Women's Studies Journal

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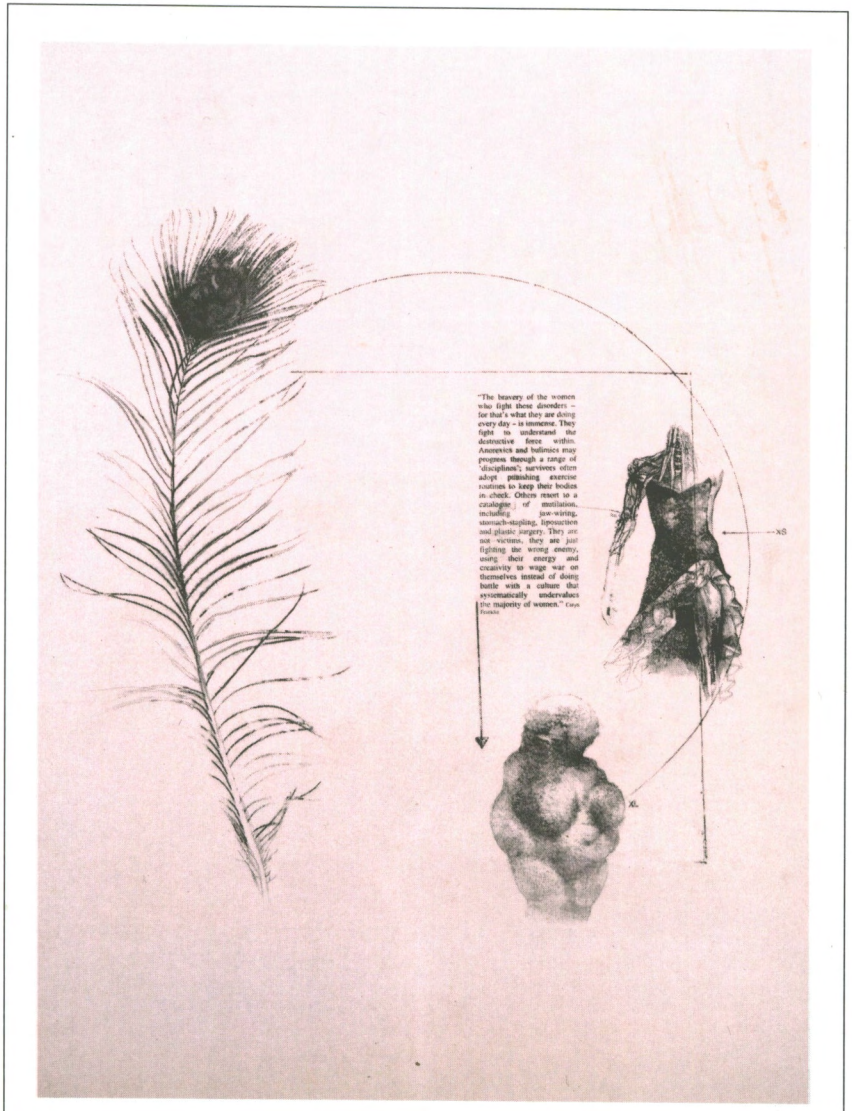

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Editorial: Welcome from the Christchurch Collective

As regular readers of the *Women's Studies Journal* will be aware, the *Journal* recently shifted its home to Christchurch. Rosemary Du Plessis provided excellent stewardship for Volume 17.2, which offered a collection of revised articles from the 2001 Women's Studies Association conference held in Christchurch. This volume (18.1) marks a shift to two new co-editors, Stefanie Rixecker (Lincoln University) and Elody Rathgen (University of Canterbury), who work together with the Christchurch Editorial Collective, which currently includes: Joanna Cobley, Rosemary Du Plessis, Alison Kagen, Missy Morton, Katie Pickles, Jean Rath, Anne Scott and Cj Wells. This collective has considerable enthusiasm and remains eager to contribute to the growth of the *Women's Studies Journal* in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally. We are also open to having new local members and ongoing contributions from the Women's Studies Association across New Zealand, so do get in touch if you wish to participate more actively.

The *Journal* will continue to publish two issues a year with one being an Open Issue and the second being a Theme Issue. Volume 18.1 is the Open Issue for 2002, and it includes a variety of articles from feminist contributors across Aotearoa New Zealand. The Christchurch Collective was pleased to have a diverse number of contributions, and we encourage feminists to submit more manuscripts so we can ensure even better coverage of Aotearoa New Zealand's historical and cutting edge feminist research.

In addition to maintaining the high standard for which the *Journal* is known, the Christchurch Collective has decided to include an innovation during our stewardship of the *Journal*. 'Doing Feminism' is a new section in the *Journal* which focuses upon a feminist who is deserving of recognition. These pieces will vary in orientation, but their purpose is to document the various forms through which women actively engage in feminism. In particular, the Collective decided that it would make an extra effort to emphasise the activism which has been and continues to be a vital spark of the feminist movement. This issue includes a dynamic and insightful interview with Kate Dewes regarding the Aotearoa New Zealand Peace Movement and

her pivotal contribution nationally and internationally. In addition to highlighting key activists in the feminist community, 'Doing Feminism' is also designed to act as an archive, so we can ensure that many more of the feminists who have shaped Aotearoa New Zealand are documented and credited for their ongoing contributions to improving women's lives.

In this same vein, it is a real honour to have a contribution from Margot Roth in this issue. When I started as co-editor, I was fortunate to be able to spend some time with Pat Rosier discussing the early days of the *Women's Studies Journal*. In this conversation, Pat noted that I should contact Margot Roth in order to learn more about the *WSJ's* herstory and significance. I wrote to Margot Roth and asked if she would be willing to provide a little bit of a retrospective, so all the readers, and especially the newer ones like myself, could get a feel for how the *Journal* ran when it was first created eighteen years ago. Clearly, Margot captures some of the changes, particularly the technological innovations, and she also reminds us that the *Journal* remains a significant mechanism for us to share and discuss historical and contemporary issues of import to New Zealand women. The articles in this issue provide further examples of why the *Women's Studies Journal* remains a significant publication in Aotearoa New Zealand. I thank Margot for her time and energy in providing her retrospective and her guidance. I hope we will continue to meet the high standards she and the original collective set for the *Journal*.

The Christchurch Collective will bring more challenging discussions to the *Journal* in Volume 18.2 when we focus upon biotechnology in our Theme Issue. In the interim, we wish you good reading and encourage you to contact us with comments, suggestions and manuscripts. If you have the time, you might also like to visit us on our new web site: www.womenz.org.nz/wsj. Happy reading!!

STEFANIE RIXECKER
Lincoln University

The following people contributed to the production of this issue:
Susan Abasa, Joanna Cobley, Rosemary Du Plessis, Prue Hyman, Alison Kagen, Jane Leggett, Margaret Lovell-Smith, Missy Morton, Karen Nairn, Katie Pickles, Jean Rath, Elody Rathgen, Heidi Rixecker, Pat Rosier, Anne Scott, Cj Wells

Special thanks to:
Caroline Morten for her artwork and to Chris Gibson from the Environmental Management & Design Division, Lincoln University, for administrative support.

Front cover image by Caroline Morten. Caroline has recently completed a Bachelor of Fine Arts in printmaking at the University of Canterbury, and is currently undertaking postgraduate study.

Through my art practice I have been interested in exploring how fashion has encouraged women to change their bodies to be more physically desirable and to fit into society. I am fascinated by the changing parameters which have defined beauty and femininity, and am interested in exploring how historical definitions compare to contemporary social and personal categorizations.

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What Goes Round

MARGOT ROTH

Cut and paste is a standard editorial procedure employed by computer users. But back in 1984, when the first *Women's Studies Journal* appeared, cut and paste meant exactly that: the use of small sharp implements and a sticky substance to dismember typed copy (painfully corrected by liquid Twink) and glue it in proper sequence on sheets for the printer (i.e. the person(s) who typeset it, not the gadget that sits near your screen). To save money the early *Journal*s were produced at home by our Auckland group, evidenced by the occasional wobble, the less than perfectly straight line. (I am definitely blameless here; not because my editorial status elevated me above manual labour but because of the harsh collective finding of my total ineptitude.) The group consisted of me as editor, Candis Craven, Hilary Haines (now Lapsley), Claire-Louise McCurdy and Pat Rosier, with Jenny Rankine as the designer.

Memories of those foundation days have much in common with other women's projects – lack of money and access to resources, lots of faith in the vision thing, all kinds of skills demonstrated by unpaid slaves and an ability to work together competently. Obviously *Journal* production continues to be time, talent and effort consuming but much of the need for our hands-on activity has gone. In one editorial aside I said: 'we all think that if we were a group of men producing something as good as the *Journal*, Significant Others (secretaries, partners, etc.) would be responsible for its preparation, proof-reading, journeys to and from the typesetter, fiddly lay out ...'.[1]

Like any normal WSA conference agenda topic, the *Journal* proposal drew heat as well as light. Apart from anxiety about its future financial standing (a permanent worry for us, anyway) one school of thought wanted all the features of a formal academic production. Adherents of this school doubted the wisdom of following WSA policy in having women writers only. Without men and their approval, they believed that such a publication would lack academic rigour and credibility. Remember, this was nearly twenty years ago. Some women then trying to settle into their careers were (understandably) nervous of supporting an enterprise that might draw jeers and sneers from

glass ceiling designers. (The present Good New Days are unlike these Bad Old Days?)

However, other members had for some time recognised the need for our own NZ *Journal*. Since 1974 the national numbers of women's studies courses had been steadily increasing, the WSA itself was eight years old and from 1981 its Auckland Publications Committee had been responsible for the *Newsletter* and *Conference Papers*. Our committee believed that even without the shelter of academia's monitoring umbrella, scholarly writing and research could and would flourish.

And so, of course, they did.

Mind you, our conscientious attempts to approach the conventions in a feminist way were not always straightforward, as I explained in a *Newsletter* call for volunteers for an advisory editorial group. I commented: 'When we first collectively discussed this, we made heavy weather of it, because we were using, as a reference point, the large numbers of prestigious Names that fill up front pages of overseas WS journals. What sort of people attached to the Names were most suitable? If we asked X to advise on an article in her particular field of expertise, would Y, equally 'expert' in the same field, be grossly affronted because we hadn't asked her first? These and other time-consuming questions were debated hotly and inconclusively...

'However, a happy ending ensued as common sense prevailed, once we got rid of the preconceived pages of women's names in our heads, and realised how totally inappropriate it would be for us to take responsibility for "choosing" or "inviting" or "appointing" other women to join us in producing the *Journal* – or, worse, just to have them appearing on a list of perceived status symbols ... So, VOLUNTEERS, forward please'.[2]

Those first six *Journals* from Auckland might not dazzle the more sophisticated eye of today's critical reader, but they still recall for me the enthusiasm and support from everywhere. WSA members were tired of being ignored, marginalised and patronised; we wanted to document and share information about ourselves as women and, more particularly, as New Zealand women. While the same overseas feminist authors tended to appear in the bibliographies, the New Zealand references cited by those early contributors were mostly scattered articles (often by the writers themselves), unpublished papers or theses and government reports. (With total loyalty I included in a

second issue piece a couple of references to articles in the first.)

Our standards were high, though. In a review article about women and work I wrote that in this area 'we have been very well served by our researchers'.[3] Other reviewers made this same point in the *Journal*: that absolutely no cultural cringe was necessary when setting our own work alongside that from abroad.

In our original call for papers our committee said we wanted to provide 'a forum for lively informed discussion about issues, research, debates and activities of particular concern to women ... (The *Journal*) is not looking for material which presents only one or two particular academic perspectives and comes only out of the formal educational institutions'.[4] On the whole, the first half-dozen issues stayed outside the formal institutions. Three contained articles about trades unions and trades unionists; we tackled lesbianism and talked with lesbians; a recovered alcoholic told us about women and alcoholism; we interviewed a Maori activist as well as a feminist playwright; looked at Pentecostalism; had a lot about wives and mothers and their unpaid overwork;[5] subversively studied education and psychology; and constructively remedied some of the historical absences, silences and downright distortions that had bedevilled New Zealand women for so long. As this brief summary shows, forward-looking WSA members were laying the foundations for constitutional changes regarding ethnicity and sexual orientation.

Very properly, the *Journal* has never stayed in one place for too long. '... WSA has such a wealth of talent and competence everywhere that it would be wasteful not to take advantage of it' my valedictory editorial said.[6] Still outside the university, Wellington took over in 1988, with predictably impressive results. In 1992 the *Journal* moved into a university for the first time, with its collective based at the University of Otago. Its first editorial reflected on its theme: 'What is Women's Studies?' and the '... new challenges question(ing) the bases from which our arguments proceed' – some of which might come from the young women who 'may believe that we now live in a world of equal opportunity'.

The collective asked some crucial questions: 'Does the entry into the institution inevitably mean the de-politicising of Women's Studies, as some feminists fear? Or can it mean the transformation of the disciplines Women's Studies touches, as others hope?'[7] The tone of the editorial suggested that its authors were well aware of the fact that universities are where most women (and men) are not. And I

have to say, sadly, that any transformation seems to have been the other way – reducing resources, changing women's studies to gender studies, for example. These are forms of de-politicisation, for they suggest that even just the name of women's studies in academia was radical, threatening and deserving of elimination. (Although it seems that anything or anyone in universities is at risk nowadays if they question middle/muddle managing.)

In my view, the lessening of political will is also in the recurring proposal to cater for men at conferences and in the *Journal*. There's that French saying that the more things change the more they remain the same. That certainly goes for me and my favourite prejudices and I note in a *Journal* discussion that again we're told that excluding men 'detracts from our status as a *bone fide* academic journal'.[8] It depends, I suppose, on the definition of status and who is doing the defining. Anyway, the *Journal* did not come into being as an 'academic' i.e. university-approved publication, but as a vehicle for the WSA's high standards of scholarship and debate – which will, of course, be of interest to some university members. To me, the women-only notion never meant 'protection' from male competition. What competition?

Actually the last *Journal* I read[9] caused me to wonder what other publications would be prepared to assemble three different articles at the same time, each with a slightly different slant, but each conveying findings from small female focus groups responding to popular visual images of women who were allegedly sexually 'liberated'.[10] I found them really interesting, partly because it struck me that these were today's version of yesterday's consciousness-raising groups – although I doubt if their authors would be pleased at this fuddy-duddy comparison. As I have now been out of New Zealand for three years, I am not totally familiar with its conditions. However, reading those articles made me think that however 'new' the approach to heterosexual practices may be, consent, control and autonomy for women remain problematic.

So, we need an ongoing *Journal* to record, analyse and provide material for possible action. I very much appreciate the opportunity to write this (probably biased) account of my time as part of an important aspect of New Zealand education and political activity. My main recollections are of all those wonderful women associated with the *Journal* who have continued to impress, one way and another.[11] Thank you and good luck.

Notes

[1] 'The Journal' *WSA newsletter* 8, 2 (February) 1987, p. 18.

[2] 'The Journal'. *WSA Newsletter* 5, 2 (February) 1984, p. 2.

[3] Roth, Margot, 'Women's Work' *Women's Studies Journal*, 2, 1 (August) 1985, pp. 80-90.

[4] 'A Call for Journal Papers' *WSA Newsletter* 5, 1 (November) 1983, p. 2.

[5] A particularly heartrending account came from Jane Chetwynd, Susan Calvert and Virginia Boss: 'Caring and Coping: Life for Mothers of Intellectually Handicapped Children' *Women's Studies Journal* 1, 2 (April) 1985: pp. 7-20.

[6] 'Editorial' *Women's Studies Journal* 3, 2 (March) 1988: p. 2.

[7] 'Editorial' *Women's Studies Journal* 8, 1 (March) 1992: p. vii.

[8] 'Commentary: The Nineties ... Men in Women's Space' *Women's Studies Journal* 12, 2 (Spring) 1996: pp. 129-31.

[9] *Women's Studies Journal* 17, 1, 2001.

[10] Due Theilade, Karen. 'Visual Culture, Public Stories and Personal Experience: Young Heterosexual Women discuss *'Sex and the City'*: pp. 26-48. Hann, Sheryl. 'Acting on Impulse, Claiming Sexuality and Kicking Ass: New Women's Heterosexualism in Aotearoa New Zealand Popular Culture': pp. 49-65. Vares, Tiina. 'Confronting "Critical Unease": Women Talk about Representations of "Killer Women:"/"Action Heroines": pp. 85-99.

[11] Before I began this article I made reminiscing trans-Tasman calls to Pat Rosier and Hilary Lapsley, unsurpassed as cutters and pasters.

Doing Feminism: An Interview with Kate Dewes

ALISON KAGEN & ANNE SCOTT

As two members of the Women's Studies Journal *editorial collective, we met with Kate Dewes in her Christchurch home/office to talk about her ways of 'doing feminism'. Our conversation took place just a few weeks before Christchurch was to celebrate the significant twentieth anniversary of becoming New Zealand's first metropolitan nuclear-free zone. Kate (then Boanas) played an important role in this campaign, as co-coordinator of the locally-based Christchurch Peace Collective, and later, the Riccarton Peace Group.*

The Christchurch nuclear-free decision was an early stop along a route which, for Kate, has included the achievement of nuclear free status for Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1987, involvement as an NGO advisor on the New Zealand delegation to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1988, membership of the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control (PACDAC) from 1987–1990 and 2000–2002, lecturing in Peace Studies at Canterbury University, and the playing of a leading role in the World Court Project to have nuclear weapons declared illegal under international law. This historic campaign achieved its aims in 1996. Kate continues her peace work in a range of local, national and international contexts, including the New Zealand Peace Foundation, the Disarmament and Security Centre (DSC), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), as a Vice President of the International Peace Bureau, and as the New Zealand government expert on a UN study on disarmament and non-proliferation education.

Kate has been well known for linking peace activism with a feminist outlook. She has publicly developed feminist ideas in profiles which were published in Broadsheet *(1987: issue 154), and* WomanScript *(1992: number 7). She reiterated the importance of this connection to us:*

As I began to read books about the relationship between patriarchy and militarism, by women such as Marilyn Waring, Helen Caldicott, Pacific women and many others who outlined why the world was in

Kate Dewes

such a terrible state, and gave different visions of how the world could be, my challenges to men in positions of power became quite strong.

We discussed what feminism has meant to her, in practice:

I think life is about responsibility. Once you see what's happening to the planet, you just have to do something about it, and then you have a choice about *how* you do it. For me, the model is based on feminist principles – which have adapted and changed over the twenty-five years as I have learned from life's experiences.

This emphasis on the changes within feminism – both her own and the movement's more generally – emerged in various forms as the interview developed:

... twenty years ago I was reading a lot more books on feminism and women's critiques of militarism. The international women's peace movement was at its height and there were real challenges in terms of where women fitted into the predominantly patriarchal peace movement. Very few Maori or Pakeha women represented our country

internationally. Assumptions were made that women with small children could not travel away from home. We challenged: Had the woman concerned been asked? Had anyone offered to mind the children or helped her fundraise? These questions were fundamental for me because I had three preschool children.

This alludes to one of the themes that runs through Kate's activism. Her mothering has been a central motivation for her peace work. She often dates key events by their relationship to her daughters' births and growth. Her commitment to her children has also assisted her in building dialogue with decision-makers.

When I was appointed as the only woman on the government delegation to the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1988, it felt like I'd been catapulted out from 'kitchen-based activism' into the depths of the UN. It was pretty daunting. At that point I had no *perceived* qualifications in the field of nuclear disarmament, i.e. no PhD or MA. I was a music teacher, mother and activist. It was a huge shift to suddenly represent your country on a government delegation and to work alongside UN ambassadors.

One day an ambassador saw me showing photographs of my daughters to someone. He seemed surprised that I was a mother. He didn't reply when I asked him why it should make a difference – but he looked relieved. From that day on, he worked with me extremely closely; he even spoke out in the UN about the need for women to be represented on bodies dealing with disarmament issues. Years later, when he was interviewed for my thesis, I asked him why he had behaved differently when he learned about my children. He replied that a mother's heart would be in the right place, and therefore he was reassured that I wasn't one of those mad radical activists. Well, actually, I was both!

More recently, Kate's feminism has had a different focus:

To go back to that whole question of why I felt a responsibility to look closely at what was happening in the Pacific … In the early 1980s Maori women, including Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, came to Pakeha-dominated peace meetings and challenged us about our colonial heritage. They demanded that we look at our responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi, and invited us to work in partnership with them. I am forever grateful to them for their courage, wisdom

and friendship. It was from this base that I made a commitment to try to ensure that indigenous women from Aotearoa and other small Pacific Islands were represented at the international level. It was vital that their stories were told, so that others whose countries had colonised our planet were challenged to take responsibility too. This has meant fundraising, and later the publication of the booklet *Pacific Women Speak Out for Independence and Denuclearisation.*

For Kate, the question of feminism is closely tied up with questions of process. How does an activist proceed in the face of the numerous and inescapable dilemmas she must face?

Feminism is fundamental to my peace activism, in the sense that feminism is about choice – about what group processes are adopted and what the issues are. That means being able to be as radical or conservative as one wishes to be. For example, helping to organise waterborne protests to try and stop nuclear warships coming into our harbours, or dressing in a 'uniform' and representing the country at the UN. So there are dilemmas about what is appropriate at certain times in your life … about what the needs are in the world and how you respond to them. Also, it is important to learn not to worry too much about how you are judged by others in the movement about the choices that you make. Over the tenty-five years that has meant there has been a lot of learning, and, at times some pain.

The question of process has been closely tied up, for Kate, with practical problems raised by the need to work with people of different status and who come from very different standpoints. How does a 'solo' mother and unpaid activist develop productive dialogue with government ministers, ambassadors and military men? How does she deal with the very different treatment she receives now as a recognised disarmament expert with a doctorate in Peace Studies, and, more recently, the wife of a former Commander in the British Royal Navy? How can she use her new-found status and connections to open up spaces for the voices of other, more marginalised women from the Pacific region?

Over the years I've had to find ways of having dialogue with decision-makers who could really change things. The issues are so urgent that somehow we must find a way to listen to each other, work together, and build up trust, even with people we find it hardest to

work with. At times, I've found that peace people have perceived government officials and military personnel as 'the enemy' and they have not made any attempt to talk with them. This is where the learning still is taking place for many of us.

I am learning to be patient, compassionate, and understanding – to empathise with where these men, and even some women, from the defence, foreign affairs and disarmament establishments, are coming from. It has been a challenge to try to put myself in their shoes – and not always to think I'm right – which is a hard thing to do [laughs]. It has also been important to be selective about which issues to expend energy on. At times, it has been difficult to put on the suit, and maybe even some makeup, to go into the UN, but I have made a choice to do that ... as a feminist. Dress code should not be another excuse given by those who wish to dismiss you because of a lack of academic qualifications or other reasons.

So, I've had to be practical: to prepare short, readable, well-researched papers for politicians, officials and military personnel. In certain situations, it has been important to have a male with me. For example in 1991, when I met with some UN ambassadors in Geneva about the World Court Project, I asked the Secretary-General of the International Peace Bureau to accompany me to some meetings. At the Pakistan mission, the ambassador came straight over to me first, shook my hand, and spoke to me for the whole meeting. However, the Nigerian Ambassador did the exact opposite, feeling much more comfortable about having dialogue with a man. Therefore it was important to provide them with the option. This in turn freed us up to share the note-taking and to just accept that this was about creating a flexible process.

However, in all my wildest dreams I never imagined that I could feel totally comfortable about working in very close partnership with a former Commander in the British navy, who used to fly nuclear weapons around! But as we've worked together we've learned to respect each other's positions. There is now a small network of men who I work well with at this level. Some of these men have also helped fundraise so that Pacific women can be represented at the UN and the World Court, and they have looked after them during some pretty daunting experiences. So, I suppose we're still learning how we can model a partnership of equality between the sexes, with men who share a more feminist understanding of both issues and process.

Kate described the harassment and social pressure she has faced, over the years, in pursuing her peace work. The harassment she, and other female activists, endured included sexually abusive phone calls and other verbal abuse often precipitated by a photograph in the paper. However, she also emphasised the pressures brought to bear on men trying to make an impact in this area, which so directly challenges the military interests of major world powers.

During the World Court Project, there were male officials from 'third world' states that were putting their lives and jobs on the line. They were under intense pressure, especially from the US, UK and France, to withdraw the UN resolution. Some of these guys were black, they hated being in New York, and all they wanted to do was go back to their farms. One said to me – 'I am prepared to lose my life for this'. He said, 'I was involved in the liberation struggle of my country. The planet has to be free from this nuclear threat; if we lose all the aid and trade, we're still prepared to go for this.' When these brave officials were being intimidated by the nuclear states, they drew strength from knowing the citizen groups were there watching and giving support.

Kate returned repeatedly to questions of process throughout the interview, emphasising their absolute centrality to her vision of feminist activism. The old feminist slogan 'the personal is political' was implicitly present throughout our discussion of her mothering and its impact on her peace work:

I *was* a mother, and when anyone asked me who I was, my role was as a mother and a peace activist. My peace activism was one of the most important roles of my mothering.

But the slogan could also have been joined by its inverse: 'the political is personal':

If we expect to change the way decisions are made in our country, we must find ways to build up relationships through trust and dialogue. The same needs to happen in the UN with people who are not used to working with non-governmental actors. But the dilemma is how not to 'sell out'. How much do you compromise – in terms of your uniform and your principles? In a perverse way, it helps not to have the government pay you for this work, because it frees you up to speak honestly and forthrightly to the people concerned.

Kate's commitment to making a space for the personal, and for the multi-faceted voices of Pacific women, within the 'high politics' of international relations has led her – along with her compatriots in the Pacific women's peace movement – to challenge the separation of reason from emotion, and of passion from decision-making, in conventional politics.

How do you speak passionately so that you don't alienate the person that you're trying to have dialogue with? It's a really tricky one. Sadly, I think it has helped me being a middle-class Pakeha with academic qualifications. I have been fortunate to have worked closely with some Maori kuia in these situations and seen how others respond to them because they don't fit into the Pakeha criteria for 'qualifications and expertise'. It has been encouraging to see how some decision-makers have come to respect traditional knowledge and experience as valid.

Here is an example from 1993, when we were lobbying to get the UN General Assembly to adopt a resolution asking the World Court for an Advisory Opinion on the legality of nuclear weapons. There was only a small team, including a couple of male activists, some US lawyers, and three South Pacific women: Pauline Tangiora, Maori elder; Hilda Lini, former Health Minister from Vanuatu and now the leader of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement; and myself. As the pressure from the nuclear weapon states became unbearable, many male ambassadors buckled under and it looked like we would lose support from the 110 Non Aligned Movement (NAM) countries.

A few courageous South Pacific ambassadors were determined to push it through even if it meant losing their country's aid. Some even asked us to get citizen groups to raise funds for their aid later on. When the crunch meeting of the Non Aligned Movement was due to happen, we were there to shake hands with them and let them know we would be waiting outside to support them. Hilda Lini went inside with her government delegation because she was determined to *eyeball* her male colleagues. When they came out, some of them hugged us, because they'd been strong and forced the NAM to agree to table the resolution.

Years later, some of these ambassadors told me that it was the tears and the tenacity of the women which kept them strong. They

saw Pauline and Hilda as 'chiefs' who were there representing the present and future generations. We were their consciences – we were there because we cared about our vulnerable planet and not for our egos or a job. And now, that process needs to be repeated across the planet. We as women need to be at many international fora with our passion and our sense of urgency – but we must also go with compassion and understanding.

As Kate told us this story, she became emotional. We felt the passion, and the sense of urgency, which she brings to her work, and this moved us quite profoundly. This combination of powerful passion and strong command of the facts creates a 'witness' which has proved to be extremely effective. The collection of women's stories Pacific Women Speak Out for Independence and Denuclearisation *which was originally published in the late 1980s, has now been republished in an expanded edition. It has also been translated into German and Japanese and is an example of the power of personal testimony in the struggle to influence decision-makers. (Edited by Zohl de Ishtar, this book is available through WILPF or DSC.)*

The earlier edition was extremely helpful to hand to UN diplomats during the 1988 Special Session on Disarmament. I remember how infuriated I was when we heard that France had tested two nuclear weapons in the Pacific during the conference. I stormed up to the French diplomat, who I'd met at a UN function the night before, and thrust a copy of the book into his hand saying: 'How dare your country test these bombs in our region! Read about the jellyfish babies being born to women in the Marshall Islands following US testing. I challenge you to *feel* the emotion in these stories. Please take this booklet home to your wife and three kids and let them read them too!'

