised by social scientists themselves.

These decisions include the finalisation of the public science system, including the entry of universities and government departments into contestable funding, the abolition of the New Zealand Planning Council and establishment of the Institute for Social Research and Development, restructuring of the Royal Society, setting of the Public Good Science Fund at a minimum level for five years, and establishing five year science priorities.

When looking at future opportunities, it is instructive to appraise the status quo. The 'benchmark review' of the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology provides a unique opportunity to do so ('A Profile of Crown-funded Research and Development in New Zealand 1991/92', publication No.5 1992; MoRST, P O Box 5336, Wellington).

New Zealand annually invests about $35.5 million in the social sciences (excluding the humanities), about 5% of the country's total investment of $675 million. By

comparison, Australia invested $Aus230 million in 1988/89, 11% of their total investment in Science and Technology. The need for investment in social science research probably does not greatly differ between the two countries.

The Crown is the major investor in New Zealand's social science research, $33.5 million or 94%. The private sector invests about $2 million. Who invests the Crown's money? Principally universities and departments, as Table 1 demonstrates.

Table 1:   **Sources of Funds for Social Science**

Source of Funds	Social Sciences		All Sciences
	$ millions	%	%
Universities	18	51	17
Departments	13	37	10
PGSF	2.5	7	38
Private	2	6	35

This is an unusual situation because, if all scientific activity is considered, then universities and government departments are minor sources, relatively speaking. Debate about raising private sector investment in research, or prioritising the PGSF, are going to be less important than for other areas of science. Hence the government's decision to increase the funding for social science in the PGSF by $2.84 million over five years (including 'Urban and Rural Planning'), while significant, represents an

average annual non-compounding increase of 1.6% for the social sciences. An area that deserves greater study is the investment in research by large social policy government departments. A total of $13 million would appear to be very low compared to appropriations in Justice, Education and Social Welfare of approximately $15 billion (20% of GDP); research investment equals 0.1% of appropriation. In the private sector, research investment is often usefully compared between industries on a percentage of sales basis; typically it is 1-8% of sales, dependent on the sector. A useful social research project would be to develop a comparable index for social policy departments (percentage of appropriation) and apply this to New Zealand's and other governments' departments.

Where is the major effort placed within the social sciences? Table 2 shows that it is really in 'Knowledge, Education and Training' research, where $14.4 million is invested. Overall, at least 500 full time equivalent positions are funded by Crown money, so the average cost per FTE is $67,000 ($33.5 million and 500 FTEs). By comparison, total investment, including private, in horticultural production is $39 million and in forage research is $27 million (although these areas may themselves include some social science research). For Crown-funded research, the average cost per FTE in horticultural research is $99,000 and in forage research is $106,000.

Table 2:   Investment in the Social Research and Development

Output definition; social research and two other areas for comparison	$ million	Full time equivalent person effort
Urban & rural planning	2.2	18
History, society & culture	6.4	100
Relationships & wellbeing	5.7	109
Political & economic relationships	6.5	117
Education, knowledge & training	14.4	124 +
Total	35.2	500 +
Horticultural production	39	331
Forage Plants	27	237

What sort of research is being undertaken within the social sciences funded by the Crown? As Table 3 shows, it is largely either fundamental research (that is primarily undertaken to acquire new knowledge without any particular use in mind) or strategic research (that is conducted to support long-term national needs). Compared to other areas in New Zealand, the concentration on fundamental research is unusual, and

probably reflects the strong role of universities in the social sciences. The specific research topics are described in detail in the 'benchmark review'. Suffice to say that they cover an extremely wide range of activity. Two questions immediately spring to mind; is the emphasis on fundamental research appropriate, given the amount of social research undertaken, and are social scientists trying to cover too wide a range of research for the available funding?

Table three: The Nature of Social Research

Output	Fundamental	Strategic	Applied
Urban & rural	14%	77%	9%
History, society etc	97%	3%	0%
Wellbeing etc	29%	71%	0%
Political etc	36%	64%	0%
Education	55%	45%	0%
Average	46%	52%	2%
Horticulture	19%	73%	18%

What about the organisation of social research itself? Basically, because social research covers such a wide range of areas, and has a total budget of $35.5 million, research projects are relatively small. They range, on average, between $74,000 for projects in 'political and economic relationships' to $178,000 a project in 'education, knowledge and training' (Table 4). Universities fund

larger research projects than the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology does through the PGSF. PGSF projects are around $40-50,000 in size, while university projects range between $130,000-160,000. The corollary is that PGSF-funded projects have an average of one FTE while university projects have an average of two FTEs. Government departments apply more social scientists to a research project. By comparison, horticultural research programmes average $800,000 from the PGSF and $220,000 in universities, and support much larger teams of scientists.

The appropriate level of resource application in any area of science is contentious. Certainly, no single trend (eg, larger programmes or smaller projects) is appropriate or exclusive, rather a mix is. Whether the social sciences have the 'best' mix at present depends on one's expectations of the outcomes from such research. The size of research projects will depend on the location and nature of research. Fundamental research undertaken in the universities will likely consist of smaller projects as researchers and students explore a wide range of exciting 'blue sky' research possibilities. However, as the potential for the research to produce more immediate applications increases, so one may anticipate a greater concentration of resources in fewer areas of research. Certainly, this is seen in government departments.

However, the trend for increasing resources commensurate with increasing focus is not seen in PGSF-funded work, where projects are smaller than anywhere else in the Crown's funding domain. With an explicit requirement to fund strategic research, and an increase in the funding of PGSF social science, the opportunity now

exists for the Foundation to prioritise and focus the PGSF investment in this area. And this is happening with the government's move to develop a research strategy for PGSF-funded social science. Much data already exists on which to base a strategy, beginning with the submissions made by social scientists to the Science and Technology Expert Panel when it was developing its science priority advice for government.

Table 4: **Project Size and Full Time Equivalents**

Output	No. projects	Average project size			Average full time equivalents per project		
		Total	PGSF	Univ	PGSF	Dept	Univ
Urban & Rural	10	172					
History etc	39	160	39	131	1	8	2
Well being etc	43	80	55	158	1	3	2
Political etc	74	74					
Educa-tion etc	80	178					
Horti-culture	50	656	810	220	7	-	4

As the strategy has to recognise other areas of social science research, it will inevitably lead to some pretty basic questions being asked of the whole social science community, even though this may appear to be the tail ($5 million) wagging the dog (the remaining $33 million).

Some of the questions that should be addressed have been raised in this paper; how much research, of what sort, in what areas, how well-resourced and so forth. Other central questions that remain to be addressed include to what extent policy development in central and local government and community agencies is underpinned by social research, and to what extent should it be? Another area is the ability of the government to tackle large areas of social policy under the State Sector Act, currently focused around the debate in government concerning 'generic, operational' social science research. And the gap between 'operational' (departmental) and 'output' (PGSF) research, that is, who should fund research (the Foundation or government departments), needs further attention. This same question arises on the fluid boundary of appropriable (private sector-funded) and non-appropriable (publicly-funded) research. In either case (operational or appropriable), it all comes down to who appropriates the benefits; put bluntly it is 'brinkpersonship' and whoever tables the money for research axiomatically defines the type of research it is.

Personally, I believe the forthcoming research strategy exercise in the social sciences will be useful in stimulating debate on the important issues facing the social sciences. Likewise, I am encouraged by the commitment of the social science community to the new Royal Society. This should provide a forum to debate the issues the social sciences face.

Consequently, after five years of change, I believe the future for New Zealand's social sciences is brighter now than it has been for a long while.

(Andrew West spent nine years as a researcher in microbial ecology and the last five years in science policy. He has been involved in all major phases of central-Government driven social science reform in that time.)

+ + + + + +

Strategy in the Social Sciences

Malcolm Menzies
Ministry of Research, Science and Technology

Introduction

Strategy is a term that many social scientists regard with suspicion. To them, it has military or business associations, an anathema to those imbued with a more 'community-based' ethos. Suspicion can be even greater when the government talks of the need for strategy in the social sciences, and particularly when strategy is linked to government funding of research. For social scientists, this linkage raises the spectre of social control by the government.

In addition, the focus of strategy is long-term, and that of the social sciences has, until now, necessarily been short-term in the face of increasing demands and constraints on funding. Although many social scientists would like to develop a longer-term view, this requires time and other

resources - luxuries they feel they have not got or cannot afford.

A degree of suspicion is always healthy of course, and helps ensure that governmental strategising does not stray across boundaries into the direction and control of the social sciences. At the same time, when the government purchases research through the Public Good Science Fund (PGSF), it has a legitimate interest in knowing, on behalf of the taxpayer, what it is going to get in return for the money it invests. On the other hand, by far the largest proportion of social science research in New Zealand is carried out through the universities and funded from sources other than the PGSF, according to priorities determined within the universities themselves.

This paper aims to raise awareness of the benefits of strategy, and of the need for strategy development within the social sciences.

What is Strategy Anyway?

According to Quinn (1991): "A strategy is the pattern or *plan* that *integrates* an organisation's *major* goals, policies and action sequences into a cohesive whole. A well-formulated strategy helps to *marshal* and *allocate* an organisation's resources into a unique and *viable posture...*"

This definition can be extended beyond an organisation to apply to a wider industry or field. Strategies may operate at many levels. At all levels, they incorporate: goals, which identify what is to be achieved without stating how they are to be achieved; and values, principles and

policies, which describe the underlying assumptions guiding action and limits within which action should occur. Detailed plans and programmes specify and implement the actions necessary to achieve goals.

Strategy need not be totally pre-planned - much of it may evolve over time, as action is taking place and in response to changing circumstances. Indeed, the most successful strategies allow for this flexibility.

The Benefits of Strategy

Strategy is of key importance to any organisation or organised human endeavour. Strategy enables energy, skills, time and money to be used in a coordinated way, in pursuit of goals which are commonly identified and supported as being of high priority. Strategy ensures that activities are mutually supportive rather than duplicated or contradictory. It assists in communication and focusing effort.

The social sciences are still underfunded in New Zealand, both on an absolute basis and in comparison with other fields of science and other countries. Recently, however, the position of the social sciences has improved somewhat with the establishment of the New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development Limited, and an increase in funding through the PGSF. Strategy is necessary to ensure that the best value is gained from the still limited resources available for social science research, and to ensure that the social sciences are not disadvantaged relative to other areas of science with well-developed strategies. Strategy is also needed to help

identify and integrate the roles of the various research providers, particularly now that the universities have entered the PGSF.

Strategy and the PGSF

Unfortunately, negative images of strategy, and the other problems of the lack of infrastructure and resources, have resulted in strategy development being mainly overlooked or dismissed as an unsavoury or irrelevant practice. At a time when the government has finally increased funding to the social sciences, in recognition of the field's penurious state relative to its importance, it would be a serious mistake to continue to ignore strategy. The increase in funding through the PGSF has been made conditional upon the development of strategy in the social sciences. There is also the possibility of a further increase in funding through the PGSF in the future, but only based on an explicit strategy. The government is not saying what the strategy should be - only that strategy should be developed. Neither are the social sciences being singled out for strategy development. The same expectation exists for all science areas.

It is worth quoting the final report of the Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP) on this matter. The STEP's key recommendations and their underlying rationale were largely adopted by the government. With respect to the social sciences, STEP had this to say:

> 'There is also a clear need for infrastructure and strategy. The present concentration on small projects is a reflection of long-standing, low funding rather than a reflection of low

capability. An abundance of good quality applications that could not be funded by the Foundation is noted. Nevertheless, the sector appears to lack co-ordination and the Panel is concerned with the lack of focus on strategic research. Co-ordinated programme management and implementation of plans need to be demonstrated. The formation of the Social Research and Development CRI will provide the basis for an infrastructure....

The Panel's view is that funding within this group of output classes should be increased by 179 percent... This increase should however be 'tagged' with the requirement that a more coherent, strategically oriented programme of research should be developed and implemented. The Foundation may need to take a lead in this regard' (STEP, 1992).

The STEP also made some generic recommendations for science area research strategies, with implications for the social sciences.

'Long-term research strategies should be developed within areas of science. These strategies should be consistent with the overall strategies agreed for the allocation of the Public Good Science Fund and operate over a similar time horizon; and

The strategies developed by the Foundation should identify those core programmes or key competencies to be maintained at a sustainable level through and beyond the transition period' (STEP, 1992).

The Government has stressed that social science research should not be confined only to those "output classes" allocated to the social sciences, but should be included as a component in all other science areas as well. In this sense, the increase in funding allocated to the social sciences is potentially greater than the sums attached to the social science output classes. The government's position also supports the view, widely held in the field itself, that the social sciences should operate in a cross-disciplinary fashion.

Possible Strategies for the Social Sciences

The purpose of this brief outline is to raise awareness of the need for strategy and how it might be developed, rather than propose what the content of such a strategy (or strategies) might be. It is illustrative, however, to look at some of the elements of strategy that already exist. For example, the government's most recent priority statement for the PGSF, "Investing in Science for Our Future", identifies three generic themes and eight specific themes for social science research, to guide the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology in its allocation of funds. While these themes do not actually constitute goals or programmes, they do identify priority areas or topics of research, and suggest some generic strategies and directions in a number of specific areas.

These themes, in their broadest sense, suggest the linkage of PGSF-funded social science to the economy. The New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development Ltd has more specifically identified a number of priority areas, including:

- *inter-cultural relations:* crucial to the mutual understanding of all ethnic groups, the social stability of our society and the empowerment of its peoples;

- *family:* of importance to a fundamental understanding of New Zealand and the quality of life;

- *the workplace:* central to New Zealand's global competitiveness; and

- *education and retraining:* crucial for the increased productivity of New Zealand's workforce and the better use of its human resources.

Other priority areas include the implications of technology and social assessment. S R & D has also addressed the issue of 'adding value' - a key theme in the government's statement on priorities for the PGSF: 'In the move towards adding value to New Zealand's economic base, we would like to see a greater recognition of the cultural aspects of marketing, the demographic composition of target markets, the social implications of introducing new products, etc. All of these aspects require a greater recognition of social research and development issues'.

To provoke debate and to further illustrate what the elements of strategy might look like, some possible goals for the social sciences are listed below. Goals such as these already presuppose a set of values, assumptions, principles and priorities which would need to be explicitly surfaced. For example, they assume that social science is cross-disciplinary, bound up with the nation's economic

life (in its broadest sense) and that New Zealand's future is outward-looking and international rather than isolationist.

* to integrate social science strategies with those of other sectors in support of sustainable economic wealth and a high quality of life in New Zealand;

* to describe and analyse unique features of New Zealand life, including its history, culture and current and future demographic, economic and social trends;

* to identify the knowledge, skills and other attributes needed in a high-skilled, innovative workforce which will support other sector strategies;

* to identify the processes, structures and roles needed for the development and operation of a high-skilled, innovative workforce;

* to describe and analyse New Zealand's place in the international context, particularly with respect to relationships with other cultures, trade opportunities, development and environmental issues;

* to identify the present and likely future factors contributing to the growth, development and integration into society of individuals, families and groups, including those who are currently marginalised in New Zealand; and

- to identify the past, present and likely future impacts and inter-relationships between economic and social policy, with a particular focus on the impact of policy measures on the well-being of individuals, families and other social groups.

Each of these goals could form the umbrella for a series of sub-goals and programmes. For example, the fourth goal could be broken down into research on industry and community, culture, training, workplace reform, organisation development, politics, and policy development and implementation.

-

Roles and Relationships

A strategy (or strategies) for the social sciences would benefit from a consideration of how to integrate the roles and relationships of the various stakeholders in research, including, for example, the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, universities, government departments, S R & D and other providers, funders and users of research.

In other sectors, the role of the universities is to emphasise research at the fundamental end of the fundamental-applied continuum, while PGSF funded research is more concentrated on strategic research. The role of the private sector is to fund research in partnership with the government, and to undertake more research at the applied and development end of the continuum. There is a need to interpret these various roles and relationships with respect to the social sciences.

Of particular importance for the social sciences is the role of the various government operational departments. Research strategy should encourage the operational departments to increase the amount of research that they undertake, and should attempt to integrate and rationalise the research activities of the departments and the PGSF.

Process, Infrastructure and Responsibilities for Developing Strategy

Even if the government had not signalled its support for the social sciences, the time would be right for strategy development because of the benefits strategy will bring to the field and to the country as a whole. The fact that the government has recognised the importance of the social sciences, and indicated more support in the future - contingent on the development of strategy - provides a challenge to social scientists and should give impetus to that development.

Assuming that a widespread acceptance of the need for strategy will grow in the social sciences, an appropriate development process will need to be found and implemented. This will not be easy and will take time. Although there is an argument that in recent years there has been consultation overload, and researchers should 'just get on with it', the process chosen in the social sciences, as in other fields, will need to be as widely participative as possible. This is not to support paralysis by analysis. Research will still be carried out as the strategy is developed, but it is vital that future directions be clearly identified and soundly based.

