Organisation, Identity and Locality (OIL) V
Exploring the local within the Aotearoa/New Zealand locality

A symposium on critical organisation studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Te Kohinga Mārama Marae,
University of Waikato

Mā pukumahi te maikuku poto; Mā maikuku poto te rahī o te kai.
Thru hard work, short fingernails; Thru short fingernails, food aplenty!

Whakatauākī: Tainui

Hosted by
The Department of Management Communication, University of Waikato

Date: Thursday 12th & Friday 13th February, 2009

Organisers:
Alison Henderson & Mary Simpson
OIL@mngt.waikato.ac.nz
Symposium Programme:

Thursday 12 February 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>What</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.00 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Powhiri, followed by refreshments in the Whare Kai</td>
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<td><em>(We have allowed one hour for the powhiri but please be aware that this will take as long as it takes – we have some leeway in these time frames!)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.00 – 3.30 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Opening plenary session</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.30 – 5.00 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Session I discussion papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.00 pm onwards</td>
<td>WEL Academy of Performing Arts Centre</td>
<td>Drinks (pay for own) and nibbles</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.00 pm</td>
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<td>Dinner (cost $40)</td>
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Friday 13 February 2009

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>When</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>What</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.00 – 10.30 am</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Session II discussion papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.30 – 11.00 am</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Morning Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 – 12.30 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Session III discussion papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.30 – 1.30 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Lunch <em>(Courtesy of Management Communication Dept)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.30- 3.00 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Session IV discussion papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.00 – 3.30 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Afternoon Tea</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.30 – 4.30 pm</td>
<td>Te Kohinga Mārama marae</td>
<td>Closing plenary / AGM</td>
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<td>4.30 – 5.00 pm</td>
<td>Poroporoaki</td>
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<tr>
<td>5pm</td>
<td>To be arranged</td>
<td>Drinks/dinner with those who remain/ are interested (pay for own)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Paper Presentation-Discussion Sessions

## Session IA (Thursday 12 February 4.00 – 5.30 pm) - Defining the ‘other’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair: Mary Simpson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kirsten Broadfoot (via Skype) and Debashish Munshi:</strong> Locating otherwise: Negotiating the fissions and fusions of organising in protean places and states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deborah Jones:</strong> A study of biculturalism and three problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maria Humphries:</strong> Critical Management Scholars and Discourses for Biculturalism. ‘Exotic’ and/or ‘effective’?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Session IB (Thursday 12 February 4.00 – 5.30 pm) – Organising and cultural interfaces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair: Alison Henderson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sehai Schoenberger-Orgad:</strong> How can we help you? Public sector communication strategies with lower socio-economic communities in New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amanda Lowry (presenter) and Jarrod Haar:</strong> The role of Māori culture towards work-family conflict: Issues for Māori employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Andrina Thomas:</strong> Market models for salvation: Neo-liberalism, the solidarity economy, or something in between for the women of Vanuatu?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Session II A: (Friday 13 February 9.00 – 10.30 am) – Applied perspectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair: Deborah Jones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maria Humphries and Suzette Dyer (presenters), &amp; Dale Fitzgibbons:</strong> Free trade IS fair trade? Trick or treaty?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patty McNicholas and Maria Humphries:</strong> Marginality and subalternity: Necessary but different CHALLENGES for justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Craig Pritchard:</strong> Does this crisis need OIL?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Session II B: (Friday 13 February 9.00 – 10.30 am) – Research perspectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair: Suzanne Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mary Simpson, Margaret Richardson (presenters) and Ted Zorn:</strong> Researching the elder-organisation interface in Aotearoa New Zealand: Conceptualising elders within discursive and bi-cultural &quot;spaces&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irene Ryan:</strong> ‘To do or not to do’ – that is the question?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Alison Henderson:** Doing bicultural research: The material presence of the ‘other’.

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Session III A: (Friday 13 February 11.00 – 12.30 pm) – Organising and communities

Chair: Alison Henderson

Suzette Dyer: Constructing Community Image and Community Identity 80

Michele Orgad: From “cow town” to “wow town”: Communicating cultural sustainability and establishing identity 86

Suzanne Grant: Enterprising Communities 95

Session III B: (Friday 13 February 11.00 – 12.30 pm) – Professional practices and Identities

Chair: Maria Humphries

Edgar Burns: How can antipodean theory help career transition research? 100

Damian Ruth: The Act of Mapping 105

Cheryl Cockburn-Wootten (presenter) and Joanna Brewis: Challenging care and meaningful work: New Zealand community social workers and professional identity 110

Helen Richardson: Why Study Creativity in Aotearoa? He Tangata, He Tangata, He Tangata 122

Session IV: (Friday 13 February 1.30 – 3.00 pm) – Practices of ‘otherness’

Chair: Mary Simpson

Steven Kent: Issues in Māori organizational governance: A defined place, balance and the aunty brigade. 135

David Broughman (presenter) and Jarrod Haar: Support for Māori culture in the workplace: A social exchange theory approach 139

Peter Skilling: Identity and purpose in the soft Labour-led governments since 1999 145

The Presentation-Discussion Sessions:

Please prepare a 10 minute presentation of your paper to stimulate discussion with your peers. The papers will be made available before the symposium so you can operate from the assumption that your peers have read your paper. Please note that the majority of the allocated time for each paper is expected to be discussion with the other participants in your session.

Given the interactive format, visual aids are not necessarily expected, and it would be good to keep your presentation succinct and the visual aids/formats simple if you do use them. The sessions will be actively chaired to facilitate egalitarian ‘airtime’. However, power-point, OHP and a white-board will be available if participants particularly need graphics, photos, or websites to support their discussion.
Arrival:

From the airport…

The nearest airport is Hamilton International Airport, which is serviced by Air New Zealand and Origin Pacific. Shuttle services are available from the airport, and the ride is only 10-15 minutes to the university. Details are provided on the airport website: www.hamiltonairport.co.nz.

To the OIL Symposium location…

The OIL Symposium will be held on Te Kohinga Mārama marae on the University of Waikato campus, which can be accessed from Hillcrest Road, Gate 4. However, there is minimal parking in this area, and those arriving by car should use the general parking areas accessible from Gates 3a and 3b in Silverdale Road, or from Gate 2b in Knighton Road. (The area accessed from Gate 2b nearly always has free spaces and is the nearest car park to the dinner venue for Thursday evening.)

For the University of Waikato Campus Map see: http://www.waikato.ac.nz/contacts/map/

Please assemble for the Powhiri near Gate 4 on Hillcrest Road by 1.45 pm

Dinner:

The symposium dinner is being held on Thursday 12 February from 6.00 pm in the WEL Academy of Performing Arts Centre. The WEL centre is adjacent to the lake near Gate 2b on Knighton Road and is labelled PA on the campus map. It has a stunning view of the lake and gardens and is a short wander across campus from the marae – an ideal venue in which to relax and enjoy a few drinks and good company!