What is exciting about the latest edition is that there are *more* stories, and it's not just about the nuclear issue. Since it has been translated into other languages, we are getting requests from people all over the world wanting to invite women from the Marshalls, Belau, Bougainville, etc. to speak at conferences. This builds on the tradition of the woman to whom the book is dedicated: Darlene Keju-Johnson. In 1982 she was invited to a World Council of Churches meeting in Canada where she spoke passionately about the health and environmental effects of testing on the Marshallese. Her stories

changed the hearts and minds of many of the participants, who knew she was putting herself at risk by talking about these issues at international meetings.

So again, I feel this urgent sense of responsibility of trying to do something, so that the word gets out, and people can't keep saying, 'we didn't know'. I remember how *scary* it was to be a young woman from New Zealand confronting these decision-makers from within the belly of the UN. In those situations I knew that I had to speak out, because the women from the Pacific couldn't get there. It was vital to have their stories in my hand and be able to give the booklet to key people – like the French diplomat who believed that nuclear testing was perfectly safe!

The strength to carry this witness has come from Kate's assurance that she and her colleagues represent many people. She has always worked within a community, and as part of a broader movement. Drawing courage from her connections with others, she has been able to go into difficult meetings in the knowledge that she is not alone.

I remember once, going in to meet our Minister of Foreign Affairs to discuss concerns over the purchase of Australian frigates. There he was sitting behind his desk looking very important. I remember psyching myself up by reminding myself that he was a servant of the people paid for by our tax dollars and that I represented many women and children. So, I walked up to him, shook his hand 'as an equal' and looked him straight in the eye. It was *such* an empowering experience – to greet him as an equal, whether he liked it or not – and feeling that I was not alone. There were so many people in the community asking why the government was spending money on *this*, when it should be spent on schools and hospitals. I kept thinking, I bet he finds me a bit of a challenge.

As young girls we were taught to be deferential to people in power. Our whole demeanour affects the way we interact. If we as women expect to be treated as an equal by those in power, then we need to turn things around and act as though we are equals. It helps to remind ourselves that this person is really just an ordinary human being, and there is a sense of urgency about the issues we are talking about. There are ways of having a *real* dialogue, and not just arguing from different points of view. That's where learning to listen carefully is a vital skill.

In conclusion, the theme that came through most strongly in our interview with Kate was the effectiveness of personal integrity and courage, in combination with community. In her work, she brings international politics together with a keen sense of process ... of the need to work with *people, rather than against them, while remaining firm in her own beliefs. In her feminism, she brings the personal and the political together; the results speak for themselves:*

And of course this work carries risks. Those of us who speak out on nuclear issues, in particular internationally, do put ourselves at risk. We know this personally because my husband's aunt, Hilda Murrell, was murdered in Britain in 1984, probably for speaking out about the hazards of nuclear energy. We've both had death threats, our homes broken into, silent phone calls, mail opened and so on. But these experiences actually make us stronger – because, for example, they show that we are having an effect. We refuse to be intimidated, or secretive. We are committed to openness, honesty and integrity in our work. Although women are often perceived as vulnerable, our strength comes through knowing who we are, and why we feel so passionate about our work. So, it is important to ask: How do we help empower others to speak up for what they know is right? How do we connect at a personal level and learn to nurture each other, and especially those responsible for making decisions about the future of the planet? How do we model new ways of working so that women's voices are genuinely heard?

Just or Unjust? Problematising the Gendered Nature of Criminal Justice

SAMANTHA JEFFRIES

Introduction

In 1950, Otto Pollak claimed in his book, *The Criminality of Women*, that female offenders were preferentially treated in a criminal justice system dominated by men and thus characterised by male notions of chivalry.[1] Pollak presumed that offending women were placed on pedestals, treated gallantly and protected from punishment, with the result that their criminal activity was less likely to be detected, reported, prosecuted, or sentenced harshly.[2]

Since Pollak, the question of gender difference in judicial processing has undergone extensive international scrutiny. After more than five decades of research, discussion and debate, what can we now say about Pollak's claim? Do women, in comparison to men, receive different judicial outcomes and, if so, is this 'fair', 'just' or 'legitimate'? To answer these questions, this paper begins by briefly summarising both international and national research that has considered the issue of gender difference in criminal court outcomes, particularly sentencing and remand. The ramifications of these research findings are then considered with reference to ongoing feminist debates surrounding issues of gender equality, equity and difference.

Official Criminal Statistics

Official crime statistics, both international and Australasian, suggest that women and men are treated differently in the criminal courts. In Great Britain, women are more likely than men to be cautioned and less likely to be remanded into custody or sentenced to imprisonment.[3] In the United States, women constitute only a small proportion of offenders arrested, convicted, and imprisoned.[4] Similar findings are noted in Australia where the raw statistics suggest leniency is afforded to women. For example, a recent Australian study on 'homicides between sexual intimates' found that women are more likely to be released on bail, less likely to be convicted of murder and generally received lighter sentences than men.[5] In New Zealand, national

statistics show that women are less likely than men to be convicted of an offence or sentenced to imprisonment, but are more likely to have their cases discharged. Once imprisoned, New Zealand women receive shorter terms than men and are more likely to be granted early release on parole.[6] In summary, as Harvey, Burnham, Kendall and Pease[7] note, men are 'disproportionately suspected, apprehended, prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned throughout the world.'

Based on these official statistics, we might conclude that our courts are 'sexist', 'biased' or 'chivalrous' because men appear to be treated more harshly than women. However, in terms of getting the 'bigger picture', official crime statistics are notoriously problematic. For example, it is possible that sex differences in other key sentencing determinants might explain why men's judicial outcomes are harsher than women's. In particular, sex differences in legal variables, such as criminal history or current crime seriousness, may account for these disparate outcomes.

The nature and extent of women's law breaking is different from men's. Women generally offend less often than men do and their crimes tend to be less serious. Men are more likely to commit crimes of serious violence while women offend most in the areas of small-time fraud, theft, forgery and embezzlement, and in crimes like vagrancy, disorderly conduct and prostitution. The courts do not consider the latter 'female' crimes to be particularly serious.[8] Thus, any investigation seeking to establish whether men and women are actually being treated disparately by the criminal courts would have to control for these differences. It would also be important to consider more than one judicial decision-making point because sex differences may vary or cumulate across different stages of the process. For example, it is highly likely that Probation Officers' pre-sentencing recommendations impact on the Judges' sentencing decisions.

Moving Beyond Official Criminal Statistics

International research, which has systematically considered the question of gender and criminal justice outcomes, has tended to find that the relationship between sex and judicial processing varies from stage to stage. Nevertheless, women still tended to receive preferential treatment at the point of sentencing and pre-trial release even when legal factors, such as seriousness of criminal history, are held constant.[9] In a recent analysis of statistical sentencing studies world-

wide, Daly and Bordt[10] found that the majority of high quality analyses tended to find gender differences that 'favoured' women over men. Differences between men and women were found to range from eight to twenty-five per cent, with women's sentences being less severe than men's. Incarceration periods also varied, with men being sentenced to an average of about twelve months longer than women when appearing before the court under supposedly similar circumstances.

Extra-legal factors, especially familial ties, histories of victimisation and mental health have also been highlighted as possible explanations for sex differences in judicial outcomes. Shifting the focus to these extra-legal or social factors has moved international scholars toward a more social structural understanding of sex differences in judicial sanctioning.

For offending women, domesticity and dependence appear in the research as traits which often mitigate punishment. Economic dependency within the confines of the family is often the reality for many women, and it is also the case that women will have others who are dependent on them for their care-giving labour. Less severe judicial sanctions may therefore be extended to women because, in comparison to men, they are more dependent on their family and more depended upon by their family. For example, an analysis of pre-trial release decisions, sentencing and dismissals, conducted by Daly[11] found that 'net of case severity, charge severity, the type of offence charged, prior record, and other defendant characteristics, male and female defendants are treated differently on the basis of their ties to and responsibilities for others'. Offenders with strong familial ties, the majority of whom were women, spent shorter periods in pre-trial custody and were sentenced less severely than non-familied offenders.

Allen's research[12] found that women were more often presented as 'mad', as victims of personal misfortune and thus not altogether responsible for their criminality. In contrast, men were more likely to be presented as 'bad', and as active, intentional creatures, who were inherently responsible for their actions.[13] These gendered constructions resulted in the women in Allen's[14] research being seen as weak, troubled, unable to control their behaviour and as less culpable than men. Under these circumstances, the 'disordered' female offender was more likely to be judged as needing help rather than punishment.

Compared with the rest of the world, little systematic research on gender and criminal court sanctioning has been conducted in New Zealand. Deane undertook the first academic consideration of gender and sentencing in New Zealand.[15] Using both a statistical and case study approach Deane examined whether or not New Zealand men and women received different sentencing outcomes. She concludes that no gender bias exists in New Zealand's criminal courts. However, Deane's work is at times contradictory[16] and there are some sample[17] and statistical problems,[18] which do, in my opinion, make her research questionable.[19] Her finding that gender is not important in criminal court outcomes also seems strange given that gender is a central feature of New Zealand society at large.[20] New Zealand's criminal justice system operates in, and thus one would expect, is logically affected by, this wider gendered context. Deane's work also conflicts with the international research where, as already noted, high-quality analyses consistently identify gender as an important sentencing determinant.

As is the case internationally, high-quality New Zealand research that has controlled for numerous legal factors does find that women receive less severe judicial outcomes than men. For example, Triggs[21] undertook a rigorous statistical investigation of sentencing in New Zealand and found substantial differences in the treatment of men and women. Triggs[22] statistically controlled for a large number of legal variables but still found that men were more likely than women to be imprisoned, to receive periodic detention or a monetary penalty. In contrast, women were more likely to receive community service, community programme or no sentence. Essentially, this meant that men were sentenced more harshly than women, even when they appeared for sentencing under seemingly similar legal circumstances.[23]

A statistical study of sentencing and remand in Christchurch's District and High Courts conducted by Jeffries[24] further supports and builds on Triggs'[25] findings. Like Triggs,[26] Jeffries[27] finds evidence that in comparison to men, women receive less severe judicial outcomes. Sex is noted to have a direct impact on length of imprisonment term, remand status, length of custodial remand and bail conditions. In other words, sex differences in legal variables (e.g., seriousness of criminal history) do not explain why women's judicial outcomes are generally less severe than men's. With numerous factors statistically controlled, women's imprisonment terms were found to

be substantially shorter than men's. For combined offences (drug, violent and property) Jeffries[28] found that women's imprisonment terms were approximately 8.5 months shorter than were men's. Female violent offenders received imprisonment terms approximately twelve months shorter than men, and female drug offenders' terms were around five months shorter. Women were fourteen per cent less likely than men to be remanded in custody for combined offences and twenty-four per cent less likely for property offences. Of those offenders remanded into custody, men remained there for forty-two days longer than women (on average) for combined offences and twenty-six days longer for drug offences. Finally, for those offenders remanded on bail, Jeffries[29] notes that male property offenders were forty per cent more likely than women to be given special bail conditions, and men were eight per cent more likely than women to be given special bail conditions overall (combined offences).

Jeffries[30] also found that sex-based disparity at the point of sentencing is affected by gendered decision-making earlier in the judicial process which, at least to some degree, impacts on final sentence. Results show that men's remand outcomes were more severe than women's regardless of sex differences in other key factors (e.g. seriousness of criminal history), and this often increased the severity of men's sentences. Severe remand outcomes also increased the likelihood of Probation Officers recommending men for a sentence of imprisonment which in turn aggravated final sentence severity.

A further case-study analysis by Jeffries[31] of Probation Officers' pre-sentence reports and Judges' sentencing remarks revealed the process by which men and women came to receive different judicial outcomes. What emerged were two gendered ways of viewing, understanding and judging offenders, and this explained how men and women came to receive different judicial outcomes. In line with the international research, family and mental health are identified as key sites of gendered variance.

For example, women were presented as nurturers, dependants, pathological and victims of circumstance. This neutralised their dangerousness, blameworthiness and responsibility, making punitive sanctions seem less appropriate. Male offenders, on the other hand, were more likely construed as bad, disruptive, and dangerous. Unless men were in paid public work, judicial sympathy was rarely given because men were seen as a threat to the social order and in need of

state-controlled regulation. Employment was beneficial to men, especially if they had families to support financially. Being seen as a 'hard worker' and controlled by 'breadwinning' commitments often decreased men's chances of imprisonment.

Acceptable ideals of masculinity require men to be providers rather than carers of families so, unlike women, men's childcare responsibilities were rarely discussed or used to legitimate sentencing leniency. Similarly, constructions of acceptable femininity presented women as carers rather than providers, so women's employment was rarely discussed or used to mitigate sentence severity. Dominant discourses of femininity also ensured that pathology, emotionality; inner turmoil and trauma were discussed and used to excuse women's criminality, while detracting from their potential to be dangerous. These constructions helped to rationalise rehabilitation over punishment. Judicial presentations of men, on the other hand, supported a masculine ideology, denying men of feeling, vulnerability, weakness and the general right to experience mental unwellness. Men were instead placed in the domain of human action, being presented as actively adopting an offending lifestyle or at fault for not ridding themselves of their criminality. Constructing men as powerful actors by presenting them as definers of their own destiny meant that criminal men were more likely to be held responsible for their actions and to be seen as dangerous. Primacy could therefore be given to punitive sanctioning over rehabilitative measures.

Debates Within Feminism – Equality vs Difference?

Showing that courts treat men and women differently ultimately leads to the question of so what? Do we interpret these gender-based differences as warranted or unwarranted? Such questions have divided feminist scholars whom, until recently, have continued to debate whether or not gender equality is necessarily a good thing.

On one hand, it is argued that since fundamental differences between the sexes actually do exist, treating men and women the same may be problematic because it will further disadvantage an already disadvantaged group. This viewpoint calls for recognition that men's and women's societal positioning is different; that there are 'genuine physical and social differences' between the sexes which tend to disadvantage women over men.[32] For example, women's lives are more likely to be characterised by poverty, domesticity, victimisation

and dependency. Thus, in recognising the differential needs of men and women, it is proposed that women should receive differential treatment 'so long as women are not placed in a more negative position' as a result, that is as long as it does not disadvantage them.[33]

On the other hand, some feminist scholars consider differential treatment problematic in that it reaffirms men's dominance over women. This view posits the judicial protection of women as an ideological front for patriarchy in that traditional ideals about women as 'naturally' domestic, dependent, weak and emotional are perpetuated. Ultimately, this may result in extensive personal, psychological, social, economic and political damage to women's fight for self-determination and equality. For example, MacKinnon[34] argues that for 'women to affirm difference, when difference means dominance, as it does with gender, means to affirm the qualities and characteristics of powerlessness.' Equalisation with men is subsequently proposed because to accept difference may result in women being seen as 'different from' and thus 'less than' men.[35]

More recently, there has been a call from feminist writers to transcend the old equality/difference debate because both approaches present men as the standard against which 'both actions by and treatment of females are measured'.[36] Men are presented as the 'norm, as the human standard', while women appear as nothing more than the 'interlopers into a world organised by others'.[37]

In the style of Catch-22, the male-centred equality/difference debate is now considered problematic because, whether they are treated differently or similarly to men, women are ultimately disadvantaged.[38] The difference stance 'nourishes a crude socio-biology' whereas the equal treatment stance can and has been used to the detriment of women.[39] For instance, in parts of the United States, recent sentencing reforms based on male models of justice have been implemented to eliminate 'disparate' sentencing outcomes. Mandatory sentencing minimums, 'get tough attitudes' and Draconian sentencing guidelines which seldom allow consideration of offenders' social situations (such as age, education, vocational skills, mental and emotional condition, physical condition, previous employment record, family or community ties and family or community responsibilities) have virtually eliminated sex differences in sentencing. As a result, there has been a dramatic increase in women's imprisonment and incarceration terms. Raeder[40] notes that 'both the number and

percentage of sentenced women offenders' are 'growing at a faster rate than that of males' and this cannot be explained by increases in women's crime or arrests.[41]

Furthermore, it may be the case that prison is a 'harsher and more unusual punishment for women than it is for men.'[42] If this is the case, then the lighter sentencing of women in comparison to men, for example, may be warranted.

First, it is said that educational, vocational and recreational programmes and facilities available to males far exceed those available to females. Prison programmes and the everyday regime of the prison further tend to emphasise a form of repressive refeminsation where conformity to 'conventional femininity' is enforced.[43] Second, the location of many women's prisons has also been identified as a problem, with the majority of women, compared to men, serving their sentences in prisons many kilometres from home and away from their family and friends. In New Zealand, Phillips[44] notes that the 'inevitable consequence is that they [women] are unable to maintain links with the people who could offer them support or to have regular visits from partners or children.' On release it is thus more difficult for the women to re-establish these links. Efforts are made to hold male inmates close to family and friends and women need to be extended the same option. Third, rules and regulations within women's prisons are notably stricter, and cover more petty details than for men (see for example, Pollock-Byrne,[45] Hamilton[46]). Fourth, histories of abuse, particularly sexual abuse amongst the female prison population are said to make certain prison regimes particularly harmful. For example, strip searches are claimed to be especially traumatic for women.[47] Finally, the sexual abuse of female prisoners by male wardens is raising concerns internationally,[48] but most of the research conducted into this area is from the United States. As far as I am aware, the treatment of female prisoners by male correctional officers has not been researched in New Zealand, and it is possible that the situation may well differ from that found in the United States. Concerns in New Zealand have recently been raised about 'consensual' sexual relations between female inmates and male prison officers,[49] but to my knowledge the issue of sexual abuse *per se* has not been identified as a major problem in New Zealand's women's prisons.

Feminist criminal justice commentators have called for a reconceptualisation of criminal justice to transcend the old equality/

difference debate.[50] It is argued that feminist focus should now be directed at disadvantage rather than difference;[51] that equity rather than equality should be sought through developing a social-based rather than a justice-based approach to criminal justice processing.[52] Instead of a 'male version' of justice which emphases 'fairness, equal treatment, and rationality' in deciding judicial outcomes, a 'female version' of justice is proposed, which emphasises 'needs, motives, and relationships'.[53] For example, Daly[54] suggests that criminal justice processing needs to move towards an 'ethic of care' as opposed to a 'logic of justice', and Heidensohn[55] proposed that a 'Persephone', rather than a 'Portia' approach to justice is required (see Figure 1).

Aspects of these 'female' justice models are already present in New Zealand's criminal justice system. For example, New Zealand's treatment of youth offenders stresses the involvement of whanau, hapu and iwi as well as victims and the community in the decision-making process. Care-based sentencing options, such as supervision and community programmes, are also available to Judges when sentencing adult offenders. Furthermore, as Jeffries [56] has shown, courts already apply 'female' versions of justice when sentencing women. For example, familial commitments, responsibilities, poor health and histories of victimisation were found to mitigate women's sentence severity.

Ideally, some feminist writers envisage a 'separate, gentler, more sympathetic justice system exclusively reserved for women',[57] but this is problematic for a number of reasons, all of which relate to the fact that criminal justice cannot work in isolation from the broader social context. First, continuing power over women by some groups of men in society at large makes this proposition unworkable. It is unlikely that men would agree to such an arrangement, and the potential for women to be 'infantilised' by it is great.[58] Second, a climate of 'just desserts' or 'getting tough' on crime has more recently emerged in New Zealand (e.g. a presumption of imprisonment for serious violent offenders). Although policy measures reflecting this are not as extreme or rigid as those in the United States (e.g. mandatory sentencing minimums, 'three strikes and you're out' policies and truth in sentencing), notions of retribution and punishment now dominate public and political sentiment. Concern for care and rehabilitation appears to be evading many, and there is an increasing desire to see offenders (especially men) 'locked up' and the 'key thrown away'. Ironically, in New Zealand, this stance of 'getting tough' and 'making

Figure 1. Daly's and Heidensohn's Models of Justice.

Daly's (1989: 6) 'Care' and 'Justice' Based Models	
Ethic of Care	Logic of Justice
Aims of punishment: rehabilitation, special deterrence	Aims of punishment: retribution, general deterrence
Decision criteria: forward-looking (based on a prediction of future behaviour)	Decision criteria: backward- (based on the offence committed)
Ideological elements: equity, fairness, rationality (formal and substantive equality)	Ideological elements: equality, fairness, rationality (formal equality)
Perspective practices: tailor the sentence to the crime and to offender characteristics; personalise sentencing	Perspective practices: equal treatment for those convicted of the same offence; depersonalise sentencing
Social unit of punishment: family based; a person in relation to others	Individual based: a person not connected to others
Concept of justice: procedural and substantive equality, through greater emphasis on the latter	Concept of justice: emphasis on procedural equality
Sentencing scheme: individualised	Sentencing scheme: Just desserts
Heidensohn's (1986: 293) 'Portia' and 'Persephone' Models of Justice	
Portia	Persephone
Values and characteristics: masculine, rationality, individualism	Values and characteristics: feminine, caring and personal
System: civic rights, rule of law Concept of justice: legal, equality, procedural	System: networks, informal Concept of justice: responsibility, co-operation
Features: norm is male	Features: norm is female

offenders pay' has evolved (in part) from feminist-based movements, such as the Women's Refuge and Rape Crisis, who are concerned with raising public awareness about and punishing more harshly, the violent and sexual victimisation of women by men. Thus, while we must 'get tough' on criminal men, we must 'care more' about offending women.

My argument is that while feminist criminologists have extended our understanding of gender in relation to women's lives, we also need to develop an understanding of gender and its impact on men's lives. Men are not universally powerful, and their criminality, just like women's, relates to their social circumstances. Women may 'deserve' a more caring justice system because of familial responsibilities and because of having lives scarred by victimisation, but many men fit into the same category.

Recalling my earlier point as it relates to women, evidence also suggests that imprisonment may be somewhat 'harsh' and 'unusual punishment' for men as well. The physical abuse of male inmates in New Zealand's Mangaroa prison, for example, has recently resulted in the government being forced to pay tens of thousands of dollars compensation to male inmates who endured 'systematic beatings by hit squads of guards'.[59] Second, while the variety of educational, vocational and recreational programmes available to men may exceed those available to women, men are less likely than women to take advantage of them: in 1997, eighty per cent of female prison inmates in New Zealand were enrolled in prison programmes compared to forty-five per cent of men.[60] Thus, men and women are both disadvantaged, albeit in different ways. Women may lack variety, but they benefit from being involved in prison programmes. Men, on the other hand, may benefit from programme variety, but miss out when it comes to involvement. Third, while the everyday regime of the women's prison may emphasise a form of repressive 'refeminsation', so too is it likely that dominant masculinity (which can itself be repressive) is reproduced in men's prisons. Fourth, a recent Ministry of Justice [61] study of male prison inmates with primary responsibility for the care of children found that the men were clearly traumatised by being separated from their children. Inmates thus deprived described themselves as: 'miserable, missing their children, frustrated, desperate, unhappy, helpless, guilty, and devastated'.[62]

Feminist scholars point out that women's care-giving is valued

more highly than men's breadwinning by the courts and that this can partially explain why women receive less severe sentences.[63] As noted previously, however, while there may be judicial concern in New Zealand about the impact of removing women from families, there appears to be little concern about removing men from families.[64] This begs the question – how do we know that the trauma or social cost of removing women from the family is somehow greater than that caused by removing men? The Ministry of Justice[65] study mentioned above found that there were clear social costs to removing offending men from their children. It notes that:

> the prison system does not make it easy for children to maintain contact with their imprisoned father. Children who live some distance from where their father is imprisoned can be doubly punished – toll calls are expensive and distance can make visits impractical ... improvements or alternatives may need to be considered if children are not to be punished as much as or more than their fathers.

Studies like that conducted by New Zealand's Ministry of Justice are few and far between. The reality is that scant attention has been given to the way in which a man's imprisonment impacts on his children or his family in general.[66] What research has been done suggests that wives/partners and children are being adversely affected emotionally, financially, mentally and physically by men's imprisonment.[67]

New Zealand and overseas research has shown that dominant feminine discourses ensure that offending women are often presented and accepted as 'troubled'. Histories of victimisation and the subsequent effects of this emerged as explanations and often excuse women's offending. In contrast, such 'troubles' appear as simply unbelievable in the case of men. In this way, men were denied reasons for their offending, and they were held fully responsible for their actions. While it may be the case that histories of victimisation are more common in the case of women, research shows that criminal men also experience victimisation. Arguably, this in turn has led to impaired personal functioning and ultimately criminality.[68] Furthermore, the extent of men's victimisation and its subsequent impacts could be greater than we think. Men may be less likely than women to report abuse or neglect because revealing such sensitive information runs counter to dominant ideas about masculinity. A

societal inability to acknowledge men as victims further perpetuates men's silence and ultimately adds to their trauma.[69]

Conclusion

I would like to see future criminal justice discussions transcend the boundaries of the equality/difference debate by problematising criminal justice processing as it relates to both sexes, rather than simply in terms of women against men. As a societal group, criminal men and women both tend to come from disadvantaged circumstances. Men's criminality, just like women's, does not exist in a social, political or economic vacuum unaffected by unemployment, poverty, drug and alcohol addiction, victimisation or general mental and physical illness. This is not to deny that certain circumstances which are relatively unique to women's experience – care giving, for example – may explain, excuse, or mitigate their criminality.

Instead, I argue that there are also certain circumstances, relatively unique to men's experience, which could also explain, excuse, or mitigate their criminality. Thus, in agreement with Daly,[70] I would like to see a 'feminist conception of criminal justice which maintains a focus on women's lives and on redressing harms to women, but which does not ignore those men who have been crippled by patriarchal, class, and race relations.' Ultimately, perhaps, a more caring criminal justice system might not treat our criminal women more like men, but treat our criminal men more like women.

To achieve this end, further gender-based offender research is required both internationally and in New Zealand. A lot of time has been spent focussing on female victimisation and while this is an important area of inquiry, we need to be careful not to 'feminise' gender studies with the pervasive 'women question', thereby ignoring the 'men question' and relegating males to the 'unexplored de-sexed norm'.[71] Criminal justice commentators should stop rendering masculinity invisible by universalising all men as powerful and acknowledge that 'ideological and political processes which assert and sustain the authority of normative heterosexuality ... have powerful consequences for both men and women'.[72] Society, the criminal justice system, and to some extent, feminist discussions (especially those surrounding the victimisation of women by men) continue to present most men in terms of thinking, acting, powerful human beings, while simultaneously embracing women's powerlessness and dependency. As long as this

continues, women's right to self determination and power will be ignored and men will continue to vent frustration at a society that refuses to acknowledge their weaknesses and extend them understanding. If this occurs, destructive consequences will continue to be felt, not only by men, but also by women who are so often the victims of men's outrage.

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Notes

[1] The word chivalry is a relic of medieval Europe where it represented a system of values, ideals, and a more refined 'gentlemanly' conduct. Essentially, men were required to protect and fight for women who were the weaker, more vulnerable sex. See Moulds, E.F. (1978). Chivalry and Paternalism: Disparities of Treatment in the Criminal Justice System. *Western Political Quarterly*, 31, 3, pp. 416-30; Julian, F.H. (1993). 'Gender and Crime: Different Sex, Different Treatment?' In Culliver, C.C. (ed.). *Female Criminality: The State of the Art.* New York: Garland Publishers, pp. 344-5.

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[9] See reviews by Parisi, N. (1982). 'Are Females Treated Differently? A Review of Theories and Evidence on Sentencing and Parole Decisions' in Rafter, N.H., Stanko, E.A. (eds). *Judge, Lawyer, Victim, Thief: Women, Gender Roles, and Criminal Justice.* Boston: North Eastern University Press; Nagel, I., Hagan, J. (1983). 'Gender and Crime: Offense Patterns and Criminal Court Sanctions', in Tonry, M., Morris, N. (eds). *Crime and Justice,* Vol. 4. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

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[13] Allen, 1987c, p. 109.

[14] See Allen, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c.

[15] Deane, H. (1995). 'Race, Gender, and the Sentencing Process in a New Zealand District Court', in Hazlehurst, K.M. (ed). *Perceptions of Justice: Issues in Indigenous and Community Empowerment.* Sydney: Avebury; Deane, H. (1997). *Race, Gender and the Sentencing Process: A Study of Sentencing in the District Court in New Zealand.* Unpublished PhD thesis in Criminology, Victoria University, Wellington; Deane, H. (2000). The Influence of Pre-Sentence Reports on Sentencing in a District Court in New Zealand. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 33, 1, pp. 91-106.