Necessary infrastructure for consultation, in the form of professional associations, is already in place and has been complemented by the establishment of the New Zealand Institute for Social Research and Development. The Foundation for Research, Science and Technology has been given explicit responsibility for facilitating the development of a Science Area Research Strategy in the social sciences. The Foundation is currently developing a process of consultation for the development of strategies in all the sciences. This will include consultation with the Maori community and providers and users of science.

Outcomes of strategy development, such as coordination, focus and lack of duplication have already been described. The tangible output however could any one or a combination of forms which would enable communication of strategy to stakeholders. Ideally, this communication should be based on a written document which would be widely distributed and debated.

Questions

This social policy conference should provide an opportunity to debate the need for strategy in the social sciences, to identify responsibilities in strategy development and the form that in which strategy might be expressed. Some questions that could be addressed are: (*acknowledgement: Allan Levett*).

- Should there be strategy in the social sciences?

- Why do the social sciences have no strategy now?

- Why should the social sciences have strategy - what good will they do and who will benefit.

- How can the Foundation be assisted in the development of research strategy?

- How should strategy be recorded, presented and distributed?

- Who should 'own' and implement social science strategies?

References

Quinn, J. B., 1991. *The Strategy Process: Concepts, Contexts, Cases, 2nd* ed., Prentice-Hall.

Edwards, F., 1992. *Research and Development Spending: A Comparison Between New Zealand and Other OECD Countries,* Wellington, Ministry of Research, Science and Technology Report No 5.

Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP), 1992. *Long Term Priorities for the Public Good Science Fund: Final Report,* Wellington, Ministry of Research, Science and Technology.

Minister of Research, Science and Technology, 1992. *Investing in Science for Our Future: A Paper presenting the Government's 'Statement of Science Priorities' for the Public Good Science Fund;* Ministry of Research, Science and Technology.

Koopman Boyden, P., 1992. *Comments on the STEP Review - Final Report.*

+ + + + + +

The Future of Social Science Research in New Zealand: Comments on West and Menzies

Peter Enderwick
Dept of Marketing and International Management
University of Waikato

Introduction

The parlous state of social science research in New Zealand was recognised by the Science and Technology Experts Panel (STEP) in its research funding prioritising exercise (STEP, 1992). The Panel's support for a marked increase in funding for social science research was tied to a recommendation that future research in this area would benefit from the adoption of a more strategic and coordinated perspective. The papers by West and Menzies represent firstly, a signal that such a strategy *must* be developed, and secondly, an attempt to identify some of the principal issues which such a strategy must resolve.

These papers raise a number of complex issues which I would not hope to adequately address here. I intend to restrict my comments to some of the unanswered questions which lie behind the advocacy of a strategy for social science research.

Key Points in the Papers

These two papers should be seen as complementary. West provides an overview of the level of funding and a broad review of the nature of social science research in New Zealand, while Menzies focuses on the development

of a strategy for research in this area. They reveal broad agreement in a number of areas. The first is the welcome acknowledgement that social science research in New Zealand has been, and is, underfunded. Such underfunding has occurred both in comparative terms (that is, with respect to other nations), and in relative terms (with regard to other areas of science).

The second area of agreement is that the ways in which social science research is funded are changing. While traditionally the universities have been the principal sponsors of social science research, their entry into the PGSF pool (and the decline of 'earmarked' expenditure such as that in support of the now defunct New Zealand Planning Council) means that the majority of research funds will be allocated through the PGSF mechanism of contestable funding. This could have a number of effects. The strategic research perspective favoured by FoRST suggests that significant shifts in the nature of social science research (between fundamental, strategic and applied research) could occur. Furthermore, the loss of direct university control over the allocation of these funds could encourage a more centralised and, possibly, narrower focus in the funding of social research.

The third, and for our purposes most significant feature of these papers, is their emphasis on the development of a strategy for social science research. Both authors agree that increased funding is conditional on the development of such a strategy. Similarly, both suggest that a strategy for the social sciences should be much more than an attempt to concentrate limited resources within a narrow range of research areas and should also encompass

appropriate structures for ensuring full participation, effective coordination and beneficial collaboration.

Strategy for Social Science Research

The concept of a strategy for social science research raises a number of fundamental questions. The first is whether such a development would bring net benefits. Menzies attempts to answer in the affirmative by setting out a range of possible benefits. It is likely that a more explicit strategy would serve to reduce the duplication of research effort, particularly the duplication between different research providers, which results, in part, from the highly decentralised process of funding allocation. It would also increase the likelihood that limited resources would be targeted towards areas of priority, although how such priorities would be determined is a contentious issue.

Menzies suggests that the social sciences must develop a strategy to avoid becoming disadvantaged vis-a-vis other scientific disciplines which have organised themselves in this way. Clearly, this is less of an argument for a strategic orientation than one for sensitivity and flexibility in the funding of different sectors. Similarly, it is important to recognise that the STEP concern about the quality and coherence of social science submissions stemmed, at least in part, from past underfunding and the demise of a critical mass in important areas. A strategic orientation should be seen as complementary to increased support and the attainment of critical mass, and not a substitute for this.

A second issue is the critical distinction between a strategy and the imposition of external direction or

control. Menzies recognises the difference between these two positions but comes dangerously close to confusing them when he argues the need for strategy to ensure maximum returns are gained from limited resources. This desire does not necessarily imply a restrictive focus or specialisation. Neither does it imply that 'best value' is somehow related to research expenditure in some predictable or linear fashion. Some of the most exciting developments in social science research are those that have resulted from interdisciplinary approaches or the transplanting of concepts and ideas. Diversity as a potential source of benefits should not be suppressed by a strategy dominated by excessive direction or control.

The third question raised by these papers is the likely impact of the adoption of a research strategy on the nature of social science research. Both authors agree that there will be an impact. West sees the growing influence of FoRST shifting the balance of social science research towards the strategic end of the spectrum, encouraging collaboration and inter-institutional cooperation and focusing resources into fewer, larger projects. In a similar vein, Menzies sees the entry of the universities into the PGSF as increasing the proportion of total social science research which could be 'prioritised'. Some of these developments could be positive. For example, within the area of business and management research it is probably the case that much past research has been fragmentary and has failed to tackle important generic issues (Campbell-Hunt and Harper, 1993) which could be more effectively researched through longer term, cross-disciplinary team-based approaches. However, it is critical to recognise that strategy should determine structure and not the other way around (Chandler, 1962).

Both West and Menzies assume that social science research should change in response to institutional arrangements (structure) and that such changes are to be welcomed. It is incumbent upon the writers to demonstrate this, not merely assume it. It is also important to separate the process of independent strategy formulation from the impact of current administrative processes. In the absence of this, an unhelpful confusion between the *process of strategy* and a *specific strategy* will occur. A related question worthy of consideration is the desirable duration of any social science research strategy. Do we need a temporary strategy designed to get this area of research back on track in some sense or is this an ongoing requirement extending beyond the current five year priority focus? This question has not received explicit consideration.

A fourth area of contention surrounds the setting of priorities implied in the strategy process as interpreted by Menzies. Who will be responsible for priority setting? Is the system to be driven at the policy level (MoRST) or at the stage of funding allocation (FoRST)? While the STEP process was seen as a reasonably independent one, its focus was universal, encompassing all non-medical science research. In making general recommendations, it avoided detailed prescriptions. It would be difficult to replicate this at the sectoral level. Do we interpret the system as being driven by the quality of research applications? If so, how do we reconcile this with effective coordination and the primary goal of the Crown to purchase desired research outputs?

Any such strategy should also be flexible. If we consider the extraordinary rate and scope of change which has

occurred in New Zealand business, the economy and society since 1984, we must ensure a strategy which is capable of responding to changing demands. We must also ensure that prioritisation does not deny us the breadth of social science research skills which we will need as new issues emerge. As our concerns shift from inflation control to managing unemployment, from cost-efficiency to adding value, from a mono-cultural to a multi-cultural society, how do we ensure the research capability to address these? These questions seek not to reject the notion of priority setting but rather to determine the nature of such a process.

A final issue, and an area of weakness within both papers, is their undue emphasis on strategy formulation and the limited treatment of strategy implementation and evaluation issues. As research in the area of business strategy illustrates, the principal causes of strategy failure occur with implementation, not formulation (Alexander, 1991). Menzies, in highlighting current initiatives in social science strategy - linking funding decisions to economic benefits, a focus on themes and priorities, and an emphasis on externally-oriented cross-disciplinary approaches - identifies elements of strategy formulation. Little consideration has been paid to implementation issues. These would include the question of whether we have adequate professional and other organisational structures to ensure coordination and collaboration in social science research. The experience of many university social scientists in seeking access to 'ring-fenced' FoRST money in the 1992 round would suggest that adequate structures are not in place to ensure equitable treatment. The coordination of research might also imply some hard choices if wasteful duplication is found to exist. Will

rationalisation be necessary and if so, who would be responsible for this? Would funding be tied in some way to evaluation? At present, the primary form of social science evaluation in this country is peer review. This occurs both *ex ante* (the evaluation of funding applications) and *ex post* (review, publication and criticism). Would the strategy draw upon the recent UK experience and link funding (and work loads) to past performance? This could result in the differentiation and gradation of research institutions, the movement of personnel, and radical changes in terms of employment.

In summary, these two papers signal the desirability, from the Crown's perspective, of the development of a strategy for social science research. While acknowledging the benefits such a strategy could bring, the authors leave unanswered a range of critical questions implied in their papers. This response has raised the most pressing of these.

References

Alexander, L., 1991. 'Strategy Implementation: Nature of the Problem', *International Review of Strategic Management*, 2 (1):73-96.

Chandler, A. 1962. *Strategy and Structure*, Cambridge, Mass, MIT Press..

Campbell-Hunt, C and Harper, D., 1993. *Islands of Excellence? A Study of Management in New Zealand*, Wellington, New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, Research Monograph 59.

Menzies, M. (1992) *Strategy in the Social Sciences* paper presented to the SAA/ASSR Conference, December.

Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP) (1992) *Long Term Priorities for the Public Good Science Fund: Final Report*, Ministry of Research, Science and Technology, Wellington.

West, A. (1992) *New Zealand's Social Science Research in 1992*, Opening Address SAA/ASSR Conference, December.

+ + + + + +

The Need for Social Science Research : A Political Response

Steve Maharey and Pete Hodgson
Members of Parliament

This response to West and Menzies is written from the perspective of two politicians who see themselves as consumers of social science research. At least, we would like to be. Since entering Parliament in 1990, we have both been acutely aware of the need for good research to inform sound policy making. Unfortunately, the research is not there at the moment.

One example will serve to show just how desperate the need is. Immediately after the 1990 election, the National Government decided that it would dramatically reduce

benefit levels. The government was asked for the research upon which it based its policy. How did it know the new benefit levels were enough to ensure that beneficiaries could continue to participate in the mainstream of New Zealand society?

The answer was that the research did not exist. Indeed, the Minister of Social Welfare informed an Auckland audience that the government was experimenting because they had no way of knowing what the outcome of the cuts would be. Unfortunately for beneficiaries, there has been no systematic research on the impact of the cuts since they were implemented two years ago, so the government is still unable to undertake any meaningful evaluation. The experiment continues.

This example illustrates a hopeless situation. In an area of enormous importance to our society and economy, we know virtually nothing. But this is far from an isolated case. We know dangerously little about every aspect of social life in New Zealand. These remarks are not meant as a criticism of social scientists. The facts are that the social sciences have always been the poor cousin when it has come to research funding. As West points out, until very recently, social science lacked the funding and the certainty to generate ongoing research.

Thankfully, the situation is changing. The setting of science priorities, the Public Good Science Fund, the restructuring of the Royal Society, the setting up of the Institute of Social Research and Development and the entry of the universities and government departments into the contestable funding pool are all advances which have received bipartisan support. Both Labour and National

want to see research funding outside the three year cycle governed by elections.

However, if these new developments are encouraging, they do not yet go far enough. West points out that while New Zealand spends 5% ($35.5 million) of its total research investment on social sciences, Australia spends 11% ($Aus230 million). We need to carefully compare the level of social science research funding within OECD countries and ask if we are doing enough.

West also raises two very important questions when he asks what kind of research is undertaken and the organisation of social research. The answer to the first question shows an emphasis on what might be called fundamental research, i.e., inquiry undertaken because of concerns internal to a discipline. This situation raises a concern for us given our urgent need for more research related to practical policy matters.

The answer to the second question is that social science research seems to be heavily focused on short term projects when compared with other areas of research. Once again, this is undoubtedly a result of unstable funding and uncertain organisation. But the situation needs to change so that social science can provide the kind of indepth research needed for quality decision making.

For this long term research to become a feature of the New Zealand scene, we will need to look after the agencies that carry out the research. Now that the New Zealand Planning Council has gone (at a cost of $1.75 million to the social science community), we need to

jealously guard the new Institute of Social Research and Development. The Institute is clearly in need of more funding and more staff if it is to undertake the kinds of research programmes which are needed. The findings of the STEP panel on science priorities, that social science output categories should receive somewhat more than double their present funding by 1997/98, is welcome. However, it must be immediately conceded that the expenditure represents a rise from less than 1% to less than 2% of the total Public Good Science Fund.

The Institute must also be assured of the kind of independence required to allow it to undertake critical inquiry. If this independence is not assured, the research is unlikely to find much wrong with government policies of the day. Or it will suffer the same fate as the Planning Council.

As West points out, these kinds of questions will come onto the agenda of social scientists more firmly than ever as a result of recent changes. Indeed, the decision of *New Zealand Sociology* to publish a special symposium on the papers by West and Menzies shows the debate is well under way. We are delighted that politicians were invited to make a contribution and hope this kind of dialogue can be maintained.

Given the remarks we have made so far, it should come as no surprise that we support the argument put forward by Menzies in favour of a strategy for social science research. In simple terms, a strategy means coordinating research into a recognisable pattern directed at achieving particular goals. Social scientists have seldom been receptive to this approach. Indeed, the overwhelming

majority of research undertaken by social scientists falls into the category of what could be called 'freely initiated inquiry'. It is, of course, vitally important that social scientists continue to undertake research on the basis of their own insights. However, if we are to develop even the most basic information and understanding about our society, a strategic approach is vital.

As Menzies points out, even with some improvements, there is still a lack of money. If the best is to be made of the money, given a wide range of very pressing concerns, a strategy may be the only way forward. It is important to note that the government is not telling social scientists what the strategy should say. The only demand is that a strategy be developed.

There are major questions which need to be resolved. Academic freedom must be preserved. Independence to define what will be the subject of research and how this will be undertaken must be the concern of the social science community. Output funding must not be allowed to lock social science into inflexible arrangements that prevent any response to new problems. The possibilities for interdisciplinary research must be enhanced. It will also be necessary to evaluate the progress made under the new arrangements. We need research on the research.

There are a number of obvious benefits which will flow from a social science research strategy. As Menzies points out, development of a strategy is essential if there is to be an increase in the level of funding from government. This should not appear as a bribe or threat. Whatever political party is in government, there will be an ongoing requirement to define the use of scarce dollars.

In more general terms, there is the question of the social sciences taking a more leading role in the resolution of the problems which face New Zealand. The past decade has seen an enormous amount of change and this is a pattern that will continue. There is general agreement that the changes have not been handled well and policies have all too often been founded on little more than personal opinion. Social science research is desperately needed if the mistakes of the past are not to be repeated.

Once again, our concerns as policy makers arise here. The need is not just for research, but research in a form we can understand and use. There is a need for the transfer of knowledge to be part of any strategy. The publication of academic papers in academic journals is important within the social sciences, but this can often mean that the research remains inaccessible. In other areas of science, we find people whose job it is to transfer knowledge to users. An example is the way that agriculturally relevant research is transferred through farm advisors. Can social science do the same kind of thing? Should research proposals state how the transfer of knowledge will be handled?

The papers by West and Menzies will undoubtedly raise more questions for social scientists than they will answer. The papers signal major changes in the way social science has been conducted. In any such change, there will be strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities. This range of possibilities captures the spirit which should guide the debate which will take place. There is a need to bring to the debate a healthy dose of scientific scepticism. There are problems which need to be addressed. But, to our minds at least, there are some new

and exciting possibilities. These possibilities can be explored by social scientists safe in the knowledge that Labour and National are in rare agreement about the direction of science policy. Both parties want to see stability so that the science community can get on with its work.

We look forward to being part of the debate and consumers of the results of the research.

+ + + + + +

Maori Expectations of Social Science Research

Haami Piripi
Te Puni Kokiri, Wellington

Puta ki te whei ao
Ki te Ao Marama
Tihewa Mauria ora.

I have tried to place the knowledge offered by the Menzies and West papers into the context of Maori needs.

Firstly, strategy and strategic planning are not new concepts for Maori community workers. In fact, given the decline in resources and the growing number of Maori communities in crisis, community workers more than anybody, recognise the need for strategic planning.

Menzies argues that social scientists view the concept of strategic planning with suspicion because of their 'community based' ethos. I would argue that the basis of any suspicion lies more in the motives of strategic planners who are essentially external to 'the flax roots' work of Maori community workers. Menzies does a convincing job of persuading us that a strategic plan is nothing to be afraid of. For Maori community workers, strategic planning is a survival skill, a *tikanga*.