We are welcome there from 6.00 pm for nibbles and drinks, with a smorgasbord dinner served at 7.00 pm (including vegetarian options, dessert, tea and coffee. The cost for the dinner is $40. Please pre-pay to either Mary or Alison. Note that there is a cash bar for drinks.

Questions:

Please feel free to email Alison and Mary via the conference email address oil@mngt.waikato.ac.nz if you have any questions or special requests regarding the conference.
Proceedings
Papers in order of programme

Locating otherwise: Negotiating the fissions and fusions of organising in protean places and states

Kirsten J. Broadfoot, Colorado State University, USA
Kirsten.Broadfoot@colostate.edu

Debashish Munshi, The University of Waikato, New Zealand
munshi@mngt.waikato.ac.nz

One of us was born in Aotearoa-New Zealand but currently lives and works in the United States of America; the other was born in India but lives and works in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Locality, place and space are central to our imagination, our research, and our identities. And yet, it is not the physical-geographical-national notions of these phenomena that guide us but the silent and obscured forms of same that are trapped between the artificial boundaries of disciplines, methodologies, and worldviews. It is in these amorphous locations, protean places and states that we find clearer reflections and most urgent activations of our hybrid identities. It is these experiences that motivate us to ‘organise otherwise’.

In this essay, we explore these connections between location, identity and organising processes to conceptualise an alternative vision of organising that embodies the Other – “those marginalised by imperial discourse” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998, p. 170). This embodiment is not about giving shape to a singular conception of an Other – structurally, nationally, or culturally – but to recognise a wide range of Other practices at work and the ways in which our own fragmented, dispersed, and multiple identities help make sense of how we organise in a diverse, globalising world. To do so, we provide two examples of recent projects, guided by our own multiplicity of (dis) located identities, that demonstrate how scholars of communicative and organising processes can create and sustain protean places and practices for the recovery of Other practices at work in a diverse world. What follows is a brief discussion of our conceptualisation of locating and organising otherwise and finding our feet in protean places which, based on the Greek sea-god Proteus’ ability to take on diverse forms in a range of contexts, are characterised by “the simultaneous disruption of both physical and organizational place and the seeking of a new sense of place” (Shockley-Zalabak, 2002, p. 232).

Our journey began with a moment of self reflection. We saw ourselves as scholars of organisational communication but what did that mean? The more we delved into the inner recesses of the literature on organisational communication, the more disconcerted we became to find it largely restricted by what Shome (1996) calls discursive confinement – a window-less research space fenced in by dominant structures and ideologies (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007). This is not to say that organisational communication scholarship is not tuned into diversity. It is and such scholarship includes highly influential works in areas of gender (e.g., Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004), race (Ashcraft &
Allen, 2003), and globalisation (e.g. Stohl, 2001), to name just a few. Yet, the context has remained largely North American with its attending ways of being, knowing and doing in the world.

To address this silence, we created an Other location, a protean place, accessible to a range of different voices, regardless of pitch, tone, or decibel levels by drawing on visions of postcolonial praxis – the praxis of groups subordinated by Western ideas of history, economics, and politics. Thus was born the COMMUNEcation network, an online community of scholars across a range of disciplines and geographical locations who engage with each other's research and transcend artificial physical borders to “redefine for themselves and others what organizational communication means in a global context” (Nelson-Marsh, Broadfoot, & Munshi, 2008, p. 315). The inaugural virtual conference of scholars in this network revolved around “one key question: Which forms of organizational communication get written about and discussed (or not written about and discussed) in each of our specific contexts and why? ” (Nelson-Marsh, Broadfoot, & Munshi, 2008, p. 315).

The answers to the question were varied, coming as they did from different continents and different research contexts. Yet they were all part of a colourful and luminescent mosaic that narrated “an ‘other’ story – of organizing, of communicating, of researching, and of writing” (Broadfoot, Cockburn, Cockburn-Wootten, do Carmo Reis, Gautam, Malshe, Munshi, Nelson-Marsh, Okwori, Simpson, & Srinivas, 2008, p. 323). COMMUNEcation demonstrates how a virtual or online community as a protean place can foster a “spatial politics of inclusion rather than exclusion that initiates new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 1). It also demonstrates the potency of being ‘in-between’ and the productive capacity for understanding Other-wise such a state can bring. Space is “a component of power… a product of relations that are themselves active and constantly changing material practices through which it comes into being” (Shome 2003, p. 41).

Sustaining protean practices

As a result of our discomfort in the space of mainstream, North American, traditional organisational communication, we began to consider, guided by Shome’s (1996) notion of postcolonial reflexivity, how scholarly practices themselves reinforce the intellectual domination of particular states, places and locations. In looking at the discipline of organisational communication through a postcolonial lens, we found that while the core problematics of organisational communication – voice, rationality, organisation, and the organisation-society relationship – articulated by Mumby and Stohl (1996) were both inclusive and expansive in theory, they did not provide any alternatives to a largely Euro-American framework in practice. We argued that “Diverse voices, if present at all, are still channelled through dominant Western loudspeakers, and Western notions of rationality silence any discussion of emotionality or subjectivity, both of which are crucial elements of diverse organizing practices” (Broadfoot & Munshi, 2007, p. 251).

Creating our virtual conference and the COMMUNEcation community was our attempt at creating a "space in-between" or, as Bhabha (1994, 1996) would describe, a place for translation and negotiation, and the disruption and displacement of the largely colonial structures and practices of academic life. While national or disciplinary borders allow sense making within existing frameworks,
we argue that it is in exploring the spaces “in-between”, such as those we had experienced with COMMUNECation, that we can acknowledge the struggles of scholars who are “in but not-in, out but not-out” (Taylor, 2005, p. 301).

Acknowledging the “in but not-in, out but not-out” space is particularly important because “when there is only in-out, black and white, then there is no further room for dialogue” (Taylor, 2005, p. 304). As Taylor (2005) says, “we organizational communication researchers need to be reminded from time to time – forcibly, if necessary – that there are communities of knowledge different from the one we have become most comfortable in, and from which we can learn, whether the source be Māori ways of thinking, or semiotics, or feminist theory” (p. 304). As postcolonial scholars have shown, such learning can help resist the colonial processes that have shaped the modern organisation and facilitate a pluralisation of organisation theory in general (Mir, Mir, and Upadhyayaa (2003; Frenkel and Shenhav, 2006). Indeed postcolonial theory offers “a uniquely radical and ethically informed critique of Western modernity and modernity’s overdetermined accoutrements like capitalism, Eurocentrism, science, and the like” (Prasad, 2003, p. 33).