[16] For example, in 1995 Deane states that after conducting a step-wise multiple regression sex did not significantly contribute to predicting sentences. In 1997, Deane then appears to contradict this claim by arguing that sex is influential in 'sentencing offenders to a community based sentence ... women were more likely to be sentenced to a CSO and men were more likely to be sentenced to Periodic Detention PD'. Then, she later concludes that, 'when men and women appeared under similar circumstances for similar offences, they were treated in a similar way. However, offenders rarely appeared under similar circumstances'. The purpose of multiple regression analysis is to hold constant differences in circumstances. Deane apparently conducted such an analysis and found evidence of sex differences in the likelihood of receiving periodic detention and community service orders, so how she reaches the conclusion that sex did not significantly contribute to predicting sentences is unclear. See Deane, 1995, p. 113; Deane, 1997, pp. 128-30, 316.

Deane's case study results are similarly contradictory. For example, when she

summarises her case study findings Deane states that there is no evidence of 'differential treatment of women and men through informal social control via their role in the nuclear family'. This comment is made despite earlier and later comments suggesting that familial circumstances were more important for women e.g. 'family circumstances ... were more often mentioned in relation to women'; 'the family situation, although identified as a mitigating factor for women, did not apply to the same extent for men'; 'Women more than men were presented as having family ... related problems'. See Deane, 1997, pp. 252-3, 237, 243, 256.

[17] For example, at one point in her analysis Deane considered a sample of 52 female offenders and 165 male offenders, irrespective of offence, who were sentenced over a three-month period during 1993 in the Wellington District Court. Two men for every women sentenced by the same judge, during this period were included in this sample. This resulted in two quite different groups of men and women being selected. It is well known that sex differences exist in the severity and type of crimes committed by men and women. Subsequently, it was not surprising to find that Deane's sample consisted of mainly violent men and dishonest women, with men's overall offending being ranked more serious. Comparing offenders in this setting will obviously result in different, yet easily explainable sentencing differences, because men and women are appearing before the courts under different conditions. Comparing sentences under these circumstances is clearly a redundant exercise (see Deane, 1997 pp. 161-2). What is needed is a sample of closely matched male and female offenders so that sentencing outcomes for a comparative group can be analysed. See for example, Daly, K. (1994). *Gender, Crime, and Punishment.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

[18] For example, Deane used step-wise regression to analyse her data. This method is problematic because, as Deane herself points out, 'the order of entry of variables is based solely on statistical criteria [which is more useful] for determining which variables predict the outcome rather than the relative strengths of each variable in the subset.' The sentencing process is a social process and there is a possible causal order to it, so allowing purely statistical criteria to determine the order in which variables are entered into a model is of concern. Furthermore, Deane's research question asks, 'is gender a factor in determining sentencing severity?' I am unsure how this question can be adequately addressed when the step-wise method used does not tell us the 'relative strengths' of the relationship between sex and sentencing outcomes. See Deane, 1997, p. iii.

[19] For a more in depth review of Deane's research see Jeffries, S. (2001) *Gender Judgments: An Investigation of Gender Differentiation in Sentencing and Remand in New Zealand.* Unpublished PhD thesis in Sociology, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, pp. 17-21.

[20] James, B., Saville-Smith, K. (1994). *Gender, Culture and Power: Challenging New Zealand's Gendered Culture.* 2nd Edition. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

[21] Triggs, S. (1999). *Sentencing in New Zealand: A Statistical Study.* Wellington: Ministry of Justice.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[24] Jeffries, 2001.
[25] Triggs, 1999.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Jeffries, 2001.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Smith, P. (1993). (ed.). *Feminist Jurisprudence.* New York: Oxford University Press, p. 7.
[33] Chesney-Lind, M., Pollock, J.M. (1995). 'Women's Prisons: Equality with a Vengeance', in Merlo, A.V., Pollock, J.M. *Women, Law, and Social Control.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, p. 156.
[34] MacKinnon, C. (1987). *Feminism Unmodified: Discources on Life and Law.* London: Harvard University Press, pp. 38-9.
[35] Chesney-Lind & Pollock, 1995, p. 156.
[36] Cain, M. (1990). Towards Transgression: New Directions in Feminist Criminology. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 18, p. 2.
[37] Naffine, N. (ed.). (1995). *Gender, Crime and Feminism.* Dartmouth: Aldershot. Naffine, 1995, pp. 14-15.
[38] Henderson, L. (1991). Law's Patriarchy. *Law and Society Review*, 25, 2, p. 414.
[39] Smart, C. (1976). *Women, Crime and Criminology: A Feminist Critique.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, p. 84.
[40] Raeder, M.S. (1993). Gender and Sentencing: Single Moms, Battered Women, and Other Sex-Based Anomalies in the Gender-Free World of Federal Sentencing Guidelines. *Pepperdine Law Review*, 20, 3, p. 922.
[41] This pattern is the direct result of the sentencing guidelines introduced in some parts of the United States. In New Zealand guidelines of this nature are not being used and the number of women sentenced to imprisonment does not appear to be growing at a faster rate than men's, see Triggs, S. (1998). *From Crime to Sentence: Trends in Criminal Justice, 1986 to 1996.* Wellington: Ministry of Justice, p. 67.
[42] Heidensohn, F. (1986). Models of Justice: Portia or Persephone? Some Thoughts on Equality, Fairness and Gender in the Field of Criminal Justice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 14, p. 292.
[43] Heidensohn, 1986, p. 292.
[44] Phillips, 1992, p. 227.
[45] Pollock-Byrne, 1990.
[46] Hamilton, 1995.
[47] See Chesney-Lind 1997, p. 165.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[49] *Dominion*, 12 August 1998, Christchurch *Press*, 29 September 1998
[50] See for example, Heidensohn 1996, Smart 1989, and Chesney-Lind, 1997.
[51] Smith, 1993, p. 8.
[52] Chesney-Lind & Pollock 1995, p. 157.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[54] Daly, K. (1989a). Criminal Justice Ideologies and Practices in Different Voices: Some Feminist Questions about Justice. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 17, p. 6-7.
[55] Heidensohn, 1986.
[56] Jeffries, 2001.
[57] Heidensohn, 1986.
[58] Heidensohn, 1986.
[59] *New Zealand Herald*, 8 September 2000
[60] Lash, B. (1998). *Census of Prison Inmates 1997.* Wellington: Ministry of Justice: 55
[61] Ministry of Justice. (1996b). *Male Inmates Who Were Their Children's Primary Care Givers.* Wellington: Ministry of Justice.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[63] See for example, Daly 1987a; Daly, K. (1987b). Structure and Practice of Familial-Based Justice in a Criminal Court. *Law and Society Review*, 21, 2, pp. 267-90; Daly, K. Daly, K. (1989b). Neither Conflict Nor Labeling Nor Paternalism will Suffice: Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Family in Criminal Court Decisions. *Crime and Delinquency*, 35, 1, pp. 136-68; Daly, K. (1989c). Rethinking Judicial Paternalism: Gender, Work-Family Relations, and Sentencing. *Gender and Society*, 3, 1, pp. 9-36.
[64] See Jeffries, 2001.
[65] Ministry of Justice 1996b, p. 31.
[66] Davis, A. (1991). The Costs of Surviving Men's Prison Sentences. *Women and Criminal Justice*, 2, 2, p. 27.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-2.
[68] Sheridan, M.J. (1996). Comparison of the Life Experiences and Personal Functioning of Men and Women in Prison. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 77, 7, pp. 423-34.
[69] See for example, Groth, N., Wolbert-Burgess, A. (1980). Male Rape: Offenders and Victims. American *Journal of Psychiatry*, 137, 7, pp. 806-10. Kaufman, A., Divasto, P., Jackson, R., Voorhees, D., Christy, J. (1980). Male Rape Victims: Noninstitutionalized Assault. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 137, 2, pp. 221-3.
[70] Daly 1989a, p. 15.
[71] Collier, R. (1998). *Masculinities, Crime, and Criminology: Men, Heterosexuality, and the Criminal(ised) Other.* London: Sage Publications.
[72] Walklate, S. (1995). *Gender and Crime: An Introduction.* London: Prentice Hall Harvester Wheatsheaf: pp. 186-7.

More Women and New Skills: Economic Restructuring and the Feminisation of Aotearoa New Zealand's Museums

JOANNA COBLEY & TOBY HARFIELD

Introduction

Statistics indicate that the museum sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is growing.[1] The number of paid positions in the museum sector has increased over six-fold from 1966 to 1996, and the trend continues (see Table 1). Museum sector employment includes all museum positions, including cultural (or museum professional positions such as director, curators, education officers, exhibition designers, conservators and collection managers) and non-cultural positions (including management, administration, security and cleaning staff). While increasing overall, the growth in numbers of women employed in museums is especially interesting. The number and ratio of women employed in the museum aector in Aotearoa New Zealand has steadily increased from thirty per cent of the museum workforce in 1966, to fifty-five per cent in 1996. Particularly interesting is the growth in the number and ratio of women employed in curatorial positions (see Table 2). Aotearoa New Zealand census figures show that women held none of the thirty-one curatorial positions in 1966. By 1996, women held 223, over half, of the 420 curatorial positions. Women's participation in these positions had increased phenomenally from zero to fifty-three per cent. Lying behind this growth, particularly since the 1980s, is a story of neo-liberal economics and the dramatic process of restructuring a country, which created a radical, free market economy (Kelsey 1995).

Our focus is to examine the impact of economic restructuring on the museum sector in Aotearoa New Zealand between 1984 and 1999. We explore the relationship between economic restructuring and the influx of women employed in the museum sector during this period to see if these factors point to feminisation. There are three approaches to our inquiry. First, we outline the impact of economic restructuring on the museum sector; second, we explore theories of feminisation; and third, we employ qualitative data to assess how variously economic

restructuring has affected certain areas and roles within the museum. A brief rationale for our empirical research precedes our discussion.

The context of our discussion is based on one component of the 'New Zealand Experiment', in that all public institutions have become more commercial in both policy and practice. For example, within the framework of economic rationalism, museums, like other public sector organisations, were required to actively generate revenue. As a result, museums shifted their *raison d'être* from the collection, research and preservation of cultural heritage to 'the museum experience.' In the process, museums acquired internal organisational structures, which ensure that they are able to sell their 'products' to the museum 'customer.' In other words, the economic restructuring of the country and the subsequent organisational change required have lead to a repositioning of museums. This refocus has obviously impacted on the role and function of the museum profession, a profession diverse in skills and expertise.

At this point we would like to briefly note that economic restructuring alone did not solely influence this repositioning. A strand of change was already occurring on an international scale within the museum sector since the 1970s, termed the 'democratisation of museums' (McKinlay Douglas Ltd. 1995: 6). The rhetoric of democratisation within the museum sector focused on two issues. First, museums were perceived to be 'elitist' (Bloom & Powell III 1984), and second, there were pressures from under-represented audiences for 'inclusion' in the museum space (Bennett 1995: 104). In Aotearoa New Zealand much debate focused on biculturalism, including training and support for Maori and non-Maori museum staff, how taonga is exhibited, and, importantly, in how the European sense of trusteeship and museum practice differs from Maori protocol (O'Regan 1997: 6; Butts 1990; Butts 1993; Jones 1995). Addressing each of these concerns requires different sets of understandings, and the complexities of democratisation will not be expanded fully in this article. Important to our inquiry is that, from the mid-1980s to the end of the 1990s, the rhetoric of the democratisation of museums absorbed arguments of economic rationalism.

In combination, democratisation and economic restructuring have contributed to a directional shift of the museum sector, placing an emphasis on more visible public services over other activities. This has instilled change in both the organisational structure of the museum

and occupational responsibilities of museum staff. As the museum sector has experienced growth, new types of museum professionals have entered the sector, with different notions about museums and with the necessary skills to implement the changes associated with economic restructuring.[2] Many of these new people are women, and the second focus of this article is on the increase in number and proportion of women employed in the museum sector in relation to feminisation theory. Broadly, feminisation includes factors such as a dramatic increase in the numbers and ratio of women employed in an occupation or sector (Reskin & Roos 1990). Feminisation theorists argue that a combination of macro factors (such as economic restructuring), and micro factors (such as organisational change), provide the conditions for women's entry into a sector (Nesbitt 1997: 27; Bradley *et al.* 2000: 71-91). Feminisation theory also provides a means to analyse the decline in status, pay and work conditions of a profession, which includes increased levels of stress, workloads and workplace dissatisfaction (Bradley 1999: Halford & Leonard 2001); we acknowledge that we cannot fully address this component of feminisation in this article. Social transformation, such as better access to higher education for women, the introduction of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) programmes in the public sector since 1984, and the overall increase of women's participation in paid employment, particularly since the 1970s, can also partially account for this dramatic increase of women employed in the museum sector but also will not be covered in this article (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Women's Affairs 1998).

Research Rationale

The rationale for our research method was to study lived experience, not as a method to study reality and truth but rather as a means to gain understanding about lived experience as a representation of embodied experience located within a moment in time (Denzin 1997: 31). As feminist researchers we chose to conduct research about women and for women; our research method is footnoted.[3] We begin from a feminist standpoint principle that women, in general, are the marginalised 'other'. We felt that the most appropriate way to learn about inequalities within our social structures is to start with those people whose experiences have been traditionally devalued, ignored or invisible (Fonow & Cook 1991; Harding 1987, 1993; Hill Collins

1991). We acknowledge limitations with the feminist standpoint view (see Haraway 1988), and emphasise the contingency of experience; the women involved in the research come from a particular location in time, space (the museum) and place (Aotearoa New Zealand). For example, the research participants have tertiary qualifications and hold professional positions and therefore their experiences may contrast with those of women from different locations, class positions and racial groups (hooks 1984; Hill Collins 1991). There may be similarities between women and men working in museums; our research cannot directly substantiate this, however, as the focus is solely on women.

We focused on mid-career women, broadly described as aged between twenty-eight and forty-two years of age, who have worked in museums for between five and twelve years. Preferably they entered museum work soon after completing their relevant tertiary qualifications. We chose mid-career for two reasons: first, by working within an age/time criterion these women would have experienced changes implemented by the economic restructuring programme that commenced in 1984. Second, feminisation of the museum sector may have been stimulated by the influx of younger, tertiary-qualified women. We hoped to capture women who were familiar with museums, had filled more than one position in the museum and at the same time contributed to this increase in women's employment in the museum sector. Our intention in this article was to focus on the research participants' experiences and interpretations of organisational change. Finally, due to the small size of the museum sector and the need to protect confidentiality of the research participants, the women's voices are anonymous.

Feminisation

Feminisation has been discussed in many ways, and broadly encompasses three categories: feminisation of the labour market, the feminisation of occupations, and the feminisation of work (Bradley *et al.* 2000: 73-74). The causes of the feminisation of labour are complex, and describing the process and character of feminisation in the 1980s and 1990s is not only fraught with contradictions, it requires more then one model for analysis (Bruegel 2000: 99; Chiu & Leicht 1999: 558). Social factors are important when accounting for women's increased entry into the labour market:

since the 1970s better access to education have provided more employment opportunities for women particularly for young, professional women (Walby 1997).

With the increase of women's participation in the labour market, studies of feminisation emerged. In the 1970s, studies on the feminisation of labour suggested that in occupations where the percentage of women rose, women gained entry because working conditions deteriorated, prompting men to leave for better jobs elsewhere (Chiu & Leicht 1999: 558). Based on their study of the impact of women entering thirty male-dominated occupations in the public and private sector in North America, Barbara F. Reskin & Patricia A. Roos (1990) described this pattern as 'male flight.' Male flight is said to magnify when a decline in work conditions and status is combined with a shortage in male labour (Chiu & Leicht 1999: 558). As women entered these traditionally male-dominated fields, women were concentrated in lower paying, less desirable positions, and often in part-time rather than full-time work. Reskin & Roos label this 'ghettoization' (1990: 71). Further, if men and women held the same occupational title there were often differences in the organisations and sectors where they worked and in the tasks undertaken (Reskin & Roos 1990: 71). Evidence of some 'ghettoization' of women's placement in top museum positions is shown in studies conducted in the United States. For example, Paul Di Maggio's (1988: 13) study on art museum administrators in the United States found that women art gallery directors tended to manage smaller and lower budget museums situated away from the main metropolitan centres, and Jean Weber (1994: 34) comments that women tended to be clustered into director positions for children's museums. Similar studies have yet to be conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Since the 1980s, the theory of male flight used to explain the influx of women and the subsequent feminisation of an occupation or sector has been contested and replaced; this can be seen in the work of British researcher Irene Bruegel. Bruegel claims that male flight to better jobs is less likely to occur and instead is replaced by male unemployment (Bruegal 2000: 80). Bruegel's analysis is broad-based; she notes that restructuring of the manufacturing sector, a male-dominated field, contributed to redundancy and unemployment for men and at the same time growth in the service sector, a female-dominated field, contributed to the continual increase in employment for women. A similar pattern of economic restructuring, labour market

reform and movement from the manufacturing to service sector has been found in Aotearoa New Zealand and can partially account for the increase in women's employment in the museum sector (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Women's Affairs 1998: 9-11; Harfield 1997). At the same time, more women achieved higher qualifications than did the generations before them, increasing their employment opportunities overall (Wylie 2000: 6). According to Bruegel, an increase in both male unemployment and female employment, combined with a period of economic restructuring, assists feminisation of the labour market (2000: 1). In the next section we outline the effects of economic restructuring on the museum sector and investigate the relationship, if any, to the subsequent need for museum staff to acquire new sets of skills, and the influx of women entering the museum sector.

Museums in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1984–1999: Funding Becomes a Public Issue

One of the interesting paradoxes of the shift towards commercialisation of government administration in Aotearoa New Zealand was the simultaneous requirement for more public accountability. For example, two Acts, the Public Finance Act 1989 and the Local Government Act 1989, were designed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government departments, including museums. Broadly, the Local Government Act 1989 brought local authority accountability into line with central government as under the Public Finance Act 1989 (McCarthy 1998: 76). These acts, combined with increased CEO accountability, particularly in relation to spending, resulted in government adopting a results-focused system where quantification of outputs became the benchmark for measuring competitive advantage.

In effect, the legislative changes placed a tight framework on local authority activities and later, the Local Government Amendment Act 1996 required long term planning for the allocation of public sector funds. This affected museums most dramatically in accounting for and justifying spending. Like all public sector activities, these Acts require museums to:

> Account to their funders (ratepayers) in a very detailed and particular way, and to justify their decisions in terms which those funders are likely

> to accept [...] Museums now must be able to undertake the same type of multi-year planning and reporting and against the same background of accountability to the local authority's own funders as applies to the authority itself (McKinlay Douglas Ltd. 1995: 9).

These acts closed the door on an era when museums had enjoyed less scrutiny. Sir Neil Cossons, Director of the National Museum of Science, London, and frequent consultant for the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) in Wellington, comments that this shift has made the museum more exposed. As a public organisation, management and spending decisions, primarily those made by large metropolitan museums, were scrutinised by the public, the media and in academic circles (Cossons 2000: 3). For example, as individual citizens were asked to 'tighten their belts', in turn the public felt a right to criticise the use of public funds. This included protest about the content and relevance of various exhibitions, and viewing purchases for museum collections and senior staff business trips overseas as excessive (Cossons 2000: 14).

Historically, museums have enjoyed a degree of autonomy in how their funds were allocated, how business priorities were set and how success was determined. Local authority funding, in some cases, was allocated through discretionary grants, often amounting to a single line in the annual budget (McKinlay Douglas Ltd. Ltd. 1995: 36). For example, a survey commissioned by the Museum Directors Federation of Aotearoa New Zealand (MDF) and the Taonga o National Services of the Museum of New Zealand (ToANS) in 1995 found that it was widely believed that museums were funded because they were considered a 'good thing' (McKinlay Douglas Ltd. 1995: 8). Few, if any, funders asked for detailed information on what their museums did; even fewer museums provided their funders with explanation of the purposes for which the funding was sought, the outcomes they hoped to achieve and the ways in which they would assess their achievement (McKinlay Douglas Ltd. 1995: 8).

Museums traditionally have accounted for the social and community benefits of their activities. However, as CEOs:

> ... gained increasing personal responsibility for the performance of their departments and were required to account to government in financial terms, initiatives which involved spending without an easily

> quantified return for their investment became difficult to defend and vulnerable to dissolution in the interests of meeting the demands of the dominant political ideology (McCarthy 1998: 76).

For museums, this meant that funding pivoted around how well the institution could account for its operations. Since 1996, the majority of museums in Aotearoa New Zealand in receipt of public funding have established a service agreement with their principle funder. Funding is received when performance is demonstrated to have met the criteria of the service agreement. Commonly, the performance criteria are quantitative although some qualitative indicators are allowed. Problems are experienced, according to the McKinlay Douglas Ltd Report, in that costs are easily quantified but benefits were not (1995: 17). The imperative to resolve this conflict is crucial as continual receipt of state and/or local government funds depends on an acceptable solution. The logical outcome of fiscal restraint within a commercial philosophy has been to change the purpose of museums from providing a service to the government to providing a service to individual customers through the 'museum experience'. In a market economy, 'the consumer' becomes the centre of the discourse.

Customer Focus

The expansion of the service sector is the natural outcome of an economic policy based on the neo-liberal free market model. As part of this expansion, the museum sector has reflected marketing principles of private enterprise adopting aggressive marketing techniques and 'branding' the museum into a visitor-centred commercial operation, thus shifting the museum from its traditional role as a research and educational institution. Changes are based on the perception that the museum visitor is a 'discerning consumer' who 'chooses' to visit the museum for a 'leisure experience' as part of their 'discretionary' expenditure (Craig-Lees, Joy & Browne 1995). Visitor profiles and market research enable museums to target niche markets to sell their products, exhibitions and services (Macdonald 1998: 118). Consequently, the museum's audience profile is dissected and marketing strategies are put in place to take advantage of this information. This involves researching patterns of visitation (Hooper-Greenhill 1997), researching ways in which people interact with exhibitions and construct meanings (Kavanagh 1996), and evaluating

the overall museum experience both during and after their visit (Rennie 1995; Falk & Dierking 1992).

At the same time, the basic premise of leisure and consumerism relating to museums both internationally and in Aotearoa New Zealand are problematic and marked with contradictions. In principle 'both net time and net income have grown consistently in the last half century allowing many people to enjoy privileges and opportunities until relatively recently restricted to the few' (Cossons 2000: 2). However, since the economic slump of the late 1980s, marked by the share market crash in 1987 and a decreasing climate of job security since the early 1990s, people have, in fact, less leisure time and disposable income. Work has eaten into leisure and family time and since part-time and contract work has increased, the traditional working week has blurred. Further, with the trend of high unemployment and an oversupply of labour, traditional patterns of social and class identity that once centred on work have destabilised and been replaced by leisure and consumption patterns (Bradley 1999: 17). As part of the tourist, leisure and entertainment industry, museums have been sensitive to this shift. For example, extended opening hours and popular blockbuster exhibitions combined with aggressive marketing strategies have been adopted by museums to tempt non-traditional or 'reluctant' visitors to the museum (Macdonald 1998). Recently in Aotearoa New Zealand the leverage of blockbuster exhibitions in attracting both revenue and new visitors to the museum has been questioned, this was particularly evident in the Auckland Museum's decision not to host the *Dead Sea Scrolls* exhibition in 2001.

Although the concepts of leisure time and customer satisfaction are far from being universally defined, to maintain their existence, museums in Aotearoa New Zealand have overwhelmingly adopted a market focus. The 'visitor experience' has become the central marketing premise, which has had the effect of changing what is important in both organisational practices and public expectations. Overall, services have been established to enhance the visitor experience. For example, a user-friendly image of the museum's services and facilities are marketed, using logos and slogans. Logos and slogans also serve to package the museum as a 'brand name', which reflects value to the discerning consumer. These techniques also relieve the museum from its image as an ivory tower.

The generation of revenue is the expected outcome of a marketing focus, in the form of increased numbers of visitors and higher visitor spending on attractions and value-added services such as retail outlets. Most large metropolitan museums in Aotearoa New Zealand have a retail outlet, which sell quality merchandise to their niche market. Many museums, including medium-size museums in the regions, offer diverse and entertaining public programmes (films, music, performances, demonstrations, guided tours, workshops and lectures), and provide essential services such as cafes and restaurants, restroom facilities and secured personal check-in cloakrooms. These services not only enhance the visitor experience; they also generate revenue from individuals and promote sponsorship funding (Macdonald 1998). Packaging the museum into a commercially viable cultural destination has required both a new work culture and new sets of skills to enter the museum sector.

Importing New Skills

In response to the immediacy of the national economic restructuring programme and accountability expectations placed on museums, new skills have been imported into the museum sector. Previously, in both Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally, these skills – marketing and management – had not been regarded as core skills necessary for museum professionals (van Mensch 1989). The combination of structural and organisational change affected the roles of professionally trained museum staff as museums broadened their employment criteria to encompass what museum professionals would consider 'outsiders'. Ironically, these outsiders are also 'professionals'.

The role of outsiders serves a double purpose. First, outsiders assist the museum in meeting its obligations to be proficient with commercial imperatives of efficiency and performance targets, as a woman who worked closely with marketing observed:

> We are becoming a much more commercial organisation. Although we primarily still get money from the public sector, we have to operate in a commercial/private sector way. That means we have a lot of people who come from the commercial/private sector world, coming into our organisation [...]. So I just get a feeling that we are becoming more commercially focused, focused on earning money and that sort of stuff.

Second, outsiders fulfil a duty similar to that of a change agent.

They are employed to bring 'freshness' to the museum. Thus the museum's problematic position as an ivory tower with exhibitions perceived to be overly didactic and business practices (such as collection building and conservation) considered expensive, inefficient and providing little immediate economic return, have been exploited by museum directors through employing outsiders with commercial experience to instil the new management model. In the words of two women, one a designer and the other a market researcher, who considered themselves outsiders:

> I think the director saw me as quite refreshing, quite bubbly, outgoing, full of ideas [...] By getting these 'new idea' people in, I think that was the director's perception at the time, to get a freshness from the outside coming in and that will help the change, just slowly break it down.

> I was really keen on the idea of repositioning museums for people; I was the right person to be doing this sort of work because I would have been a reluctant museum visitor anyway.

Two other women, one a professionally trained conservator and the other a museum studies graduate working in the curatorial field, observed rather dryly that:

> The trend right now is to employ people from outside the museum world. They [directors] all think that it would bring much more expertise and not hold us back in that old museum, ivory tower way.

> Outsiders who have been employed to bring 'freshness' to the museum often have a different view of the purpose of a museum from that of longer serving museum professionals.

Although it is argued that new skills and freshness is desperately needed in the museum sector, some participants believe that outsiders also need to appreciate the difference between private sector goals and public service ideals, and understand the purpose of the museum. In the words of two women, the first a public programmes manager and the second, a designer:

> Actually, what happened is that anybody who came from the corporate sector looked at museum-experienced staff and thought, 'these people have no idea about commercial reality.' I suppose to some degree we didn't. But I think we have come an enormous way and now do have

> that. Instead, I think I helped them understand what the visitor experience is about and how they need to keep that centre of what they do.
>
> When I first came here, I thought it was going to be sleepy behind the scenes. I remember walking in and thinking, this is so calm, relaxed, and commercial is so fast and hard, constantly turning things over.

Outsiders are often management experts, they are employed specifically to manage specialists, implement strategic management policies, organise and manage capital development projects, install business plans and promote the museum (Flynn 1999). Simultaneously some museum professionals have been promoted to management positions, adding complexity to the tangle of professional identity and work roles within a period of change. Overall, all professional museum staff have been retrained with the new corporate ethos, and the degree of acceptance varies between the research participants:

> It feels like quite a regime, we are told how to behave, and how to answer telephones. It is a whole business out there, loads and loads of seminars and training programmes for staff on how to manage each other and how to manage the public and all sorts of things – fascinating.
>
> It is a new venture, its commercial imperative comes into everything we do, so just grasping that has been enormously difficult for some people and I do find that exasperating at times.
>
> We need money and we need to stay looking new to suit our funders, I've bought into that amount of the corporate spiel.