The issues discussed by Menzies are in reality a Pakeha debate about the allocation of resources to *themselves*. Research in New Zealand consists largely of funded Pakeha research and not Maori research, although there may be an element of Pakeha researching Maori clients. The focus is clearly evident from West's paper. The figure of $675m spent on research astounds me. Even without the benefit of a breakdown, I would suggest that the priorities for its distribution would not promote tino rangatiratanga or iwi development.

Turning to social science research, the allocation of 5% of the total budget is in itself grossly insufficient. But given that pittance, Menzies in one of his 'possible strategies for social science' unintentionally insults Maori intelligence by attempting to limit the constitutional role of Maori to that of just another ethnic minority. Specifically, he ignores the existence of Treaty rights. For instance, *Article III* demands that Maori receive the same services that are available to other New Zealanders. Any needs analysis will tell him that Maori are not getting those services.

Article II rights are much more profound. The Treaty of Waitangi confirms the tino rangatiratanga of the

respective chiefs over the taonga. The Waitangi Tribunal and the Court of Appeal have gone further and say that the Crown is obliged to protect these rights.

> The Treaty of Waitangi obliges the Crown not only to recognise the Maori interests specified in the Treaty but actively to protect them... It follows that the omission to provide that protection is as much a breach of the Treaty as a positive act that removes those rights. (Waitangi Tribunal Manukau Report, 19 : 95).

This point was made again in the report on Te Reo Maori, and reiterated in the Orakei report as follows:

> (In *Te Reo Maori*)... it was submitted that the word 'guarantee' meant more than merely leaving the Maori People unhindered in their enjoyment of language and culture. It required active steps to be taken to ensure that the Maori people have and retain the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their language and culture. (Te Reo Maori, 19:24. Orakei, 19:135).

In the Muriwhenua report, the Tribunal noted that the guarantees in the Treaty stated that

> ...despite settlement Maori would survive and because of it they would also progress... to achieve that... the Crown had not merely to protect those natural resources Maori might wish to retain, but to assure the retention of a sufficient share from which they could survive and profit, and the facility to fully exploit them. (*Muriwhenua*, 198:194).

For these reasons alone, a case can be built for a more equitable distribution of resource funding in order to advance Maori aspirations.

In international terms, nations all over the world are attempting to protect indigenous cultures and heritage. This is the United Nation's Year of Indigenous People. It is evident from Table 3 in West's paper that the priorities for the distribution of the Public Good Science Fund do not reflect a distribution which responds to the needs of Maori compared to other sectors. Menzies' themes proposed for his strategy do not reflect an equitable allocation of research funding. They are culturally and class specific and have the appearance of some 1960s election manifesto.

Essentially what has not been recognised is the existence of Maori science and its applicability to New Zealand society. Yet Maori science has kept this country of Aotearoa at a level of environmental sustainability that could never be matched by Western civilisations. Modern day conservationists try to emulate that indigenous model except that, very often, the tangata whenua become the *objects* of conservation rather than the *partners* in the conservation process.

Maori science is sacred and the logic of empirical research fails to comprehend the existence of Maori scientific thought. Examples of Maori social science are numerous within Maori tikanga - which is itself a ripe field for Maori social science research.

The main uses of indigenous scientific knowledge (in an international sense) have been exploitative and this is

manifest in the Western patenting of indigenous intellectual property, in the main by multinational drug companies. However, the biggest failing by our Treaty partner is refusal of Pakeha to recognise our needs or that they are a product of colonisation. Historically, this has been the case and the evidence presented in West's paper convinces me that this refusal continues to be the case. Menzies paper convinces me that Pakehas are still trying to justify this refusal.

When Maori people are in crisis, as we are now, needs erupt. The official data base identifies significant social problems among Maori communities and there is an extreme need for social science research projects to address these problems.

When Maori people signed the Treaty in 1840, we thought this was going to be a partnership. In many ways, this partnership has been dishonoured. It is about time that the kawangatanga recognised a Maori resource need in research and the potential for Maori and Western science to work together to produce a level playing field. Within such a context, Malcolm Menzies' strategy document might lead to a more effective research effort in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

+ + + + + +

Conclusion

Bob Gidlow and Paul Spoonley

The final report of the Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP), September 1992, contains good news, of a kind, for the social sciences in New Zealand in relation to the public good science fund. First, the amount dedicated to the social science output classes is to increase, from $1.57m in 1992/93 to $4.38m in 1997/98. Second, the value of an understanding of New Zealand society and culture is now being promoted (MORST, 1992:70). Third, there is a recognition that, because of the uniqueness of our society and culture, '...research must be carried out in New Zealand; it cannot be imported' (MORST, 1992:70).

Contextual statements in the STEP report, together with Malcolm Menzies' paper, alert us to the 'strings' which accompany the good news cited above. The Ministry of Research, Science and Technology is calling for a research strategy to govern PGSF-funded social (and other) scientific research, and is making an increase in PGSF funding conditional upon the development of such a strategy. MORST is also setting the direction for any such strategy. Despite Menzies claim that: 'The government is not saying what the strategy should be - only that strategy should be developed', it is clear that to be acceptable to the Ministry and hence to government, the strategy must be one which is in harmony with government economic priorities and, in some respects, furthers those priorities. Menzies openly acknowledges this as the implication of government's priority statement for the PGST, 'Investing in Science for Our Future'. He gives examples of research goals which social scientists

might pursue and which are congruent with government economic priorities, such as identifying the knowledge and skills needed by a highly skilled and innovative workforce.

From the point of view of the government, tying public good science funding to national economic priorities, particularly to enhance the economic sectors in which New Zealand has a competitive advantage, is a rational step. The Fund is small, and there is a need to maximise the return on a limited investment (MORST, 1992:11). Recent government policy statements, including those which support extra expenditure on the social science output classes, highlight the contribution which social science data can make to economic development: '...research into such areas as culture, family and crime, creates a framework within which to develop a more productive economy consistent with our evolving society and culture' (MORST, 1992:70).

Andy West, reminds us that PGSF funding accounts for only a fraction of the research funds which are available to scientists. The implication here is that social scientists who are not prepared to accept the 'tune' called by the PGSF 'piper' have other opportunities to gain research funding. From the perspective of the scientific community and the norms and values which support it, such as objectivity and disinterestedness, a tension arises when scientists become the handmaidens of government. Arguably, in the case of social scientists, the tension is heightened. The 'national interest' is not self-evident, and in accepting and furthering government economic priorities through their research, social scientists lend legitimacy to particular, politically-defined, world views.

The closure of the New Zealand Planning Council, and the creation of PGSF fund responsive to government-priorities, seriously undermines the opportunities for a critical sceptical, social science in New Zealand, or at least for a critical social science which, supported by good research, is able to rise above rhetoric. 'Critical', in this sense, is not synonymous with 'criticism': it means evaluating, weighing up, comparing words and deeds, claims and results and considering the viability of other options. In our own discipline, sociology, it must involve questioning the assumptions, policies and statements of those whose positions of authority give them the power to define economic, political and cultural realities. This is Peter Berger's 'debunking' motif, which is the sociological form of organised scepticism, a basic scientific norm. Without it, the type of sociology we practice is an anodyne one.

While possibly disturbing for politicians, a critical, sceptical, outlook on the part of social scientists probably best serves the 'national interest' as distinct from sectional political interests. Social scientists should be asking questions such as: What is the basis of the view that the benefits of economic growth 'trickle down' to the poor and the unemployed and what evidence is available to support/reject this assumption? Are protectionist economic measures necessarily inefficient? Is what's good for General Motors and other transnational corporations inevitably good for New Zealand? Does tourism represent un unproblematic solution to our economic woes? Since 1984, the asumptions involved here have been accepted by both major political parties and incorporated into manifestos which differ in points of detail only. The need for critical, sceptical, social sciences

and for a 'debunking' sociology have thus never been greater.

As well as questioning the assumptions of government in the economic arena, however, social scientists must also be sceptical of the assumptions and policies which are currently driving research funding in New Zealand. Judging by the contribution from Steve Maharey and Pete Hodgson, the major political parties are largely in agreement over this. A Labour Government, like National, would support strategic, long-term research informed by policy/priority considerations. Peter Enderwick's paper begins a critical assessment of this new orthodoxy in science funding. In addition to the issues he raises, we add our concern that the competitive funding model which underpins the allocation of public good science funds, and which infuses the draft Social Science Research Strategy (July 1993), may not be appropriate to the social sciences at this stage of their development.

The social sciences have traditionally been starved of funds, and have a poorly developed infrastructure, as Menzies' paper acknowledges. They have not previously received institutional encouragement to develop the kinds of research programmes common to other sciences. The competitive model encourages secrecy rather than openness and requires large inputs of time to make bids, most of which are rejected given the size of the Fund. The competitive model is not necessarily an efficient means of stimulating social science research effort, and it may result in a polarisation of the social science effort in New Zealand. A few, favoured, centres may well capture the bulk of funds, leaving the majority of social scientists alienated by the experience of early failure. A

sponsorship model of funding, involving joint social science - FRST commissioning of research, is, in our view, a strategy that needs to be seriously considered if the weaknesses of the past are to be redressed. The draft Social Science Strategy does not allay our concern. PGSF preference for research programmes will '...encourage and support the development of "centres of excellence"' (FRST, 1993:11), but those programmes will have competed for their funds in the normal way.

And what of alternatives? What of the 94 per cent of funds for social scientists which, according to Andy West (Table 1), are not tied in this way? Thirty-seven percent are channelled to government departments, and while some of the resulting research does provide funds to non-public servants, this research is closely geared to the needs of those departments which are themselves charged with implementing government policy. The $18m or 51 per cent of funds which go to universities are not all available for research, for this figure includes a substantial salary component. University-based social scientists know that they cannot look to their institutions for anything other than small grants; they must look elsewhere for more substantial funding. A number of organisations dispense research grants, some of which are considerable. Most of these organisations, however, such as the Health Research Council, fund applied research which, understandably, is used to further a particular knowledge base. Therefore many social scientists in universities, polytechnics, etc., lack alternative sources of funding and must look to the PGSF fund. They particularly lack channels to fund research which is driven by debates within their *disciplines* and which will help develop the frontiers of those disciplines. The perceived lack of

alternative funding opportunities helps to explain why, up to now, social scientists have been prepared to put so much energy into preparing PGSF applications when they are aware that the small size of the PGSF social science fund means that their applications are most likely to be declined.

In this context, it is very important to social science disciplines that some portion of the PGSF social science fund be exempt from targetting via a priority list. While all social scientists will be encouraged and relieved that social science putput classes are to enjoy a large *percentage* increase in funding over the next five years, they will look closely at the way this is to be divided between priority and non-priority topics. They are likely to be disappointed. The draft Social Science Strategy indicates that initially 50 percent, rising to 75 percent, of PGSF social science monies will be dedicated to research programmes (FRST, 1993). Given the size of the financial grants involved in these programmes, all of them will have satisfied priority topic criteria. So too will most, if not all, non-programme projects which receive PGSF support, for '...the Foundation reserves the right to fund applications of high quality that do not fit within these priorities, but this is likely to occur only rarely' (FRST, 1993:15)[1].

---

[1]   Interestingly, the Social Sciences Research Fund, which initially included guidelines on priorities for funding in its Handbook, abandoned them in 1984: '...having a list of priorities placed unnecessary restraints on applicants and allowed insufficient flexability to fund research on new issues or policy changes' (Report of the Committee Appointed to Review the Social Sciences Research Fund Committee, 1987:27).

What also needs to be considered are the expectations which lie behind increased funding for social science output classes. While social scientists will be pleased that increasing our knowledge of New Zealand society and culture is now deemed worthwhile, they may need to remind research sponsors about what types of questions fall within the social science orbit. Maharey and Hodgson, for example, as prospective government ministers, may be expecting too much when they pose the following as a question which urgently requires social science input: 'What level of benefit will allow people to participate in the mainstream of New Zealand society?' Such questions are framed by economic and political ideologies, in this case, possibly competing ideologies. Adherents of the New Right, who can be found in both major political parties, support increased self-reliance as the spur which will propel people into the 'mainstream'. Proponents of Left politics speak of the need to preserve human dignity and material well-being at a time of world recession. There is no 'level' of benefit which will equally satisfy both agendas. Arguably government has all the information it needs in relation to Maharey and Hodgsons' question. Many groups and organisations, including the Churches, have repeatedly presented the government with detailed information on the hardships experienced by many New Zealanders, hardships which were exacerbated by the 'Mother of all budgets' in 1991. The government, because of its particular ideological cast, remains largely unmoved. It remains committed to reducing welfare dependency.

If 'facts' are interpreted through ideological positions, it is perhaps the ideologies themselves which social scientists should first address. There is a danger that if social

scientists are naive enough to believe that 'facts' can be divorced from ideology, and if they also encourage research sponsors to believe this, the fate which befell the Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy will be repeated. The Report, which contained five volumes of 'facts', was quickly passed over since its ideological base, and hence its recommendations, were not congruent with political thinking. In addition, the credibility which some New Zealand social scientists had come to enjoy in government circles was tarnished because of their involvement. An unfair fate? Certainly, yet an instructive instance of the need constantly to remind politicians that facts to do with society and culture, about which they want more information, are *embedded* in values.

We hope the points of view expressed in this symposium will inform readers about recent changes in the organisation of social science funding in New Zealand and alert them to the issues involved. We thank the authors and appreciate their readiness to contribute to an open debate about an important development in social science, one which clearly has contentious aspects.

References

Committee Appointed to Review the Social Sciences Research Fund Committee, 1987. Wellington.
Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, 1993. *A Strategy for the Social Sciences, A Draft*, Wellington, FRST.
Ministry of Research, Science and Technology, 1992. Science and Technology Expert Panel (STEP), *Long Term Priorities for the Public Good Science Fund, Final Report*, Wellington.

REVIEWS

Pat Rosier (ed), **Been Around For Quite a While: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine**. Auckland, New Women's Press, 1992.

Reviewed by Nicola Armstrong
Sociology Department
Massey University

In 1972 *Broadsheet* magazine was first published. From its twentieth issue to its twentieth anniversary in 1992, it bore the subtitle *New Zealand's Feminist Magazine*. To mark this occasion (an achievement when many other feminist magazines have gone to the wall), Pat Rosier has selected from some 9,000 pages of the magazine a 'sampler' of writings, including a wide variety of New Zealand material but excluding work from overseas republished in the magazine.

Selecting the contents for a 300 page book from a magazine of this size and duration must have been an Amazonian task. Rosier has grouped the material into 12 chronologically organised themes: The Movement; Mana Wahine Maori (introduced and selected by Miriama Scott); Free to be Lesbian?; Heterosexuality; Body Matters; Paid Work/Unemployment; 'Them': Government, The Law, the Prison System and the Economy; Feminist Health Alternatives; Fertility, Infertility and Childbirth; Family; Education and the Arts. The book covers within these themes a broad spectrum of topics and in addition uses the inner margins of the text for cartoons and short letters.

The visual and analytical impression is of a multiplicity of voices jostling for their share of the limelight, a lively if somewhat chaotic experience for the reader!

Sandra Coney suggested in the 100th issue of the magazine (1982) that

> If *Broadsheet* has achieved nothing else it has ensured that this wave of feminism has been recorded forever ... So much in these old magazines is relevant to us now... (p.14)

And indeed much of the material in *Broadsheet* is not available elsewhere. I was reminded again of how important the magazine has been in capturing some issues and debates which otherwise may have gone unrecorded, such as the critical response to the United Nations' Decade on Women or the variety of occasions where Maori women could and did speak on marae, as evidenced in the articles on the land march and the role of women such as Dame Whina Cooper, Eva Rickard and Titewhai Harawira in the organisation of the march. I myself use the magazine to provide New Zealand illustrations of feminist politics for my graduate Women's Studies theory class. And yet despite this contribution my overall impression is that the book suffers, as the magazine does, from a limiting agenda around identity politics which silences important issues and breaks up the material into unhelpful bipolar categories.

The most striking recurrent theme of the collection, despite a plethora of writers and an extended historical period, is the tenacity of an essentialist view of identity and, furthermore, the polarisation of identities into 'us' and 'them'. For example, the section on the government,

the law, the economy and the prison system is explicitly entitled 'Them', drawing a boundary between 'us' the readers and these institutional formations filled by men, the 'enemy'. As a sociologist I have qualms about any analysis which denies both the structural nature of institutional power and the participation and resistance of women within such institutions. Such analysis suggests instead that 'they' are hopelessly and inevitably aligned with 'Patriarchy Headquarters'.

Camille Guy *et al* (1990:12) have noted with regard to New Zealand feminism in the eighties that

> solidarity was to be based on the dual certainties that women and men were clearly separate social categories, and that women were sisters in our oppression, men were the enemy.

They continue, however, that 'we always knew it was never that simple'. It was not that simple, they suggest, both because femininity and masculinity do not exist as pure bipolar opposites, but are *cut across* by class and race and other differences, and because the differences *between* women are often as marked as their similarities (ibid:12).