Colonial ideologies remain embedded in social discourse, with communicative processes legitimizing contemporary power structures in the ways they represent individuals, institutions and their interests (Shome, 1996). Postcolonial theory, therefore, asks scholars to consider “the politics of identity and the ethics inherent in encounters of difference… to… emphasize inequality, disjuncture and the impossibility of understanding and accommodation” (Westwood & Jack, 2007, p. 255). As Anthony Cortese (1990) states in his book Ethnic Ethics: The Restructuring of Moral Theory, scholars need to seriously consider “the possibility that ethnic groups have different moral structures, each adequate to the reproduction of the social life-world found in each ethnic group” (pp. 91-94).

It is from this platform of postcolonial theory that we have embarked on a project to build an understanding of communication ethics based on alternative frameworks from a variety of indigenous sources including a growing group of Kaupapa Māori researchers who derive their insights from “Māori epistemologies that include complex relationships and ways of organising society” (Pihama, 2001, p. 78). Once more, our (dis)located identities, provide us with a rich set of cultured experiences on which to draw. Troubled as we have been with the circuits of academic knowledge and power and the silencing or absence of Other voices in these circuits and therefore, our classrooms, we began to consider how we might be contributing to this silencing in our own work by encouraging students to embody a particular set of organising and communicative behaviours that may not resonate with their located selves and experiences. Moreover, our experiences of living – physically as well as virtually – in the increasingly hybridized ‘state’ of Aotearoa New Zealand forced us to reflect on how different organising and communicative life would look if we drew inspiration from the people inhabiting such a state and place. As such, our project of ‘decolonizing’ of communication ethics draws on six key elements that are an integral part of Kaupapa Māori (Smith, 2003; cited in Te Puni Kokiri, 2002). From within this set of 6 we have embarked on re-visiting communication ethics drawing on the concepts of tino rangatiratanga or the principle of self-determination, taonga tuku iho, the principle of cultural aspirations which underscores the emotional and spiritual dimensions of being; whanau or the principle of the extended family which is central to Māori ways of organizing; and of course, kaupapa
or the principle of collective philosophy (based on Smith cited in Te Puni Kokiri, 2002, pp. 17-19; Smith (2003, pp. 8-10). Our aspiration is to craft a form of communication ethics that is grounded in the protean place but honours all people who inhabit it.

In-conclusion

As Frenkel and Shenhav (2003) discuss, attempts to impose ‘the one best way’ all over the world without any cultural reflexivity not only constitutes a form of personal control over the Other but also exerts cultural control by forcing an adoption and internalization of non-indigenous assumptions. It is important, therefore, for individuals and institutions communicating in diverse contexts to learn from and support the multiple forms of cultural knowledge around communication ethics, especially ones native to these contexts.

References


A STUDY OF BICULTURALISM AND THREE PROBLEMS

Deborah Jones, Victoria University of Wellington
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Introduction

I am currently involved in a study of biculturalism as an organising principle, with my US colleague Doug Creed. This study - *Biculturalism in organizations: The Case of Nursing Organizations in Aotearoa New Zealand* – is introduced briefly below. This project directly addresses questions about organising, identities and their organisational and political consequences in the context of a biculturalism based in this country. It has currently thrown up a number of challenging political, ethical and theoretical issues for us as researchers. There are three problems in particular that I would like to discuss at OIL. These are: the problem of advocacy in Critical Management Studies; the problem of ‘biculturalism ‘ and Māori sovereignty tino rangatiratanga, and the problem of culture.

These problems all address an overall question: What does it mean to study biculturalism from a critical perspective? While I hope that the OIL discussion will help my with my contribution to the shared study, these problems are ones that are defined by me personally and arise from my previous work on race/ethnicity in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in the context of my experience of Critical Management Studies. I will discuss each of these in turn below.
The theoretical basis for our study draws from critical race theory, especially 'whiteness' theory, and on Stella Nkomo's project of 'Rewriting "Race in Organizations"' (1992). These premises were briefly outlined in my OIL paper from last year (Jones, 2008). Both of these streams are concerned to make ‘race’ in organizations visible, including white identities. As Nkomo argues in relation to the management literature, "the prefix "white" is usually suppressed, and it is only other racial groups to which we attach prefixes… "Race" becomes synonymous with other groups, and whites do not have "race"" (Nkomo, 1992, pp. 489-490). Both streams take a relational approach to race and power, with Nkomo's proposition being that that organizations are constituted by race: ‘Organizations are made up of race relations played out in power struggles’ [her italics] (Nkomo, 1992, p. 507).

For this paper my premise is that ‘race’ is not essentialised and /or biologised, and is regarded as a social construct as much as is ‘ethnicity’ or ‘culture’. I take a foucauldian approach which does not take any of these terms as more or less ideological or ‘accurate’ than any other. I agree with the argument of UK cultural theorist Julian Henriques, that theorising difference in terms of historical and socio-economic differences ‘cannot alone explain white racism or black subjectivity’ (Henriques, 1984, p. 89). He uses a ‘theory of subjectivity which recognises differences as a social or historical production’, but ‘no less real for that’ (Henriques, 1984, p. 89), and suggests that the political stakes of various ways of representing race need to be spelt out in their specific contexts.

Nkomo specifically uses the term ‘race’ and rejects the term ‘ethnicity’, because, in the American context where she was writing in 1992, ‘ethnicity’ was associated with assimilationist models of integration. She prefers the term ‘race’ as a more highly politicised term that she associates with racism, and with the history and situation of African-Americans. The term ‘culture’ has quite a specific salience in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, and for this paper I will use it in the Māori–Pākehā context while continuing to talk about ‘race’ as a general theoretical construct.

1. The problem of advocacy in Critical Management Studies

Our study, Biculturalism in organizations, was conceived from the start as an advocacy project. It is being carried out under the Fulbright Programme, which aims to promote international understanding through educational and cultural exchanges between New Zealand and the United States. My colleague Doug Creed is a white American who, like me, is committed to social justice in organisational contexts, and pursues this interest in organisational studies under the heading of ‘diversity’. We are currently in the main analysis phase of a study designed to study the role of ‘biculturalism’ as an organizational principle, using case studies of nursing organizations. We believe that nursing as a profession, and more particularly the New Zealand Nursing Association (NZNO) and the College of Nursing Aotearoa (CONA) as professional organizations in Aotearoa/New Zealand, provide case studies of evolving ethnic/cultural relationships that potentially shed light on larger institutional change processes. Our key focus is on Māori/ non-Māori organizational relationships, which are little known and little studied internationally and even locally.
By saying that we see this as an ‘an advocacy project' I mean that we are both convinced that biculturalism, especially as it is understood and enacted as partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi, is a unique approach to post-colonial ethnic/cultural relations that we want to affirm and support as a practice of transforming ‘race relations’. We believe that the Treaty-based approach poses a stronger challenge to issues of race in organisations than can be found in diversity or melting-pot models, both because of the explicit challenge to power relations as well as the naming of whiteness or non-Māori status in relation to Māori. There is the possibility of what Diane Grimes calls the ‘deep change in power relations’ that is opened up when whiteness and its privileges is interrogated, not just taken as given (Grimes, 2002, p. 392). I think that suffusing our commitment to the project is the wider hope that ‘white will embrace what is right’, as Rev. Joseph Lowery said at Obama’s Inauguration (Lowery, 2009) – a project that can also be seen from the perspective of whiteness studies as part of contemporary attempts to recuperate white identities. I am also personally and politically invested in resisting the dominance of northern hemisphere notions of organisation, and in presenting alternative theorisations that open up possibilities of thinking differently.