Significantly, this influx of outsiders produced uncertainty for some of the museum professionals and their belief that museum work required people skilled with specific areas of expertise. This was a particular concern with the research participants who were involved in collection management, curatorial and conservation work. Not only did these specialists feel that outsiders lacked sufficient understanding about the intricacies of museum work, as noted above, they also felt that the employment of outsiders in significant numbers indicated some danger that role specialisation was being eroded. With the dramatic increase of outsiders, concern is raised that museum standards and the level of professionalism would drop. Such concerns also reflect broader international debates about what constitutes a 'museum profession' (van Mensch 1989;

Weil 1990). For example, a conservator, who was highly trained and specialised, commented:

> I am really worried about bringing people in with no museum background for a variety of reasons [...] it just illuminates why do we have museum training courses anyway? Why do we have a profession called museology? And why does any of the rest of us have credentials and qualifications in museums if we can just go out and employ anybody to do the job?

A curator felt that management was shaping her work commitments and priorities, thus indicating a weakness in the stature of her position where she felt that management 'interests' placed the objects in her care 'at risk':

> I have this feeling that the Project Team, the people who set and timetable all of the exhibitions and all of the curatorial and conservation work, are being set by people who have absolutely no understanding of the work involved or the time involved. They treat us as if they are building buildings, or building a hotel and it doesn't tend to have sympathy for curators and conservation workers or the objects. Objects just don't figure they hardly enter the Project Team's mind.

The views of this curator point to problems with autonomy and respect between specialist managers, or outsiders, and the specialists they manage, museum professionals (Flynn 1999).

Expressed problems were most notable in discussion of changing workplace roles. For example, it may be difficult for the specialist museum worker to support their specialist manager if the manager is implementing a change in direction for the museum that conflicts with the service ideals of the museum professional. In some cases outsiders are viewed as dangerous and perceived as installed to dismantle or replace the informal networks of power, which have been held for a very long time by the curator:

> Curators are really in limbo at the moment. We have really been looked down on, there have been various assumptions made about us as being autocratic, being stuck in the past, inflexible, that sort of thing.
>
> Curators used to be at the top of the bundle, now they're not.

Similar difficulties arise if the specialist manager does not value the skills and expertise of their museum professional staff and presume

that they, in principle, are adverse to change or their role conflicted with the commercial ethos (Macdonald 1997: 168). In the interview conversations, tensions were most evident between curators and outsiders, as illustrated by two women, the first a curator and the second, an outsider who was a designer:

> Our previous manager was totally out of touch; she viewed us curators as those wonderful creatures who wandered around like medieval scholars.

> Curators are so much more precious, they're always based around 'this is my collection' and they are very protective, like bodyguards.

Whilst it is tempting to create a dichotomy between a 'new museology' and 'old museology' which focuses on conflicting ideals between the outsider and the specialist museum professional (Ames 1992: 27), this will not wholly capture the subtle manoeuvrings between the museum professional operating within an environment of change as a means for survival and the outsider employed to implement change because of their outsider status. Nor will it offer a way of understanding how some museum professionals have been promoted to management positions and others have not. Given that the effects of economic restructuring have created new demands and priorities for museums and museum services, we argue that this has opened-up the traditional hierarchy of museum positions. Some areas within the museum infrastructure have declined, contributing to a loss in status, rewards and autonomy for some workers. This was particularly pertinent for the interview participants who were curators. One curator commented that she lacked seniority within her own institution but was expected to fulfil a senior role with the public:

> Although I am basically a senior curator, I don't get paid as one. Nor am I really recognised in the institution, although I do have to deal with people outside the institution coming to me and expecting me to have seniority and clout, and of course experience and knowledge too.

> The trouble with our museum is that it is too 'try hard.' It is trying to do too many things for too many people [...]. But they can't appreciate that you can actually touch people just by doing a really, really good painting show, rather than having all the doo dackies, the whizz bangs, the video screens and the endless sound tracks going on in the background.

From the above quotation it is also clear that she had trouble with the type of exhibition practice her museum had recently adopted, one that was more 'theme park like,' as a means to attract a broader audience, which she perceived as a decline in standards. The evidence from these museum professionals clearly describes the changing organisational cultures within Aotearoa New Zealand's museum sector.

It is to be expected that this growth in the museum sector will have both positive and negative effects on individuals, organisations and the sector as a whole. New types of professionals entered the museum sector with different notions about museums and with the necessary skills to implement the changes associated with economic restructuring, yet some museum professionals have also been promoted to management positions. One positive outcome is that new opportunities have been presented for women.

Museum Women

Currently in Aotearoa New Zealand a number of women hold positions of power in the museum world. Dame Cheryl Southeran was until recently Chief Executive Officer of Te Papa, Priscilla Pitts is Director of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery and Paula Savage directs the City Gallery, Wellington. In the regions, Helen Telford directs the Bishop Suter Art Gallery, Julie Catchpole the Manawatu Science Centre, Museum and Art Gallery and Sharon Dell directs the Whanganui Museum. These women play an important role in shaping prospective women's career paths in the museum profession. Women appear to be reaching positions of power within the museum sector and there are apparently continuing prospects for advancement.

Women museum professionals are employed in all areas of the museum, catering for the visitor experience or caring for the museum collections. Women are employed in junior and senior positions in the areas of collection management, conservation, curatorial research, exhibition design, visitor research, education and public programmes. This variety suggests a general openness to museums employing women in a wide spectrum of roles rather than occupational segregation as evident in other feminised occupations such as banking and finance (Reskin & Roos 1990) and libraries (Harris 1992).

Throughout this paper we have suggested that feminisation accompanies economic restructuring. The data available from

Statistics New Zealand from the period 1966–1996 appears to support this position. In the period 1986–1996 when the economic restructuring programme in Aotearoa New Zealand was at its peak, the museum sector experienced growth in both the number of jobs available and the range of services offered (see Table 1). Thus, the expectation that a greater range of services requires a greater number of workers appears to be validated. For example, education and public programmes, traditional strongholds for women, became vital to the success of the museum's transition into the market economy, where museums competitively sell their products to the discerning museum visitor. Until recently, the education role within the museum had low status, compared to that of other specialised museum roles, like curatorial work. Whilst the role of education and public programmes has prominence in the new management model, this does not suggest improvement in the pay, status and work conditions of museum educators and public programmers *per se*.

Most significant to our study is that there appears to be a trend that women are gravitating towards curatorial work (see Table 2). New Zealand Census figures show that the portion of women employed in curatorial positions has increased phenomenally, from zero to fifty-three per cent in the thirty-year period 1966–1996, thus dramatically altering the male-dominated status of curatorial work. At the same time this role has experienced a decline in status, as noted by some curators in the previous section.

Table 1: Museum Sector Employment in Aotearoa New Zealand 1966-1996

Sector	**1966**	**1971**	**1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1991**	**1996**
Male	131	172	213	576	555	495	587
Female	70	82	144	261	450	441	718
Total	201	254	357	837	1005	936	1305
New Jobs		53	103	480	168	-69	369
New Jobs M%		77.4%	39.8%	75.6%	-12.5%	87.0%*	24.9%
New Jobs F%		22.6%	60.2%	24.4%	112.5%	13.0%*	75.1%
Overall M%	65.2%	67.7%	59.7%	68.8%	55.2%	52.9%	45.0%
Overall F%	34.8%	32.3%	40.3%	31.2%	44.8%	47.1%	55.0%
Change in M%		2.5%	-8.1%	9.2%	-13.6%	-2.3%	-7.9%
Change in F%		-2.5%	8.1%	-9.2%	13.6%	2.3%	7.9%

** As the number of jobs decreased in this period, this figure indicates the percentage of jobs lost.*

Table 2: Museum Curator Employment in Aotearoa New Zealand 1966-1996

Curators	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996
Male	31	36	53	60	117	159	197
Female	0	10	26	30	108	141	223
Total	31	46	79	90	225	300	420
New Jobs		15	33	11	135	75	120
New Jobs M%		33.3%	51.5%	63.6%	42.2%	56.0%	31.7%
New Jobs F%		66.7%	48.5%	36.4%	57.8%	44.0%	68.3%
Overall M%	100.0%	78.3%	67.1%	66.7%	52.0%	53.0%	46.9%
Overall F%	0.0%	21.7%	32.9%	33.3%	48.0%	47.0%	53.1%
Change in M%		-21.7%	-11.2%	-0.4%	-14.7%	1.0%	-6.1%
Change in F%		21.7%	11.2%	0.4%	14.7%	-1.0%	6.1%

Although curators represent a small portion of museum sector employment, historically since the later nineteenth century and on an international scale, the curatorial role has held the balance of power within the museum. Since the 1980s, a period of economic restructuring and increased accountability of public sector organisations, museums shifted their emphasis from research to education and service. Thus redefining the role of the museum professional, including curators, from the role of the authoritative subject specialist to that of cultural facilitator, someone who shares the museum collections with the community. As a result, the roles of collecting, researching and preserving became subservient to the mission of the museum experience and with the increase in numbers of women employed in these areas the status of these roles has declined.

Feminisation theorist, Paula Nesbitt argues that an influx of women into an occupational group hints 'at structural changes' within the sector itself (1997: 8). She claims that because women have less socio-economic and political currency in the labour market, traditional signposts of feminisation, such as a decline in pay, status and work conditions, are the factors which allow women into a sector that was previously closed to them (Nesbitt 1997: 27). A decline in the status of the curatorial role appears to have occurred in the museum sector. At the same time, however, the number of curatorial positions in the museum sector has increased. Young, tertiary-qualified women have filled these positions.

Towards the end of the 1990s, over one third of women curators (thirty-six per cent) were under thirty-five years of age. Male curators

were older, with only twenty-four per cent aged less than thirty-five years of age (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Cultural Affairs 1996:26). These women are paid significantly less than their male peers. The median income of male curators ($37,700) in 1996 was forty per cent higher than that of women curators ($26,800); this difference is higher than the gender-earnings gap of the total labour force (Statistics New Zealand & Ministry of Cultural Affairs 1996:26). These figures suggest vertical segregation, where men are more likely to hold positions of responsibility and reach such positions more quickly than women (Brooks, Harfield & Fenwick 2000). Detailed information about male and female career trajectory in the museum sector is not currently available in New Zealand to substantiate this claim,[4] but the fact that women are paid less than men indicates a continuation in patterns of a gender wage earnings gap. Significantly, as the sector is employing increasing numbers of highly qualified young women, evidence of the gender pay gap supports Nesbitt's view that women have less socio-economic and political currency in the labour market (1997:27).

Conclusion

In this paper, we argued that the economic restructuring of the country has lead to a repositioning of museums from a research-based institution into a market-driven visitor-centred destination. Drawing from interview data with seventeen mid-career women museum professionals, we illustrated the effects of structural and organisational change on their work. The combination of structural and organisational change has affected the roles of professionally trained museum staff and altered the power relationships within museums (Kavanagh 1991:40). Those most adversely affected were curators: All the research participants who were curators spoke of a decline in their work status and confusion about the role of their work in the new economic regime. Further, the employment of outsiders to bring 'freshness' into the museum sector and implement the management model has increased feelings of unease for some of the research participants. Perhaps these tensions within the museum sector can be attributed to a profession coming-to-terms with a new discourse, shifting from a public service model into a public management culture of competitiveness and commercialisation. On the other hand, these factors can also be attributed to feminisation.

Broadly, feminisation of an industry sector has two easily

identifiable characteristics: growth and decline. The growth is a significant increase in the number and proportion of women employed in a sector that is growing. The decline revolves around issues of status, pay and work conditions and, according to Reskin & Roos (1990), is often accompanied by male flight. There is no statistical evidence to suggest that men are leaving the museum sector in significant numbers, if at all. Feminisation has come to imply that the influx of women has caused adverse conditions. In fact, a combination of external factors, such as economic restructuring and internal adjustments, such as organisational change, provide the conditions for women's entry into the sector (Nesbitt 1997:27).

There has been an incremental increase in the number and ratio of women employed in the museum sector. This includes traditional female strongholds such as education and public programmes, but also curatorial work, traditionally a male-dominated field. Reasons for the increase of women in these areas differ. Until recently, the education role within the museum had low status, compared to that of other specialised museum roles, like curatorial work. Under the framework of economic rationalism, museums have adopted the ethos of income generation based around a market focus and education and public programmes became vital to the success of this shift. While the role of education and public programmes is important in the new market model this does not suggest improvement *per se* in the pay, status and work conditions of museum educators and public programmers, who are primarily women. In the case of curators, since economic restructuring, women have filled most of the new curatorial positions. These women are highly qualified and primarily young (under thirty-five years). There is evidence from the research participants who were curators that tensions felt, particularly in relation to their low pay, low status and decline in work conditions, suggest the curatorial role under the new market model has feminised.

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Toby Harfield earned her Masters degree from the Department of History at the University of Auckland and her PhD from the Management Department at the University of Canterbury. Much of her scholarly activity has focused on presenting the experiences of women. She has written about women's educational experience, women's experience within organisations, and women experiencing being in business.

Notes

[1] The following figures are based on readily available information from Statistics New Zealand and the museum sector. Figures on the exact number of museums vary. The New Zealand Yearbook shows in 1968 there were approximately fifty-five museums (1968, p. 1079), in 1988 this had increased to over two hundred museums (1988-1989, p. 402) and in 1998 there were six hundred museums (1998, p. 272). In the context of this article 'museum' refers to cultural institutions within Aotearoa New Zealand that interpret and/or collect cultural, natural and scientific material (Donnelly 1996: 3). Our research focus is on museums that employ professional, paid staff; it excludes the smaller, rural-based volunteer-run museums.

[2] Sector growth is most notable in the 1990s with the extensive rebuilding programmes of large metropolitan museums, particularly The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa), in Wellington, and the Auckland War Memorial and Museum, although development in the regions, such as the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, have also had impact in relation to job growth and the redefinition of museum roles.

[3] Between February and August 1999 open-ended semi-structured interviews were conducted with seventeen women working in the museum profession through Aotearoa New Zealand. Twenty-one women originally agreed to be interviewed, two women later declined. We chose women from different areas of expertise, such as curatorial, public programmes and education, directors of small museums, research, conservation, collection management, and exhibition design. We attempted to gain a balance between different regions throughout the North and South Islands, between small to medium sized regional museums and the large metropolitan museums. The interviews were more like informal conversations, between 60 to 90 minutes in duration, and comprising twelve questions exploring changes in the workplace, gender and power. These interviews were taped and later transcribed. Excerpts from the interview transcripts were selected under certain themes (museums, the museum profession, gender, power and biculturalism) and sent to the research participants for comment. At that stage, two more women chose to withdraw.

[4] Jennifer Evans conducted a pilot study of women working in the museum profession in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1991. From the survey responses (of 125 women), Evans built a profile of women working in museums. Women comprised forty-seven per cent of the sector but held only seven per cent of director positions

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Gender and Pay in Clothing and Laundry Work: Linda Hill talks to Maxine Gay, Clothing, Laundry & Allied Workers Union

LINDA HILL

Maxine Gay's name will be well known to many through her activism on globalisation issues and as a union organiser representing women workers. She is Secretary of the Clothing, Laundry & Allied Workers Union, based in Porirua. She has been involved in the clothing industry and issues for low paid working women all her working life.

This interview was conducted in November 2001 as part of the Ministry of Women's Affairs' (MWA) policy work on pay equity. New Zealand has obligations under International Labour Organisation Convention 100 and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women to ensure equal pay and equal pay for work of equal value for women. MWA wanted to know more about the situation of women doing different kinds of work, and how pay rates are being decided in a deregulated labour market.

Maxine's account of clothing and laundry work provided fascinating insights into how jobs may be defined and 'gendered' to rationalise different pay for men and women. She also talked about how globalisation and subcontracting have affected clothes manufacturing and the women she represents. Her permission was asked to share these insights more widely through an article in *Women's Studies Journal.*

Gendering jobs

In clothing, textile and laundry work, are you encountering situations where women in the same or similar jobs are not getting the same pay as men?

Yes. In clothing factories, for example, if you take cutters. Cutting was always a man's domain, it was considered way too heavy for women. With computerised Gerber cutters, there have been a lot more women coming into it, but the men are always significantly higher paid. They try to justify that on the basis that they might lift the bolts

of cloth down or something like that, but in doing the actual cutting the women show they are equally as strong.

So it is not the skilled bits of the job that they're getting paid extra for, it is the unskilled bits.

Yes, that's right, they're getting paid for their brawn. If there is a Gerber cutter, the man will be operating that, although the women will be perfectly able to do so. But they'll be required to do the cutting on the more manual layouts.

So it's really not strength, the men are cornering the technology?

Yes. Within laundries, it seems to be based around the sorting. Dirty laundry has been given to men because that attracts additional allowances. Laundry workers might have the same rate of pay based on length of time in the job, but there are extra allowances usually for obnoxious work, so the men tend to get those jobs, although women are perfectly able to sort dirty laundry.

Are these jobs allocated on a daily basis, or permanently?

Permanently. In a laundry, there might be thirty women and five men. Of the five men, one will be the driver and the other four will be sorting the dirty linen into its various categories, getting a dirt rate which can be $40 or $50 a week. Often in hospital-based laundries, a driver will also be the distributor of finished work. The dirty laundry comes in maybe from three or four outlying places, gets processed, comes back and then gets distributed around to its drop-off points. That again is almost inevitably men, I don't think we've got one woman doing this work.

Is that because it is heavy work?

No, it is the best paid work. You're only allowed to have laundry in certain bundle weights anyway, and there are all sorts of gizmos for lifting and taking them off the truck and trolleys. So it is not an impossible job for women to do. It gets you out of the laundry and away from all the heat and steam. These jobs are all done by men.

Is this discussed by the women?

Yes, it is. And also we come into race. Laundries are fairly multicultural. As well as Maori and Pacific people, there's quite a

high Middle East component. They don't make a fuss, because of limited English and because of gratitude for the job.

So the better jobs are held by ...?

Pakeha men. If I think about [a large hospital laundry], the three Pakeha men get to do the driving. There is always a second person to help the driver to unload and get things picked up, and it is always two men who go.

Are they are seen as drivers, rather than as laundry workers who happen to do deliveries?

No, their classification is that they're all generic laundry workers. The jobs are rotated, but the sorting of the dirty linen and the driving are only rotated within a small cluster. Every other job within the laundry is rotated because of Repetitive Strain Injury. It is very repetitive work. People might do a two or three week rotation. Sometimes in small laundries they'll do rotation on a daily basis because they're handling things manually a lot more. Some women will ask to only do folding, if they like to do that. But people are also encouraged to rotate because the workers then have a broader skill base and can fill gaps. If someone is away or something happens, everybody knows how to use all the machinery and things.

Are you also covering private laundries?

Private sector laundries are even more dismal places. They're struggling all the time to get work. The hospital laundries get the big contracts, for rest homes as well as hospitals and sometimes for very big hotels. Whereas private laundries are covering hotels, smaller rest homes, high school dormitories, hostels, restaurants and that kind of thing. Those contracts are a lot more precarious, so employment is a lot more precarious in the private sector laundries. Again, it is very hierarchical. Men are paid the higher rates, ostensibly for doing the more difficult jobs. But you see women lifting those big wet sheets around and using huge ironers, they're perfectly capable of doing the other jobs.

Do the women you're representing talk about the different jobs for women and men, and that the men are getting better pay?

Yes, they do.

Valuing women's skills and knowledge

Commercial laundries are not just an expanded home laundry, which is what the work is paid as. It is paid as 'women's work' and everyone does the washing at home – or women do. It is considered unskilled, you throw the stuff in, you put some soap powder on it and that's it, you go away. Whereas in commercial laundries there is a huge volume of chemicals being used. They are incredibly responsible for hygiene and safety within the hospital, which is simply not recognised. They're one of the lowest paid group of workers in a public hospital.

In clothing manufacturing as well, the machinery women are operating these days isn't just a sewing machine with a couple of foot pedals. They're operating light industrial machinery. They are required, as part of their job, to do up to eighty per cent of the machine maintenance. It's only significant timing and major faults that are done by a mechanic. They're also expected to recognise fabric faults. Increasingly the machinery is computerised and they're expected to be able to understand that. They're doing mathematics at a fairly sophisticated level – and they're paid nine bucks an hour.

A lot of the work in clothing factories is piece-work. We went through a period where people were doing piece-work, then they were making whole garments, and now they're back to making bits of garments. Everything is timed down to how many collars you should do in a minute. There are all sorts of sophisticated timing systems, as well as timing engineers doing traditional time and motion studies.

That sounds like RSI territory, too.

Hugely so. The slightly bigger companies bring people out from Australia, Ireland or somewhere to spend six months here and do time and motion studies. Then the company will employ someone in that position. The classic case at the moment is a place where they've got a fellow who was a mechanic that they sent off to do training as a GSD operator, the person who sets the times for the work. GSD – General Sewing Data – is an international system for timing work. Now, it wouldn't take much to realise that an international system based on a factory with one thousand workers simply can't be applied to a factory with sixty, which is a large factory in New Zealand. In a huge factory, you will have work clusters within one production line, and the women will be able to stay on the same machine. But in a

factory with sixty, a woman might use three machines in the day, because you haven't got enough work to keep one woman going all day on each machine. So you will never hit the same rhythm and the same volume per minute, no matter how proficient you are. But this man can't get that inside his head. He's a mechanic, he fixes machines. They could have chosen a machinist, somebody who uses the machines, to go on that course. But they didn't.

Someone who understands the work and work flows?

That's right, and knows the complexities. I might be able to do sixty with this piece of fabric, but I can only do forty-five with that piece of fabric because of the way it slips and clings and grabs. Whereas what he will do is tweak the machine. Here is the standard, I'm making this machine go as fast as it can, so therefore if you're not reaching those target figures, it is you, something wrong with you.

So he is treating the people as machines, and not taking account of the work itself?

That's right, and he can't see that at all. The people who know the work are not promoted. These women are very bitter that this fellow is doing the work that they know that one of them could have trained for. Probably five of the women would have been superbly capable of going off for that training and being able to use it in a way that was very useful.

Bad as the GSD system is, it is less subjective than the old standard time and motion studies. The problem is, in a number of factories, they're using a combination of systems. Just this year, since three places brought out these gurus, we've had a huge increase in Repetitive Strain Injury. Especially rotator cuff syndrome, which affects the muscles around the shoulders. Quite a few places have got automated systems where you're reaching up and pulling the work down from behind you. In the past you would have had a little trolley sitting beside you with your bundles, and you're picking the work up. The idea is that the overhead auto-system is supposed to come to you and drop the work down, but of course, if you're a fast operator, you bring it down by stretching back and pulling it.

Because they're under pressure to match these time standards?

Yes, and there's a bonus involved. If you are faster than the pre-

set time, there is an additional payment. I'm just taking a case for a woman to have her injury recognised as an occupational injury. She's not had time off work, but she has had a lot of specialist and doctor appointments to pay for. This is a company within the ACC partnership programme, it is running its own Accident Compensation programme. They've now decided that her injury is a degenerative disease rather than a work-based injury. She's forty. They're freely acknowledging that it is exacerbated by work 'but we can't say that it was caused by work'. It is actually a more common injury in builders. But I've got three more now in the same factory, which was automated in the middle of last year. So I think that we have a reasonable case.

Clearly there are lots of important issues for these women. Do you think women in clothing and laundry jobs will be interested if equal pay for work of equal value were raised as a political issue?

Yes, if it is in language that they can use. I've often tried to think what sort of men's occupations you could use for pay equity comparisons for women in clothing factories. There are lots that you could use.

Clothing machinist is one of the most common occupations for women.

Yes, I think we'd be able to find quite a few male-dominated occupations that we would be able to do some really good skill-factor comparisons with. The gap is so huge in some occupations and industries, it is so outrageously inequitable, that there is going to have to be a graduated process. Clothing manufacture is a fragile industry, but they've made a killing off these women over the years.

The Department of Labour's Human Capabilities Framework has arguments about recognising and rewarding skills and that this would make the labour market work better, etc. I've been saying, 'that's what equal pay for work of equal value is all about.'

People understand rewarding skills. Even though women sitting in a factory know that they're doing the same work, they know if someone is one of those machinists that can do absolutely everything and it isn't about speed, if someone is really competent, they don't mind her being paid more. They don't mind that. What they resent terribly is the lack of service pay, that's the thing that really hurts. A

little extra service allowance if you were there for five years. Quite a few of them have had that taken away, employers won't recognise it. In the first two or three years, a person learns the processes that happen in a factory and gets various skills. They become more proficient on both the product and the kind of machines being used. But then there is more value, in that the longer they stay with you, the more they know about those things, and they become more efficient.

There's also institutional memory.

That's right. So you need to be able to pay for that. But trying to win the argument for skill and service pay is very difficult.

Yet job evaluations based on skill were invented by employers, by the big US companies after the war because they didn't want pay rates based on union muscle. Although they wouldn't use them then to look at equal pay for women. Equal pay for work of equal value – 'comparable worth' in the US – is job evaluations based on skills, responsibilities, qualifications, effort, conditions of work.

Well, in my industry, in any industry here, they never say, 'well, this is the skill component, this is the effort component and this is the responsibility component, and that is how we arrived at these pay rates.' I don't think you're ever going to get that without legislation, any more than you'd get paid parental leave, a standard four weeks holiday or anything else of substance. All of those things are simply not going to happen if they're left to the market. So unions need to be looking broader than just their negotiating role.

Changes in the clothing industry

Employment in manufacturing and clothing has been going down, hasn't it. The service sector is growing, but it is low paid, insecure jobs that are increasing. And men's employment is growing in the service sector at lower rates of pay than in traditional male jobs.

Yes, that's right. If you take one example, the closure of Mitsubishi. Those jobs were about $11 to $15 an hour in the factory itself, with a lot of much higher paid jobs as well. There were quite a lot of women process workers there too. Those men and women are the ones who have gone into the service sector now and they're having to do three or four jobs. A lot of the men are still unemployed, but

some of them have gone into those service sector cleaning jobs, perhaps getting $8 an hour on intermittent employment.

What sized places are you generally representing?

Probably the bulk of the plants would have thirty to forty people. I've got a lot of clothing factories with ten to twelve people.

What proportion of the industry would you say you are representing, that are unionised?

There's about thirty per cent between us and the National Distribution Union. But the rest would be the small scattered places. There are about five big workplaces that are unionised. They would employ between seventy and one hundred and twenty people. Most of the rest would fall into the thirty to forty person range, and then some with twelve to fifteen.

I understand there's a lot of sub-contracting, contracts to just do the sleeves, parts of things?

Huge sub-contracting now.

When there were occupational awards, there was one basic pay rate for all machinists, but since that's gone, you can pay a cheaper rate through sub-contracting?

Yes, although some of that work is coming back in-house again. An advantage for employers of the Employment Contracts Act was that they could bring in casual and intermittent labour more easily. Quite a few of the places that employ twelve to fifteen people are very casualised. Those places came into being under the ECA, so the employers are very resistant to any employment agreements, unions. They hate the fact that we now have right of entry to workplaces.

The smaller places do the cut, make and trim operations, so it is not their own brand, they do it for other people. A bit like builders, the builders now will have a core of six tradesmen and then they'll just bring in whatever other men or trades they need at any given time. The factory will have a core of people, and they'll bring people in on call or casuals when they have a big order. And there is a growth in out-work. Margins are so fine that they will pay out-workers to make the lining of the skirt, and they'll have the skirt itself made in the factory, then the two will be put together in the factory. They'll

send out-work to all sorts of places around the country. For example, one Wellington firm has got a little group of out-workers in Blenheim, working in their own homes. They will make blouses maybe, or skirt linings, or a range of things. There was a shirt they were making with quite intricate, fiddly work. The operator was paid $7 for that, and those blouses were selling at $110.

Sub-contracting is also a feature of globalisation, isn't it? How does that affect the women you represent?

Well, let's take something like Pumpkin Patch, which makes mainly children's clothing. Pumpkin Patch got into trouble a year or so ago, some of its stuff was being made in an Auckland sweatshop employing Thai women. Pumpkin Patch has grown hugely, I can take you into factories in New Zealand that are making Pumpkin Patch, but if you go into any retail outlet you will be hard pressed to find New Zealand-made Pumpkin Patch. The clothes sold here are made in China. The New Zealand-made product is being shipped to the UK and other parts of Europe because of a quota system limiting how much they can bring in from China. It's absolutely insane, ships that pass in the night!