It is this tension between an awareness and tolerance of difference and a tendency to, on the basis of difference, 'identify clear goodies and badies' (ibid:13) which undercuts both the organisation of the *Broadsheet* book and the dialogue it records. Pat Rosier asks 'does a piece by a lesbian woman of colour belong in "The Movement" or the lesbian section?' (p.8) Surely better questions are: What are the meanings of these identities? How does one identity come to have priority over others (e.g. woman of

colour/feminist/lesbian)? How do such identities become fixed and how does this fixing deny their 'complex and shifting basis in the material world' (ibid:13)? And, finally, what are the costs of creating essentialist and monolithic notions of identities rather than suggesting that such identities are historically, culturally and political constructed?

Diana Fuss notes that the problem with this form of analysis is that 'the central category of difference under consideration blinds us to other modes of difference and explicitly delegitimates them' (1989:116). This most clearly operates in the book at the level of focusing on only one part of a subject's identity, usually the most visible part.

Examples of this tension abound. Carol Hoy writes of struggling to add 'lesbian' to the identity 'disabled', sensing a lack of belonging in both the worlds of the disabled and the gay/lesbian community (p.111). Athina Tsoulis similarly reflects on the apparent contradiction between being a feminist and being heterosexual and the implicit assumption that she is 'just a het' who one day would wake up and 'find a woman' (p.119). Christine Bird, in a piece entitled 'The Invisible Working Class Feminist', reflected on her anger at being told by feminists that her ideas on class were 'male derived' and by socialists that she was not 'really' working class (p.47), the two identities cast as inherently contradictory. The list goes on.

The most theoretically interesting example of this tension around identity is Anna-Marie Jogose's discussion of the bifurcation of feminist ethnic politics into Maori/Pakeha,

leaving non-Maori women of colour 'placeless'. She records with some pain the hierarchy of oppressions operating in this country where the identity of non-Maori women of colour is seen as largely undeserving of political analysis and attention. She writes:

> When what is not Maori is Pakeha and what is
> not Pakeha is Maori, I occupy the gap between
> the two, that black hole in which nothing can
> be seen and nothing can be heard (p.54).

Feminists in this country have spent too long in what Adams (1989:30) calls a 'closed economy' of oppression, where a woman's worthiness to 'The Movement' is determined by her ability to trade on her various oppressions, working harder to *demonstrate* her oppression rather than *dismantle* it. For the women discussed above, important aspects of their identities were and are rendered invisible or silenced within the text of *Broadsheet* by other identities of higher value in this 'closed economy' of political positioning. The dominant question asked is: 'which identity comes first?' rather than, 'how do these competing and sometimes contradictory identities interact in our lived experience?'

The point I am making is that in *Broadsheet* the magazine, and now *Broadsheet* the book, politics are personalised in a way that renders them dangerously depoliticised. Identities are ranked within a hierarchy such that some important majority identities are left intact or underanalysed, such as being a heterosexual or being a Pakeha. Rather than creating a politics around Maori or lesbians as the vanguard of feminism (using an idea from Fuss, 1989:117), the text instead suggests a simplistic and moralistic form of politics which tends to

psychologise and personalise questions of oppression, *at the expense* of strong materialist analyses of the structural and institutional bases of exploitation (ibid: original emphasis).

Been Around For Quite A While is an interesting text because it captures the best and worst of the kind of feminist politics which have dominated New Zealand for the last twenty years. The ongoing question is, perhaps, does *Broadsheet* and the writing it contains offer a movement beyond a view of feminism based on women's collectivity as victims of oppression? And furthermore, does it speak to the multiple possibilities and identities the next twenty years offer?

References

Adams, Mary Louise, 1989. 'There's No Place Like Home: Or, the Place of Identity in Feminist Politics'. *Feminist Review*, 31 (Spring), 22-33.

Camille, Guy; Alison Jones, and Gay Simpson, 1990. 'From Piha to Post-Feminism: Radical Feminism in New Zealand'. *SITES, A Journal for Radical Perspectives on Culture*, 20 (Autumn), 7-19.

Fuss, Diana, 1989. 'Essentialism in the Classroom' in *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference*, N.Y., Routledge, 113-119.

* * * * * * * * * *

Barry Smart, **Postmodernity**. London and New York, Routledge, 1993.

Reviewed by Peter Beatson
Sociology Department
Massey University

I read this book with a mixture of exhilaration and irritation. On the positive side, it is an intelligent and wide-ranging discussion of key issues confronting contemporary intellectuals. Although its title announces the main topic as postmodernism, it can equally well be read as a state-of-the-arts survey of sociological theory in the twilight of certainty.

What new legitimising discourses can sociology construct now that its privileged relationship with the welfare state and its Enlightenment projects of promoting truth, progress and emancipation have been undermined? Should it try to salvage its old, legislative modernist role in a postmodern world by imposing epistemological order upon increasing contingency and diversity? Alternatively, should it abandon its totalising mission and merely act as interpreter between incommensurate language games? Or again, does it perhaps have a new, daring part to play as champion of a postmodern ethic of tolerance in a pluralistic world where the cult of difference can too often degenerate into amoral indifference? It is the latter stance - as far as I can ascertain - which Smart endorses. He proposes a continued emancipatory role for sociology based on reflexivity without paralysis, criticism without guarantees.

The second major preoccupation of the book is historical categorisation. To be precise, the author wrestles with the conceptual problem of whether we are living out the last, radical phase of modernity, are prefiguring a future postmodern utopia or are situated in a no-man's-land between the modern and the counter-modern. His preferred option, I think, is that we occupy a space which may be termed postmodern but only if this refers to an attitude towards modernism, not a distinct condition. Postmodernism in this perspective is self-reflexive modernity, pondering the collapse of its own master narratives and the paradox of unanticipated consequences which have turned certainty to doubt, order to chaos, progress to pessimism and emancipation to militarism.

These two major concerns - the ethical and epistemological crisis of sociology and the condition of late modernity - recur in various guises in different chapters, each with a highly charged conceptual nucleus. One chapter, for instance, gravitates around the evocative notion of heresy, another around the resurgence of religious fundamentalism and yet another around the fecund theme of globalisation. Each topic is illustrated by summaries of or quotes from a galaxy of relevant theorists like Foucault, Touraine, Eco, Smith, Bauman, Giddens, Weber, Baudrillard and Nietzsche.

Returning to my initial comments, reading this book gave me the same sense of intellectual exhilaration you get when chatting with an erudite and enthusiastic specialist. As Smart mulled over the great enigmas and dilemmas of the contemporary world and displayed his virtuoso familiarity with the 'pomo' pantheon of Great Names, I was constantly galvanised into lateral thinking, grabbing

gobbets of ideas to put to my own ends or jotting down quotable quotes. 'The nation state is too big for small problems and too small for big ones'. I can't remember who said it but it's a nice aphorism.

Yet I also suggested at the start that the book could be rather irritating. A major cause was its endless repetition of certain contemporary intellectual platitudes. A weary sense of *deja vue* descended as I was told for the nth time about the collapse of master narratives, the contingency of knowledge systems, the decay of plausibility structures, the incommensurability of language games or the dysjuncture between globalisation and localism. 'Doubt' 'uncertainty', 'chaos', 'anxiety' - ho hum. Chapters blurred into one another as the same litany of 'pomo' angst was recycled in each.

The pantheon of Great Names also palled after a while. If you have forgotten what Appadurai, Habermas, Mills, Heidegger, etc etc said about technoscapes, the world picture, the Enlightenment project and the like, there are useful reminders and synopses. But by the same token the text is so cluttered you cannot move without squelching through a coagulation of authorities.

I also hinted earlier at another problem, namely the difficulty of deciphering where Smart himself stood in all this. The endless weighing of one perspective against another can be seen as judicious mulling but it may also be a symptom of indecisive dithering. I never really figured out whether the author thinks there is such a thing as a postmodern condition or what he really believes to be the role of sociology today.

If Smart had stripped away the name-itis, the repetitions and the vacillations, he would have ended up with a readable article rather than a rather indigestible book. That, however, would have left his central thesis embarrassingly exposed: 'It's a tricky old world but let's be nice to one another'. In short, the author knows a great deal but has little to say.

* * * * * * * * * *

Valerie Bryson, **Feminist Political Theory.** London, Macmillan, 1992.

Reviewed by Christine Cheyne
Department of Social Policy and Social Work
Massey University

In the centennial year of suffrage for New Zealand women. *Feminist Political Theory* makes highly relevant reading. Bryson offers a very comprehensive historical account of women's evolving political power and of the treatment of women by political theorists. The book is carefully researched and begins not with Mary Woolstonecraft in the late eighteenth century - whom many believe to be one of the first theorists of women's political power - but with late seventeenth century writers such as Mary Astell (1666-1731). This decision to present the work of Astell and her contemporaries reflects the rigorous approach taken. As well as the more prominent theorists, Bryson excavates feminist political history painstakingly and sheds light on many little-known writers. Indeed, half-way through the book she makes the

point - till then not appreciated by this reader - that even feminists of the 1960s were oblivious to much of the preceding feminist political thought:

> For young women growing up after the war there was... not ready access to the rich heritage of feminist thought and history, for many of the ideas that have been discussed in this volume have only been rediscovered in the last twenty years (p.149).

Bryson has made a significant contribution to both women's studies and political studies by revealing the considerable body of writing by feminist thinkers who have been largely ignored or forgotten. Even relatively recent thinkers (e.g. Mary Inman writing in the 1930s) have disappeared into obscurity.

A recurring theme is the continuity between contemporary and earlier feminist struggles. Indeed, Bryson observes that as early as 1919 there was a sense that a post-feminist era had been reached! Current preoccupations in feminist theory, such as the equality-difference debate and the debate over the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, have a long history. Earlier texts which explore these concerns may have a perennial relevance.

As an illustration of such relevance, I found the commentary on Alexandra Kollontai particularly interesting, traversing as it does questions of the relationship between, on the one hand, matters of sexuality and interpersonal relations and, on the other, matters of work, production, and collective interests and struggles. Kollontai gives serious attention to the feminist

assertion that the public and private spheres are interdependent through her elaboration of the strong connections between interpersonal relationships and socialist/communist economic relations. Indeed, Bryson argues that Kollontai anticipated the later development of the relative autonomy thesis through

> her perception of how such apparently private matters intersect with wider questions of social morality. The 'correct' form of interpersonal relationships was not for her something that would automatically be discovered in the future, but was an issue that must be fought for as part of the class struggle (p.140).

Clearly, Kollontai's views are highly relevant to contemporary feminist efforts to develop social policies which ensure that women's unpaid caring work is socially valued. Ironically, her ideas are also relevant in our own society at this time when there are efforts, from more conservative quarters, to develop policies which insist that human reproduction involves social responsibilities.

Bryson emphasises and documents the diversity within feminist political thought - and observes that feminism is not necessarily progressive. This raises for me the question of the viability of using the term 'feminism' even as a collective noun; perhaps for precision we must speak only of feminist political **theories** and **feminisms**. Certainly, there is a conscious effort in this book to acknowledge the specific histories of Marxist feminism in different geographical settings with separate accounts of the situation in Britain, America, Germany and Russia.

The ease with which a vast array of theoretical contributions, and debates between them, is explored belies the breadth and the depth of the coverage. Bryson has done a magnificent job of presenting feminist theory in its complexity without rendering it inaccessible. As I made my way through the text I was impressed by the straightforward and uncomplicated use of language to express the convolutions of feminist theoretical debates. The following quote, in which Bryson comments on Simone de Beauvoir's thought, is an example of such language - and a passage I particularly enjoyed:

> although her descriptions of the trials and tribulations of marriage and maternity were in part a much needed corrective to the prevailing syrupy view of domestic bliss, her denial that motherhood (or fatherhood) could be a source of positive values seems a too-easy rejection of a whole area of human experience. In both cases her perceptions were perhaps limited by her own experiences as a token woman who functioned as an honorary man, and by the individualist assumptions of existentialist philosophy, in which the drive to dominate is assumed, and the possibility of an equivalent drive to co-operation, nurturing, mutuality or sharing is ruled out of order (pp 154-55).

When I reached the final paragraph of the book, I realised that this commitment to accessibility was a priority for Bryson. She concludes with the following:

> Good feminist theory will not be easy, but it must not be needlessly obscure, and if it is to form the basis of collective action and understanding, it must get out of its ivory

> tower and into the minds of women. Feminism
> is not a closed book; it is essential that it
> becomes a readable one (p.267).

The final chapter in this very readable book is on the subject of feminist theory in the 1990s. While aware of certain dangers (the potential nihilism of postmodernist feminisms and the defeatism of aspects of radical feminism), nevertheless Bryson expresses a great deal of optimism about the on-going development of feminist political theories and strategies.

Rather than selecting a chapter here or there, it is important to read this book from beginning to end. However, that is no difficulty, for the narrative holds one's interest firmly and draws one on - to the point that I was unwilling even to stop for a break between starting and finishing reading.

* * * * * * * * * *

Martin Holland (ed), **Electoral Behaviour in New Zealand**. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Reviewed by Charles Crothers
Department of Sociology
Auckland University

International evidence on 'political cycles' (as opposed to 'business cycles') in the macro-economic performance of nations has proved equivocal, but it is certainly clear that

in each country there is a 'political cycle' of intense interest in voting. The imminence of an election generates a frenzy of polling, fuelled by the media as much as by the intense concerns of the competing political parties themselves. Alongside this hot-house arena (and apparently increasingly detached from it) political sociologists have developed their own particular research industry. This stretches right back to the first faltering (faltering because the researchers were not sure people would answer a poll) New Zealand electoral survey in Wellington Central in 1949, and it has become well-entrenched from the 1960 election on. This is clearly one of the few well-developed areas of cumulative social science research in New Zealand, so lessons drawn from a solid thirty years of work might be expected to strongly radiate through into many other areas of indigenous social science. Since it is an area of research which sociologists have tended to leave to political scientists (apart from the juvenilia of David Bedggood, my own dabblings and Chris Wilkes' media analysis), it is pertinent for sociologists to evaluate how good the political scientists' political sociology has been. Indeed, to review this collection is as much to review the development of this area of study as the book itself.

This volume comes as the first of a promised series from Oxford University Press on New Zealand politics, and it is an attempt by Oxford to establish a definitive presence in political science publishing in this country. The book sits alongside, and often uses data from, the since-published 1990 electoral study of Vowles and Aimer (1993). However, this volume's orientation differs in two ways. Not only is there more emphasis on theory, with each of the authors taking an important perspective on

voting, but also the timeframe is widened so that many chapters consider several generations of voting studies.

Holland has assembled the appropriate New Zealand experts in the various areas of voting studies, which comprise: the electoral system, electoral geography (urban/rural and regional differences), party identification, political issues, social group effects, media, party leaders and local candidates, and (in a synoptic contribution set within the conclusion) a life-time learning model of voting.

Underlying each of these are three 'progressive' shifts in the theories on which studies of voting are based (p173): from sociology (concerned with social differences in voting) through psychology (concerned with party identification and similar issues) to economics (concerned with the costs and benefits of casting support). This latter is least attended to and looms as the area most in need of sustained attention, especially since it promises to as it were 'get the voter into motion' and provide a theory of 'action'. The more general challenge lying apparently unglimpsed beyond these three models is the development of a framework which might link them all together.

Although the book and chapter titles proclaim an 'electoral behaviour' focus, this term is used loosely as a synonym for 'voting behaviour'. It is not used in the tighter sense of attitudes and behaviour in relation to the electoral system itself, compared to the parties and other political forces competing within its framework. And disappointingly, the chapter which is concerned with the electoral system includes no sociological material. The

behaviour emphasised throughout denotes the constant attention to patterns of individuals' political activity, strictly within the formal political realm.

There are several similarities spanning the chapters. Each has a clearly developed conceptualisation drawn from relevant overseas developments with closely honed models, and each attempts to specify causal mechanisms. The technically sophisticated theories are then eclipsed by complex multivariate empirical models (mainly logistic regression models) through which the quantitative survey data is forced in order to yield up its latent patterns.

There are also differences. A subtext is the regional differences between the early South Island, the Victoria University and the Auckland University approaches to voting studies, although the book tends to paper over such differences. Certainly, the chapters differ in their sophistication and interest.

There are common methodological limitations to these chapters (several of these absences are lamented in Aimer and McAllister's conclusion):

-       there is a lack of attention to the limitations of the measurement of voting choice (whether intended or remembered voting), let alone to the way it is used in studies (often in the form of Labour *vs* the rest);

-       there is a lack of attention to the methodological deficiencies of the surveys (e.g. response-rates or different methodologies);

- there is an overreliance on quantitative survey data at the expense of qualitative in-depth studies which would reveal some of the meanings involved;

- there is a relentless individualism in the approach used and as a result inadequate attention to the complex interaction between individual and collective levels of action, both in the form of the social networks and organisational activities;

- despite heroic efforts (especially by Clive Bean, who develops common analyses over a series of four surveys), the analyses seldom are able to overcome the data-limitations to achieve close and across-time comparisons.