When we first presented preliminary findings from our study at an organisational studies seminar in Sydney last year (Creed and Jones, 2008), the first respondent commented sarcastically: ‘Well, that's all very bright and shiny’. Was it really that simple, people asked? and if it was a successful example of change, how representative was it really? Suddenly we were thrown into the position of naïve and/or triumphantist hucksters of a certain brand of change management – a position in which I found myself very uncomfortable. I was reminded of an incident that I have thought about from time to time since it happened several years ago. The setting was a presentation at a small organisational studies conference in Sydney, and the presenter was talking about the positive successes of a community organization. A young man in the audience responded: ‘that's all a bit Polly-Anna-ish isn’t it?’. As you can see here, my concern is not only or even primarily with official statements or articles about what Critical Management Studies is taken to be, but with the much more awkward level where our understandings play out in moments of choice and conflict, often most clearly visible in and around conferences and other less guarded moments.

Recently, there was a similar example on the CMS e-list, following the election of Barack Obama. An outburst of joy was immediately followed by a thread titled a little rain on the parade, a barrage of – what can we call it? – is it critique? is it being smarter than thou? is it knee-jerk cynicism? Among a number of comments on this phenomenon this one by Maxim Voronov (Voronov, 2008) caught my eye:

Yes, it is good to be sober and realistic. But let's not miss this opportunity to reflect on something that [a]ctually went right, for a change. There is such a thing as being "too critical", no? ;)

Is being ‘critical’ always a search for the dark side? In the service of what agenda would that be? Against which criteria – political, ethical, theoretical – do we judge the ‘critical’ in management studies? How are these criteria made explicit? If we are going to critique, for instance, biculturalism,
what are the grounds for this critique? In reading the CMS list discussion, I speculated whether those who have more invested in political change, perhaps active in working to create it, are more likely to rejoice in successes than to snipe from the sidelines. I’m still not sure about that. However I do believe there is a place for overt advocacy work in Critical Management Studies, and that such work is not antithetical to critique. In this belief I am guided by the heritage of feminist thought, which is, as Sneja Gunew has put it, both ‘Critique and construct’ (Gunew, 1990). Feminism is concerned both to affirm subjugated knowledges and to critique dominant truth regimes. Refusing the split between the ‘performative’ and ‘denaturalising’ tendencies that Fournier and Grey (2001) have delineated in Critical Management Studies, feminists are concerned both with making things happen and with a critique which scrutinises the premises which frames action. This critique is often reflexive, and often undertaken in the service of performativity – that is, making action more effective. In the work of Critical Management Studies the critique is in my view too often directed only at those others, those mistaken ones, rather than reflexively to scrutinise our own power relations.

Returning to our study - there is a sense in which it is intended as an example for others to learn from, notwithstanding its specificities. It presents a set of possibilities not usually present in management writing, a set of possibilities for changes in power relations that we advocate. In that sense it is part of the critical project of thinking differently, of disrupting the taken-for-granteds. As a Pākehā researcher I also want to contribute through my research to the local politics of race relations, and in particular to the Treaty possibilities. I have in mind here our students, Māori and non-Māori, and what we can offer them as local practitioners.

Further, our study is a critical project in the sense that as ‘white’ researchers we use a reflexive perspective to make ‘race relations’ in organisational studies a matter of ‘us’ as well as them. In this sense we also hope to sidestep to some extent the risk of exoticising our local difference in the so-called ‘international’ literature by invoking to shared questions about white power relations in our localised practices, especially in the ways we do management studies.

Finally, our project becomes more critical to the extent that we are able to interrogate the ways that we are framing our key assumptions. In the feminist tradition, our job is to scrutinise the discursive contexts in which our work is located. I briefly set out some grounds for this scrutiny in my discussion of the two problems below.

2. The problem of biculturalism and Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga

I struggle not to always put the term ‘biculturalism’ in sceptical quotes, because I see it as a political claim rather than a description of a steady state, whether applied to individual identity, organisation, or national context.

‘Biculturalism’ is a political term which centres on the relationship between Māori and non-Māori. We use this specific distinction in our research documents, although the term biculturalism tends to imply two discrete ‘cultures’ – that is Māori and Pākehā. I am putting aside the problems with this terminology, with all its political consequences here, and focussing instead on the relationships
between biculturalism and Māori sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga. I have no space here to rehearse the history of the Treaty of Waitangi in any detail. Although the Treaty was signed in 1840, and has been the focus of Māori struggles ever since, it re-entered Pākehā national narratives during the 1970s and 1980s as a key and contested symbol of Māori political protest. Although a Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975, it was not until 1985 that the recommendations of the Tribunal were made retrospective to 1840, in arguably the most significant recognition of social justice claims by the then new Labour government. Since then, as Ranginui Walker has put it, ‘the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal have rewritten New Zealand’s history. They also generated a discourse between Māori and Pākehā around the notion of partnership’ (Walker, 1994, p. 143). In our study of bicultural nursing organisations, and our advocacy of the inherent model of power-sharing as an ideal for organisational race relations, the focus is on the difficulties of establishing and maintaining the kind of institutional change involved. The problem is that this focus marginalises debates about whether biculturalism can in fact ever deliver tino rangatiratanga.

The institutionalisation of biculturalism into organisational forms has most centrally occurred in government organisations (although work in community groups, especially feminist ones, has also been important and arguably influenced the women-dominated nursing organisations). By the late 1980s biculturalism was central to the government agenda, in the context of the broader policy of ‘partnership response’. The influential report on Institutional racism (Department of Social Welfare, 1986), written by a group of mainly Pākehā feminists within the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) argued in favour of a bicultural organisation in which ‘the indigenous Māori culture contributes equally to policy and decision-making at all levels’ (p. 14). The report argued that the large number of Māori clients serviced by DSW required substantial Māori involvement in the department. A Māori Unit of DSW was set up in the wake of Institutional racism and subsequent policy developments. The Unit called for ‘a bicultural public service’, which, like ‘a bicultural society’, rested on the premise of the Treaty of Waitangi (Department of Social Welfare, 1989).