And there is a range of pay rates. For example, there was a sweatshop in Auckland that wasn't even paying the minimum wage. We tracked it because the brand was one being made in a legitimate factory in the central North Island, where we had not been able to get a wage increase because the boss said things are so tight. Then a woman contacted us out of the blue and I explored with her what brand they were making. The brand was getting a significant proportion of product made ultra cheap. The legitimate factory was paid X dollars, the one in Auckland was paid Y dollars, but they were both making the same product for the brand owner. The factory was telling us, they won't give any more because they can get it made for $24 in Auckland, but we can barely make it for that. Then when we finally tracked down the principal of the brand, they claimed they were giving the Auckland factory more money per unit than they were giving the other one. We will be restarting wage negotiations in three weeks.[1] I'll be saying to him, this is what they've told us, so you go there and get more money off them and I want it for these workers.

Shows how useful a union can be to a firm!

Yes. But that is why we have to find mechanisms that go beyond individual workplaces, that are industry-wide.

Reviewing pay systems

If we are thinking about comparing women's and men's jobs and pay, we need to know something about what pay systems employers have. The Campaign for Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value is suggesting that employers should have to do an equity review of their pay system, maybe with some agency in an audit role. From what you've said, would that be too much to expect of your small firms?

Completely.

Do the places with thirty or forty staff have a wages clerk?

Yes. A number of clothing factories are run by husband and wife teams, especially in those up to twenty. They'll have maybe one administration person who will do all sorts of things, but quite often the husband would do the pay. I'm only just in the last three years getting some of the bigger ones to even look at putting in pay scales based on skill.

Equal pay for work of equal value could plug into pay systems based on skill, if they exist. But I'm getting the impression that doesn't really happen in most New Zealand companies.

No, it doesn't here, not at all. I went to the Australians for information and got a whole lot on their skill-based pay scales and their award documents. At least in the Australian system they're recognising some of the skills involved in using modern technology. If we look back to our old awards, it is all out of date now. I've adapted some of the Australian material for our conditions and there is a partial acceptance of some of that by one of our major employers. Under the Employment Contracts Act, most clothing employers tried to move away from paying more for being there longer. They've really tried to minimise things down to maybe one or two rates, a start rate and an experienced rate and, for quite a few of them, that's it.

So it seems there are very few systematic pay systems out there that pay equity could can plug into? Expecting everyone to set one up, it would be foreign territory to them, then?

Yes, that in itself will need a lot of work.

I've talked with women representing service and retail workers. They were interested in the pay review approach, but thought there shouldn't be the same requirements on small employers as on large employers.

The big losers since 1984 have been workers and small businesses, haven't they? Very small businesses have had a hammering.

You need policies that can go across those different factories you described. So you'd support a combination of minimum wage enforcement, with pay equity as a sister strategy?

Absolutely, yes. And there will need to be some sort of external agency to assist or to do the monitoring or whatever. Because if the employer federations do it, it is just not going to work.

If comparisons were made with men's jobs by that agency perhaps, and a pay adjustment recommended, how could it be implemented by employers in each industry?

If a comparison is put out as a standard for pay, then firms could work towards that standard through pay adjustments. Yes, it would be a matter of setting the standard and, I think, being really honest about that. If the pay difference is huge, then not backing off that but saying, 'here's the five year plan in order to get there and this is how we're going to do it.' Obviously, whatever the comparison occupation is, pay in that will also be increasing over that period. We're just going to have to find mechanisms. I think a mechanism to get employers up to the standards is going to be equally as important as mechanisms to get comparisons and results.

The role of industry organisations

You said implementation would not work through employer federations. How well organised are employers in the industries you cover?

They're not well organised now. Our employers used to belong to the Apparel Federation. But, interestingly, it has struggled as much as the unions under the Employment Contracts Act. The Apparel Federation got down to a handful of members and has now gone into recess.

Business NZ[2] always refers to small firms when they talk about

compliance costs for business but, in fact, that's not who they represent. They are speaking for big business. For small firms the costs of belonging to Business NZ outstrip the benefits. What a lot of them will do is pay the one-off costs for getting some advice now when they need it, rather than paying the ongoing membership fee.

One of our employers used to have a couple of hundred people in five factories. He's now down to one factory with about thirty-eight people. He used to make an international brand of underwear under licence. Now with parallel importing, he's no longer got that. None of the big underwear brands are made here now. This employer used to belong to the Manufacturers' Association, he was on the executive of the Apparel Federation, a fully paid-up member of the Employers' Federation. He is now, I think, simply an associate or something member of the Employers' Federation. This is somebody who played a role in those organisations and still believes in them but, because of cost, is no longer active in them.

I'm engaged in some negotiations with an employer couple who don't bring the employers' advocate to the table because of the cost. We make some headway, then they go away and at the next bargaining session it's 'oh no, we talked about that with so-and-so who says blah blah', but you can never engage with the person who is advising them. So it makes the process of negotiation difficult. I say to them, why don't you bring them here? It is cost. They buy time from Business NZ in much the same way as they would buy time from their lawyer. Firms employing thirty to forty people are doing that.

So the time that they're buying is still that traditional negotiating role that the Employers' Federation has had.

Yes.

If they don't have to negotiate collectively over award wage rates, they don't want to put money into an industry organisation? So in a way the old labour relations system actually helped organise the industry.

That's right.

I know that local governments are trying to encourage industry 'clusters' in their area. Obviously there are efficiency gains and information sharing opportunities.

That's right, and the industry associations had some significant purchasing power. There is only one distributor of zips in New Zealand now. At the moment everybody is zip crazy, even in little shirts there are zips, so there are huge delays. You've got this massive squeeze on companies, they've got a two or three week turnaround to get out thousands of garments and they can't get the zips because the infrastructure has all collapsed.

If they had all been in the local manufacturers association discussing what was going on and the way the fashions were heading ...

That's right, with someone going to the shows in Europe to keep everyone with the trends two or three seasons ahead.

The role of unions

What might the role of unions be in different ways of implementing a pay equity policy? Unions have a practical overview of occupations in an industry. Would you see a role for unions, for example, in picking comparators?

There would be huge capacity problems. I think unions are struggling, certainly I know we are. At the moment, we're at a chicken and egg stage. The Employment Relations Act gives us right of entry to go into a new factory, but to begin to organise that factory from scratch through to an employment agreement takes a huge amount of resources. Before we have got any membership fees. Increasing the base of unionised members or looking after the members that we've already got – there's big competition for the resources between those two things, certainly for small unions.

If we had pay equity legislation, I think the role of unions would most probably have to be limited to helping to find the comparator, and doing some monitoring. With the Holidays Act changes, we've argued for an increased monitoring role and some kind of sanctions, so as to be able to monitor compliance on holidays as part and parcel of regular union work. We're already there and you're already looking at the pay books. So perhaps unions could have that kind of monitoring role with any pay equity requirement. And there could be perhaps a role for representation from the unions on some sort of advisory board or advisory group to provide expertise.

How do you see regulating for pay equity when unions are trying to negotiate pay on behalf of members?

Well, if I come to negotiate on wages in a particular workplace, there should be a double layer of negotiations. It might be a two per cent increase towards meeting their standard of whatever amount has been assessed for pay equity. My wage negotiations are about other things and not about meeting the pay equity that they ought to have been doing in the first place. Do you see what I mean?

That will meet opposition, with arguments that it is going back to centralised wage fixing, like in the 1970s.

Yes, but I suppose that is the thing that we have to grapple with, isn't it? How do we increase the value of the job through negotiations over 'you want more profit, I want more wages', along with assessments that the jobs themselves are paid inequitably on the basis of gender?

I think it's going to need a three-pronged approach, together with the industry and some sort of government role. A bit like the Australians did to assist changes in the sector there. The Australian government put in huge amounts of money into the textile, clothing and footwear industries, with industry plans to look at how they might operate in a new environment with reductions in tariffs and a much broader range of goods being imported.

Impacts of globalisation

What's the link between your work opposing globalisation and your union work?

We're talking with government at the moment about the effects of globalisation policies on the clothing industry. Under Labour, New Zealand has signed up to even more free trade agreements – the Singapore Agreement, the new Open Access for the Sixteen Least Developed Countries and the proposal for the Hong Kong Agreement. The Deputy Prime Minister is also Minister of Economic Development. He got interested in what we were saying when he realised that there were still eighteen- to twenty-thousand jobs in the textile and clothing industry and footwear, and that these were at risk with the Hong Kong free trade agreement. They went to get all the usual industry organisations together to consult, and discovered those aren't representative of the industry any more. So they've been scrambling around to try to get employer input on an industry strategy.

Globalisation is a disaster for clothing workers. It puts New

Zealand clothing workers in competition with women in Indonesia, China and Bangladesh and the other least developed countries. Globalisation puts downward pressure on wages of $8–$11 here, because in those countries clothing workers are paid $1 a day. It's no wonder that in the last two decades two-thirds of the jobs in the clothing industry have disappeared. It sets up a race to the bottom.

If we want to be able to do policies like pay equity for New Zealand women, we also need to do something about globalisation. Because why would a multi-national give New Zealand machinists pay equity with men's jobs when they can get their work done by women in Bangladesh for 20 cents an hour? How can New Zealand employers compete? So what we need to focus on is global agreements about labour standards, rather than more free trade. We need better wages for women in Bangladesh as well as better wages for women in New Zealand.

Conclusion

So despite these problems, you would still support equal pay for work of equal value for your women members?

When I think about pay equity, I just keep hearing this little strangled voice from a young woman who liked being a machinist in a clothing factory. We didn't manage to get a wage increase in negotiations, so I made the boss come back and tell them why. This woman had been there since she was fifteen. She said, 'I really like to sew, but my husband wants me to get the job in the chicken factory down the road, because I can have $5 an hour more than I can here.' Plucking chickens.

Pay equity in New Zealand

Statistics New Zealand's Income Survey for June 2001 showed women's average hourly earnings were eighty-four per cent of men's. The gender pay gap by ethnicity was larger – Maori women were earning seventy-one per cent and Pacific women sixty-seven per cent of the average hourly earnings of Pakeha men. The Department of Labour attributes a third to two-thirds of the gender pay gap to differences in workforce experience and, to a lesser extent, level of education and responsibility for children. An estimated twenty to thirty per cent of the gap was due to occupational differences between women and men, and ten to fifteen per cent of the gap was not accounted for. [3]

Women and men in the same job must be paid the same rate, under the Equal Pay Act 1972 and the Government Services Equal Pay Act 1960. The 1972 Act abolished separate male and female rates in private sector occupational wage awards, narrowing the gender pay gap six per cent by 1977. These Acts are still in force but, because of changes in labour relations laws, would now apply to women and men in the same job with the same employer only.[4]

Typically, women and men aren't employed in the same job. In the 2001 Census, the ten most common job categories for men were sales assistant, general manager, truck driver, builder/contractor, crop/livestock farmer/worker, labourer, dairy farmer/worker, retail manager, and slaughterman. One fifth of all male employees were in these jobs. A third of all women employees were in the ten most common occupations for women: sales assistant, general clerk, secretary, registered nurse, primary teacher, cleaner, caregiver, information clerk/receptionist, accounts clerk, and retail manager. A third of Maori women employees were in nine occupations. A third of Pacific women employees were in eleven common occupations, with a quarter in the first four – cleaner, sales assistant, general clerk, packer. International research shows that the greater the concentration of women, or an ethnic minority, in an occupation, the lower the pay.[5]

To address this effect, International Labour Organisation Convention 100 and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) enshrined the principle of 'equal pay for work of equal value'. Human resources evaluation systems can compare women's and men's different occupations by rating the level of skill, responsibility, effort and other conditions in each job. Countries have taken policy action in different ways. Australian unions are currently claiming 'equal pay for equal worth claims' in centralised wage bargaining. The United States has individual or enterprise-based wage bargaining similar to New Zealand's current system. Over thirty states and several cities have required public organisations to base pay scales on the 'comparable worth' of women and men's different jobs. A few United States city administrations have also used equal pay for work of equal value to address pay disparities for employees of ethnic minority groups.

ILO 100 and CEDAW were ratified by New Zealand in the mid 1980s. A court ruling that the Equal Pay legislation could not address pay in women's and men's different jobs led to the 1990 Employment

Equity Act. This was repealed after three months following a change of government.[6] Policies since then have addressed equal employment opportunities for women and other groups, but not pay equity. Human rights and employment laws prohibit discrimination in employment, but there is no requirement for employers to ensure equitable pay systems. Despite criticism from the CEDAW Committee in 1999, no current policy addresses 'equal pay for work of equal value' for New Zealand women.

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Notes

1 A few days prior to commencing these negotiations, the company announced its decision to close this factory, putting fifty-one people out of work. The reason given was inability to compete with imports of cheap clothing. The company told the union that it will be having some of its own work done in China.

2 An amalgamation of the Employers Federation and Manufacturers' Association covering the lower half of the North Island.

3 Dixon, Sylvia (2000). *Pay Inequality between men and women in New Zealand.* Occasional Paper 2001/1. Labour Market Policy Group, Department of Labour. See website.

4 Corner, Margaret (1988). *No easy victory: Towards equal pay for women in the government service, 1890–1960.* Wellington: Public Service Assn; Hill, Linda (1993). The politics of pay equity. *Women's Studies Journal* 9(2): pp. 87-113.

5 E.g., Pocock, Barbara and Michael Alexander (1999) The price of feminised jobs: New evidence on the gender pay gap in Australia. *Labour & Industry* 10(2): 75-86; For US, see articles in *Feminist Economics* 4(3) 1998.

6 Wilson, Margaret (1993). Making and repeal of the Employment Equity Act. *Women's Studies Journal* 9(2): pp. 68-87.

Naked Skin Together: Exploring Young Women's Narratives of Corporeal (Hetero)Sexual Pleasure Through a Spectrum of Embodiment

LOUISA ALLEN

Situating 'Bodies' and 'Pleasure'

Feminist interest in 'the body' and 'sexual pleasure' has experienced a recent resurgence as a consequence of a number of shifts in academic thinking (Arthurs and Grimshaw, 1999). The proliferation of edited collections[1] about women's bodies in the last five years can be partly attributed to an extension of, and reaction to, post-structural theory. Foucault's work on the discursive production and regulation of the body[2] has offered feminists like Bordo (1997) and Bartky (1997) theoretical tools with which to analyse the disciplinary practices which engender feminine corporeality. Concurrently, criticism has occurred regarding the way in which some post-structural work marginalises questions of embodiment through its concentration on how subjects are constituted by discourses (Stacey, 1997). The work of feminists like Grosz has endeavoured to counteract this tendency by attempting to take account of both the discursive and material constitution of subjectivity in a way that re-conceptualises nature/culture and mind/body dualisms.

Feminists like Ehrenreich, Hess and Jacobs have long argued for women's right to the recognition and expression of sexual desire and pleasure (Ehrenreich, Hess and Jacobs, 1987), while Vance's collection *Pleasure and Danger* (1992), has also sought to contribute to a feminist politics of pleasure by comprising papers that explored 'eroticism and taboo' (Webster, 1992) and the pleasures of voyeurism for women (Gordon, 1992). Similarly Cartledge and Ryan's (1993) book entitled *Sex and Love: New Thoughts on Old Contradictions* has drawn attention to female pleasures in what they called *heterosex*. This early work sought reparation for the emphasis placed by other feminists[3] on sexual danger, concerning itself instead with acknowledging rather than theorising (hetero)sexual pleasure.

Current feminist analyses of female sexual pleasure have pursued

a theorisation of (hetero)sexuality that avoids the tendency to constitute male power as essentially monolithic and repressive, and in which (hetero)sexual penetration signifies male dominance and female submission. Hollway (1993) for example, argues that pleasure for women in coitus is not simply eroticised power difference and that feminists who claim this do not take account of the pleasure of:

> the experience of having someone you love and want inside you. If there is safety, trust and love in the relationship, having the man's penis inside your vagina can signify as the ultimate in closeness. It breaches the separation from another which is symbolized by the separation of our bodies ... (Hollway, 1993:414).

In choosing the act of sexual intercourse to illustrate her point, Hollway reinforces the coital imperative whereby intercourse is rendered the 'quintessence of heterosexual sex' (McPhillips, Braun, Gavey 2001:229). While in this example women's pleasure is realised within a sexual activity symbolically organised around the active male body, Hollway's description of 'pleasure' invokes meanings that transcend traditional notions of women's sexual passivity and subordination. In this way discursive space is made available to understand (hetero)sexual practices as more than simply oppressive and negative for women. The importance of examining this aspect of young women's (hetero)sexual experiences has been highlighted by Tolman and Higgins (1996). Without knowledge of pleasurable sexual experience, some young women may be uncertain about what kind and how much physical activity they wish to engage in, and be coerced into something they do not want. These researchers argue that, when a young woman has a sense of her own desire and what she finds pleasurable, she is better equipped to determine sexual situations (Tolman and Higgins, 1996).

Despite these kinds of arguments for developing a politics of female pleasure, very little has been written about young women's corporeal experiences of (hetero)sexual pleasure.[4] That work which has been undertaken has had a tendency to suggest that sexual activity (usually conflated with sexual intercourse by participants in these studies) is mostly not satisfying and disappointing for young women, especially in the case of inaugural sexual encounters (Hillier *et al.*, 1999; Thompson, 1990). Subsequently we know little about what young women find pleasurable about heterosex (both sexual intercourse and a wider repertoire of sexual acts) and how this is experienced corporeally

by them. These issues are addressed in this article, as a means of contributing to a feminist politics that, at the very least, offers young women a sense of the possibilities of their corporeal sexual pleasure.

Towards this end the article attempts to build on the work of the Women Risk and AIDS Project (hereafter WRAP), in their examination of the sexual attitudes and behaviours of 150 young women in London and Manchester (Thomson and Scott, 1991). It does this by taking up and extending two theoretical concepts utilised by the WRAP team to make sense of young women's bodily experience of sexual activity. When theorising their findings the authors utilised the terminology 'embodied' and 'disembodied sexuality' to describe how dominant discourses of (hetero)sexuality affect young women's relationships with their bodies. They discovered that many young women in their study were disembodied, evident from their lack of talk about bodies and pleasurable feelings. Holland *et al.* concluded that:

> Young women are under pressure to construct their material bodies into a particular model of femininity which is both inscribed on the surface of their bodies, through such skills as dress, make-up and dietary regimes, and disembodied in the sense of detachment from their sensuality and alienation from their material bodies (Holland *et al.*, 1994:4).

The current research attempts to grapple further with the theoretical concepts of *embodiment* and *disembodiment* in order to explore the nuances of these corporeal states and their impact upon young women's experiences of sexual pleasure. To capture the experiences of young women in this study, the article suggests the need for a third corporeal state which I have conceptualised as *dys-embodiment* (discussed in detail later). While young women who spoke in dys-embodied ways in the research were able to talk about their bodies in relation to sexual activity, these narratives suggested their relationship with their bodies was constituted through dominant discourses of appropriate femininity. Such discourses left many of them feeling dissatisfied with their bodies and subsequently sometimes affected their ability to experience corporeal sexual pleasure in their relationships.

The young women whose words are depicted in this paper are drawn from a larger New Zealand-based study, concerned with examining the relationships between young people's (hetero)sexual knowledge, subjectivities and practices. These 332 self-identified

(hetero)sexual women were aged between seventeen and nineteen years old, two thirds of whom were recruited from seven schools in the Auckland and Hamilton regions. The remainder were not at school at the time of the research, but involved in job training education in the community. The ethnic composition of the sample was comparable to, although did not exactly reflect, this age group in the wider population.[5] Data was collected primarily by me, a (hetero)sexual woman who, at the time of the research, was 'fairly' young herself.[6] In order to determine differences between narratives gathered across research contexts a multi-method approach of focus groups,[7] questionnaires[8] and individual and couple interviews[9] was utilised. Excerpts from each of these methods are quoted throughout.[10]

The article begins by determining the theoretical framework within which the empirical data is analysed. This involves establishing the conceptualisation of the body utilised in this discussion, and providing a brief outline of the concepts of embodiment and disembodiment as they are employed in other studies. As the focus of this article is specifically *sexual* embodiment I offer a reworking of these two concepts to encompass young women's bodily experiences within the context of (hetero)sexual activity. The second half of the article presents and analyses the research findings in relation to this theoretical framework. It is here that I argue that a third bodily state known as dys-embodiment is needed in order to understand the experiences of sexual pleasure of young women in this research. With reference to the narratives of one young woman, known as Becky, the fluid nature of these bodily states is explored. This is seen in the way young women spoke about their experience of corporeal sexual pleasure as oscillating between the states of dys/dis/embodiment momentarily both within and across relationships.

In addition to re-thinking embodiment theory, the importance of gaining greater understanding of sexual dis/dys/embodiment lies in revealing discursive spaces in which all young women (who wish to engage in (hetero)sexual activity) can experience it in pleasurable and fulfilling ways. The experience of pleasurable corporeal (hetero)sexual activity should not, as existing research discloses, be the reserve of more young men than women (Thompson, 1990; Hillier *et al.*, 1999). 'The right of sexual pleasure' as the World Association for Sexology's Declaration of Sexual Rights decrees, is that of everyone (Pan American and World Health Organisation, 2000:11).

Theorising the Body and Young Women's Pleasure

Explanations for the 'inability' of some young women to experience corporeal sexual pleasure have ranged from biological determinism to social constructionism. In the past, reference has been made to women's propensity for physiological and psychological difficulties in experiencing pleasure as epitomised by sexologists' attention to female 'frigidity' in 'sex manuals' (Stopes, 1918, Comfort, 1972).[11] Their explanation of the ineptitude of women's bodies to experience pleasure as easily as men assigns women symbolically as 'lack', a position which reinforces their subordination and constitutes their experiences as 'natural' and thus immutable.

Alternatively, some feminists have pointed to the operation of male power as monolithic in a way that represses all possibilities for young women to experience sexual pleasure outside of men's definition of it (Dworkin, 1987; Mackinnon, 1996). This position is espoused by those who posit pleasure derived from (hetero)sexual activity as produced by 'eroticised power difference' and as such undesirable (Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1994). One of the limitations of this explanation is that power is constituted as exclusively repressive, negating the agency of the subject. Both explanations also constitute the body as 'docile' in so far as it is *subject to* social forces and biological limits without a recognised agency of its own.

In line with Cartesian thought, such explanations produce a subject comprised of two dichotomously opposed characteristics, mind and body. Simplistically, this means that in the feminist account of female sexual pleasure above, dominant ideologies and discourses are perceived to produce a false consciousness preventing women from experiencing sexual pleasure and sidelining any active role of the body. Similarly in the other explanation, biology is perceived to dictate sexual pleasure while ideology and its effects on the subject are minimalised. As others have noted, the major problem with this dichotomisation of the subject is that it fails to explain the interaction of mind and body 'given that, within experience and everyday life, there seems to be a manifest connection between the two' (Grosz, 1994:6).

In this article, the conceptualisation of the body which underpins an understanding of young women's corporeal experiences of pleasure, is one which refutes a mind/body split. This means recognising the experience of corporeal pleasure for young women is more complex

than simply a biological 'ability' to experience this sensation, or an intellectual 'ability' to resist dominant discourses which constitute women as less easily pleasured. These ideas form the focus of another discussion in Allen (forthcoming).

Sexual Embodiment and Sexual Disembodiment

Despite the abundant use of the concepts *embodiment* and *disembodiment* a paucity of explicit definitions exists about them.

Embodiment

In some instances 'embodied' is used simply to refer to possessing a 'bodily' form. This is elucidated by Williams's discussion of illness and the new relationships this forces subjects to have with their body whereby they undergo 'a shift from an initial state of embodiment, one in which the body is largely taken-for-granted in the normal course of every life' to *dys*-embodiment (Williams, 1996:3). While to be 'embodied' within this definition does not require the subject's conscious acknowledgement of their body, for other theorists this recognition is integral to their use of the term. For example, Holland *et al.* (1994) talk about the importance for young women of recognising the difference between what Adrienne Rich has described as 'the body' and 'my body', in order to experience an empowering embodied sexuality. Their argument is that a lack of critical consciousness in distinguishing between dominant conceptions of 'appropriate' feminine bodies and their own corporeality, leaves young women living a 'disembodied' femininity (Holland *et al.*, 1994:12). Here the subject's recognition of her body, as opposed to simply possessing it, is imperative to feminist objectives of gender equality.

Young women's recognition of the discursive and material construction of their bodies is a crucial aspect of empowering embodiment. In fact it can be argued, to be embodied without a sense of the presence of the body is an impossibility for young women, when women's bodies are continuously on display, exploited, sexualised and objectified in Western Society (Bordo, 1997). In relation to corporeal experiences of sexual pleasure then, I use embodied to mean *recognition* of the sensuality of the body. 'Sensuality' for the purposes of this paper, pertains to the corporeal experience of pleasurable sensation induced by sexual activity.

Disembodiment

As might be logically deduced, 'disembodiment' is the antithesis of embodiment, and is generally used by theorists to denote a subject's detachment from the sensuality of their body (Holland *et al.*, 1994). This definition suggests subjectivity is made up of two distinct facets, the body and the subject (or 'I'), a notion echoing Cartesian thought. As I wish to re-examine the distinction between biology and culture in a way that undermines this dualistic constitution of subjectivity, I have found it necessary to reformulate this definition. Instead I use 'disembodied' in relation to young women's sexual pleasure to mean 'corporeal sensual detachment' in a way that proposes a re-conceptualisation of the term 'corporeal'. By corporeal I do not mean only the flesh, blood, bone or raw materials of the body, as separate from the mind/culture, but a necessary interrelation of physiology and culture. Here, what is knowledge and what is physiology is inseparable in the sense that the body is 'naturally social' (Grosz, 1987:7).

In order to understand this conceptualisation of the body it is useful to draw on the work of phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty. For Merleau-Ponty the body acts as a threshold between nature and culture, it is the condition and context through which we are able to have a relation to objects (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). The body is not an object detached from other objects and subjects, or as Grosz terms it 'a mind somehow cut off from matter and space' (Grosz, 1994:87). Instead, the body is a site through which the subject receives and perceives information about the world so that we are 'subjects being-to-the world' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). The world can only be known through the body's interaction with it, because it provides the situation or perspective through which information is received and meaning generated. As Grosz explains, it is 'sense-bestowing', and 'form-giving', providing 'a structure, organisation, and ground within which objects are situated and against which the body subject is positioned' (Grosz, 1994:87). As such, the mind and body are inextricably connected in the process of knowing and being, in a way that denies Cartesian corporeality.

Incorporating these insights into a definition of disembodiment renders disembodiment a loss of sensuality from the body without this involving a splitting of 'I' from physiology. Disembodiment as it is used in this research, is not the separation of the subject from their

body, but in young women's cases the body's lack of recognition of its sensuality, the body being inextricably cultural/biological.

Experiences of Sexual Embodiment

Despite prohibitions (re)produced by 'cultural stories' that deem 'good girls' as not sexual (Tolman and Higgins, 1996) and which make talk about bodies and pleasures 'dangerous', many young women's narratives offered examples of embodied sexual pleasure. Because of these constraints upon young women's talk, however, experiences of embodied sexual pleasure were predominantly divulged during the individual interviews, an environment offering greater intimacy than other methods in the research. In these narratives, young women made reference to *feeling* sexual pleasure and in some cases they isolated the bodily sensation which produced this experience. I judged their 'embodiment' by their recognition and insertion of their bodies into their depictions, and through evidence in their talk of them 'inhabiting' their bodies during such experiences. The latter part of this distinction became necessary when one young woman told me orgasms felt like 'tingling all over your body', yet later expressed confusion over whether she had experienced them. While acknowledgement of bodily sensations were present in her description, a sense of her physical presence during this experience was lacking, possibly marked by her use of 'your' rather than 'my body'. The following are two examples of talk revealing embodied female sexual pleasure during the individual interviews.