On the other hand, an apparently secure set of common findings seems to sit firmly on this uneven methodological foundation:

- a more than reasonable extent of variation (c50%) in voting choice can indeed be explained (as long as a wide array of independent variables is thrown in);

- there is little connection between social background variables and voting choice;

- generally, the 'statistical explanation' of voting choice can be decomposed (cf. p.184) into family-background (c10%), socio-economic interests (5%), political issues (5%), party performance (10%) and the campaign (20%);

-    this overall model (at least for 1990) is quite similar to models also developed for Australia and UK (although the latter give greater weight to campaign factors).

It should be disturbing to sociologists to find that voting choice (together with its also-measured, vast array of supporting attitudes and behaviour) is not embedded in social structures. It may also be surprising to many to find social structure operationalised in a string of social variables laid out in a set of regression equations. But at least the political scientists have done the hard graft to show this.

Indeed, by developing a modicum of cooperation and shared work focused over a time-period of several decades, New Zealand political sociologists have generated resources to carry out an impressive array of studies (some three dozen are enumerated) and to conjointly publish a range of important chapters. Sociologists may tend to be a bit sceptical about the narrow range of theorising and the overconcentration of the methodologies used. Indeed, they may query the yield from all this industriousness. However, they should feel challenged by this enterprise and might well themselves find some further sociological pickings from the rich store of data that has been collected.

Reference

Vowles, J. and Aimer, P. 1993. *The Voter's Vengeance.* Auckland, Auckland University Press.

* * * * * * * * * *

R. Shields (ed), **Lifestyle Shopping: The Subject of Consumption**. London, Routledge, 1993.

Reviewed by Nicky Green
Sociology Department
Massey University

Lifestyle Shopping is an interdisciplinary text which addresses itself to unravelling contemporary relationships between consumption and subjectivity. Specifically, the project of the collection, although a many-voiced text, is to examine

> the interface between media images, 'consumption sites' where such images can be purchased as ready-to-wear 'masks', and the personalities and tribes that form a social 'architecture' of lifestyles and 'consumption cultures' (p.1).

Each of the articles contained within the book approaches this project in a different way, and the result is an eclectic mix not only of disciplines but also of subject matter, geographical location, narrative style, discursive slant and methodology.

The articles range widely across all the varieties of consumption that might be imagined, from economic exchange, to the 'gaze' and the consumption of space via means of embodiment. There is a lot of material on shopping malls - which is to be expected given their status as cultural topoi - from Ferguson's analysis of 'atrium culture' in Glasgow, to Shields' critique of community-in-shopping, to Gail Reekie's historical

analysis of a Brisbane department store, to Williamson's writings about Canada's West Edmonton Mall. Other pieces range more widely across the intersections of consumption, subjectivity and culture: Hetherington on the Stonehenge festival, Beng on exclusive fashion boutiques in Singapore, Delaney on the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Nixon on masculinities in menswear stores and style mags, Clammer on shopping and social being in urban Japan.

The majority of articles use a methodology consistent with content analysis: the examination and critical 'deconstruction' of a particular and site-specific social phenomenon. At least five of the articles would fall under this general rubric, and these are further complemented by at least one detailed theoretical piece on the historical conceptualisation of the consuming subject in psychoanalytic and sociological literature. Two articles employ an observational methodology (although see Beng's note on interviewing difficulties), and two base their analyses on interview data. This last point was a highlight of the book. Too often, I think, cultural studies texts (especially those investigating the postmodern) engage in prolonged theoretical and textual analysis without actually asking people how they carry out their consumption in the context of their everyday lives. This is particularly important when considering the ways in which very real economic, gender and ethnic inequalities intersect with the processes of consumption and the constitution of subjectivity. It is not enough to maintain that discrepancies arising from economic class differences 'are met with compensating cultural inventions, (and) lack of political power is displaced by superior "performance"...' These two articles begin to redress an

imbalance in cultural studies between asking people and telling people what they experience, especially in the contemporary 'postmodern' context.

In an edited collection, it is more possible than in other contexts to pick'n'mix those elements of different narratives which are particularly enjoyable or useful. There were several aspects of different articles that I particularly enjoyed: Sheild's exploratory use of the 'liminal' to analyse social relations, Ferguson's references to the society of the wish, the use of Maffesoli's tribalism to approach different forms of Bunde association, Williamson's circular and dreamlike narrative and Langman's cynical conclusions and ironic sense of humour.

What is even more interesting about this collection is its positioning in relation to more general debates in sociology around postmodernism and/or postmodernity. The editor presents the book as explicitly originating in a 'postmodern' approach to consumption. According to Shields, the contributions are preliminary, but are nevertheless

> part of the larger postmodern project of remapping and rewriting the classical schemas of the human sciences, which located the subject in an abstract space of the bourgeois individual, de-spatialized and unrelated to place and context, and canonized in the positivism of social science (p.1).

As in so much other literature around postmodernity, the subject matter here is elusive and ambiguous. There is plenty of literature in the debates which detail what

postmodernism *isn't*, but rather less definition of what postmodernism *is*. This collection encounters similar difficulties at times, and therefore leans towards an occasional incoherence.

Shields locates his portrayal of postmodernism (and, by implication, a 'modernism' that somehow preceded it) in the interaction of ongoing cultural change and the political economy of commodity exchange. My argument is not necessarily with this contention in itself, but with Shield's assumption that 'postmodernism' is as casually positioned and explicated as the above comment seems to suggest. Furthermore, his contention that the modernist separation of culture and economy leaves little room for exploring the notion of consumption (and its associated subjectivities) suggests a too casual dismissal of 'modernist' thought. Both of these perspectives seem to employ a conceptualisation of modernism and postmodernism which categorises and caricatures a multitude of approaches. No single theoretical explanation in all its aspects necessarily conforms to this ideal-typical characterisation. Furthermore, whether it is possible to employ a (modernist) ideal type to delineate a diverse range of 'postmodern' texts is a puzzle in this context.

All this adds up to a sense of confusion as to what the editor means by 'postmodern'. Each author in the collection refers (either implicitly or explicitly) to postmodernism in some sense when marking the initial boundaries of their own texts. There are, somewhat ironically, ongoing references to conceptual frameworks which detail changing cultures of consumption, subjectivity and leisure in late nineteenth century consumption sites. Repeated use is made of Simmel's

analysis of social and spatial practices in commodified urban centres, Benjamin's allegorical figure of the *flaneur* and Schmalenbach's use of the *Bunde* to characterise unstable social associations lying between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. It may be argued that these authors were the progenitors of postmodernism in cultural studies, but other authors have categorically defined Simmel and Benjamin, at least, as particularly modernist in orientation.

Perhaps this signals a certain retrenchment or critical caution on the part of those who write under the general rubric of postmodernism. While postmodernism is certainly a central focus of this work, the collected pieces tend to be specific about the theoretical frameworks applied to the various subject matters under scrutiny, and to avoid a wholesale embrace of postmodernism in its more general and least well specified forms. Shields makes it clear that the purpose of the text is not an undifferentiating celebration of the triumph of marketing ideology, but rather a

> critical marking of the interdependence of the private spaces of subjectivity, media and commodity consumption, and the changing spatial contexts of everyday public life.

In this sense, it is interesting to note the emergence of a conceptual term which attempts to bridge the theoretical contradictions arising from the use of modernist theory in a postmodern context: that is, the *trans*modern (as existing before, during and after modernity). Shields uses this term in contrast to *post*modernity, which implies something new. The characterisation of postmodernity in many debates implies that the new is no longer possible in the contemporary age. In any case, the notion of the

transmodern remains speculative (as the author admits) and could do with more explication.

The invocation of the transmodern may well be related to an attempt to integrate a postmodern text with the fairly well-established symbolic interactionist and ethomethodological schools of thought. As indicated above, a general theme of the collection is the way individuals reproduce culture, and themselves, though consumption at the level of daily practice. This concern with the local and specific is reflected in numerous references to theorists such as Goffman and Stone, whose detailed approaches to the construction of the self in everyday life have always been prominent in the literature surrounding subjective identities. The narrative of dramaturgy seems to sit well with the analysis of the self as re/constituted in consumption, although the connections the authors perceive between the symbolic interactionists and the postmodern remain ambiguous.

Another intriguing aspect of the collection is a recurrent reference to Mikhail Bakhtin, in particular to his work on the *carnivalesque* and, to a lesser degree, on dialogical social relationships. These references recur so frequently that it appeared Bakhtin's work was about to become another bandwagon. I have no problem with Bakhtin's theses being used in this context. Indeed, the *carnivalesque* concept is a particularly appropriate means of both reading and rendering contemporary consumption sites such as those discussed in this work. My concern is that although the concept is treated with a certain critical approach (albeit variously), the frequency of its use might indicate not so much an abandon on the part of particular writers, but rather a more general scarcity of appropriate

theory in the field of cultural studies as a whole. The easy accommodation of Bakhtin beside more post-structural thinkers such as Foucault needs critical examination. The use of Bakhtin needs to be considered aside from more post-structural or postmodern texts to *determine* rather than *presume* its relative compatibility.

To conclude, this book is a potential source of important critical dialogue in the central debates of cultural studies and the sociology of culture. The publisher's blurb claims that the text will quickly become required reading in courses on the sociology of culture. I am sure the collection will live up to this claim.

* * * * * * * * * *

Diane Richardson and Victoria Robinson,
**Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist Theory
and Practice.** London, Macmillan, 1993.

Gillian Lupton, Patricia M Short and Rosemary
Whip, **Society and Gender: An Introduction to
Sociology**. Melbourne, Macmillan 1992.

*Reviewed by Catherine Pelissier
Department of Women's Studies
University of Waikato*

I am generally not a fan of introductory texts and usually find it most convenient to put together my own book of readings. Introductory texts are often either too

fragmented and superficial, on the one hand, or lacking in the breadth of coverage crucial at the introductory level on the other. In Women's Studies, introductory texts often suffer from a lack of attention to international perspectives and to issues of race and racism. In addition, given the speed of new developments, I appreciate the convenience of being able to construct a new 'book' each year. Recognising these problems of breadth, depth and currency, I am often in awe of anyone attempting to put together an introductory text. To attempt this in Women's Studies, a cross-disciplinary field that has experienced remarkable growth over the past three decades, is particularly awe-inspiring.

Introducing Women's Studies is designed to provide 'a comprehensive overview of the key themes and issues in major subject areas within Women's Studies, from an interdisciplinary perspective' (pp.xvii-xviii). As befits an introductory text, each of the 14 chapters provides an overview of major issues in a particular area of interest. In her chapter on women and work, for instance, Anne Witz discusses the history of women's involvement in paid labour, occupational segregation, relationships between paid and unpaid labour, and the relationships among race/ethnicity, class, and labour market participation. In a similar vein, Gill Frith, in her chapter on women, writing and language, provides an overview of radical, post-structuralist, socialist, Black, lesbian, and French feminist literary criticism. Breadth of coverage as opposed to depth of detail is emphasised, allowing students access to the universe of the topic in question.

Introducing Women's Studies benefits from a number of strengths. First, a 'further reading' section at the end of

each chapter provides a list of key pieces in the area, including both 'classics' and recent, cutting-edge works. For example, the list of suggested readings for the chapter on women and health includes works by Helen Roberts and Emily Martin; Patricia Hill Collins, Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, Cynthia Enloe and Donna Haraway are included in the list of readings of the chapter on feminism and racism; and the recently edited volumes by Sneja Gunew are recommended in the introductory chapter. The only exception to this format is found in the article on feminist theory, in which Jackie Stacey argues her disinclination to establish a 'feminist canon'.

Second, the book's bibliography and indexes are outstanding. The 48-page bibliography provides students with a comprehensive list of works to pursue; again, including both classic and recent pieces. The extensive author and subject indexes would no doubt also provide a useful tool for the beginning student.

Finally, two important themes cut across the chapters. First, the majority of the authors address the issue of race and racism, albeit in some cases only superficially. Most of the authors also emphasise difference and the problematics of the category 'woman'.

My reaction to the individual chapters is mixed. Most disappointing was the introductory chapter by Victoria Robinson, one of the editors. Robinson provides a general overview of Women's Studies, including history, connections between developments in academia and the movement, relationships with other disciplines, issues of pedagogy, and theoretical debates. It is not, however, a reading that I would give to first year students. First of

all, it is not clear who Robinson's intended audience is. I got the feeling that she was speaking to fellow teachers of Women's Studies rather than to beginning students. Second, while Robinson does a credible job of laying out some of the debates in the field, such as those related to theory and to the relationship between Women's Studies and gender studies, she fails to take a clear position on any of them. In addition, Robinson 'mixes and matches' some of the older debates (e.g. whether or not Women's Studies should have any association at all with universities) with more recent issues regarding feminism and difference. Finally, Robinson's discussion of feminist pedagogy left me with the impression that Women's Studies courses must be all things to all people: academic yet personal, consciousness-raising, psychologically aware, non-hierarchical, conveniently scheduled for all participants (with the inclusion of child-care), and so on. I agree with Robinson's agenda regarding the ideal organisation of Women's Studies courses; however, some recognition of the institutional constraints within which Women's Studies programmes currently operate is warranted. While it is important to struggle against these institutional constraints, it is equally important to avoid setting personal standards for ourselves that we cannot meet so that we are in the end constructed as failures in our own eyes as well as in those of our students.

Kum-Kum Bhavnani's chapter on racism, on the other hand, is an impressive piece of work that skilfully weaves deconstructions of the categories of 'women' and 'race' with discussions of objectivity and the relationship between experience and theory. Bhavnani outlines the processes of Editing, Erasure, Denial, Invisibility, and Tokenism, as they have been applied to various groups of

women. She provides a critique of 'adding in' solutions (tokenism), privileging instead theorised experience. Her focus, in the end, is on the importance of difference and international perspectives. It is a well thought out, comprehensive chapter that elegantly communicates complex issues in a way which is understandable to beginning students. It is, moveover, the one chapter which seriously attends to the international dimensions of Women's Studies.

Stacey's chapter, 'Untangling Feminist Theory', is similarly impressive. Stacey eschews developing what she calls a 'feminist canon' or discussing theory in terms of rigid categories (e.g. as she lists them, radical, Marxist, and liberal feminisms) in favour of a presentation organised around debates: the patriarchy debate, the tension between universal theories of women's subordination and the politics of difference, the unified category of 'woman', and social constructionism and essentialism. In so doing, Stacey is able to render comprehensible the many complexities of feminist theory, including the feminist engagement with post-structuralism, and to do so, like Bhavnani, without undue simplification.

Following these three general overview chapters, the remainder of the text is devoted to more specific overviews of typical Women's Studies topics. There is a chapter on sexuality and dominance which examines feminist politicisations of sexuality; a chapter on violence which surveys the various manifestations of violence against women (from rape to sexual harassment to pornography); two chapters on representation, one on visual representation and one on literature; six chapters

addressing various issues in women's lives (family, motherhood, reproduction, health, work and education); and one chapter on history.

I have several complaints about organisation and topic coverage. Although all 14 chapters take the form of overviews, some are more general than others. The general overviews (eg on theory, racism, and history) should have been grouped together. Second, there is significant topical overlap between a number of the chapters, and yet connections are not made. For example, although they follow one another in the book, the chapters on reproduction and health could have been grouped together in a section, with an editorial preface making the connections between the two. The chapters on family, motherhood and work should have been grouped together, again with an editorial preface. Finally, some way should have been found to incorporate policy issues and cross-cultural/international perspectives (two gaps noted by the editors in their introduction). Issues related to reproduction, health and work, for instance, have direct implications for policy which should be explored more systematically than they are. Similarly, if we are to move away from Anglocentric feminist analyses, we must also move beyond our own national borders to encompass a more cross-cultural and international perspective. Jackson's chapter on the family provides perhaps the best example in this text of an attempt to do just this: Jackson addresses issues related to race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, culture, international and colonial contexts, and the state and policy as they relate to the construction and regulation of the 'family'. A better grouping of the chapters, more explicit connections between them, and the collapsing together of

those overlapping, along with additions of policy and international issues would have enhanced both the coherence of the text and its breadth of coverage.

Putting together an introductory text is a daunting task, and Richardson and Robinson deserve congratulations for their efforts. The 'review' nature of the chapters, the inclusion of lists of suggested readings, and an extensive bibliography and indexes are definite strengths of a text which would provide any ambitious student with numerous 'ins' to Women's Studies. The text could not stand on its own in an introductory class, however. The introductory chapter, is inappropriate. In addition, the gaps related to social policy and cross-cultural/international perspectives would have to be filled. Finally, materials specifically related to Australasia in general and New Zealand in particular, by and large lacking in this British-based text, would have to be provided.

Society and Gender, in contrast to *Introduction to Women's Studies*, is written as an introductory text in sociology. It was designed to meet the needs of an 'alternative introductory sociology course in which issues of gender and of feminism would play a central part' - in short, it is 'an introduction to sociology with a feminist bias' (p.v). In this sense, the two books represent different traditions in feminist academic politics: efforts to develop an autonomous discipline of Women's Studies, on the one hand; and to integrate gender into mainstream disciplines and thereby transform them on the other.