This vision of a bicultural public service has to a greater or lesser extent provided a conceptual model since that time, including the argument that professional responsibility demanded cultural change. Here I want to distinguish further between biculturalism and Māori sovereignty within the Treaty narrative. Debates over biculturalism in New Zealand society have continued since the 1980’s, and the concept has become ‘an essential aspect of Pākehā political epistemology’ (Culpitt, 1994, p. 48), whether seen as ‘a more culturally sensitive form of assimilation’ (Kelsey, 1990, p. 267), or as a potentially genuine ‘partnership requiring the sharing of power, resources, and responsibility between two cultures’ (O’Reilly and Wood, 1991, p. 321). From the late 1980s there has been what Mitzi Nairn called a ‘major shift’ in the ‘analysis, vocabulary and behaviour’ of Pākehā anti-racism, as the language of biculturalism and partnership was increasingly seen as being ‘in the process of co-option’ (Nairn, 1989, p. 89). The shift is away from the concept of partnership, and towards the concept of tino rangatiratanga, as set out in the Treaty. The power-base of re-constructed Māori economic and political strength, based on Treaty settlements, is seen by many as a stronger position than prioritising requests for bicultural participation in Pākehā-created institutions. Dominic O’Sullivan has argued
more recently that: ‘while biculturalism has helped create a philosophical climate in which greater levels of self-determination are feasible, it also makes assumptions about power relationships which limit greater degrees of Māori autonomy (O’Sullivan, 2004, p. 2)

It could be argued that biculturalism persists as an organisational form in those situations – as in the health sector – where Māori are required to work in Pākehā-dominated organisations for political and funding reasons. In this context, biculturalism in nursing could be seen as a positive expression of tino rangatiratanga and/or as a situation in which a form of biculturalism is a less than ideal and perhaps short-term accommodation with Pākehā institutions. This problem has not yet been directly addressed in our research. However, the use of Nkomo’s concept of organisations as made up of race relations allows space for considering the range of points of accommodation of both biculturalism and tino rangatiratanga as they are negotiated over time.

3. The problem of ‘culture’

Our discussion of biculturalism depends on a particular mobilisation of the concept of ‘culture’. Putting aside the vexed question of how many ‘cultures’ there are and/or should be considered in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is critical that the idea of culture be considered in a very specific way in relation to indigeneity. Cultural survival has always been a central concern of Māori, who like other indigenous groups who have been colonised, see land and culture as inextricably linked in the struggle against colonisation. In this context, identity is seen to be based on land, ancestry, and what Maanu Paul has called a ‘continuity of consciousness’ between historical and contemporary identities, ‘which has its roots in [Māori] memories of thousands of years of existence in Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa [the Pacific]’ (Paul, 1991, p. 3).

The anthropologist Edward Fischer has succinctly summarised the theoretical problem that this relationship between cultural claims and political rights entails for some academics:

Ironically, as many Western scholars have turned to constructivist theories to explain new ethnic movements and forms of identity politics, the subjects of their studies have begun to embrace essentialism to justify their political legitimacy (Fischer, 1999, p. 473).

This problem has been extensively debated, not just in the Māori context but globally, in relation to the theory and politics of indigeneity. Jeff Sissons argues, for instance, that ‘earlier [colonial] racial thinking persists in the shadow of the new culturalism’ (Sissons, 2005, p. 37), and so ‘official binaries and the excluded middles that they produce within settler and post-settler states are not only legacies of colonial invasion; they draw upon and are sustained by racist thought that continues to be obsessed with indigenous blood’ (p. 43). Policies such as biculturalism can have the effect of forcing Māori to define themselves in terms of official racial categories. In a related argument, Māori feminist Donna Matahaere has argued against the ‘uncritical adoption of essentialist notions of race and identity’ (Matahaere, 1995, p. 16) in order to ‘function progressively in some contexts’ (p. 17). For Matahaere, ‘the extent to which Māori continue to use the language of “race” with which to articulate their “difference” reveals an active complicity rather than the lack of agency that a passive and naive
duplication would imply’ (p. 17). She argues that ‘alliances based on complicity’ with essentialist notions of ‘identity-authenticity’ may seem strategically necessary, but eventually ‘may work against the interests of a greater number of people’. However, she is contradictory in her statements about whether she sees the notion of authentic Māori identity as having been taken on in an ‘uncritical’ way or ‘as a tool of survival’ ( Matahaere, 1995, pp. 16-17).

If the idea of cultural difference is admitted at all, then there is the possibility that readings of issues of identity do not necessarily translate from one culture to another. Donald and Rattansi suggest a critical perspective on ‘culture’ that does not require a coherent theory of what culture is, but rather looks at how the notion of culture works in terms of relations of power:

[A critical reappropriation] means that culture is no longer understood as what expresses the identity of a community. Rather, it refers to the processes, categories and knowledges through which communities are defined as such: that is, how they are rendered specific and differentiated (Donald and Rattansi, 1992, p. 4).

This approach undercuts the dangers of reifying ‘culture’ in a study such as ours. The point is to ask who makes particular identity claims based on concepts such as land, ancestry, professional responsibility or ethical positions, who disputes these claims, and why. In a New Zealand context, to ‘deconstruct’ Māori claims in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi could be to undercut these claims to sovereignty based on indigenous status. This is a hazardous enterprise. One of the key issues in considering versions of biculturalism is to consider how the idea of ‘culture’ is used by Pākehā as well as Māori. If there are two ‘cultures’, what is this Pākehā or non-Māori culture to which we refer, and how does it operate in organisations?

**Invitation**

I have outlined three key problems that I have been concerned with in my current study of biculturalism. My OIL colleagues may be able to identify many more. I look forward to our discussions.

**REFERENCES**


What does it mean to do critical organisation studies if the goal is organisational movement towards bi-culturalism? An organisational scan of the University of Waikato’s website demonstrates significant institutional changes over time. The work of Māori in this organisational change is evident. The contribution of some Pākehā supportive of these changes is assumed. Each University in New Zealand demonstrates similar institutional change. But what is it, to be engaged in critical organisation studies if bi-culturalism is to be both the research lens and the goal? A relational ethic and a related commitment to interdisciplinarity would seem necessary characteristics of such work. The conference call opens opportunities to explore these ideas. That many of our institutional processes mitigate against the full flourishing of both, is worthy of consideration in our deliberations.

In locating a spot on an identity map for this gathering of the OIL community, inter-disciplinary perspectives would indeed characterize the backdrop of our work. Earlier studies in philosophy (of language), economic and organisational sociology (of knowledge), anthropology, and women’s studies were disciplines informing my appointment at the Waikato Management School (WMS), October 1989. My mandate: to contribute to a greater recognition of Te Tiriti in the work of the School, and to develop ‘women and management’ as a subject.