> Louisa: So how do you know what you find pleasurable sexually?
>
> Emma: It's like it feels really good in there (points to her lower abdomen) like I'm not here, like I'm floating somewhere ten feet in the air, that's when I sort of know that it feels nice.
> (II, AS, 17)
>
> Ngaire: … it's just a feeling of oh wow this guy is lying next to me and I've got no clothes on and … it's just bodies twisted together … uhm I feel close to him, I love that yeah. I think that it is really nice to have someone you care about inside you, it's just really, it's amazing, it's beautiful (laugh).
> (II, NAS, 18)

Embodied narratives were also produced in answering a survey question that required young women to complete the sentence 'what

I find pleasurable about sexual activity is …'

April: The feeling in my stomach and everything else disappears.
(Q, AS, 18)

Ruth: The closeness involved, the feeling of naked skin together.
(Q, NAS, 19)

Sandra: The feeling of his penis going in and out of me and him touching me all over and feeling me.
(Q, NAS, 19)

Georgia: I enjoy lots of foreplay with him. I love kissing and touching. I like the excitement during. Being in my partners arms afterward.
(Q, NAS, 17)

Lita: Foreplay, holding nakedness …
(Q, NAS, 19)

Gabrielle: Being touched in places I find pleasurable, breast, genitals, etc.
(Q, AS, 19)

Aroha: Being touched in a loving way.
(Q, NAS, 19)

Helen: The feeling of touching someone and being touched.
(Q, AS, 19)

Other researchers have noted young women's and men's accounts of sexual activity diverge in terms of the emphasis women place on 'relating to their partners' and the feelings of 'closeness, nurturance, belonging and being cared about' that sexual activity offers (Hillier *et al.*, 1999:81). While this emotional element was present in the young women's talk generally, in addition, those above described the way their bodies 'lived' these emotions in sexual and sensual ways. This was evident from their depictions of the feeling of naked 'bodies twisted together', 'someone you care about inside of you' and a lower abdomen sensation that lifts you to the ceiling. Although it was unusual for young women to explicitly name their erogenous zones, as Emma demonstrates when she remarks 'it feels really good in there', the recognition of pleasurable corporeal sensation in these women's voices is unmistakable.

It is important to note here that this article aims to explore the

experience of corporeal (hetero)sexual pleasure as it is constituted in the *talk* of young women. There is a need to recognise that there is a complex relationship between young women's constitution of sexual pleasure in their narratives and their actual physical experience of this in relationships. This is not to suggest that these young women's narratives and actual experiences are often disparate. Instead I would argue, that the language we employ in our talk constitutes our experiences for us. However, when recognition of the agency of the body is thrown into this mix the connections between language and the body become increasingly complex.[12]

Disembodied Experiences of Sexual Pleasure

While examples of embodiment emerged within the narratives of a few of the young women in this research, examples of disembodiment were more readily identifiable. In some instances disembodiment was expressed as the absence of any reference to the body and/or pleasurable sensation during sexual activity. Disembodiment of this kind has been well documented by other research where young women speak (or rather do not speak) about their sexuality (Tolman, 1994; Lees, 1993; Hillier, 1999; Holland *et al.*, 1994). In my study, such disembodiment was most commonly revealed in the focus groups where there was a silence about the body and its pleasures from some female participants.[13] This silence makes it difficult to describe young women's talk about experiences of disembodiment, however, an example of disembodiment as experienced by one of the young women and told during the individual interview, will be discussed in the latter part of this section.

Disembodiment was a more extreme form of another corporeal state identified in young women's experiences of their bodies in this study. Another form of disembodiment young women displayed, involved the *recognition of the body* but in a way that blocked or inhibited its pleasurable sensations (N.B. disembodiment involved a total lack of recognition of the body and its sensuality). In this sense young women appeared dys-embodied in their talk not through a lack of awareness of their bodies, but through the inhibition/absence of the body's pleasurable sensual and sensory capacities. This was evident through young women's descriptions during individual interviews of what they thought and felt about their bodies during sexual activity. These feelings were often negative, derived from anxiety that their

bodies failed to emulate dominant ideals of feminine 'bodily beauty' and would therefore be distasteful to their partners.

What sometimes crossed Ngaire's mind during sexual activity was whether she would be perceived by her partner George as having a too big 'butt' and 'thighs' and 'too small breasts'.

> Ngaire: Okay … what's in my mind … uhm little things like that … are my thighs too fat *(laugh)* and do I have stretch marks all over my body? *(laugh)*
> (II, NAS, 17)

Similarly, Becky explained that she also worried that her boyfriend Ashby would think she was too fat, and this subsequently made her feel 'ugly'.

> Becky: … it does affect me feeling fat and stuff cause sometimes when he's on top and I can see my stomach you know and I hate that and my thighs you know, it's not sort of my upper body or uhm..
>
> Louisa: And so what are you thinking about … do you feel about that at that particular time?
>
> Becky: That he must just think that I look so grotts *(laugh)* and gross.
> (II, 17, NAS)

Nina explained how she thought her boyfriend would be put off by seeing her naked, and that this made her feel self conscious during sexual intercourse.

> Nina: … I used to be so self conscious. Like I'm not really anymore and same with like him seeing me with no clothes on and stuff … I just used to think I was really fat and stuff and that like if he saw me he would just be put off totally kind of thing.
> (II, NAS, 17)

Another young woman admitted she experienced 'fat days' when she felt dissatisfied with the size of her 'buttocks', 'thighs' and 'stomach'. Although she remarked that such feelings did not influence the sexual activity she engaged in with her boyfriend Chris, she conceded that they had the potential to.

> Cam: Uhm I have a few hang ups about my body and stuff …
>
> Louisa: What kinds of things do you worry about?

Cam: I have fat days. Just the bloaty feelings and uhm my stomach and my buttocks and thighs and small breasts and stuff like that.

Louisa: Do you think how you feel about your body affects sexual activity?

Cam: It could if I let it ... like wanting to keep like sheets on and stuff like that, to like cover things up like having the lights off all the time or something like that. (II, NAS, 19)

Amy disclosed that negative feelings about her body did affect sexual activity with her boyfriend, Peter, whom she consequently tried to prevent from seeing her body.

Amy: ... sometimes it does affect the sexual activity because I'll sort of be embarrassed and shameful ... I'll sort of be a bit sort of like this [puts her hands over her body]. And he'll be it's okay get the arms away and I'm like I don't really want him to look at me ...
(II, AS, 17)

Williams utilises the term *dys*-embodiment to describe 'embodiment in a *dys*functional state' (Williams, 1996:23). He takes '*dys*' from the Greek prefix signifying 'bad', 'hard' or 'ill' as it is present in words such as 'dysfunctional' and applies it to the bodily state chronically ill patients often encounter ; '... the painful body emerges as "thing-like"; 'it "betrays" us and we may feel alienated and estranged from it as a consequence' (Williams, 1996:27). I would argue that dys-embodiment is an appropriate term to describe the situation of subjects in the excerpts above. Whilst their talk revealed they were aware of their bodies, these young women's relationship to them was distorted by dominant discourses of appropriate femininity which rendered them strongly dissatisfied, embarrassed and ashamed of them. They felt negatively about the inability of their bodies to live up to dominant standards of feminine beauty and, as such, experienced an 'alienation' from their bodies.

In making these claims about dys-embodiment I do not mean to suggest that the state of 'disembodiment' may not also be associated with the operation of dominant discourses of appropriate femininity. It might be that with disembodiment the consequences of such discourses (and other attributing factors such as low self-esteem, lack of agency, etc.) create a more severe effect where there is a complete disregard of the body.

Dis/dys/embodiment might, then, be seen as a continuum ranging from disembodiment where an awareness of pleasurable corporeal sensation is absent, to dys-embodiment where there is a distorted (that is negative) recognition of the body which may or may not induce a lack of pleasurable corporeal sensation. At the other end of this spectrum lies embodiment which involves a positive sensual awareness of corporeal pleasure. Of course sexual embodiment need not always be a positive experience, a fact that is documented by research concerning women's experience of physical pain, especially during sexual intercourse (Leland, 2000). However, as stated earlier, this research endeavours to contribute to a feminist politics of sexual *pleasure*. In recognising the pleasurable corporeal outcomes of sexual activity, discursive space is made for revised meanings of these (hetero)sexual practices, that offer young women more positive outcomes.

Deconstructing Young Women's Dis/dys-embodiment

In order to understand this continuum and the experience of dis/dys-embodiment along it, it is useful to concentrate on just one young woman's words: Becky's narratives about her body reflect the experiences of other young women in the study, and I have selected her as representative of these because of her ability to articulate her feelings. Becky participated in the focus group, individual and couple interviews and, by piecing together her narratives from each of these settings, it is possible to reveal her experiences of sexual disembodiment and dys-embodiment.

Becky had been going out with her boyfriend, Ashby, for just over three years and admitted that sexual activity with him had not really been that pleasurable until recently. During the individual interview I asked her to talk about her bodily experience of this sexual pleasure. Her response drew on the discourse of a coital imperative (examined by McPhillips *et al.*, 2001) whereby she measured sexual pleasure in terms of frequency of orgasms during sexual intercourse. Becky declared she experienced orgasms during this activity with her partner about sixty per cent of the time. However, when pressed further she divulged 'It's hard to say. Sometimes I don't even really know what's happening (*laugh*), you know it's like I'm not sure what's happening'. It seemed that Becky had difficulty determining what her body felt and, as such, whether or not she had experienced intensely

Spectrum of Dis/dys/embodiment for Young Women

Disembodiment	*Dys-embodiment*	*Embodiment*
Absence of awareness of pleasurable corporeal sensation.	Distorted (that is negative) recognition of the body. May or may not induce lack of pleasurable corporeal sensation.	Positive sensual awareness of corporeal pleasure.

pleasurable sensations. She displayed considerable confusion about what an orgasm felt like, and her sense of being 'out of touch' with her body's lived experience signified her disembodiment.

In addition to her talk indicating *disembodiment*, Becky also spoke about moments of *dys-embodiment* during sexual activity, suggesting her experience of these was mutable. Like other women in the research she explained having negative thoughts about her body which appeared to be derived from a sense of it not living up to the 'ideal' female body size perpetuated by the media.

> In feeling fat and yeah. Just about feeling fat that's all that it is and sometimes I feel that way and sometimes like I look at myself while we are having sex and feel like absolutely huge and disgusting …
> (II, AS, 17)

As described above, these sorts of comments about feeling fat were made by all of the young women in the interviews. Yet, when asked if such feelings influenced their experiences of corporeal sexual pleasure Becky, Ngaire, Cam, Emma and Nina all responded with a resounding 'no'. However, Becky admitted at another point in the interview that sometimes she did not find sexual activity pleasurable because she would be thinking about the other women her boyfriend had 'cheated' on her with; 'It's hard to think that you know he has been with other people and you know he's probably thinking about the difference between us. Cause that must happen, I'm sure. And uhm, and so that's hard' (II, AS, 17). Later statements from Becky revealed that this 'difference' involved a comparison of 'sexual performance' and bodily aesthetics. In light of Becky's disclosure, it is likely that such negative thoughts may well have intruded upon her (and perhaps other young women's) experiences of corporeal pleasure.

What Becky's and other young women's talk about their bodies suggest is a continuum of dis/embodiment as set out in the table opposite. Experiences of the body may oscillate along and between points on this line depending upon particular contextual specificities. This enables us to account for Becky's claim that sexual activity is sometimes pleasurable and more embodied (as she described it being at the time of the couple activity) relative to those other experiences she described. In addition, this continuum also assists in explaining the differentiation in young women's experiences of dis/dys/embodiment. While all young women interviewed spoke in ways that revealed they were dys- or disembodied, some experiences were momentary while others were more enduring.

Reflections

This paper has explored the corporeal experiences of sexual pleasure of a sample of young New Zealand women in a way that attempts to rework traditional conceptualisations of the body. By drawing on the work of Grosz (1994) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) corporeal subjectivity is viewed as inextricably material and social in a way that challenges traditional mind/body dualisms. This conceptualisation recognises that pleasurable corporeal experiences are not determined by simply biological or intellectual means.[14] In this research young women's sexual embodiment was evidenced in their recognition and insertion of their bodies into narratives of sexual pleasure where they described corporeal feelings such as 'naked skin together', 'the penis going in and out' or a lower abdomen sensation that 'lifts you to the ceiling'.

In undertaking this exploration of corporeality I have also endeavoured to reconsider theoretical conceptualisations of disembodiment. This has meant identifying nuances in young women's experiences of disembodiment described by other research as a kind of bodily numbness or absence of 'corporeal sensuality' (Holland *et al.*, 1998; Roberts *et al.*, 1995). The fact that some young women were aware of their bodies but experienced them in negative ways during sexual activity, indicated the need for acknowledgement of another bodily state known as dys-embodiment. Young women's dys-embodiment was revealed in the individual interviews where they expressed anxiety that their partners would not find them physically/sexually appealing. These feelings and thoughts appeared to

sometimes intrude upon the pleasurable corporeal experience of sexual activity (as in Becky's case), although young women in the study rarely recognised them as having such power.

In theorising this new type of corporeal state it was necessary to construct a continuum to describe the fluctuation in young women's experiences of embodiment, disembodiment and dys-embodiment. Being embodied was not a permanent state for any of the young women interviewed. Instead, those who constituted themselves as sexually embodied in some of their narratives also indicated their dys-embodiment in others, indicating a vacillation between points on the continuum and the blurred line between these experiences. Understanding the reasons for this mutability (which may involve contextual features of a sexual situation, such as who their partner was, how they felt about their body at that moment, and what point in the development of their relationship they were at), is an issue which begs further investigation.

The next step in understanding young women's corporeal experiences of sexual pleasure is to identify how the processes of dys/dis/embodiment occur and whether or not these are gendered (Allen, 2002).[15]

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Notes

[1] Horner and Keane (2000), Arthurs and Grimshaw (1999), Cutting Edge (1999), Weitz (1998), Shildrick and Price (1998).

[2] See for example *Discipline and Punish* (1979) and *The History of Sexuality* (1990).

[3] See for example MacKinnon (1996), Rich (1980), and Jeffreys (1996).

[4] Holland *et al.* (1994), is an exception here, mentioning that some young women in their sample did experience sexual pleasure and desire in positive ways.

[5] In 1996, 66.8 per cent of New Zealand's youth were Pakeha (Non-Maori New Zealanders of European descent), and 19.9 per cent were Maori, with 6.4 per cent in each of the Pacific Islands and Asian groups (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 1999:2). 57.4 per cent of the research sample were Pakeha, 16.3 per cent were from the Pacific Islands, 16.3 per cent were Maori. 9.1 per cent were Asian and 1 per cent other. The proportion of young people who identified themselves as from the Pacific Islands and Asia was much higher than general population statistics, while the Pakeha and Maori Youth populations were under represented in the study.

[6] This is with exception to the distribution of the questionnaire in three of the schools. Personal distribution was not possible because of a school's/training programmes' isolated geographical location or an overly congested training/school schedule. On these occasions the teacher/programme co-ordinator conducted the distribution, emphasising to young people that questionnaires would not be read by teachers and in some cases providing envelopes in which completed forms could be sealed.

[7] Seventeen focus groups were undertaken with a total of ninety-two subjects. These were usually composed of young people who were friends. Nine were single gender groups while the rest were mixed.

[8] Four hundred and eleven questionnaires were distributed. The sample was weighted towards young women, who comprised 63.9%.

[9] Six couple interviews were undertaken with young people in a relationship at the time of the research, these were directly followed by individual interviews with each partner.

[10] Key: FG = Focus Groups, II = Individual Interview, CA = Couple Activity, Q = Questionnaire, AS = Subjects still at school, NA = Subject no longer at school, 17 = 17 years, 18 = 18 years, 19= 19 years, Mixed = Subjects whose ages are mixed but between 17–19 years.

[11] Women's sexual pleasure in the form of fantasy has been documented by Friday (1992). An exception here is Masters and Johnson (1966) who suggested that women's sexual capacity is greater than men's. This 'discovery' was not unproblematic however, see Jeffreys for an exploration of this issue (Jeffreys, 1990).

[12] An exploration of relationship between language and the body is beyond the scope of this article and is addressed elsewhere, Allen (2002a).

[13] It might be argued that the public forum of a focus group and the associated inhibitions subjects may experience is the reason for a lack of talk and recognition of bodies. However, focus groups were generally comprised of

peer groups within which intimate relationships had already been established and this type of talk might naturally occur.

[14] This point and the contribution of Grosz and Merleau-Ponty's work forms the focus of a forthcoming article concerned with why some young women experience corporeal sexual pleasure and others don't.

[15] Young men's sexual dys/dis/embodiment is explored 'As far as sex goes, I don't really think about my body': Young men's corporeal experiences of (hetero)sexual pleasure' in Worth, Paris and Allen (2002).

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The Women's Christian Temperance Union and Food Reform in New Zealand

JANET MITCHELL

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in New Zealand was established by Miss Willard of the United States Union on her visit to New Zealand in 1885 'to organise the women of New Zealand as the women of the US are organised ... to do battle ... for "God and home and native land" against strong drink the foe of each and all of us'.[1] Between 1885 and 1895 the membership of the New Zealand WCTU rose to 600 (by the late 1920s it was 7700)[2] and their activities became significant in influencing attitudes to alcohol in the community. Such activities included cooking classes for women (to encourage them to make their homes more competitive with public houses) and publishing articles advocating food reform. Some members believed certain foods could both increase and decrease the craving for alcohol. Meat, for example, was thought to be not only polluting to the body but also to increase the craving for alcohol. Other foods, such as lentils and wholemeal bread, were believed to decrease this craving.

The question this paper sets out to answer is how the notions held about food by the WCTU arose and what, if any, impact did they have on liquor reform during the heyday of the Union, that is, between 1885 and 1919.

The WCTU was a Christian organisation that believed the human body was the temple of the holy spirit and that alcohol, as well as certain foods, were polluting.[3] Hence they sought to do God's work through banning the consumption of alcohol. Temperance was a major platform of the organisation and, because many members also held the belief that intemperance and a poor diet were connected, their 'hygiene' department (one of the twenty-one branches of the organisation that carried out their work) became associated with food reform. Food reform, however, was not necessarily synonymous with vegetarianism. Food reform, as the following titles of articles published by the *White Ribbon* suggest, was primarily targeted towards better eating for better health: 'The importance of diet to health', 'Eat fruit', 'Fruit is a necessity for a balanced die', 'The curative

powers of common water', 'Water as a healing agent', 'Man's natural diet' and 'On the benefits of vegetarianism over eating meat'.[4] Vegetarianism, nevertheless, was deemed to be a cornerstone of the food reform movement by many of its adherents, some of whom were members of the WCTU.

Temperance work by the WCTU was hampered by certain attitudes towards alcohol within the society, namely that alcohol was a food because it produced energy and was a cure for certain illnesses.[5]

To refute these claims the WCTU used its 'press department',[6] a 'department' of the Union created to disseminate information about its activities. In 1885 the *Temperance Herald*, a Christchurch paper, published an article entitled 'The physiological effects of alcohol' the abridged form of a paper written by Mrs G. Campbell of the Californian WCTU. It was written to dispel the common belief that 'good people may believe alcohol to be wholesome and life supporting'. Food, it stated, 'is a substance when taken into the body supplies material which either goes to building up of the body in the actual making of all its parts, or else to generate heat and in either case provides the energy that does all the wonderful work of this noiseless ceaseless machine'. The article emphasised that 'water is food, lean meat is food because it replaces the substances our bodies use up every time we have a thought, or utter a word or lift a finger. Fat is food ... salt is food ... sugar is food ... fruit is food ... but the function of alcohol is not food'.[7]

Another article published in the *Temperance Herald* disputed the idea of alcohol as a cure.[8] Entitled *How sick people got well* it tells the story of how a 'young lad' knocked down in a London street was taken to hospital and a pint of port wine ordered daily for a cure. But because the lad belonged to the Band of Hope he refused the wine and instead was given a pint of milk a day and as much beef tea as he liked 'and he got quite well without the wine'.

Beef tea had been popularised in the mid-nineteenth century by Liebig, a German chemist. It was believed to contain soluble substances found in meat that aided digestive ailments as well as convalescence. Liebig's theories about nutrition were responsible for shaping the science of nutrition at that time. He differentiated between nitrogenous foods – such as meat and lentils that supported work and muscle growth – and non-nitrogenous foods – grains, potatoes and fat – which supported animal heat and respiration. Many of his theories

were embraced by the medical profession and later appeared in cookbooks published in Britain, the United States and New Zealand.[9] Although Leibig's scientific theories supported the eating of meat because of its body-building properties, its consumption was not approved by all WCTU members who, while promoting a healthy diet, nevertheless believed meat eating to be polluting and associated with a craving for alcohol.[10] Because meat has always been a prestigious food in English society the reason for these beliefs are hard to fathom.[11]

The idea of meat as some sort of stimulant that excited animal passions had existed in Western society for many centuries. Monks in medieval monasteries, for example, had abstained from meat eating for that reason.[12] And perhaps it was the notion of a link between animal passions, sex and procreation – the latter often associated with crowding and squalid conditions in the homes of the poor[13] – that led some members of the WCTU to discourage the consumption of meat. Primarily, however, it was the belief that meat created a craving for alcohol that caused some WCTU members and supporters of food reform, such as Mrs Miller, superintendent of the Hygiene Department of the WCTU Dunedin branch, to campaign against it. In an article published in the *White Ribbon* she claimed 'it maddens the brain' and was an unsuitable food because it 'clogs the stomach'.[14]

James Forbes, a prominent New Zealand food reformer, warned of meat's ability to 'inflame the passions and create a craving for stimulants and alcohol'. 'The Salvation Army' he wrote in a pamphlet 'in homes for inebriates excludes meat from the diet because they have found that drunkenness is comparatively rare amongst those on a non-flesh diet'.[15]

Individual foods noted to stem the craving for alcohol included wholemeal bread and fruit. Wholemeal bread was endorsed for this purpose by Annie Schnackenberg, a Dominion president of the WCTU from 1892 to 1900.[16] Fruit was recommended in an article published in the *White Ribbon* in 1902 which suggested 'anyone that is trying to cure themselves of an alcohol craving would also do well to carry a few apples in their bag'.[17]

Dietary fads were strong at the end of the nineteenth century in both the United States and Britain in response to discoveries in nutritional laboratories, including the discovery that peas, beans and lentils could substitute for meat and thus allow a healthy diet without

eating meat.[18] As a result, many articles advocating a non-meat diet were published by a variety of people and organisations, including the New Zealand WCTU. Most treatises were articles copied from overseas papers. One such article published in the *White Ribbon* was written by May Yates, the English founder of the Bread and Reform League. Entitled 'Vegetarianism is a powerful antidote to the drink craze' it states that 'it is important for members of the WCTU to give this question their attention as it is closely allied to the drink question'.[19]

Mrs Caro, a prominent WCTU member, also encouraged vegetarianism. In a paper read before the New Zealand Women's National Council on 13 May, 1902 she argued that 'it is a common belief among flesh eaters that to have the strength of an ox one must consume the flesh of an ox [but] flesh food does rouse the animal in man, its consumption rendering it difficult for him to maintain a high degree of self control'. She also cited examples of well known athletes, such as the champion English tennis player, Eustace Miles, who swore by a vegetarian diet, and made claims that elevated ideas were more likely to occur among vegetarian nations such as India and Japan than Christian nations devoted to a meat diet.[20]

At the end of the nineteenth century Western governments were encouraging physical exercise for the building of the human race. A sound mind in a sound body was the maxim. Hence a meat-based diet was favoured, because it was able to supply muscle power to build a fit race who could fight wars and work more productively.[21] Consequently those favouring a vegetarian diet needed to discount the importance of meat for this purpose and emphasise the benefits of a vegetarian diet.

Several influential English medical authorities, including Sir Henry Thompson MD FRCS, were prepared to do this. In an article on diet published in the *White Ribbon* he stated 'it is vulgar to regard meat in any form as necessary for life – all that is necessary for the human body can be supplied by the vegetable kingdom. In the practice of vegetarianism the first great need is wholemeal bread then plenty of fruit, wheat, oats, barley, maize, peas, beans, lentils, rice, sago, greens, fruit (fresh and dried) and nuts are some of the foods that vegetarians have at their command and from these in various combinations many tasty dishes can be prepared. One pound of peas, beans, lentils are equivalent to 3–4 lb of meat. Therefore it is also

possible to save money'.[22] Advantages of a vegetarian diet were also claimed by Dr Trall, who asserted 'vegetarians can endure hunger and thirst longer than flesh eaters, they can resume activities quicker after a meal, their mental passions are more easily controlled, their senses are better and their taste and hearing more acute'.[23]

Other arguments in favour of a vegetarian diet claimed man's teeth were suited to fruit eating, not meat eating, and uric acid (a byproduct of meat eating) was dangerous.[24] The latter theory was proposed by Alexander Haig, a consultant at various London hospitals, and led to the Haig diet, a diet formulated to avoid the production of uric acid. He suggested the ideal diet to be the hearty peasant diet of the eighteenth century: milk, vegetables and small amounts of home-grown fruit. And to prove that such a diet could still provide the necessary fuel for man's existence, he reported the results of a walking match between a man on a meat diet and one following the Haig diet, which included cheese. The man on the cheese diet won.[25]

Vegetarianism in the United States was associated with Seventh Day Adventists. The religion's founder, Ellen White, received her instruction through personal encounters with God, although her views on diet appeared to reflect those of William Sylvester Graham, 'the tee totalling vegetarian who reviled meat and spicy food for their supposed aphrodisiac qualities'. Ellen White had founded a sanatorium at Battle Creek in 1866 which served vegetarian food as mandated by the sect. In 1876 it was taken over by a convert to vegetarianism, Dr J.H. Kellogg. Despite his 'scientific credentials being non-existent and his medical ones hardly impressive' Kellogg's theories on diet were, by the early twentieth century, widely accepted by the American public.[26] Various articles on diet by Dr Kellogg were published in the *White Ribbon*. His wife, also a vegetarian and a member of the WCTU, published articles which combined scientific nutrition with practical advice on diet in women's magazines and temperance journals. One such article, 'Training of the appetite', was based on the idea that the protein requirement of the diet could be gained from seeds and cereals and these should form the basis of a diet for children.[27]

In New Zealand cookery classes had found a place in the WCTU campaign against alcohol. Scientific motherhood, the notion that women were responsible for the health of their families probably led to the association of the WCTU with scientific cookery. This involved the idea that basic cookery should be taught especially to the poor, so

their nutritional needs could be satisfied in the most economical manner. Bad cooking, it was believed, could lead to alcoholism and other miseries. In 1885 the WCTU in Dunedin had instituted cookery classes which were taught by Mrs E.B. Miller and other WCTU volunteers. The classes resulted in the publication of a cookbook in 1889, *WCTU Economic Cooking Lessons*[28] which included the following warning:

> Many a man would be saved from becoming a drunkard if properly cooked and digested food were prepared for him. A bad dinner has caused man to resort to the public house for a stimulant and so begins the first downward step which with a little care and thought might have been averted.

Mrs Miller favoured food reform and wrote various articles on the subject. One article, 'Why wholemeal bread is indigestible', was aimed at people who had rejected the use of wholemeal bread favoured by the WCTU food reformers. But Mrs Miller explained 'the problem is people are giving up the use of wholemeal flour and saying it is indigestible through carelessness and not seeing they are supplied with the genuine article.[29] Another article, entitled 'Hygiene and food reform', also reveals her food philosophy.

> Food is a fuel put into our bodies to keep the works going ... we can get equal nutrition for meat from milk various beans and lentils. Fruit and vegetables should also be plentiful.[30]

Besides teaching classes for the WCTU, Mrs Miller was employed to teach cookery by the Technical Classes Association in Dunedin and at Otago Girls' High School. She also gave lessons to the public at the South Seas Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1889–1890, taught cookery in many small towns around New Zealand and published cookbooks. Her first cookbook, *Economic Cooking Lessons* (1889), included simple and inexpensive dishes suitable for people of limited means. The 1901 edition had the title *Economic Technical Cookery Book* and, while the original recipes were still included, they were now set out in sections which included soups, soup garnishes, fish, meats, poultry, game, pigeons, sauces and salads for game, puddings, pastry, jellies and creams, savouries, sauces, fruits, jams and pickles, sweets, beverages, some sick room dishes, breads and cakes. Also included was a section on the chemical composition of food. Mrs

Miller claimed her recipes were reliable and not copied. Her object 'was to help young housekeepers and servants with plain everyday recipes for which ingredients can be found in colonial towns'.

Mrs Miller may have believed in the benefits of a vegetarian diet, particularly for those who had a problem with alcohol, but her need to earn her living by teaching cookery suitable for the masses probably overrode her personal beliefs and accounted for the inclusion of a meat section in her cookbooks.[31]

The WCTU campaign against alcohol also resulted in the setting up of booths at Animal & Pastoral (A&P) shows to serve non-alcoholic refreshments, tea and coffee as alternatives to strong drink – the only beverage usually available at these events. The booths were also used to distribute literature about their cause.