Like *Introduction to Women's Studies*, *Society and Gender* is divided into 14 chapters, although only four of them are

written by authors other than the editors (Bruce Rigsby on sex and gender, biology and culture; Janeen Baxter on families and households; Jim McKay on sport and the social construction of gender; and Louise Harvey on science and technology). Following a similar format (general overview of major themes in the area illustrated by reference to particular studies), each chapter discusses a traditional topic in sociology -research; inequality; families and households; education; social communication; work and employment; the state, the citizen and the law; politics and government; sport; science and technology, and health - from a feminist perspective. The collection is framed by an introductory article which succinctly outlines major themes and approaches in sociology; and a short conclusion chapter which summarises what a gendered sociology means, particularly as illustrated in the preceding chapters. For these authors, a gendered sociology entails focusing on the questions of 'how gender categories are socially defined, 'how gender relations constitute social life and *how* gender is associated with social inequality' (p.303). Accordingly, in discussing health, sport, education, work, households, etc, the questions are: 'how is gender...implicated in *this* symbolic structure, *these* social relationships and *this* culture? How is it constituted in and by them?' (p.304).

I found *Society and Gender* to be a particularly well-written *introductory* text, by which I mean a text designed for students with little or no background in the subject area. Writing at the introductory level is difficult to do, since the expertise of authors often leads them to assume knowledge of certain concepts. In contrast to this tendency, Lupton, Short and Whip seem to take nothing for granted. Throughout the text, concepts are in

boldface, alerting the reader to their existence and importance - concepts such as feminism, patriarchy, ethnicity, discrimination, mode of production, hegemony, class, asymmetry, speech community, hermeneutics, and so on. These concepts are defined in the text itself, or in sectioned off boxes. *Society and Gender* therefore works to provide access to a particular kind of language, which is, after all, a large part of what introductory students need.

In addition to the attention to language, each chapter concludes with a list of suggested readings, plus a set of exercises. The exercises seem particularly useful. At the end of the chapter on education, for instance, students are asked to compare conflict, structuralist and interactionist approaches to understanding inequalities in access to tertiary education; and in the chapter on social communication, students are asked to analyse interruption patterns in mixed sex conversations on TV soap operas. Such exercises provide students with the opportunity to apply what they have learned, to go beyond the material, to interrogate it. Although not nearly as extensive as those included in *Introducing Women's Studies*, the bibliography and index in *Society and Gender* are credible.

Although all the chapters in the volume are adequate, there are a few which provide excellent introductions to particular topics. For instance, Patricia Short's chapter, 'Social Communication: Conversation and Mass Media', provides an outstanding overview that is thorough and accessible to beginning students in either Women's Studies or Sociology. Rosemary Whip's chapter on research is also very well-written and organised. She outlines and contrasts positivist and interpretive approaches, using particular studies to illustrate points of

contrast, and then concludes with a very useful discussion of research and gender (including both male bias in research design, implementation, and therefore findings; and gender in the research process). Finally, Gillian Lupton's chapter on the state, citizenship and the law represents an impressive overview of a topic that is of particular relevance to students in the social sciences in general and Women's Studies in particular. The state and legal systems, citizenship, bureaucracy, and welfare are all addressed in a comprehensive and accessible fashion. Given the importance of policy issues to feminism, it is essential to begin coverage of these topics at an introductory level.

Society and Gender is not without its short-comings, however. First, the feminist engagement with postmodernism and post-structuralism is virtually absent. Issues of race and racism are almost invisible: although explicitly addressed by Lupton in her chapter on social inequality, references in the other chapters are cursory at best. Sexuality is also neglected for the most part. Finally, although some mention is made of cross-cultural comparison, it is by and large insufficient; and international perspectives are omitted entirely. These are significant absences, even for a sociology (as opposed to Women's Studies) text.

A key strength of *Introducing Women's Studies*, as opposed to *Society and Gender*, is the way its inclusion of chapters on visual and literary representations bridges the social sciences and the humanities. In addition, the chapters on sexuality and violence allow *Introducing Women's Studies* to cut across disciplines within the social sciences so that psychology, as well as anthropology and sociology, is

represented. Because it is a sociology rather than a Women's Studies text, *Society and Gender* is more narrowly conceived. Insofar as gender runs through the book (rather than being included as one chapter), however, *Society and Gender* is an outstanding text for an introductory sociology course. Although it could not stand alone, parts of it could be usefully employed in a Women's Studies course if supplemented by readings in other disciplines and by readings which more explicitly emphasise race/ethnicity, the international dimensions of Women's Studies, and the New Zealand context (it is written from an Australian perspective).

In the end, perhaps, I need to return to my criticism of Victoria Robinson's discussion of feminist pedagogy in her introductory chapter to *Introducing Women's Studies*. Perhaps I share a similar desire with regard to introductory texts - namely, that they be all things to all teachers and beginning students. Introductory texts cannot do everything. They are by their nature exclusionary. With this in mind, both *Introducing Women's Studies* and *Society and Gender* represent significant (and significantly successful) efforts to introduce complex fields. Although I may stubbornly stick to my own method of tailor-made books of readings, I have no doubt that next year I will draw on selections from each of these books.

* * * * * * * * * *

Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, **The
'Nations Within': Aboriginal State Relations in
Canada, the United States and New Zealand.**
Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1992.

*Reviewed by David Pearson
Department of Sociology and Social Work
Victoria University*

Since the 1960s aboriginal populations around the world
have become increasingly important political actors
seeking, with some notable successes, a significant change
in their status as encapsulated peoples under (post?)
colonialism. In the authors' words such peoples may be
viewed as 'nations within' nation-states.

Local readers will not need reminding that Maori are
important game players in this international scenario.
However, cross-national sociological research has not kept
pace with the global networks established by the political
participants themselves. This book is therefore a welcome
addition to a still limited literature, particularly with
respect to New Zealand.

The authors, one of whom (Fleras) is well known to local
ethnic relations specialists for his writings on Maori
policy, admit that they devote most attention to their
native Canada. This section forms more than half the
book, so the reader gets a solid introduction to the
differences between and within status and non-status
Indians, the Metis (offspring of Aboriginal/French
encounters) and Inuit (Eskimo) peoples, and their
historical evolution from colonial dependence to a limited
autonomy. The aspirations of these groups for self

government, aboriginal and treaty rights, land settlement and, above all, the need to be treated as citizens-plus rather than just another ethnic minority, are the central themes that place the Canadian context within a comparative framework. Other echoes of the New Zealand scene emerge with reviews of government policy changes from assimilation, through integration to current debates about self-determination and in the discussion of the role of the Department of Indian and Native Affairs.

Perhaps less familiar will be surveys of the constitutional machinations that beset Canada in the 1980s and early 1990s. These issues are always embedded within the contradictions of French and English Canadian politics, but the political voices of the 'First Nations' have become increasingly influential. Their demands have clearly not been met, and while one can see steps forward in particular attempts towards greater aboriginal control over aboriginal lives, the final stride towards sovereign status remains generally elusive. Ironically, as the Oka incident in Quebec (in 1990) revealed, when French perceptions of themselves as a 'distinct society' clash with aboriginal (here the Mohawks) similar sentiments, the defeated colonist reacts aggressively towards those whom they themselves have colonised.

The section on Canada is followed by briefer treatments of the United States and New Zealand. Despite the range of the historical and current relations between varied aboriginal peoples and the American states, national and regional, this part of the book is particularly lucid. The presentation is enhanced with useful figures and a map, features curiously absent from the Canadian and New Zealand sections. There is also a clearer recognition of the

definitional and related political problems of different
organisational frameworks - tribe, nation and state - that
I will return to later. The reader is taken through a brief
but readable appraisal of the key events that have shaped
American aboriginal-state relations from the seventeenth
century to the early 1990s. This section reveals the twists
and turns of intertwined political histories as far from
passive aboriginal actors sought to withstand the powers
of dispossession placed upon them by colonial and post-
colonial administrations. The status of aboriginal peoples
has shifted over recent decades such that for some tribes
the level of control implied in the (1831) Marshall decision
to call them 'domestic dependent nations' is less
applicable today. Since 1982 tribes have been granted the
ability to raise their own taxes, perhaps the strongest
capitalist symbol of statehood; and yet, as Fleras and
Elliott acknowledge, recent rhetoric of self-determination
has not been materially accomplished since most
tribespersons have the lowest per capita incomes of any
American citizens. Therefore the fiduciary issue may be a
symbol that reaffirms nationhood without achieving a
viable state.

Not surprisingly, the New Zealand chapters firmly reflect
the interests of Augie Fleras. There are solid sections on
changes in government policy and the iwi/Maori reaction
from the early nineteenth century to, with hindsight, the
arrival and passing of Ka Awatea. Fleras' earlier work on
the Maori Affairs Department and Kohanga Reo is woven
into a selective appraisal of examples of state initiatives
and flax-root response. Inevitably the Treaty and Tribunal
get some attention, and the authors are understandably
ambivalent about whether current bicultural principles
and practices are merely rhetoric or important steps

forward. In truth, they may be either depending on the context. Regrettably, linked themes of international influences, shifts in immigration patterns, the politics of gender and class, and Pakeha nationalism, are not addressed as much as I believe they deserve.

The final brief section, where some cross-national comparisons are returned to, is interesting and some useful points are made about the differences between Canada and the other two nation-states. But this is a book of three compartments with interspersed international asides, rather than a fully integrated comparative work. The authors argue persuasively that in some ways the Canadian situation is more conducive to fundamental changes in the status of aboriginal peoples than either the United States or New Zealand. In Canada, recent political initiatives (the Charter and Constitution debates for example), while revealing recurrent deep-seated tensions, are more proactive than defensive, less bound by nineteenth century decisions, and introduced within a multicultural climate that for all its vagueness and contested status is firmly wedded to a pluralistic framework. But this pluralism, of course, is greeted with little enthusiasm by Qebecois or First Nations spokespersons committed to the task of carving out 'distinct societies' within the Canadian nation-state.

This tension returns us to the central perplexity and fascination of the questions that the authors set themselves. In a concluding appraisal of the contrasts between governmental and aboriginal conceptions of nationhood the authors suggest a paradigmatic shift is required in order for deep-seated Western ideas of sovereignty to be rendered more amenable to the idea, let

alone the actuality, of 'nations within'. In the United States, the authors argue, this would require the de facto recognition of de jure constitutional principles already in place; while in Canada greater success would need to be forthcoming in the light of recent failures to produce new constitutional arrangements that recognise the inherency of aboriginal rights to self-government. As for New Zealand, Fleras and Elliott recognise that the imponderables of the Treaty are as much of a hindrance as a salvation. There is little agreement about what was acceded to or given away in the sovereignty stakes, and this book, perhaps unwittingly, reveals the magnitude of the task of trying to move beyond sharply discrepant interpretations of cross-cultural agreements.

The Nations Within is an evocative title, but the authors do not really provide a consistent conceptual basis for using the phrase. In the Canadian case the description is frequently used by aboriginal leaders but there is considerable difficulty in applying the concept to, for example, non-status Indians. Aboriginal persons who have left the reserves and reside in urban situations are far less likely to have the territorial contiguity that seems to be a prerequisite for the presence of 'imaginary communities'. The problem of whether 'tribe' and 'nation' are concepts that can be utilised to describe aboriginal existence before colonial contact, or whether such frameworks actually derive from such encounters is recognised in the section on the United States. At this point the authors seem to accede to the view that recent political movements have reconstructed the past in a revisionist vein to pursue freedom in the present and future. But this position is rebutted, unacknowledged, in the section on New Zealand, where the prospect of a sovereign Maori nation

is raised in nineteenth century Treaty parlance and post-1980s discourse. Little attention is given to the very real difficulties of reconciling iwi and Maori sovereignty in these past and present debates, and the authors do not return to the question of whether 'the nation' is a primordial given or yet another example of 'the other' not yet free from imposed 'Western' frameworks.

Moreover, there is the difficult but ultimately crucial question of what the 'publics' represented by state and aboriginal spokespersons and policy makers really want. Are questions about 'sovereignty' and 'nationhood' merely shadow games on the 'national' (pun intended) stage while the problems of day to day existence are more pertinent to the lives of most of us, including aboriginal persons? How many Maori do conceive of themselves, or their iwi, as a national sovereign people? The most innovative and exciting developments, in Canada and New Zealand (I cannot comment on the United States) seem to be occurring at the local and regional level where particular bands or hapu/iwi are working through the ramifications of self-government (generally in terms of community control) in a pragmatic sense somewhat removed from the rhetoric of national debate. And yet, perhaps, the former is dependent on the latter, for the reshaping of symbolic frameworks is just as important as the legal, political and economic 'deals' that may ultimately dictate the lives and hopes of those who aspire to survive as distinct peoples.

* * * * * * * * * *

Patricia Waugh (ed), **Postmodernism: A Reader**. London , Edward Arnold, 1992.

Reviewed by Nick Perry
Department of Sociology
Auckland University

Sitting comfortably? Then I'll begin. You remember 'show and tell', right? Right, it's the game in which we each take turns to bring something to the class and then we tell everyone how we got it and what it means to us. It might be a favourite toy, or something similar. Of course each of us gets to take our own special toy home again, but all of us can share in the story. Better still, if we like the story enough then we can even keep it as our own or to tell to others! So the story is very important, and its very important that we tell it as well as we can. Because when we are bigger and older and really grown up - next year maybe, or perhaps the year after - then we won't be allowed to bring toys to class. Only the stories.

Right now it's Patricia Waugh's turn to play the game. Patricia's from a place called Durham in England and she's chosen to show and tell us about her collection. It's not a collection of shells, stamps or stickers though - it's a collection of stories. But each of these stories is a story about stories. And she's going to tell us a story of her own; a story about how each of these stories about stories are parts of the story that she's going to tell us. At least, I think that's what she's going to do. But then I might be telling stories too. Or showing them. So we have to be very careful and attentive in order to know just which story we are hearing, or reading, or telling, or writing. Or showing. Otherwise it might not be clear who 'we' are.

And then where would we be? Just a nomadic tribe of pronouns trying to find an agreed place to meet.

Remember I said that we had to be careful and attentive? Well, Patricia couldn't be here so I've just wandered in to take her place. It's OK. Principal Discourse has said that I'm allowed to make an appearance in the body of this kind of text. You can join in too - but only if you can figure out the rules - the first of which is that I isn't me and you isn't you. Nothing personal you understand - I'm only doing my job. Now that that's clear then perhaps we (you and I, that is - or should that be you and me?) can let Patricia have her say after all. Patricia?

Patricia's Story or *The Waugh of the Words*. The collection is oriented towards literary critical and philosophical concerns and organized under five headings which are linked through an editorial introduction and commentaries. Section one sets the scene by featuring two short readings on Modernism and Postmodernism (Anthony Giddens, Alan Wilde). This is followed by a section on Postmodernism and Literary History with selections from well known work by Irving Howe, Leslie Fiedler, Susan Sontag, Frank Kermode, Ihab Hassan and William Spanos. Section three offers short extracts from the distinguished dead (Kant, Foucault and Nietzsche) on Enlightenment and its critics. Section four is the core of the book with selections from some of the authors who have been most cited in recent debates. Lyotard, Jameson, Eagleton, Habermas, Rorty, and Baudrillard are all here - and this is also where your editor gets to feature her own writing. The final short section is on Reading Postmodern Artifacts (Linda Hutcheon on marginality/difference and Brian McHale on recursive structures).

'Yes, Michel?'

'Do you really expect me to stay firmly in this box? It's dead/wrong. I have a reputation as an all purpose subversive and a champion of transgressive writing. And here I am recruited to a traditional (English) form of disciplinary categorisation, an orthodox pedagogy and a privileging of conventional institutional arrangements. Forget it. I'm outa here ... and I'm taking Jean B. with me - or I would if if I could only decide which of these copies is the genuine article'.

'Right on, Mr F. - spoken like an authentic replica. You're really one out of the box. Reminds me of when I wrote an essay that was subtitled "Philosophising with a Hammer". Had a smashing time. (Pity I was born too soon - just imagine what I could do with my own road show - Fred Nietzsche's Twilight Idols Tour)'.

'What is it, Anthony?'

'I think maybe I shouldn't be here either. Either that or I've been put in the wrong box. My story is a short comment on a story by Jurgen H. which doesn't appear for another 150 pages. I suppose it could be a ploy to get readers to start at the middle rather than the beginning, or to read the reviews rather than the main text. But for someone whose aim in life is to write books faster than most people can read them, that is altogether too subversive and alarming a prospect. But perhaps I'm meant to be the token sociologist - with a contribution that isn't

particularly sociological (by comparison with
say, Bauman, or Lash, or Smart)'.