A Treaty Based Future for Aotearoa?
A commitment to a Treaty based future for Aotearoa was sparked in me through the work of John Kirton (1997) - grumpy, deeply thinking, unrelenting John. It was not a spark I set out to fan into a flame the moment I encountered him. I was in search of something quite different. It was the mid 1980s. ‘Structural adjustment’ was causing poverty and hardship to the most vulnerable in our land. The burden of the required ‘tightening of belts’ of that particular economic crisis fell to the already poor; working class people - disproportionately Māori, Pacific and migrant people. My family were among them. I was on a hunt for a theory of justice that would be compelling for those who had the
power to ensure that burdens and privileges are fairly shared. With two preschoolers, no formal education past the old ‘School C’, I began my university education – and alongside it – informal but compelling conversations with John about the nexus of capitalism, racism and (de)colonisation. Nearly 20 years later, what has changed? A radical move to a bi-cultural School of Management, or more general ‘bi-cultural management pedagogy’ is not yet evident in practice. The many hours of research-by-being-involved have vindicated for me, however, the importance of making time to be engaged, the contribution of participatory action research as an important channel for change (in ‘me’ and ‘the other’), and some insight into the counter-productive institutional processes and resourcing that mitigate against this way of working – shorthanded here as the ravenous appetite of ‘The PBRF Beast’.

Working towards principles of ‘living life as enquiry’ (Marshall 2001, 1999) with a tendency towards ‘critical appreciative enquiry’ (Grant and Humphries 2006) invites a self-reflection that is also assumed in any form of critical organisational studies (Calvert and Ramsay 1996). For this task, the conference call provides some good stocking-taking type questions to which I sketch some responses:

**What workplace and organisational identities are possible in the context of efforts to reform and strengthen bicultural relations?**

In contrasting post-modern perspectives regarding the non-stability of identity at any one time or over time with the solidified notions of ‘individuals’ more familiar to the structural functionalists, critical theorists bring to the discussion of organisations and change, the potentiality of multiple interpretations and the multiple positions open to individuals and organisations at any one time and across time. In the early years of Treaty work, much was made of ‘Pākehā Identity’. Not all of it sat well with me. What remains constant in the moving discourse of biculturalism and of identity, is, that if it is to have any meaning at all, its meaning can be understood only in relation with Māori. ¹

For those who see the future in Aotearoa as necessarily bi-cultural, our actions are limited by our imagination, resourcing, deeply embedded structural/institutional racism, and the ongoing entrenched economic instrumentalism that has dominated organisational thinking at the macro and the micro level: from people serving as our government to individuals who make choices, moment by moment to maintain The Empire in their every action, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally. There is much that could be done with this analysis in our classrooms, research, and organisational formations. Calls to do so in the organisational disciplines have been about for over twenty five years (Humphries 1992) – or over 150 years if those who envisaged the Treaty to serve as a foundation for a dual-heritage society had come to fruition. To work on any aspect of these matters

¹ Working towards an ideal of ‘bi-culturalism’ may already be an undermining of the aspiration to Te Tino Rangatiratanga envisaged by some – or serve as a necessary step towards this aspiration. A Paheka response to the position of Te Tino Rangatiratanga, however, is necessarily different to a commitment to work towards a bi-cultural organisational form – for the nation and for its constituent organisations. This paper will not address this issue, but I welcome its discussion at our conference.
cannot but affect one’s professional identity. To work consciously at these matters, cannot help but affect our own ever changing identity and the identities of those we work with – even if this sometimes appears to galvanise resistance, to deflect personal responsibility for contributing to change, to generate discourses of denial, claims about the unreasonableness of expectations, and claims to ‘irrelevance’. The ‘international’ forums where we argue for relevance of this work give scant attention to this work. This was true, of course, also for the early critters (Critical Organisational Theorists of the 1990s).

*Treaty In Context*

The current situation globally is argues by some to be a ‘crises of capitalism’. Our macro financial institutions are in turmoil. The international credit system may be read as an example of an unsettling of all that has been long imposed/taken for granted’ as ‘the nature of reality’, the ‘way the world is’, the context in which we must make our choices. Economic and political institutions the world over are scrambling to regain control of the economic system – and will be given large amounts of money to do so. In the face of a global move towards greater democratic control over the institutions of capitalism we, in Aotearoa, have just swung towards the right. Before we re-galvanise our institutions in New Zealand, and lend our minds to the reformation of global institution, what turns in the discourse might be the work of Pākehā lend some weight: greater respect for indigenous cosmology, environmental stewardship to a level of responsibility far beyond what currently passes for the discourse of human rights and environmental sustainability? Are we ready to fly with this opportunity? By the time we meet in February, new government in place, what will we be able to see on this landscape? What will we be able to DO with that new context? Who could we yet become in that new context? This is the conversation I am attending OIL for. Perhaps a hopeful thread in the current ‘crisis of capitalism’ will allow some overlapping threads of (personal and organisation) identity to be drawn into a tighter weave for action.

What’s involved in constituting a bicultural ‘organisation’? ‘Partnership’ has become the remedy to many institutional attempts to progress a variety of agendas: the state with business, the state with communities, communities with corporations, communities with the state, Pākehā with Māori , and every configuration imaginable. If the premise of ‘biculturalism’ is to be promoted over that of Māori control of Aotearoa, then the relationships between the overly consolidated framing of Māori and Pākehā as two clear and distinct ‘partners’ need a thorough reconsideration. What would a relational ethic look like? (See Humphries and Martin, 2005; Martin and Humphries 2005).

How are efforts to create bicultural organisations viewed from the inside/outside? For those Pākehā who have been moving the pieces of this puzzle about for 20 years, the answers to the question are as varied as the people who hold those views, and often inconsistently within and across individuals (Huygens 2006, 2004, in press). Where personal or organisational commitments really do ‘challenge the Empire’ one can only expect some repercussions. Power rarely transforms
itself without pressure to do so; power rarely gives way with good grace. All ‘empires’ are testimony to this – as are the seemingly robust ‘constructions’ of personal identities with their myriad of ways to deflect, deny, diminish responsibility – personal ways writ large in our organisational forms.

What consequences flow for academic work that addresses questions of bicultural organising? Does this lead to us being considered an ‘exotic, and therefore marginal, ‘other’ by the international academic community?

Framed in this way, as a question to consider the individual career consequence of engagement, the question may be considered as pointing to both ‘risks’ and ‘opportunities’. I have certainly experienced both. It may, however, be more interesting to unpack the concerns that may have generated this question in the context of a very different theory about mutuality, responsiveness and responsibility for the future of Aotearoa. The PBRF Beast we are all invited to feed, could do with a change in diet.