In the *Temperance Herald* on 11 December 1887,[32] it was reported that WCTU served tea, coffee, joints of meat and other light refreshment at the Dunedin show. In 1891, *The Prohibitionist* reported that the WCTU had catered at the A&P show in Christchurch the previous year but that the tent had blown down and the ground was spread with blancmanges, jellies and creams.[33] And in 1892[34] the same newspaper reported that the WCTU had appealed for donations of tea, flour and sugar and nice, light, wholesome cakes from housewives unable to attend the show or help in any other way. Blancmanges, jellies and other delicacies from women of leisure and money were also deemed acceptable 'from those that can spare it or do not have time to cook'. Meat was obviously part of the menu as men were engaged to help carve. At the Christchurch show in 1910, 9000 meals were served to the public, which illustrates the importance of the booths as a platform for their cause.[35]

The WCTU was also responsible for establishing tea and coffee rooms in towns and cities where hotels were the only source of refreshments. The WCTU Coffee Rooms in Christchurch advertised it served tea and coffee at 1d per cup, plate of bread and butter with a cup of tea for 3d, buns, scones and pies.[36]

The food served at events catered for by the WCTU indicated it was neither overly concerned with food reform nor was it against serving meat. In fact advertisements that featured 'best meat lowest prices' appeared regularly in the *Temperance Herald*, the 'organ' of the WCTU before the *White Ribbon*, its own paper, began publication in 1895.[37]

The heart of the Temperance Movement was social purity, which demanded the total prohibition of alcohol. Campaigns mounted by the WCTU to fulfil this purpose took a two-pronged approach. One approach was to change the liquor laws and restrict the sale of alcohol. This change could be achieved, the WCTU argued, if women had equal rights to vote in elections and elect representatives that were sympathetic to their cause. Women did get the vote in 1893 and as a result the WCTU almost succeeded in prohibiting the sale of alcohol in the 1919 poll. New Zealand women had been very sympathetic to the moral stand of the WCTU on alcohol since its inception and had supported their campaign to get alcohol banned mainly because of the distress it caused to families and the sordid household conditions it created. In the 1919 poll the prohibition vote was 246,104 and continuance 232,208 but the balance was swung back when the votes of the soldiers serving in the expeditionary forces overseas were counted.[38]

Food reform was the other approach. The Union believed that palatable food was an important antidote to alcohol, hence their endorsement of cooking classes for women. Some members also believed that reducing the craving for alcohol could be achieved by food reform which involved eliminating meat from the diet and eating special foods. These strategies were aimed at changing the attitude of men to alcohol and enlisting them in the fight to ban it. Such notions associated the WCTU with vegetarianism. But for the WCTU in New Zealand the notion of vegetarianism was probably just that. Some individual members may have embraced the idea but there is no evidence that it became a popular dietary regime for ordinary members, their families or members of the public. Even cookbooks written by prominent members of the WCTU, notably Mrs Miller, did not include a vegetarian section. An incorporated NZ Vegetarian Society was not established in New Zealand until the 1940s, although a Health Society that endorsed a vegetarian diet and wholemeal bread was established in the late 1920s. As well, immigrants to New Zealand, especially from the working classes, had come with the idea of betterment ... working men could eat meat seven or even fourteen times a week instead of once or twice a week.[39] Consequently proponents of a meatless diet were unlikely to have had many converts. Meat and white bread on the table were status symbols in British households in the nineteenth century, hence, converting mainly

British-born working class immigrants in New Zealand to a vegetarian and wholemeal bread diet had little chance of success.

Food reform became associated with the WCTU in New Zealand partly because it was a part of the platform of the mother Union in the United States and partly because of an intense interest in food by the public at the time, stimulated by new nutritional discoveries. And while food was an area in the home over which women had some control – it was traditionally a woman's sphere – long held food traditions and beliefs probably limited their power to change eating habits in their households. Hence, despite food reform being an area some members of the WCTU in New Zealand believed would help their campaign against strong drink there is little evidence that it had much impact.

The support of the WCTU for a wholesome diet, however, probably opened the door for the sale of health foods in New Zealand. In 1898 Sanatarium products imported from the United States were sold in New Zealand for the first time and in 1902 production of granola cereal, caramel cereal and unleavened rolls began in Christchurch.[40]

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Notes

1 *Temperance Herald,* 8:2 (1885) p. 36.

2 Raewyn Dalziel (1993). 'New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union 1885–' in Anne Else (ed.) *Women Together*, Daphne Brasell Associates Press, p. 72.

3 Phillida Bunkle (1980). 'The Origins of the Women's Movement in New Zealand : The Women's Christian Temperance Union 1885–1895', in Phillida Bunkle and Beryl Hughes (eds), *Women in New Zealand Society*, George Allen and Unwin, Auckland, p. 71.

4 Caroline Brooks and Gay Simpkin (1975). *A bibliography of articles published in the* White Ribbon, *the offical organ of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union 1895-1919,* Wellington: Library School.

5 Barbara Santich (1995). *What the Doctors Ordered,* Hyland House, Melbourne, p. 48.

6 Jeanne Wood (1986). *A Challenge Not a Truce,* New Zealand WCTU Inc, Nelson, p. 103.

7 *Temperance Herald* 8:9, (1885) p. 226.

[8] *Temperance Herald* 'How Sick People Got Well' 8:2 (1885) p.65.
[9] Mark Findlay (1995). 'Early Marketing of the Theory of Nutrition : The Science and Culture of Liebig's Extract of Meat' in Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *The Science and Culture of Nutrition 1840–1940,* Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp. 48-75.
[10] Bunkle, p. 72.
[11] Nick Fiddes (1991). *Meat A Natural Symbol,* Routledge London, p. 24.
[12] Paul Amato and Sonia Partridge (1989). *The New Vegetarians,* Pleunum Press New York, p. 3.
[13] Bunkle p. 72.
[14] Mrs E.B. Miller, 'Hygiene and Food Reform' White Ribbon 9:46 (1899) pp. 1-2.
[15] James Forbes (c.1900). *Vegetarianism and Food Reform,* Gore Publishing Coy., Gore, p. 12.
[16] Sandra Coney (1993). *Standing in the Sunshine,* Viking, Auckland, p. 101.
[17] *White Ribbon* 'Eat apples', 17:207 (1912) p. 15.
[18] L. Margaret Barnett (1995). 'Every Man his own Physician: Dietetic Fads', 1890–1914 in Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *The Science and Culture of Nutrition 1840–1940,* Rodopi, Amsterdam, pp. 129-55.
[19] *White Ribbon* 'Vegetarianism is a powerful antidote to the drink craze', 7:81 (1902) p. 10.
[20] Mrs. Caro, 'Man's Natural Diet', *White Ribbon* 8:85 (1902) pp. 1-3.
[21] Forbes, Introduction.
[22] *White Ribbon* 'Vegetarianism is a powerful antidote to the drink craze', 7:81 (1902) p. 10.
[23] Dr Trall, 'A plea for a vegetarian diet', *White Ribbon* 2:23 (1897) p. 11.
[24] Forbes, p. 9.
[25] Barnett, pp. 164-5.
[26] Levenstein, p. 92.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[28] *WCTU Economic Cooking Lessons* (WCTU, Dunedin, 1899) p. 78.
[29] Mrs E.B. Miller, 'Why Wholemeal Bread is Indigestible', *White Ribbon* 3:25 (1897) p. 5.
[30] Mrs E.B. Miller, 'Hygenie and Food Reform', *White Ribbon* 9:46 (1899) pp. 1-2.
[31] Janet Mitchell (1995). 'Changing Food Habits of New Zealanders of European Descent 1870–1970', MA Thesis, University of Otago, pp. 66-7.
[32] *Temperance Herald*, 10:1 (1887) p. 201.
[33] *Prohibitionist* WCTU page (1891). Microfiche Hocken Library, 6 June, 1891-15 December, 1894.
[34] *Prohibitionist* WCTU page (1892). Microfiche Hocken Library, 6 June, 1891-15 December, 1894.

Book reviews

THE GIRLS IN THE GANG

Glennis Dennehy and Greg Newbold

Auckland: Reed, 2001, 208pp.

Spelt out in red letters *The Girls in the Gang* is encircled and emblazoned on a grey-black cover. It is a simple yet highly evocative image that immediately locates the subject matter of this book in what Raukawa-Tait calls the '"raw side" of life' (Foreword, p. 7). Yet, if gangs exist on the margins of New Zealand society, women caught up in gang culture are doubly marginalised. Not only are they relegated to the sidelines by an all male gang membership, researchers have tended to ignore the experiences of women involved with gangs too. That is, until this book came along.

As is made clear in Greg Newbold's foreword, the book started out as Glennis Dennehy's Master's thesis. Since then Dennehy has moved on to doctoral studies, leaving Newbold with the challenge of converting her thesis into a marketable book. Newbold states that he substantially shortened and rewrote the thesis, adding a new introduction and conclusion, and providing readers with an appendix that puts New Zealand gangs into their historical and social context. These subtractions and additions notwithstanding, Newbold claims that the overall content of the thesis has been retained and that Dennehy continued to exercise authority over the text throughout the entire process (p. 10).

If Newbold is a 'Johnny come lately' with respect to this book, Dennehy's preface situates the origins of *The Girls in the Gang* even further back in time to when Dennehy was involved in gang culture and dealing with a violent husband. Her narrative, like the narratives of other women that appear later in the book, is a vivid rendition of the realities of gang violence against women. Dennehy's personal life is testament to the need for those who work in the area of male partner violence, as either practitioners or researchers, to take into account the specific experiences and needs of gang women.

As someone with a research background in male partner violence, I read *The Girls in the Gang* with an eye to finding out more about

the effects of violence in these women's lives. In short, I was eager for this book to tell me about the similarities and differences between gang and non-gang women's experiences of male partner violence. Beyond this, I was interested to see how well Dennehy and Newbold dealt with the range of thorny problems raised by the domestic violence literature.

In a nutshell, Dennehy and Newbold argue that women's entry into the gang world is the result of a combination of factors. Although they insist that gang involvement cannot be attributed to a single factor, the authors do suggest that family dysfunction – neglect, abuse and high levels of alcohol consumption – exerted a particularly strong influence on the life course of the women in this study. If family background, social networks and socio-economic status are circumstances that lead to gang association, Dennehy and Newbold point out that there are a number of factors that pull women into gang association. The gangs offer a source of adventure and excitement; a mechanism for rebelling; a 'substitute family' that provided them with a sense of love, acceptance and belonging; and, paradoxically given the revelations contained within this book, the promise of protection against the violence these women had been experiencing in their families of origin. As one of the women said of her involvement: '... it was a security thing for me. You know ... this tough fella who would look after me and love me, what I never had when I was young.' (Lily, p. 81).

Having entered the gang world, frequently through the development of an emotional tie to a specific man, the women soon discovered that they occupied a subordinate status within the gang and that the men in the gang, including their partners, regularly resorted to physical and sexual violence to enforce this gender order. Nine of the ten women in this study had direct experiences of violence; all of them had witnessed severe and brutal violence on a regular basis.

Like women in violent relationships with men up and down New Zealand, fear of further (and typically more extreme) violence caused these women to hesitate before taking steps towards a life outside of the gang. Yet, as Lily makes clear (see p. 117), their fear carried the extra edge that any gang member, and not just their partner, was a source of danger. This is just one of the extra hurdles outlined by Dennehy and Newbold as they discuss how these women extricated

themselves, and sometimes their partners too, from gang-based violence. Another particularly striking hurdle was the difficulty gang women encounter when looking for a safe haven. Two of the women in the study reported being turned away by Refuge because of their gang connections and the risk this might pose to other women.

The failure to adequately comprehend the implications of gang violence and respond to these women was also apparent in the women's reflections about counselling. While religion was an important component in the transformation of some of these women's lives, by and large counsellors were much less helpful. Women who relied heavily on counselling reported 'feeling vulnerable and isolated' (p. 144).

Contemplating the utility of this book for making counsellors and others into more effective agents of intervention returns me to my original question: having read *Girls in the Gang* are we better placed to understand the implications of violence in gang women's lives? The short answer to this is 'yes' and 'no'. Dennehy and Newbold have done an excellent job of describing the horrific violence to which gang women are often subjected. As the authors make clear, the operation of the good/bad girl dichotomy, in tandem with the 'no-narking' rule, and the severe violence that accompanies transgressions of that rule, produces extreme isolation for these women.

Yet the danger of emphasising the distinctive elements of violence against women in gangs is that the similarities between their experiences and those of non-gang women are downplayed. For instance, the authors fail to note that an implicit 'no nark' rule is in place for most women who are victimised by their male partners. For them, as well as the gang women, the disclosure of violence against them is a risky activity that is frequently followed by an even more vicious attack. Nor can distinctiveness be made to reside in gang women's exposure to extreme forms of violence. Every year countless women's bodies bear the kinds of marks of violence depicted in the one image of a gang woman that appears in this book. (Ironically, given the purpose of the book, the other 14 images depict men in gangs).

What troubles me about an over-emphasis on the distinctive nature of gang women's experiences of violence, together with the use of a stark image of the bodily effects of this violence, and the idea that only women with poor family backgrounds and low self-confidence

tolerate violence against them, is that the authors unwittingly contribute to the 'othering' of violence. By 'othering' I mean the tendency to render the problem of domestic violence in terms of extreme acts of physical brutality that always takes place elsewhere. Unfortunately, this 'elsewhere' is a highly racialised and classed 'elsewhere' that enables middle-class Pakeha families and communities to deny the existence of violence, in its myriad forms, in their midst.

Despite a number of reservations about *Girls in the Gang*, I nevertheless want to acknowledge its groundbreaking status. In particular, Dennehy is to be highly commended for her empirical research. The book that has subsequently appeared is readable and informative, if not always sufficiently complex for this reader. Because of its style and novel subject material the book will no doubt find its way onto many bookshelves, including the shelves of many social science students and researchers.

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WORK WISE:
A NEW ZEALAND GUIDE TO MANAGING WORKPLACE RELATIONSHIPS

Pat Rosier

Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 212 pp. $29.95.

Pat Rosier is a well-known New Zealand feminist and former editor of *Broadsheet*. However, her latest publication could be used equally well by women or men. Her recent book *Work Wise* is a 'how to' text about management in organisations, large and small, in the public, private and voluntary sectors. Most of all, however, it is about managing workplace relationships. This is not about managerialism, and people are not seen as 'human capital'. The book is not only written for managers, but for all people involved in workplaces. This book is about the importance of clarity of purpose, transparent workplace structures and interpersonal skills for dealing with the dynamics that arise in workplaces between individuals and groups due to differences in personalities, viewpoints, cultures and backgrounds.

Most of the experience that underpins this book was gained in the not-for-profit sector. Rosier works from the premise that for an organisation to work well, the people within it must have a shared sense of purpose and that this must override the aspirations of individuals. She makes the important point that the values and guiding principles of an organisation should be made clear and should be shared by the people working within them. Sadly, however, many people do not have the luxury of making their living in organisations whose values they espouse, and this book may have less relevance for these people than it has for those working in not-for-profit, voluntary and service agencies and collectives.

Work Wise is a practical book, and it contains a very useful section on procedures for running a successful organisation, which includes making decisions in a fair and transparent manner and running meetings in a way which allow the business to be conducted and decisions made and recorded without making unnecessary demands on staff time. It also recognises the need to have systems in place for the induction of new staff. *Work Wise* recognises procedural issues that can arise as small and relatively informal organisations grow in

size and complexity, highlighting the importance of setting up proper record-keeping systems, especially for financial transactions. It is also argued that those in leadership positions should use their authority openly.

A particular strength of the book is the detailed way in which it deals with managing workplace relationships. *Work Wise* includes a particularly useful section on dealing with conflict and giving constructive feedback. Rosier does not regard conflict as something to be resolved but as the inevitable and ongoing result of difference and diversity, and that this can be worked with constructively. She argues that as long as the principles and procedures outlined in the first section are followed, it is possible to manage conflict in ways which leave the various parties intact rather than feeling crushed or leaving the institution. Although the section is described as having a common sense approach, many good examples of ways of resolving potentially difficult situations are given.

Work Wise also contains a section on looking after yourself, which includes building alliances and trying to deal with overwork, for example by challenging the culture of workaholism. There is brief mention early in the book that not all workers are in a position to be able to influence their terms and conditions of employment, and that this is a particular issue for low paid and vulnerable groups (such as women). However, there is only a very brief mention of the importance of unions in *Work Wise*.

Unusually, *Work Wise* suggests that anyone working in organisations can take part in solving the interpersonal and structural issues that inevitably arise in any organisation, and that this is not the sole prerogative of senior managers. The book is intended for a New Zealand audience, and parts of the book deal with issues too specific to the New Zealand situation. However, most of the book, and especially the sections on workplace relationships, would be equally relevant to workplaces overseas, especially those in the not-for-profit sector.

Work Wise contains much wisdom. This is a book that can be dipped into and reflected on. It is practical, well written, logically structured and accessible, and uses plenty of examples based on real life situations. The case studies and cartoons make it seem deceptively light and entertaining, but it is the product of many years of experience and much careful thought. This book can be used to help the smooth

running of one's own workplace or community group, or for reference when problems have already arisen. It is an excellent resource which deserves a place on any working person's bookshelf.

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LADY TRAVELLERS: THE TOURISTS OF EARLY NEW ZEALAND

Bee Dawson

Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001.

Constance Barnicoat (1872–1922) damned the 'tempestuous petticoats'; instead, she preferred to rig herself out as much like a boy as possible (p. 197). She traversed the Copland Pass wearing a white sweater, tweed knickers, a sensible hat and sturdy boots, which were 'well nailed' (p. 197). As part of her attire, the first woman to ascend Mount Cook, Freda Du Faur (1882–1935), wore a bonnet, scarf and skirt. What these adventuring lady mountaineers wore attracted much attention. It appeared that social mores, such as maintaining a feminine dress and appropriate chaperones, were more important concerns than strength, fitness and safety.

Author Bee Dawson portrays rich and descriptive travel accounts of ten ladies of varying social status. Dawson selected women who travelled from choice rather than necessity: these women were the early tourists of New Zealand (p. 12). As a reader, my intention was to curl up with a cuppa and vicariously experience the pleasure and challenge of touring Victorian New Zealand whilst my toddler had her afternoon siesta.

Dawson offers us an eclectic mix: a missionary, a countess, artists, middle-class women, tomboys, spinsters and wives. Some women's stories had more information than others and certain moments in each woman's story struck me: forbidden love, tragedy, stoicism and adventure. Excerpts from diaries, journals and sketchbooks provide the basis of these stories and historical, social and, at times, political context is provided from an array of secondary resources. Dawson

carefully weaves a brief biography of the women's lives from their birth and schooling years, and she includes information about their family background. The emphasis, however, is on when, how and why these ladies travelled to New Zealand. It took a couple of chapter readings before I clicked onto this formula; at first I thought that the stories simply ended abruptly with a rushed synopsis of their latter years.

The travelling story of the Countess of Ranfurly (1858–1932) is lengthy and filled with meticulous details provided by the diaries and records of Lord Ranfurly's private secretary and *aide-de-camp*, Dudley Alexander, and numerous newspaper articles. Not one word came from the Countess herself. I was struck by the fact that when one filled a government post, the salary did not cover all the expenses incurred from obligatory activities. One needed a personal income, often from one's property in the British Isles, in order to sustain a position as a servant of the Queen in the colonies. As reported by one British newspaper, 'Lord Ranfurly, though not a rich peer, can afford this extra expenditure, and as he and Lady Ranfurly are charming host and hostess, may expect a good time at Government House' (p. 135). At the end of the Ranfurlys' period (and many balls, galas, musical evenings, dinner parties etc.), they made, as predicted, a loss in income but gained through numerous legacies, the most notable (to rugby people) being the Ranfurly Shield (p. 156).

The Countess of Ranfurly's travels were most cumbersome, with 'aides-des-camps, governesses, butlers, cooks and footmen' comprising a great entourage (p. 13). This did not prevent her visiting the most far away places of the New Zealand colony, including the 'Southern Islands of New Zealand', or the sub-Antarctic Islands (p. 146). In between Vice-Regal duties, other important missions of their travelling steam ship included supplying lighthouses with coal, oil, food, furniture and timber (p. 146) and checking for castaways, these activities emphasising the isolation of Victorian New Zealand and its environs.

The Richardson sisters, Lilly (1868–1937), Ethel (1869–1946) and Fanny (1872–1954), also visited the sub-Antarctic islands. Their visit was more spontaneous, travelling with only several hours' notice, and their story is briefer than the Countess's. Yet the information provided captures these women's taste for adventure and is rich with illustrations. The ship they travelled on also replenished the supplies

on the outer islands such as Campbell, the Antipodes and the Auckland Islands, where they landed 'cows and other unfortunate beasts' as part of the policy to have self-sustaining flocks for future castaways (p. 130). This was in addition to introducing goats, possum and kiwi.

In 'true Victorian style' these travellers collected all sorts of things as they went (p. 128). The Richardson sisters collected bird eggs and plants as well as sea lions, penguins and albatross; it is unclear whether the more exotic specimens were dead or alive (p. 130). The Countess of Ranfurly was said to have collected albatross eggs that were later sold for charity. I was horrified at the Victorian attitude towards our now protected species: Ranfurly's private secretary, Dudley Alexander, noted the presence (and stench) of thousands of penguins on these outer islands which were 'of no value unless boiled down in immense quantities for their oil' (p. 147). To these travelling Victorians the birds and fauna of New Zealand were considered collectable, profitable or expendable.

Similarly, the attitude toward the Maori, as portrayed in the stories of Sarah Mathew (c. 1805–1890) and Mary Dobie (1850–1880), was uncomfortable to read. Sarah Mathew, according to Dawson, wrote with a sharp pen and 'generally admired the scenery more than those who inhabited it'; this included both the Maori and European settlers (p. 50). Sarah's contempt even extended to King and Queen Pomare when Sarah felt that she was treated with condescension, which unsettled her general attitude of superiority towards Maori (p. 51). She recounted in her journal after the visit from the King and Queen that, 'of course I made myself as amiable as possible though much disgusted with the odious savages' (p. 51). As the wife of Felton Mathews, Surveyor General of New Zealand, her attitude towards land settlements recounts strong differences between those of the colonists and the Maori; again in her journal Sarah writes that the Maori 'do not seem quite to understand the terms on which we entered the country' (p. 51). During the period of Sarah's habitation in New Zealand, 1840–1845, Dawson writes 'there was a warlike appearance of many local Maori and [an] unsettled mood in the country' (p. 51). Although not mentioned directly, we gain some insight into some of the tensions leading up to and following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as portrayed by the travelling lives and experiences of Dawson's Victorian ladies.

A spirit of unhappiness between the Maori and the colonists is a continuing thread in some of the stories of Dawson's lady travellers,

with the most dramatic ending in death. The opening chapter begins with the burning of the *Boyd*, a story filled with deceit, revenge and cannibalism. The chapter about Mary Dobie centres on her murder in 1880. Dawson writes, 'despite simmering unrest over land issues in the Taranaki district' (p. 95), Mary walked around the district to sketch, accompanied only by her little black dog. The murder was brutal and retribution was quick. A young Maori man was arrested and, pleading guilty, was promptly sent to the gallows (p. 97).

On a lighter note, I was particularly taken by the drama of the story of Constance Astley's (1851–1935) forbidden love with New Zealand artist, Dorothy (Dolla) Kate Richmond. Their relationship raised concern with members of Dolla's family for its inappropriateness. New Zealand expatriate artist Frances Hodgkins also had some concern regarding the closeness between Constance and the 'lovely Dolla' (p. 121), as Frances would have preferred Dora to be with her. It was refreshing to read a story about the travels and friendships of artists that did not solely focus on their art.

Overall, Dawson describes her lady travellers as, 'resilient, gutsy women who, revelling in their escape from the polite parlours of society, hitched up their skirts and determinedly grasped a slice of adventure' (p. 13). I noticed that the higher up the social milieu one was, the more information and detail conveyed in their stories. Wanting more information, although at times frustrating, indicates that as a reader I was sufficiently engaged and enraptured with the narratives; indeed I slumped on my couch, slurping my tea and was impressed with the feats each woman accomplished.

JOANNA COBLEY

'UNFORTUNATE FOLK':
ESSAYS ON MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT, 1863–1992

Editors: Barbara Brookes and Jane Thomson

Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001. $39.95.

Contemporary debates around the funding and treatment of mental health in New Zealand provide a timely reminder of the political nature of the categorising, care and treatment of the mentally ill. Recent media attention to the under-funding, under-resourcing and inadequate monitoring of both institutional and community care provisions for the mentally ill have reignited long standing tensions around medical and legal discourses concerned with how to identify and treat the 'mad' and the 'bad'. The publication of *Unfortunate Folk: Essays on Mental Health Treatment, 1863–1992* provides a number of valuable historical perspectives on the tensions inherent in the socially constructed and socially interpreted nature of mental illness.

Unfortunate Folk is an edited collection of essays written by postgraduate students in the History Department at the University of Otago over the period 1972–2000. On first glance, it is tempting to dismiss this collection as of value only to those with a specific interest in the history of mental health, or to those particularly interested in the history of Otago (as more than half of the collection focuses on mental health provisions in that region). Likewise, despite the predominance of female contributors, a quick scan through the contents pages does not appear to offer a great deal for those interested in women's history or feminist scholarship. But on closer attention, this collection reveals itself to be full of fascinating insights on the mad/bad dichotomy, the histories of marginalised groups and on the construction of Other in New Zealand medical and legal history.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One focuses on the founding years of Otago institutions and includes essays on the foundation of the Dunedin Lunatic Asylum, Ashburn Hall (which had the distinction of being New Zealand's only private asylum), and Truby King's tenure as Medical Superintendent at Seacliff. These essays trace the various debates around, and provisions for, epileptics, criminal lunatics, and lunatic prisoners, and also provide comparisons of public and private institutions. Part Two focuses on the 'modern'

era in Otago with the movement away from asylums to the development of therapeutic communities and institutions with a training focus. Through attention to technological changes (such as the electric light and telephones), as well as changes in funding, treatments, and the governance of institutions, these essays discuss the various ways in which increased attention was paid to the social context which shaped attitudes and practices. Part Three moves to a more general focus to offer some New Zealand perspectives on the development of the psychiatric profession, beliefs about mental defect, and discourses of social degeneracy and social engineering. An underlying theme in this final section is the fluidity between worlds of madness and reason.

Although only one of the articles focuses specifically on women (Paula Cody's oral history of women psychiatrists), aspects of the gendered nature of attitudes toward and provisions for mental patients emerge in almost every essay in the volume. Several of the essays stand out as of particular interest to the feminist scholar. In tracing the mutability of the concept of subnormality within educational, medical and legal discourses, Stephen Robertson's essay '"Production not Reproduction": The problem of mental defect in New Zealand, 1920–1935' discusses intersections between mental health and sexuality. One example discussed is that of the ways in which a woman's failure to control her sexuality, whether this manifested itself as wanton hyper-sexuality or as an inability to adequately protect herself from male sexual advances, was deemed mentally defective. This, coupled with early twentieth century beliefs that the feeble-minded were more fertile than the rest of the population, fed eugenicist discourses in ways that labelled women as immoral and a danger to the community.

Questions such as which social groups were more likely to be committed, who initiated the committal process, and how was a patient's gender implicated in these processes frame Judith Holloway's essay on an analysis of the social context of committals to Seacliff between 1928 and 1937. Her study illustrates how definitional categories of insanity – which at the time included 'idiots', 'imbeciles', 'feeble-minded', 'epileptic', 'of unsound mind', 'mentally infirm' and 'persons socially defective' – were so expansive that women and men who did not conform to dominant gender roles could be liable to incarceration. Some of Holloway's findings are chilling, notably that

husbands' complaints that their wives were not capable of, or were negligent in attending to, their prescribed domestic duties accounted for the majority of married women who were committed to Seacliff within the period under study.