There's a throwaway line to the effect that if you can
remember the sixties you couldn't have been there. And
if you can figure out the present then you can't really be
living in it. Postmodernism is understood by Waugh as a
'mood' but the overwhelmingly literary preoccupations of
this collection seem to preclude it from articulating that
mood effectively. There's nothing on media saturation
generally and television and video in particular, or on
globalisation, or even on cyberpunk (a literary form
which, in keeping with Jameson's openess as a critic, has
attracted his interest, an openess which belies the
traditionalism of his formal theoretical allegiances). So
while it's clearly useful to have some of 'the canonical
texts of the postmodern' (sic) in one collection, it's
unlikely to displace Boyne and Rattansi or the *TCS*
anthology from sociological reading lists. For such an
audience Waugh's subtext is too obviously how to keep
the world safe for Eng.Lit.

Until, in Bauman's words, the next round of cuts, that is.

Or perhaps in our case the next round of being birched.

> 'Well, did you twig what that was all about?'
> 'Oh sure, but the execution was a bit wooden'.
> 'But at least it showed a willingness to branch
> out a bit'.
> 'Maybe, but I thought it was barking up the
> wrong tree'.

* * * * * * * * * *

Paul Spoonley, **Racism and Ethnicity** (2nd edition). Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1993.

Reviewed by Leland A. Ruwhiu
Social Policy and Social Work Department
Massey University

The terrains of struggle in Aotearoa during the 1990s have vigorously expanded and contracted as Tangata Whenua and Tauiwi world views continue to dialectically engage with one another. The issues inherent in this inter-relationship of two significantly differing world views determine, among other things, the historical interpretation and legitimation of so-called 'contact' stories between Maori and Pakeha. Such interpretations have influenced the realities of power distribution and the future development of race relations in Aotearoa as a dynamic and vibrant South Pacific nation.

In this second edition, Paul Spoonley recreates the dialectical relationship between Maori and Pakeha, clearly stating what he considers is a personal, Pakeha New Zealander perspective 'guided by the discipline of sociology'. The book's organisation around the concepts of 'Racism and Ethnicity' reflects those critical sociological promptings that guide and anchor his analysis. Spoonley uses as his 'Nga Poutokomanawa' (founding posts) a theoretical framework which draws heavily on 'discordant neo-post-marxist centre-periphery/world systems type assumptions and rhetoric'. Furthermore, the most significant point made by Spoonley throughout this book is to claim space for a New Zealand based analysis of these sociological assumptions. He refers to history, experiences, events, institutional critiques and other forms

of evidence unique to Aotearoa, instead of remaining within the realms of an international and 'universalistic' encounter.

If his intention was to add to the launching pad for more local debate in New Zealand, then Spoonley has been quite successful. In order to create an 'authoritative voice' on race relations in Aotearoa, his book is organised around two major phases. The first two chapters seek to define and properly site the concepts of 'Racism and Ethnicity', within a general context and also within the various conceptual and real contestation terrains of Aotearoa.

The chapter on 'Racism' neatly summarises the apparent move of many in academic circles. The use of 'race' to study intergroup relations is rejected because of its tendency to rank and classify people according to physical characteristics. After refuting the validity of 'race', Spoonley concentrates on supplying a sociological explication of 'racism', stressing the ideological character of such classifications and their use to explain other social experiences and formations. He argues that the attraction for sociologists in studying the uses of this ideological concept is its role in establishing, maintaining or even transforming race relations. The 'reproducing/evolutionary ability' of racism suggests that it can be expressed in different forms and that there can be significant changes over time. Racism results in minority or less powerful groups experiencing prejudice and unequal treatment from dominant others. Accordingly, the chapter turns towards identifying contemporary ideological expressions. Here the 'many masks of racism' provide interesting background reading.

Wearing his sociologist's cap, Spoonley focuses specifically on 'institutional racism'. The media examples he uses are most helpful in visualising the intrinsic capacities of such ideologies to subjugate minority or less dominant group expressions to so called majority/dominant ideology and reality, under the guise of 'commonsense'. Through reading this chapter I came out much wiser about general sociological debates surrounding race and racism, while at the same time the evidence and examples used kept me in touch with the realities of these debates in Aotearoa.

The following chapter again provides a very good overview of the debates coming out of sociology (a Eurocentric discipline) on the rise of the 'ethnicity' concept over that of 'race'. The celebration of 'difference' has remained a cornerstone of its emergence in academic circles. Spoonley obviously supports this swing from race to ethnicity and charts its historical rise internationally in the 1960s-70s. The way that ethnicity can be used to mobilise for political purposes heightens the power possibilities for people who identify as a group under ethnically determined conditions. Spoonley provides a short commentary on Maori ethnic activism and Maori sovereignty (which he views 'as the politicization of Maori ethnicity'), to illustrate the use of ethnicity as an analytical tool that can be applied to the race relations debate in Aotearoa. While acknowledging his tentativeness about 'speaking for and on behalf of the Maori experience', this tendency to talk about Maori ethnicity remains a Eurocentric intellectual pursuit and a general census activity only. For the majority of Maori people, ethnicity or ethnic identity is rarely used in normal conversation and seems lost amidst the normality of 'taha Maori',

Iwitanga and Maori culture. Pakeha New Zealand ethnicity may seem appropriate as a new social form to be studied and discussed in reference to international understandings about ethnicity, but Maori people tend to hold to whakapapa based social formations which are not easily understood unless one understands Maori sources of knowledge. Moreover, the link Spoonley makes between Tangata Whenua and national identity impedes the more realistic attachment of Tangata Whenua with Indigenous people of Aotearoa. As a concept, ethnicity may be a relatively new development in West European knowledge, but it does not readily equate with Maori interpretations of iwi development and cultural identity. Finally, on a positive note, Spoonley's account of the effects of 'development and modernisation theory' in Aotearoa is quite commendable given the way it reinforces the 'long powerful tail' that ideological imperialism has had in the New Zealand cultural contact experience.

The second phase of Spoonley's work builds on these foundations by considering how ethnic equity can be obtained in Aotearoa. These concluding chapters observe the role of the State as a means of either advancing or disrupting ethnic equity, and study how anti-racism strategies have been dealt with in Aotearoa.

The chapter on the State, subtitled 'Policy and Practice', responds to questions about 'whether or not the State is capable of producing or promoting ethnic equity'. There is no doubting the State's potential and ability to produce ethnic equity, but the situation Spoonley investigates (from the sites of conflict in New Zealand's political, educative and legal public sectors) shows that more often

than not the State has been unwilling to use its power in this way. Worth mentioning is the critical evaluation of Grove's 'three policy types' that could assist the State's efforts to achieve ethnic equity, alongside the emergence of State-backed initiatives, such as the Race Relations and Treaty of Waitangi Acts. This chapter skilfully takes the reader through the conflictual 1970s in Aotearoa, and finally concludes that although the State may go through superficial changes in the form of power sharing or exchange, in reality it still 'enjoys immense power'.

I have two points to mention regarding this chapter. Firstly, Spoonley could well have left out the statistics surrounding Maori success, or lack of it, in Pakeha educational institutions. The habitual evidence procured here does little to advance the reality of Maori success in Maori Knowledge and Maori Education environments from the 1980s to present day. And secondly, due to the high quality of the historical data he constructs from the 1970s-1990s, by comparison the pre-1970s material seems light in content.

The chapter on 'Anti-racism' extends the debate into a process arena which involves 'analysis, practice, and reflection'. It focuses on appropriate strategies which effectively deal with the numerous tensions created by racism. Spoonley begins by claiming that 'if anti-racist strategies are to be of any use, then analysis is essential'. Again, Spoonley's reference point for this analysis is the area of institutional racism. With this in mind, he uses Ben-Tovim *et al* (1986) to provide an analysis which identifies three forms of anti-racist struggle. He addresses what he considers to be some of the key pitfalls that 'anti-racist tacticians' need to be aware of in their efforts to

deal appropriately with the negativism of racism. This part of the chapter critiques a gourmet of confrontational, retreatist and relativist approaches at the disposal of those negotiating sites of conflict in race relations. One minor contentious issue surfaces which deserves discussion. I would question the way in which Spoonley, like many others, dismisses the value and role of 'guilt' in anti-racist work. Within Maori society, guilt is not always synonymous with emotional or psychological blockages. In fact, the act can be quite humbling and thus strategically appropriate when dealing with 'Utu' (reciprocity) across strained race relations. Still, Spoonley's linking of anti-racism with discussions of biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga indicates a more than elementary understanding of race relations in Aotearoa that many other Pakeha Sociologists would do well to take note of. Maori people are actively acquiring knowledge outside their own cultural experiences and claiming, as Spoonley has done, their own interpretation of the contestation sites.

An overall assessment of this books' strengths and weakness highlights four key points. First, as an elementary text for anyone seeking an informed Pakeha sociological overview of the issues and debates about the history of race relations in New Zealand, it is very readable and definitely worth using as a reference point. Likewise, this book would be especially helpful for those in the community wanting to acquaint themselves with some of the general events that sustain the contestation between Tangata Whenua and Tauiwi. Spoonley's use of the 'time line method' makes it easy to follow the argument, which powerfully illustrates the radically changing race relations in Aotearoa since the 1970s.

Secondly, as mentioned previously, Spoonley's coverage of the imperialism, colonisation, oppression and pain experienced by Maori prior to the 1970s is not as extensive as the post-1970s' material. Consequently, he has not adequately responded to the interrelated issues of 'indigenous status' and Maori 'Tangata Whenua' claims. Such an omission, for example, means that Spoonley, like other writers on the Treaty of Waitangi, tends to get caught up in the debates about which version is correct rather than accepting the validity of the Maori version and using it as a means to deal effectively with race relations in Aotearoa. Another example is his statement that both Tangata Whenua and Tauiwi are forced to define themselves in relation to the Pakeha. I support the view that Tangata Whenua identity has been influenced by, though not wholly defined nor determined through, contact with Pakeha people.

My third point highlights both a strength and weakness. The focus of this book has meant that the reader is exposed to a wide ranging assortment of historico-sociological material unique to the Aotearoa/New Zealand race relations experience. However, it might have been better to concentrate on just a few examples in an extensive manner instead of trying to put the entire spectrum of issues into one book.

Fourthly, it is clear throughout the book that Spoonley sincerely invites debate, not just for debate's sake, but in order to create dialogue between the groups in contact, so that difficult issues can be dealt with to advance positive race relations. If this book is read in tandem with the work of Ranginui Walker, its value as a Pakeha-tauiwi perspective would be even more evident.

In conclusion, as an indigenous Maori academic I found reviewing this book to be helpful. It reinforced the fact that Pakeha people need to take responsibility for challenging their common 'inhouse' tendency to conveniently use 'cultural amnesia' as a means of disclaiming responsibility for the ills of colonisation. Kia Ora Paul for being prepared to do that. Reading the book was also a good refresher exercise. I found myself saying, 'Yes, I remember that'. However, there were no new answers for me in this book. Rather, it reinforced the belief that cultural interpretation of 'contact history' has influenced the various options taken to deal with the race relations issue in Aotearoa.

* * * * * * * * * *

Steve Britton, Richard Le Heron and Eric Pawson (eds), **Changing Places in New Zealand : A Geography of Restructuring**. Christchurch, New Zealand Geographical Society, 1992.

Reviewed by Chris Wilkes
Lewis and Clarke College
Portland, Oregon

The theme of restructuring has been a pre-occupation of social scientists since we first became aware of the magnitude of shifts in economic and social policy which accompanied the 1984 Labour Government. From Colin James' *The Quiet Revolution* (1986) to books still being printed (see, for example, O'Brien and Wilkes, 1993), the

flood of attempts to make sense of what many view as a sea-change in the domestic political economy has been growing. The present volume offers a geographic cut on these events. Its interest to sociologists lies in its spatial orientation to the same issues which have preoccupied the sociological profession, thus affording us potentially new ways of discussing familiar problems. Its authorship includes no less than 50 individuals, of whom at least two (Nicola Armstrong and Bev James) are sociologically-trained.

Its principle aim is to analyse events since 1984, with the particular purpose, one can readily read between the lines, of offering a counter-weight to free-market orthodoxy, and to fill the gap left by the fact that 'there has been no comprehensive assessment of the context and results of restructuring for companies and workers, nor its impact on people and places and environment and regions' (p.xix). With its wide set of contributors from all the universities, not to mention a large array of people in government and from overseas, the volume also allows us to see what the geography discipline as a whole has to say about this crucial set of recent events.

The editors alert us early on to the difference between 'Simple Restructuring' (SR) and 'Geographic Restructuring' (GR). SR is 'simplistic in its conception, lacking any feel for either the history or the geography of developments in New Zealand, other than that which might be drawn from graphs of macro-economic indicators' (p.3). Accordingly, the present volume rests on a different set of assumptions, namely that New Zealand is inherently 'capitalist' in nature, that capitalist accumulation is global, but that local and national

processes are also important, that the global must be seen in the local, and that 'in the interchange - from the top down to the bottom and the bottom up - national processes, especially those connected with government, act as a "social membrane" through which global and local forces are filtered'. The particular quality that geography brings to this familiar landscape is:

> that economic agents and institutions, operating at a number of spatial scales, lay down successive layers of investment and create divisions of labour, which represent a changing geography of activity and profit accumulation (ibid).

A series of themes are loosely discussed, including the 'State', the 'process of accumulation', capitalism in general and in particular,, the historical context and the particular qualities of New Zealand's brand of restructuring crisis. Readers of *Changing Places* ought to be grateful to its editors for providing such a useful introduction. Whether one will be persuaded by the thesis and whether non-geographers will be willing to grant geography a larger place in their intellectual schemas as a result of reading this book are still open to debate.

Chapter Two opens the case with the argument that the nature of globalisation has recently changed. What is distinct about the most recent phase is the expanded spatial arena in which global corporations operate. The freeing of financial controls enables us to be brought into this arena more fully and the agricultural-export sector is changing dramatically. A series of foreign takeovers has resulted, coupled with two-way investment trends, with New Zealand companies buying off-shore and foreign

investors bringing capital here. The chapter reviews investment flows and provides concrete detail of specific industries. The key issue, however, remains unanswered - what precisely is the shape of this new re-alignment and how does it differ from old global/local alignments? Surely the 19th century settlers were shaped by both local and global forces. How has this truism has been altered by recent conditions? A periodisation is necessary to draw out the historic trends and show what is unique about the present situation.

Chapter Three reviews companies under three headings - industrial concentration, company concentration and geographic concentration (p.44). The authors show that market share has increased for many large companies as a result of Labour Monetarism and, not surprisingly, that geographic concentration has centered in Auckland while Wellington has been the centre of privatisation movements. The State has helped anti-competitive tendencies to develop without hindrance and with scarce concern for the consumer or public welfare (p.66). Chapter Four looks at the plight of workers. Labour, it is argued, has made slower progress in its reforms here because of its traditional constituency relation. The authors may well be right in the short term, but I would argue in the opposite direction in the long term. Indeed, it is precisely its close historical connection with the unions which allowed the Labour Party to undermine the union movement so thoroughly over the long haul in a way that the National Party could never have achieved. The groundwork having been laid, it was not difficult for National to push through the Employment Contracts Act in 1991. I am impressed, however, with the authors' use of the phrase 'homogeneous labour vs. heterogeneous

capital' (p.71), which neatly compares the orthodoxy of the labour movement with the rapidly changing shape of the capital market. Varied production conditions which derived from a speedily realigning capital structure were not matched by shifting labour practices, because unions reacted suspiciously to changes on the employer side. The 1980s saw union membership decline. High unemployment put pressure on the collective wage-bargaining process, and a slow change in the union attitude to flexible work-practices put the entire labour movement at a disadvantage, or so the authors claim (p.84). All this, I would argue, was made possible only by Labour's relentless softening up over the previous six years.

Chapter Five tackles farms and forests. In the authors' view, the withdrawal of the State from these sectors 'shattered the corporatist alliance between farmers and the State' (p.95). What results is predictable - the closing of large-scale freezing works, the dislocation of families and communities, the concentration of companies.

Manufacturing is similarly affected, as Chapter Six relates. Protectionism was withdrawn, high unemployment has kept wages down, and there has been widespread restructuring. The loss of manufacturing has seen the rise of the service sector, including the financial sector, which has suffered from absurdly rapid growth followed by dramatic decline. Tourism has seen a doubling of numbers during the 1980s, but its promise has yet to be fulfilled. Furthermore, the State (Chapter Seven) has been discounted in favour of the market, losing its position as a key actor in the economy of the nation. While much of this account will be familiar to readers, useful case studies

are told. The story is of a Nanny-State suffering from the wounds of commercialization, corporatisation and privatization.

The mood of unrelenting gloom is somewhat alleviated by Chapter Eight's account of the environment. The conservation functions of the new Ministry of the Environment are clearly a 'move in the right direction' in the authors' view. The arrival of DoC fulfils a Labour Party pledge, an interesting variation on Labour's otherwise wholesale failure to fulfil its promises. The authors persuasively argue that these conservation functions can only be carried out successfully because the large-scale constructions of the past, especially the hydro-electric schemes, are now antediluvian. That is, if we have a conservation policy it is in part a result of happy coincidence rather than of any brave stand by Labour against the predictably predatory forces of entrepreneurship (p.211). Local government reform is covered in Chapter Nine. Here the story is again of massive restructuring and the loss of local power to the centre, exactly the opposite of what had been promised. Theory makes a welcome appearance, with Warren Moran arguing that this process exemplifies 'thin democracy' at work (p.230). Indeed, as he points out, planning has not exactly become a dirty word (though many have suggested this). More importantly, State planning has been demonised, to be replaced by the omniscience of private planning within companies.