As potential participants in OIL 2009, we are invited to link our submission directly to the conference call, “to ground it in a specific theoretical framework [and to] develop a specific research question that links directly to the conference call, and is explicitly grounded in a theoretical framework...” Fortunately, this search for ‘direct’ relevance is embedded in a conference call also asking us to bring creativity and open mindedness to the process of reflection. It is hard to remain open to new ways of thinking when we feel compelled to create and defend a theory - and a publishable theory at that! Wisely, multiple questions are also welcome: “...we are inviting you to consider what possible questions might be asked about your research, if you were to foreground the issue of specific local context... After more than twenty years in this conversation, I have many more questions to reflect upon than will fit this submission, but which I hope to enjoy in discussion at the conference - with or without an eye to the ravenous appetite the PBRF Beast over the asking and reflection of ideas yet un-theorised, unspeakable, and unpalatable to publishers. Here are some of the questions I would like to discuss: Are we, as Critical Management Scholars, with an eye on and a voice in the emerging discourse of bi-culturalism, strong enough to impact organisational scholarship and management pedagogy globally, from our location in the Liquid Continent, from our less than perfect achievements to date? What evidence do we have that we have had any effect so far? What levels of trust would we need to engender to work on these questions with others?

The conference call contains some exciting directives:
“...we encourage you to think creatively about this bi-cultural context and other new directions for critical organisation studies research in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The question as I have asked it of myself, “What does it mean to do critical organisation studies, as a Pākehā woman with unconventional academic credentials from the locality of Te Raupapa at Te Whare Wananga o Waikato? My answer: “Messy, messy, messy!” No smart, erudite question from me; no straight lines of reasoning or achievement of goals; no sophisticated discourses, no tight little transformational equations, no compelling reasons why our organisations SHOULD change, or, if so, in what ways.
After all the words that have been exchanged so far, it seems to me that The Empire lives on. It is a good job that I am now also a grandmother, well socialised to understand that living the muddles, celebrating achievements as we understand them, and nursing the bruises from our bumbling is what it is. Messy! Necessary! This understanding sometimes gets in the way of my being able to answer my once clear [to me] question: “Who would I need to become to be just [fair/honourable] in all the dimensions of my life? I still do not know. I only learn in the trying.

And here we are, in a new crisis of capitalism. Has all the work by Māori and others working towards a more bi-cultural future for all those who live and work in Aotearoa, begun to address the vulnerability of the structurally marginalised and impoverished, and the depletion of the vitality of Earth as we hurl towards ever intensifying globalisation? The Māori Party alliance with the incoming National government is yet unclear at time of writing. It has been heartening to hear that under pressure of election campaigning, the Māori Party stating: “We are for fair-trade and against free trade”. It is unlikely the Māori Party will find support for this position, unless of course, we come to believe that Free Trade is Fair Trade. Much of the rest of the world seems not to agree. Organisational theorists and management educators, both Māori and Pākehā surely need to prick up their ears at this and revisit what has passed for fundamental truth claims rarely overtly expressed or examined in our business schools for over two decades. And what voice do I have in this discussion; a Pākehā woman who might have much preferred to have devoted (or limited) my human sojourn to the caring for my family had it not been for the requirement to earn my livelihood ‘on the market’ as do, now, most people on earth.

The conference call invites us submit a piece of writing from which our suitability for inclusion in the discussion will be assessed. We will, of course, bring our whole selves to the party, though some of our parts may hide, may feel engaged or disengaged. We may bring the voices of our networks and perhaps the voices of our ancestors to reflect on who we are, who we might become, what we might still do. I hope I am invited to the conversation!

References


2 Derek Fox Radio NZ, November 3, 2008.


How can we help you? Public sector communication strategies with lower socio-economic communities in New Zealand

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"Aw, can you come with me please girl? I just don’t understand what they saying to me, and I don’t wanna flip out again"

A thirty- something- year old woman was pleading for me to accompany her to an appointment with her case worker at Work and Income (WINZ)because I had helped her fill out one of the forms for her benefit application.

I couldn’t really say no to her request as I seemed to be helping just by re explaining what was written on the brochure, and I wanted to help more. And so, my introduction to communication breakdown, and the follow on effects of that breakdown became part of my everyday reality. Up until that particular request, my world seemed pretty straight forward – where everything was as it should be; where people were all treated as I was; where questions were being answered and solutions were being found for the trickiest of situations.
I come from a well-educated background. I am a white, middle class girl who grew up in a family which bases its dinner table discussions on educating one another, asking questions and helping each other find the answers. My dinner discussions contributed to the majority of my education, where I learned about history, current affairs and, most importantly, my own personal history and where I had come from; who had come before me and why it was important for me to take every opportunity as it came my way. However, although I was educated and earned average grades at school, I remember how naïve I was, and perhaps as every girl from my kind of background may have been.

I often recollect a particular situation which exemplifies this naivety. I was dating a boy from high school who was Māori, and came from an area in town that was known to be “the hood” area of town. Although I was familiar with what it might have meant for him to be living in this area, I never really understood the parallel universe that was his reality. In getting to know him, I would often be the one talking, specifically telling him about my family, my brothers and my parents and any conversations that we might have had that night around the dinner table. I remember complaining to him about my parents at one point; that I thought they were a nuisance because I had to be home on time, and tell them exactly where I was going or else they would worry. He remained silent for most of the time that I spoke, apart from that time where he stated “well, at least your parents care about where you are, and that you come home”. Later on that night, we were talking about seeing each other again, and I hinted flirtatiously that he call me if he wanted to, to which he replied “umm, do you have a phone?” I burst out laughing because for me, it was ridiculous for any one not to have a phone. It was my reality, and I took it for granted that I had a phone, and could use it whenever I wanted to. At that stage however, I never even imagined that someone in the same peer group as me perhaps would not have the same resources.

I guess you can say that my relationship with this boy added another layer to my “education”. My understanding of people, families and situations which I had never even thought about sucked me into a tail spin and spat me out with a new perspective, and with stories which I want to tell, and that people need to hear about. These stories however, are not narratives which I intend to shock people with, or launch into descriptive, novel-like moral lessons. These will be told in order to illustrate and critique a framework of communication which exists to help people who are in need, yet in its very existence marginalises people who do not fit within the framework, and don’t understand why.

In sum, these stories provide the context for my research which revolves around a single question: Do the existing communication strategies of public sector organisations serve the needs of low decile communities in New Zealand?

My research aims to examine the ways in which public sector organisations communicate with people from lower socio-economic communities, and is focused on the residents of the Enderley suburb in Hamilton. This community is an exemplar of a target audience with whom public sector organisations must communicate in order to provide specific services to those in need. Although my research looks at written and published communication material from public sector organisations, it also identifies frustrations and misunderstandings, notions of mistrust and what one participant termed “false
“advertising” of the services and advice from these public sector organisations. “Language is a system we use to objectify subjective meanings and to internalize socially constructed meanings” (Allen, 2005 p. 38). In effect, social policy too, is socially constructed in order to serve the political aims of the public sector, and is not necessarily constructed in terms of the target publics of that organisation.