The case of Mary N provides a graphic illustration. Fleeing in the middle of the night with her scantily clad children for fear of her husband's attempt to poison them, she was committed to Seacliff on the basis of 'delusions of persecution'. The examining doctors concluded that malnutrition, hereditary and 'marital incompatibility' had resulted in her being of unsound mind. Upon committal she was diagnosed as schizophrenic until it was observed that she reverted from a cheerful rational individual to sullen uncooperative behaviour only when her husband was mentioned. It was later revealed that her husband, who was a victim of gas and shellshock in the First World War, was an unemployed alcoholic who, after binges of heavy drinking, terrorised his wife and children.

Whether the examples are women committed to mental institutions on the basis of 'marital incompatibility', slovenly behaviour, or in order to escape being abused by men, or men committed for exhibiting what Holloway describes as 'unmanageable masculinity', *Unfortunate Folk* is peppered with examples that provide insights into the daily realities of women's and men's lives. In their meticulous attention to detail that is the hallmark of archival-based historical research, the essays in this collection offer a rich backdrop to a gendered analysis of this marginalised area of our social history.

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A FINE PEN: THE CHINESE VIEW OF KATHARINE MANSFIELD

Shifen Gong

Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2001. $39.95.

The work of 'Man si fei er de', as Mansfield's name is currently translated by Chinese literary scholars, was introduced into China by writer and scholar Xu Zhimo, who met KM in London, for 'twenty immortal minutes' (p. 118) during August 1922. In his 1923 article, reproduced in this collection, Zhimo wrote 'I stared into her mystical eyes, letting her sword-like gaze penetrate my being, while the music of her voice washed over me and flooded into the depths of my soul' (p. 125). Zhimo's article began almost eighty years of translations and literary criticism of Mansfield's work in China, some of which has been gathered in this fascinating collection edited, selected and introduced by Chinese scholar Shifen Gong.

Gong brings together twenty texts on Mansfield and her work which, the cover claims, provide 'fresh insights to the largely Eurocentric criticism of Mansfield's work', and 'a commentary on Chinese literary history'. Gong explains that Mansfield's work received considerable attention during the 1920s and 1930s in China, including critiques by *Modern Review* editor Chen Tongbo (writing as Xi Ying), and novelist, editor of *The Short Story Magazine* and later Minister of Culture, Shen Yanbing. Later editor of this magazine, Zheng Zhenduo, produced a special issue in 1924 devoted to Mansfield's work, including articles by these critics. A later literary journal *Xin yue* (Crescent Moon), formed in 1928, attracted Professor Ye Gongchao of Beijing University, who Gong reports had, like the others, studied in England, as well as Fan Zhongyun and other English language translators. The summation by Yang Jialuo in a 1938 literary catalogue of work on Mansfield up until then marked the end of what Gong calls the 'first phase' of the reception of her work in China, which ended in 1937 when Chinese literary life was disrupted by the Japanese invasion and then by civil war.

Gong explains that the work of critics Xu Zhimo, Xi Ying and others was part of the New Literature Movement which developed in China as part of the 1919 democratic and revolutionary May Fourth Movement, when writers and scholars became interested in the work of 'foreign poets, playwrights and writers of fiction as well as the ideas

of foreign literary critics' (p. 20). They included D.H. Lawrence, Thomas Hardy, and Chekhov as well as Mansfield, who was presented at this time as 'romantic' and 'aesthetic', largely based on Zhimo's views.

Despite a 1957 translation of three Mansfield stories, her work sank into oblivion after the 1966 Cultural Revolution, reappearing again in the 1980s after a gap of four decades. Gong reports that three new institutions were established then which supported the new scholarship on Mansfield – the Oceanic Literature Research Unit at Anhui University, the New Zealand Research Centre at Shanghai International Studies University, and the New Zealand Studies Centre at Nanchong Teachers' College, which publishes *New Zealand Studies*.

Tang Baoxin, interested in Mansfield's work from the 1930s, bridged the four decade gap, influencing colleagues and students at Tiajin Teachers' University, including Gong.

Xiao Qian also provides a link with the past, and his wife Wen Jieruo seems to have been the first Chinese woman critic of Mansfield. Jieruo and her daughter Li Zi translated and commented on Mansfield's work, and are claimed by Gong to have been influenced by Qian, who is also claimed to have influenced another woman critic Feng Zongpu (p. 24). Contemporary women scholars include Ren Rongzhen, former Red Guard during the Cultural Revolution, who subsequently became an English language translator and critic. Gong remarks that 'feminist discourse about Mansfield has not had any significant influence in China', despite the translation of stories 'about women and marriage that might lead to feminist readings' (p. 37).

I needed to read Gong's informative introduction closely, to discover who the articles were by, and whether the critics were men or women, due to my lack of familiarity with China or Chinese names. I wondered why I cared – perhaps I could simply have read these articles as isolated and ungendered commentary. However, close readings of the articles made it clear that though Jieruo and Zongpu may not be writing 'feminist criticism' (whatever this means), they are aware of how Mansfield depicts women and women's relationships with men. They read as Chinese women, commenting from a rich tradition of criticism unfamiliar to me. Zongpu's 1984 article, as Gong explains, applies the opposing Chinese concepts of *xu* ('empty' or 'unsubstantial') and *shi* ('full' or 'substantial') to Mansfield's writing. Though Zongpu wonders if she may not be 'stretching the point' in applying these traditional Chinese concepts to Mansfield, she

convincingly (for me) analyses Mansfield's use of symbolism and her methods of 'suppression and expression', which hide meaning (*xu*) leaving it for the reader to uncover (*shi*) (p. 73).

Zongpu also comments on Mansfield's descriptions of women and men, using details from 'A Dill Pickle' as examples (p. 83). In her 1988 article Ren Rongzhen notes how Mansfield wrote of 'women's unfortunate lives, extending her boundless sympathy to them' (p. 44). In 1985 Wen Jieruo says that Mansfield 'created unforgettable images of women in hardship and poverty ... because she learned the sufferings and hardships ... she was able to portray vividly those – especially women – struggling desperately against poverty and hunger' (p. 66).

As readers we select different aspects of texts, between generations and between cultures. It was deeply fascinating for me to read the comments of Chinese critics of stories I know from my own cultural position. When I was first asked to review this book, I wondered whether it might not be best reviewed by a Chinese reviewer, or by someone familiar with Chinese language and culture. Eventually I realised that a review by someone like myself, who is an 'outsider' to Chinese culture, but an 'insider' to Mansfield's stories might be helpful. As Trinh Minh-ha puts it, I am 'both in one insider/outsider', looking in 'from the outside, while also looking out from the inside' (*The Moon Waxes Red*, 1991, pp. 74, 75).

Most New Zealand readers will engage with Gong's book from this dual position. If Gong's book is to be relevant here, it must be able to communicate the ideas of Chinese commentary on Mansfield to New Zealand readers quite unaware of the interest Mansfield inspires in China. I found the book relevant and engaging, not only for the intriguing commentary on Mansfield's work, but also for the introduction it gave me to the tradition of Chinese literary criticism, and an insight into the interest Chinese scholars and institutions have in foreign literature, including that of New Zealand.

Finally, as a lover of Mansfield's work, I agreed strongly with the words of Wen Jiervo who writes of Mansfield 'like a silkworm spinning its last thread, she left behind a treasure to touch the hearts of coming generations' (p. 64) in New Zealand and in China.

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KATERINA: THE RUSSIAN WORLD OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD

Joanna Woods

Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001. $39.95.

Joanna Woods's book provides a vivid and informative account of Katherine Mansfield's life and focuses on the writer's long-standing obsession with Russian culture. As Woods convincingly demonstrates, in spite of the fact that Mansfield was labelled as 'the Chekhov of English fiction', she overcame the influence of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov and developed her own subjectivised narrative form of writing. The book will be of great interest to the general public and to students of English literature.

Woods's study comprises Introduction, fifteen chapters, well-presented chronology, Endnotes, and Bibliography. Its well-presented material, lucid style and numerous cross-references both to English and Russian writers will undoubtedly be appreciated by undergraduate students. Mansfield's life is discussed in conjunction with analysis of her imagery and themes that might have been influenced by particular people or events from Mansfield's life. Although most readers will find Woods's treatment of Mansfield's fiction sensitive and well-balanced, some might be put off by the author's reluctance to embark on any discussion of the complexities associated with modernist aesthetics. Readers well versed in European modernism will be disappointed not to have encountered in Woods's book such familiar concepts as modernity, subjectivity, transgression, androgyny, fin de siècle and so on that often accompany any serious analysis of modernist texts. Nor have any attempts been made to refer to feminist or psychoanalytical theoretical frameworks. Woods's story of Mansfield's life tends to lean towards the format of old-fashioned biographical narratives, which bring to the fore the subject's personal liaisons with famous people, love affairs, and a list of favourite books. In this particular case, Tolstoy's *War and Peace,* Dostoevsky *Notes from Underground*, *Idiot* and *The Brothers Karamazov* as well as Chekhov's stories appear to be important stepping stones in Mansfield's evolution as a writer.

As Woods acknowledges (p. 8), her study incorporates the research of other scholars including Antony Alpers, Gillian Boddy

and Claire Tomalin. Woods also draws on Mansfield's notebooks and correspondence with friends. While D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf were among Mansfield's close friends in England, Woods discusses their Russophile tendencies in passing. There are no references to Virginia Woolf's superb essay on Russian literature, or her shorter fiction that features Russian themes and subtexts. Such a juxtaposition could have provided readers with further insights into the minds of Mansfield's contemporaries.

Mansfield's relationships with famous and not so famous Russians in Germany, England and in France are highlighted throughout the book. Woods discusses at great length Mansfield's friendship with Samuel Solomonovich Koteliansky, a translator of Russian literature into English. Both Mansfield and her husband John Murry collaborated with Koteliansky over works by Dostoevsky, Chekhov and Kuprin. Woods also mentions Mansfield's meetings in Paris with the famous Russian émigré authors Dmitry Merezkovsky, Zinaida Hippius and Ivan Bunin. In spite of the fact that Bunin was a celebrated author (and recipient of the Nobel prize in 1933), Mansfield was not impressed by his fiction that she read in English translation by D.H. Lawrence and Koteliansky. Woods reproduces Mansfield's comments on Bunin such as 'he just stops short of being a great writer' and 'he lacks tenderness' (p. 228) but fails to explain such idiosyncratic responses to Bunin's fiction.

Undoubtedly the most original part of the book is Woods's survey of Soviet studies on Mansfield in the final chapter of her book, which is appropriately titled 'Comrade Katya' (pp. 248-66). In her discussion of Soviet literary criticism Woods points out that some scholars were eager to portray Katherine 'as a paragon of social realism and humanism' (p. 260). Furthermore, she pinpoints some colonial tendencies in Soviet criticism and asserts that 'the Soviets never fully understood Katherine's ties with New Zealand' (p. 264). Woods, however, could be criticised, too, for neglecting important issues of ethnicity and identity. Thus, for example, in her discussion of Russian French artist and writer Marie Bashkirtseff (who happened to be a role model for Mansfield in the beginning of her career) Woods does not mention that Bashkirtseff was born near Poltava in Ukraine. Woods talks of Bashkirtseff's influence on Mansfield thus: 'Over the stormy months that followed, her guiding light was the journal of a young and passionate Russian woman, an artist like herself, named Marie

Bashkirtseff' (p. 41). Although Woods reproduces some of the passages from Bashkirtseff's journal, she overlooks a passage in which Bashkirtseff talks explicitly about her identity. Thus on visiting the Vatican, Bashkirtseff and her family stressed they were from Little Russia, not St Petersburg. Furthermore, in the face of the Pope's blessing as 'your country is Heaven' (Blind, Mathilde, tr., with 'Introduction' by Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*, London, Virago, 1985, p. 53) the family affirmed the absence of their link with Russia.

Woods' lengthy portrayal of Mansfield's affair with Polish critic and translator Floryan Sobieniowsky – 'a romantic Slav' (p. 69) who introduced Mansfield to Polish literature – falls short of being relevant to the topic of the book. Yet Woods maintains that 'culturally there was the greatest possible sympathy' between the Poles and Russians simply because 'Poland and Russian shared the same Slavonic heritage' (*ibid.*). Given the fact that Russians' predominant affiliation was Russian Orthodox, and Poles' was Catholicism, such a sweeping statement appears to be bizarre, if not misleading!

Most curiously, however, Woods labels seventy years of a totalitarian regime in Russia as 'the most extraordinary social experiments that the world has ever seen' (p. 265). In her discussion of Lenin's preparation for the 1917 October revolution, Woods refers to Lenin's arrival to St Petersburg on 16 April 1917 (p. 152). Woods should have mentioned at this point that the city was renamed Petrograd in 1914 because of the anti-German sentiments during the First World War. She uses the new name of the city on a different occasion, though, while referring to Zinaida Hippius's memoirs (p. 228). Unfortunately, Woods fails to point out that Hippius was one of the most profound Russian female authors of the twentieth century. Accomplished Russian artist Boris Anrep, friend of Katherine's husband John Murry, is mentioned only in passing (p. 230). References to Henri Bergson (on pages 90 and 93) are obscure, if not superfluous: given that his theory of creativity greatly influenced British and Russian modernists, it would have been appropriate to locate any traces of Bergsonian worldview in Mansfield's works. Woods does not treat her readers to useful insights into the teachings of Russian theosophers Ouspensky and Gurdzhieff either, in spite of the fact that their ideas had a profound impact on Mansfield in the

end of her life. Woods's report on Mansfield's sexuality, including numerous affairs with both men and women, easily outweighs her survey of some popular intellectual trends that might have shaped Mansfield's artistic outlook.

The above criticism notwithstanding, Woods's book provides pleasurable reading in its faithful recreation of various important moments of Mansfield's life in Europe. The main thrust of the book appears to be Woods's desire to convey to her readers that Mansfield the woman was larger-than-life, especially because her tormented self was modelled on Dostoyevsky's novels. In the light of Woods's evidence, Mansfield's growing obsession with Russia might be seen as an expression of the writer's longing for an ideal world and ideal love that inevitably lead to estrangement from this world. In this respect, Woods's claim that 'it was the elegance of Katherine's style and the charm of the Edwardian world that she depicted that captivated her Soviet readers' (p. 266) seems to be ironic, if not misplaced, if we take into account Mansfield's search for spiritual horizons and evident links with European modernism that the present study unambiguously unfolds.

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Review Article

Zohl de Ishtar (Editor), 1998
Pacific Women Speak Out: For Independence and Denuclearisation
The Raven Press, Christchurch.

Zohl de Ishtar, 1994
Daughters of the Pacific
Spinifex, North Melbourne.

Kate Dewes and Robert Green, 1999
***Aotearoa/New Zealand at the World Court,* The Raven Press, Christchurch.**

In 2002, debates about the rationale of nuclear weapons as deterrence are still at the forefront within the major powers, but now focus on the maintenance of political and world dominance. The United States is now prepared to use 'low yield' nuclear weapons as a 'first use' option. The urgent issues in this debate have always been urgent issues for the Pacific, but it is the intersections with colonisation, imperialism, globalisation and capitalism, which appear not to have been connected together in the academic debate. *Daughters of the Pacific* and *Pacific Women Speak Out,* are collections of stories by Indigenous people, including some who have been directly affected by the devastation of nuclear detonations. *Aotearoa/New Zealand at the World Court* narrates the challenges made to the dominant world powers of the legality of nuclear weapons by individuals, community groups, and non-government organisations. The three books are closely linked; Zohl de Ishtar's books were used as evidence of the devastation caused by the testing of these weapons in the Pacific during the World Court campaign.

Kate Dewes and other peace activists were able to use *Pacific Women Speak Out* positively when challenging the legality of nuclear weapons, at the United Nations, to gain support for the World Court Project. This book expresses the damage suffered by Indigenous peoples, economically, socially and politically, as evidence of the direct impact of nuclear devastation. By gaining support from members of the Non-Aligned group at the United Nations to co-

sponsor the World Court Project, citizen witnesses, for the first time, were able to address the World Court. It was in this format that some Pacific Indigenous women were able to tell their survival stories of nuclear detonations in the South Pacific to an audience who could change things.

Included amongst the 700 citizen witnesses was Lijon Eknilang from the Marshall Islands, who was able to orate her personal battles plus the struggles of other Marshallese women. The United States was quick to respond, without considering the personal revelations of these victims, saying that nuclear deterrence has 'saved many millions of lives from the scourge of war' (Dewes and Green p. 36).

The stories in Zohl's books trace the enormous social, economic and political struggles forced on the Indigenous people through colonisation by hegemonic powers. These huge social struggles were in response to nuclear contamination producing effects such as the Marshall Islands' 'jelly-fish babies'. These babies' inhuman forms included being transparent, without eyes, head, arms or legs; but they were alive at birth and able to breathe for a short time (de Ishter 1998, p. 17).

Pacific Indigenous people's political struggles have not all been direct consequences of nuclear explosions, but all share similar issues since colonisation. These issues include battles against ethnocide and genocide, and for the right to sovereignty and self-determination, including the return of 'stolen' land. Every Indigenous group within Zohl's books experienced enormous population declines after colonisation. The Australian Aborigine population fought to actually be acknowledged as existing before colonisation! It was not until 1992 and the success of the 'Mabo' land case that Aboriginal pre-existence was legally recognised. Until a legal definition satisfied the legislature, the Aboriginal political voices on land entitlement rights and abuse issues were not considered seriously (de Ishtar 1994, p. 161-2).

Economically, some Indigenous peoples are totally separated from traditional subsistence lifestyles because of rural/urban migration, displacement to different islands, or even living within military zones and beside tourist industries. Guam has the most militarised islands on Earth with their 'new' spatial landscape revealing '(b)ehind every palm tree there is a military base' and

'behind every military base there is a tourist hotel' (de Ishtar1994, p. 74). Multi-national exploitation and the complicity of the imperialist government authorities have resulted in the taking of natural resources, including phosphates, copper and uranium, without proper compensation or restoration, and the removing of capital from the crippled nations. Nuclear powers or their aligned allies created all of these situations.

The importance of women telling their stories in *Daughters of the Pacific* and *Pacific Women Speak Out* is clear from the beginning. Indigenous women are the lowest strata in the struggles against oppression by racism, sexism, heterosexism, and classism. The struggle of Indigenous women is not just against the white patriarchy of colonial imperialist powers, but also, now, to regain a balance with their own men. Most of the Pacific Indigenous peoples, before colonisation, either had egalitarian or matrilineal kinship-based societies. Now in some Indigenous groups the women are totally excluded from decision-making processes. This change has altered the fundamental balance in most Pacific Indigenous traditional cultures, where a balance use to prevail but, through '(t)he Western system ... (t)he patriarchal system has imposed this idea that the world revolves around the male aspect' and 'they have neglected the female aspect. There's no balance' (de Ishtar 1998, p. 13).

Indigenous populations in the Pacific have struggled with the concepts of western democracy. The story of Belau tells of the supreme form of democracy: direct democracy. The population of fifteen thousand make their decisions together, through consensus. However, this is not compatible with western democracy. The format of this restructuring disrupts the balance within Indigenous communities, where successful dynamics already existed. In Belau, the women are in charge of their matrilineal kinship-based society, and they are responsible for the men, but now the women's status is being undermined. The women have found a way around this oppression by networking in the taro swamps. During the collection of taro women network and share information, as well as deciding village priorities, discussing their needs and identifying weaknesses (de Ishtar 1994 p. 56).

These books are relevant to the woman reader of any discipline. A theme running through Zohl's books is that it is not the Indigenous

woman's self-interest in survival which is important, but that it is the next generation for whom they struggle. The women survive under the most oppressive regimes but they are the most important agents in the struggle for the next generation's future. 'The big issues of today are in fact led by women, ordinary women, who have had children and are grandmothers now' (Potaka-Dewes, *Daughters of the Pacific*, p. 164).

In *Pacific Women Speak Out,* Zohl de Ishtar introduces herself as an Irish-Australian lesbian. As a non-Indigenous person of the Pacific herself, the question arises of her right to tell Indigenous people's stories and to retell them in the written format. Is this not a continuation of oppression of Indigenous people, who can only gain a voice and validity through the colonial imperial dominators? The issues concerning the rights and obligations regarding these stories are twofold; first, who has ownership of the stories and, second, how are these stories represented?

Zohl has been permitted to tell Pacific women's stories on the basis that the stories belong to the orator and do not become the property of the publisher. As for representation of the Pacific stories, peace activists have used *Pacific Women Speak Out* to highlight the importance of denuclearisation through the devastating consequences of detonations in the Pacific illustrated in the stories. As a result, the book has reached audiences who are able to assist in the denuclearisation of Earth. This has, as in the World Court Project, enabled Pacific women's voices to be heard internationally.

The stories of most of these Indigenous women gain in meaning and power from being told orally. A Native American woman explained to Zohl that the use of an oral language was because, 'We know that it is important to keep our religion, our ways, our history, oral so that our minds would never become weak, and we would never forget' (de Ishtar 1994, p. xviii). Zohl herself recognises this, and relates the telling of stories as 'talking stories'. One of the positive results of *Daughters of the Pacific* being published is that there is now a demand for Pacific women orators to travel globally, educating others of their experiences. As a feminist, I believe that the ownership and representation issues of other women's stories are well recognised and respected by Zohl.

Zohl intends that these books should create awareness of what is

occurring in the region. The stories come from Hawai'i, the Marshall Islands, Australia, Te Ao Maohi, East Timor, Bourgainville, West Papua, Aotearoa, Guam, Northern Mariana's, Fiji, and Belau. Her goal in writing *Daughters of the Pacific* is for a 'just' Pacific. Zohl's focus in the Pacific region has been as an outsider seeing the devastation caused by colonial powers because the Pacific is 'not accorded serious consideration in global terms' (de Ishtar 1994, p. 3). However, the Pacific is important through military strategic positioning, tourism, and has been made available to multi-nationals (through tax incentives). These are forms of manipulation to create a need for the colonisers' continued presence.

The military presence in some Pacific nations has provided material comforts; dollar exchanges are then necessary to maintain expectations. A consequence of this is rural/urban migration, which has pitfalls if expectations are not met. In Hawai'i the Indigenous people now own only one per cent of the land, and poverty is typical. People are forced to live on the streets or on the beaches. Other negative social consequence of colonisation are drug and alcohol problems, organised crime, domestic violence, and environmental vandalism. These are now regularly expected of Indigenous people by the colonising populations; they are labelled as troublemakers and no-hopers within their own countries. The changes to some Indigenous communities have been so total and negative that it appears full collapse is imminent. With the destruction of traditional lifestyles by the imposed changes, even minor alterations upset the balance. From the Maori perspective (which is common to all Pacific Indigenous peoples), 'everything is within the circle of the holistic worldview. Once you start pulling one thing apart you disturb the others' (de Ishtar 1994, p. 68).

It is not by accident that this has happened. There are examples of the deliberate flooding of the islands of French Polynesia with US/French dollars, technology and personnel to disrupt Indigenous economies and create reliance on the oppressor through the loss of land, culture, and language. The possibility of Indigenous Pacific people returning to traditional communal living appears impossible. The maintenance of the status quo is important to the imperialists as is the continued undermining of Pacific Indigenous society through whatever channels are available.

The United Nations has been used as a vehicle for the imperialist expansion. The Indigenous Pacific people were not considered civilised enough to be 'rational and law-abiding' under international law, and trusteeship was seen as necessary to fix the 'problem'. Because of differences in world outlooks, the UN has also made decisions for nations to be 'looked after' until they develop acceptable social, political and economic structures. The UN has awarded prizes for family planning schedules to colonisers when the Indigenous population was dropping dramatically, denied self-determination for Indigenous people, and given nations away to major powers.

The Marshall Islands and its people were 'allowed' to be annexed by the United States, without consultation with the Indigenous inhabitants. The United States agreed to promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the islands. This has not happened. What did happen was that the US started testing atomic bombs and then, later, the hydrogen bomb for 'the good of mankind and to end all wars' (de Ishtar 1998, p. 20).

A theme running through Zohl's books is then, how do you challenge such powers which have changed the face of the Pacific almost totally, and which appear to control the UN? The answer is that individuals, communities, and NGOs have effectively altered these power dynamics. *Aotearoa/New Zealand at the World Court* is one example of a challenge to the status quo. Kate Dewes and Robert Green show us the importance of persuading governments that the 'public will' demands action and change.

The World Court Project is an extraordinary story about a small group of individuals networking within New Zealand – and then internationally – to gain governmental support for co-sponsorship of a challenge to the UN. Dewes and Green highlight the role of New Zealanders in taking two controversial cases to the International Court of Justice that, first, challenged the legal status of atmospheric nuclear testing in the South Pacific and, second, challenged the legality of threatening or using nuclear weapons. These challenges were enough of a threat to be taken very seriously by nuclear nations. The United States, United Kingdom, and France threatened to cut trade and aid to non-aligned members who voted for the proposed resolution. The Swedish Disarmament Ambassador noted that 'During my 20 years as a UN delegate, I have never seen such supreme power openly being used as during the fall of 1993' (Dewes and Green, p. 29).

The result of their challenge saw the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, Germany and Italy stand before the fourteen World Court Judges in an attempt to uphold their right to threaten or use nuclear weapons. The World Court's decision was that:

> a threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law (Dewes and Green; p. 39).

The challenge by the WCP became the most radical issue within the UN in thirty years, and one that the New Zealand National government regarded as a victory. Then Prime Minister, Jim Bolger, said that the government's efforts 'vindicated the anti-nuclear crusade' (p. 41). The Bolger government's celebration of this win by a small nation over the world's superpowers recognised it as a huge victory for the peace activists. They succeeded in bringing about the support of anti-nuclear resolutions by a conservative, pro-military, pro-US, National political party.

Dewes and Green write about the resulting change in the New Zealand public's expectation that they can bring about change, and that governments are prepared to make 'values laden' decisions if it is good politics. Since 1973, the Labour Party has voiced its support for an anti-nuclear stance. Dewes and Green explain that the untimely death of Prime Minister Norman Kirk in 1973 was a reason why legislation on an anti-nuclear policy may not have been passed then. Kirk actually died in 1974, and I do not think that he would have been able to make such a value-laden policy decision unless he was confident of the 'public will'. A decade later the New Zealand population had expressed the wish to be nuclear free, which enabled the Fourth Labour Government to pass the new anti-nuclear legislation. Governments do not make value-laden policy without the support of the popular vote.

The Australian anti-nuclear position was also an exercise in politicking. The Bob Hawke-led Australian government did not change to promote a nuclear-free Australia, even though he personally voiced opposition to the use of nuclear force. It was not until Prime Minister Keating did a complete turn-around that Australia became nuclear free. The popular poll census results were registering the Australian Labour government as weak and not as likely to win the next election. Australia become nuclear free only after the Labour party acknowledged its need for the youth and the green vote. (Dewes and Green, p. 33).

The Pacific has had 'visitors' making claims on Indigenous people's land and sovereignty for the last 400 years. This coincides with the foundations of the concept of 'sovereignty' and the rule of international law, military expansion, national armies, industrialised capitalism, and global expansion. These intersections have not had positive consequences for the Indigenous peoples of the Pacific. The struggle by Indigenous people has been catalysed by their disenfranchisement from their land, their language, their culture, and their identity, as the western powers damaged the existing dynamics of traditional life. As well as becoming minorities in their own territories, some populations have had to live with the consequences of nuclear detonations.

In the Decade of Indigenous Peoples Rights, 1994–2004, these books are important for increasing people's awareness of what is occurring in the Pacific region. All three books are about enormous struggles, some on a day-to-day survival basis, and others that challenge the supremacy of the current balance of powers. Their goal is to recreate an independent and nuclear free Pacific and to restore to Indigenous peoples their inalienable rights. These goals can be achieved through individuals and NGOs, if governments and bureaucrats are thus gaining votes. It is Indigenous women who are the main agents in relation to these dynamics; most believe that '(w)e have the responsibility as women, the givers of life, to make sure that destruction does not continue' (de Ishtar 1994, p. 11). Zohl de Ishtar, Kate Dewes and Robert Green have succeeded in meeting their goals with each of these books.

If these books have been my 'Rites of Passage' as a peace reader, I now feel blooded. I have been emotionally affected by the personal stories of the Indigenous peoples' struggles and survival. Initially, I blocked out the pain and the suffering endured by the Pacific people as related in these books, because they are so powerful. However, over a short period I began to realise the depth, and the personal intimate nature, of these books. What was important for me to remember was that both *Daughters of the Pacific* and *Pacific Women Speak Out* are also about successes. The Indigenous women's struggle is not just for survival (in some cases), but it is also about working towards a better future for the next generation.

LINDA PERSSON

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