Policy in the regions has fared little better (Chapter Ten). Deregulation has damaged many rural areas and, after the 1987 sharemarket collapse, the urban areas followed suit. This underlines the urban quality of the benefits which

Douglas promised and the, ephemeral quality of even these limited gains. A fascinating case study is provided of the venture capital industry. The attempt by New Zealand speculators to replicate financial specialization dependent on computer-based industries failed spectacularly. Indeed, so heavily did the industry subside that by 1990 'not a single institution remained in New Zealand that was prepared to supply venture capital' (p.254). The chapter ends by suggesting that the Keynesianism and neo-classicism of the past would best be replaced by a supply-side strategy in the future to aid further regional development. Chapter 11 interestingly examines whether our 'sense of place' was altered by these dramatic shifts in the economy. Certainly, the security afforded by Labour Welfarism was shattered. A massive change was inevitable from the dramatic loss of jobs which had tied many people for generations to a familiar place. Reinventing our 'sense of place' will necessarily involve relying on Maori traditions and an awakening environmental consciousness.

What of the future? In the authors' view, we have experienced globalization into the world system (p.289). Ecological concerns are now dominant. So far, however, we have been cursed by the limits of a discourse dominated by economism. While this view may be accurate, it is worth underlining the State's complicity in all this. The post-Labourist State can no longer be relied upon to expand the scope of debate to include social, cultural, aesthetic, political or ethical issues - it has been entirely subordinated to economic functions. However, the State has a key role to play. It must be radically restructured if it is to serve necessary functions. Ethical issues, especially issues of inequality, have been ignored.

What, then, is to be done? In this final gasp, the authors suggest that no clear solutions are yet at hand. The irony is that the State must act, yet everywhere it is discounted and politicians reviled. While we need, a new form of 'participatory management', they admit this does not seem realistic in the near future. One the last page, they 'pull back from a prescription of where next' (p.298).

Overall, the book does not entirely achieve all that it sets out to do. We can ask, for example, whether it actually follows the GR model which the editors claim (p.288). While theory plays a role at the beginning and the end, it receives little attention in the main body of the text (but see Moran's contribution as an exception). There are occasional presentational lapses. More significantly, the chronology of globalization might better have underscored what is distinctive about this period of late capitalism compared to previous phases of development.

Nonetheless, we must not forget that the book aims at 'Grand Themes'. It engineers an impressive analysis of extremely important political events in a comprehensive way, an achievement which, for example, the sociological discipline has yet to manage. *Changing Places* provides a wealth of case history, structural analysis, argument, and an insistence on meeting the complexity of the shifts going on around us in a superbly timely fashion. It is essential reading for anyone concerned with the present and future political landscape, because its empirical foundations are far more extensive than anything on offer at present. It will prove to be a benchmark study in geography for years to come. LeHeron's reputation has been growing for some time, and this piece of work will cement his position as one of the most promising

geographers of his generation. Moreover, the book suggests that geographers have managed to restructure their own discipline in productive ways to meet the challenge of making sense of what is going on round them.

* * * * * * * * * *

Raybon Kan, **5 Days in Las Vegas**. Wellington, Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1992; and Michael King, **Hidden Places: A Memoir in Journalism**. Auckland, Sceptre, 1992.

Reviewed by Brennon Wood
Department of Sociology
Massey University

How good it is to have these moments of journalism reprinted so that we can reflect upon them together rather than simply forget them piecemeal. Translating such ephemera into books (and book reviews) is rich in implications. What Michael King and Raybon Kan suggest about the predicaments of contemporary journalism should interest readers of *New Zealand Sociology*. These books are welcome, not least because they stimulate reflection among journalists and sociologists alike. Of the two, King makes the transition to book form much more readily. Kan's humorous insights are striking but uneven. This no doubt tells us something about academic culture.

But it is also because *Hidden Places* and *5 Days in Las Vegas* are two very different styles of journalism.

While King has written popular books, he is clearly drawn towards literary High Culture and limited-circulation social commentary. Writers, he claims, 'are at all times the most interesting of people' (*HP*, p115). Broadcasts are 'transitory' and need writing down to be remembered (*HP*, p191). 'Serious books' are better value than 'restaurant meals, alcohol, cigarettes, dope, records, betting, cars and boats' (*HP*, p114). They are, he says, 'home' (*HP*, p10). At Kan's 'Terminator Power Reading Academy', however, 'only Nerds look at words' (*5D*, p12). His anthology is an 'extended dance mix' of 'tv analysis', 'made-up fantasies' and 'real-life adventures', and 'we haven't said which are which' (*5D*, p2). Kan is decidedly electronic and populist. 'Lowest common denominator is bad', he concedes, 'but highest common tax bracket is *insufferable*' (*5D*, p151).

The two write differently. Kan's words are episodic, punctuated by laughter. He hides the labour of writing. King, on the other hand, is steadfastly cumulative. He sports his blisters earnestly. There is more to this than 'mere' style. That the two communicate in different ways means they communicate different things. To use an old and recently qualified term, they convey the contrariness of (post-) modernity.

King methodically combines words about reality with a sense of subjective memory. He seeks the right 'replacement term' to communicate 'fairer and more accurate reflections of our experience' (*HP*, pp188-189). 'The role of the journalist', he insists, is 'to shed light in

hidden places' (*HP*, p2). A motley of beliefs underpin these promises of enlightenment - liberal tolerance, Popperian science, the remnants of a Catholic conscience and a curious 'new age' naturalism among them (*HP*, pp240-243). The resulting discourse is certainly ambitious. King is pulled towards an *ethnos*. He is one of our better known Pakeha. Such chauvinism, however, is tempered by a persistent sense of the universal. 'In matters of the mind and spirit', King asserts, 'all men and all women of all ages are contemporaries of one another' (*HP*, p238). The discourse seeks to mediate local and universal truths. Taken as a whole, these are the familiar aspirations of humanist modernity.

Kan begins instead with a 'Not About the Author' (*5D*, p7). 'As the average pace of life approaches the speed of light, the average attention span approaches zero'; there is no time for method (*5D*, p8). Kan's peek is revealed in the *tour de force* account of triple-bypass surgery (*5D*, pp48ff). This is no revelation of depth, but rather an inside turned into surfaces. King's steady accumulations and historical contingencies can find no purchase here. 'There are no joins', as Tom Scott perceptively puts it, 'just a lightness and seamless inevitability' (*5D*, p4). Our 'replacement terms' are as fleeting as the experience they convey. Now that 'gay' means gay, in the future 'lovers will park their electric cars on the radioactive beach and murmur, "What a homosexual sunset"' (*5D*, p27). Kan sports in the world of mass mediated culture, where the Muldoon era belongs among those 'globally troubled years as Abba gave way to Disco' (*5D*, p88). The primacy of gaming, the sliding referents and the globalised, decentred identities - all these are the commonplace signs of postmodernity.

King and Kan are as different as is modernity from postmodernity. This is not to say, however, that 'hidden places' and '5 days in Las Vegas' are resolved positions tidily squared off against each other. A sense of restless discomfort abounds.

King evinces a surprisingly pessimistic strain. He writes of visions undermined by practicalities and hardship. Writers, he concludes, should aim 'to make the business of living less baffling and hence less fearful' (*HP*, p2). The burden, however, is often too onerous. King feels alienated in an unwriterly land. He relishes escape to the Katherine Mansfield Room, to a French town where writers 'are invested with the same reverence that people in New Zealand give to lawyer and doctor' (*HP*, p148). An indigent indigene, King feels exposed by his country's 'thin culture' (*HP*, pp94-96; a familiar *Landfall* conceit). New Zealand is out of kilter, its future a matter of 'caution tinged with apprehension' (*HP*, p197).

As Scott points out, Kan may be jolly and fearless but he is also 'curiously vulnerable' (*HP*, p4). However humorously manifested, there is something uneasy in much of Kan's writing. His account of heart surgery, of the 'Theatre' of medical objectification, shows pathos for the subject - 'even though I can see his bare bottom, he seems very dignified' (*5D*, p49). Kan is sporadically overcome by stage-fright - 'it's the exact feeling you have when you're driving and you realise there's nothing really to stop you driving into brick walls, except I suppose peer pressure' (*5D*, p153). In the world of fashion, 'looking casual is no such thing'. 'At least if you're illiterate', Kan observes, 'people don't mind being seen with you in public' (*5D*, pp161-162).

King and Kan respond to discomfort in different ways. King searches for hidden, ethno-nationalist insights. Kan glides across the surfaces of a global popular culture. These responses are of more than particular interest. Their contrariness reveals a disoriented journalism, torn between those irreconcilables currently known as modernity and postmodernity. Contemporary media culture is strained between these two representational modes. Its reality cannot be taken for granted.

These are not exemplars of classic journalist realism. While King and Kan are not 'news', they certainly convey its current dilemma. The news is hardly a site of unshaken facts. Witness, for example, the ongoing scandal over TVNZ reporting, the rejuvenated attacks on 'objectivity' and the increasingly effective articulation of Maori newsworthiness (Comrie and McGregor, 1992; Replay Radio, 1993). Current news facts are forcefully doubted. These controversies are marked by just those valencies highlighted by King and Kan. What is more, the predicaments their writings reveal have an even wider significance. They point to the condition of society-at-large.

King's search for the Pakeha within is fuelled by an acute sense of cultural dislocation. These wounds smart all the more for such a professed nationalist (*HP*, p103). The US remains a 'hidden place' in his book. In England, he finds a scattered tribe with curious ideas about 'darkies', a withered religion and the old house transformed into a bus terminal (*HP*, pp103ff). We should, he warns, 'Beware the Big, Bad World'. It might 'swamp' us with 'far larger and therefore cheaper output' (*HP*, p114). Kan's discourse is more outward looking, and directed more to the US

than the UK. He relishes those chancy anxieties of commodified meaning offered by a US 'centred' market-place.

King and Kan belong to a media culture whose predominant images are those of the US and the UK. Each negotiates the relation between these countries and where they happen to live in a different way. They are, then, variants of the 'New Zealander'. There is, however, something not quite satisfactory about these OEs. They lack proportion. King's authorial voice, for example, should recognise its European tenor and seek a more positive inheritance. Kan's US, on the other hand, tends towards the European clichés of Baudrillard's 'America'. He does not notice the rich plurality of social organisations underpinning these surfaces, binding each to the other and to us as well.

Contrary pulls towards the parochial narrowing of an *ethnos* and the dispersals of popular culture are hardly confined to King and Kan alone, nor are they peculiar to journalism. They are general concerns of people living on these islands. The sense of being uprooted, of needing to arrive at some radical evaluation - these are common experiences further afield as well. Should we search for surer footing or learn to skate on a slippery surface without depth? Such questions are typically modernist, just as the play of ethno-nationalism and cosmopolitan fluidity is a distinctively European invention. So too is an appalled fascination with US superficiality.

The context involved in any interpretation of King and Kan runs far and wide. The two books are more than a wealth of snippets. They represent contrasting ways of

life, contending cultural forces. Who does not feel their pull? Sociologists are no more immune to these tensions than anyone else. The general significance of these books, however, can be easily misinterpreted.

It is often argued that journalists are the victims of a 'reality assumption' which lends life an illusory fixity. There are two general types of response. On the one hand, there is sociological critique, exposing the social construction of reality. On the other hand, there is the postmodern flourish, deconstructing the real into arbitrary fluctuations. One of the more important tasks on the agenda today is assessing the relation between these two responses. To some degree, this involves stressing tensions, if only to discourage that insipid amalgam all too often encountered. Curiously, academic postmodernity often mistakes itself for that Cartesian fount of subjective certainty, the pseudo-doubt of everything. The tensions between sociology and postmodernity are too important to settle for such a botched job. Each effectively pinpoints unconvincing forms of the other. The insipid amalgam saves these weaknesses for a rainy day. It is raining now.

This is not to say that all the tensions between sociological critique and postmodern flourish are productive. The contrary interpretations of a commonly assumed media realism are a case in point. As King and Kan clearly demonstrate, contemporary journalism does not placidly await either modernist exposé or postmodern deconstruction. Both deploy these same strategies. Accordingly, media analysts who direct themselves against 'myths of objectivity' risk a reification as much academic as anything else. They risk glossing over important developments in media culture.

Such blindness is typically secured by a reluctance to take journalists *seriously*, as something other than merely the objects of investigation. King is drawn towards 'stories about people set in the context of their time and their activities' (*HP*, p178). His is a recognisably classical sociological imagination. Kan, on the other hand, indicates a more recent challenge, akin to that brand of media studies which isolates representations from particular contexts. Sociologists, however, are prone to ignore these family resemblances. Too often, they lay claim to superior certainties which limit their ability to communicate with such exemplary journalists.

Calling a piece of sociological writing 'journalistic' is often taken as a shorthand negation implying superficial descriptiveness. Media sociologists in particular and sociologists in general claim a superior knowledge. Perhaps, however, we are slowly coming round to Hamlet's last words. Sociological claims to epistemological superiority do not withstand serious scrutiny. Like others, sociologists depend on the media for much of their understanding of the world in which they live. They are in no position to proceed with blithely unreflective dismissals. Contemporary sociology is in much the same condition as the journalism of King and Kan. We share the sense of impasse, of contending directions. Witness, for example, the revivalist movement in sociological theory. As the multi-multi-volumes suggest, any claim to a more secure knowledge is ill-founded if not derisory. And how could it be otherwise? Surely even the most hasty review shows the kinship tying sociology and journalism together.

References

Comrie, M. and McGregor, J. (eds), 1992. *Whose News?* Palmerston North, Dunmore.

Replay Radio, 1993. *TVNZ and Its Critics*, audio-copy of a public debate at Auckland University, broadcast by RNZ, 20 June 1993.

* * * * * * * * * *

CALL FOR PAPERS

AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND LAW IN HISTORY SOCIETY CONFERENCE

The Australian and New Zealand Law in History Society conference will be held in Wellington on 1-3 July 1994.

Themes:

Law and colonial societies

Law and labour

Law and the family

Presentations are welcome on these themes or other aspects of law and history.

Anyone wishing to give a paper, workshop, panel/roundtable discussion or a discussion of work in progress should send a one page abstract by 30 April 1994 to:

Bronwyn Dalley
Conference Convenor
Historical Branch
Department of Internal Affairs
Box 805, Wellington
NEW ZEALAND
Fax (04) 499 1943

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS:

1. Two copies of manuscripts for consideration should be sent to the editors. Authors should retain a third copy for their own reference during proofreading. Copies submitted will not normally be returned. To facilitate "blind" reviewing, the **title and name(s) of its authors** should be given on a separate sheet, and the **title only** should appear on the **first page** of the article.

2. While articles should not normally exceed 4500-5000 words, longer articles may be accepted in special circumstances.

3. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a short abstract (about 100 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

4. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced throughout on one side of A4 paper with reasonable margins all round (2 cms. approx.).

5. Authors should consult articles in current issues of this Journal for general indications of style - conventions on: capitalizing titles, headings, sub-headings; paragraphing; quotations, and so on.

6. Do not underline any words in the text unless they are to be printed in _italics_.

7. Type each table on a separate sheet with as few lines as possible, and indicate the placing of the table in the text with a pencil note. Use wide spacing in tables and rule all lines in pencil. Tables should be numbered in arabic figures with a clear legend to identify the table.

8. Drawings (graphs, figures, etc.) should be on good quality white paper in indian ink and on separate sheets.

9. References should normally be indicated by citing in parentheses the author's surname and the year of publication (together with page numbers where relevant), as given in the list of references or the bibliography at the end of the article. For example: 'it has been argued (Baker, 1948:26) that...' etc. The full list of references at the end of the article should be arranged alphabetically by author's surname. The following examples should be used as a guide, paying particular attention to the sequence of the items in the reference and to punctuation.

   Able, P. and Collins, S. 1961. 'Structuralism and the concept of class.' **Journal of Social Class,** 24(3), 138-159.

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

   Note that in the first example the words in the title are not capitalized (as they are for the title of a book, as in the second example).

10. Footnotes are to be reserved for substantive commentary. Number them from 1 upwards. The location of each footnote in the text must be indicated by the appropriate superscript numeral. Type the complete, numbered set of footnotes on a separate sheet and attach to the end of the manuscript. Footnotes will appear at the foot of the page where they are located.

11. The typescript submitted should be in the form in which the author wishes the paper to appear. Preliminary consultation with the editors about the suitability of an article does not necessarily guarantee its publication. Authors are encouraged to seek comments from colleagues before submitting a paper for publication.

12. The editors reserve the right to make minor editorial alterations or deletions to articles without consulting the author(s), so long as such changes do not affect the substance of the article.

13. Authors will receive 2 copies of the issue in which their article appears.