In developing the idea of social construction in policy making and politics, Schneider and Ingram (1993; 1997; 2005) show how policy is the “primary tool through which government acts to exploit, inscribe, entrench, institutionalize, perpetuate, or change social constructions” (p. 5). They also demonstrate how social constructions can be, and have been used as a framework in which government policies are designed and communicated to different target publics. In essence, they identify two main target publics, the “deserving” and the “un-deserving” (Schneider and Ingram 1993 p. 335).

For example, they discuss how social constructions take on “positive and negative” characteristics and interact with political powers to “produce several different types of target population” (p. 335). This means that “advantaged target populations” such as business owners, scientists, military personnel and middle class European people have a significant amount of political influence on legislation and public policy. They are targeted and communicated with in a way which treats them as “deserving people” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p.335-336). On the other hand, there are the “contenders” who are constructed with more of a negative connotation as those who also have a substantial amount of influence over the political sector, but have an image that has been constructed as “greedy”, rather than “deserving”. This target public is usually made up of farmers, minority groups, cultural elites and big unions (p. 336).

Building on Schneider and Ingram’s model (1993; 1997; 2005), I construct a framework of analysing existing communication strategies of public sector organisations towards low socio-economic communities. I focus on, in particular, the formal communication and information dissemination structures, processes, and texts of these organisations, examine the ways in which some of the intended target publics make sense of them and respond to them, and identify the dynamics of power and resistance embedded in the communication exchanges (or the lack thereof).

This research is theoretically informed by critical theory perspectives on communication, especially those of Deetz (2005) and Mumby (2000). I am drawn to Deetz’s work in critical theory because he is continuously analysing his own behaviours, thoughts and practices as a critical theorist. He does this by writing in the first person about how critical theory plays a part in understanding organisations, governments and society today:

Critical theory offers a different way of thinking about theory and its relation to knowledge, life, and action. I would be remiss if I treated critical theory as just another school of thought out there to be summarized and studied. Critical theory is as much a way of living as a ‘theory’ in the more traditional, everyday sense (Deetz, 2005 p.90).
This "way of living" takes into account my own personal feelings, assumptions, morals and values and allows me to identify ways of perceiving how ‘others’ struggle to deal with bureaucracy, form filling and understanding the processes of accessing social welfare services. Deetz (2005) goes on to say that: “Critical theory asks for a personal courage to identify and challenge assumptions behind ordinary ways of perceiving, conceiving, and acting, and for recognition of the influence of history, culture, and social positioning on perceptions, meanings, and action” (p.91).

Mumby (2000) also raises similar ideas through the discussion of critical thought and its application to research. He suggests that research from a critical perspective “must address the dynamics of power and politics” (p. 70). This means that a critical focus looks at the basic communicative behaviours in terms of power and hegemony. He asks the basic question of “how does a particular social group or class come to hold sway over other groups or classes” (p. 70). It is not only in Aotearoa New Zealand that this question is pertinent, but indeed across many societies and nations. The dynamics of politics and power can be identified through a careful reading of the communicative activities between individuals and representatives of powerful institutions (i.e. government), thus allowing for an understanding of how meaning is central in the everyday activities of social life (Mumby, 2000). Furthermore, critical theory helps to identify those hegemonic processes which provide the context for meaning construction.

References


THE ROLE OF MĀORI CULTURE TOWARDS WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT:
ISSUES FOR PROFESSIONAL MĀORI EMPLOYEES
INTRODUCTION

Māori make up 14% of the New Zealand population and approximately 12% of the New Zealand workforce (Statistics New Zealand, 2007) and there is a growing body of literature on Māori history, culture and language (e.g. Walker, 2001; Durie, 2005). While Māori health has also received considerable attention (e.g. Kingi & Durie, 2000), there has been little study on Māori employment. For example, there has been no study on the influences of Māori culture in the New Zealand workplace to date. Currently, the New Zealand workforce is at record levels of unemployment amongst both skilled and unskilled workers, although this peak is clearly ending with the current ‘credit crisis’. The current employment peak has seen Māori report record employment with a workforce participation rate of 69.3% (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). This record level of participation was shown in the New Zealand 2006 Census with Māori having increased employment by 21% from 2001 levels (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Clearly, Māori are playing a valuable role in the economy, and with permanent pressures being placed on the global economy towards the retention of skilled workers, studies of importance to the workforce can have a major impact on New Zealand society.

But what do we know about Māori culture in society and in particular the workforce? It has been noted that there has been an overall renaissance regarding Māori culture and language (Piripi, 2006). Aligned with this, the New Zealand 2006 Census determined that almost 24% of all Māori could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Further, the New Zealand national anthem has become bi-lingual with both English and Māori versions rendered in sporting events, indicating the ease with which New Zealand society embraces Māori culture and Māori cultural aspects are often portrayed favourably regarding tourism and new business creation. Clearly, Māori culture plays an important role in New Zealand and this importance is growing. What is less clear is how these aspects translate into the New Zealand workforce. The present study seeks to focus on the work-family conflict literature and the related social support literature, and applies them to a Māori cultural perspective. According to the Quality of Life Survey 2006, Māori reported the lowest levels of work-life balance compared to Europeans, Asians, Pacific Islanders and others (Ministry of Social Development, 2008), suggesting that Māori employees are not enjoying the same levels of balance between their work and family roles. It is argued that there are cultural elements that may lead to significant different negative and positive influences on work-family conflict and social support amongst Māori employees. Finally, a new research model is proposed which builds on the current literature and encompasses Māori cultural elements.
WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

Westman (2001) suggested there could be both a positive and negative spillover between work and family domains. However, the literature is dominated by work-family conflict which typically focuses on the challenge facing employees towards balancing their work and family responsibilities. What is poorly understood is whether Māori have any cultural aspects that make them more susceptible or impervious to work-family conflict. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined work-family conflict as “a form of inter role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role” (p. 77). Boles, Johnston and Hair (1997) suggested that work-family conflict relates to conflict between an employee’s work and family/home responsibilities. Other researchers have suggested that that work-family conflict manifests in the overall goodness-of-fit between important roles, specifically work and home, and has been conceptualised as a vital antecedent of stress (Frone, Barnes & Farrell, 1994). This phenomenon is important for Māori given the major role that family and in particular whanau (extended family) plays in Māori culture. While Western studies explore working parents with a typical nuclear family (such as 2.5 children household), the typical Māori whanau may include a dozen children or more. The work-family conflict literature has not explored the dimension of family towards indigenous peoples and this is very important towards Māori due to the overall larger size of the family unit amongst Māori families.

A variety of pressures can produce work-family conflict and these pressures can be categorised into three major sources: (1) time-based, (2) strain-based, and (3) behaviour based. Time-Based Conflict is a common type of work-family conflict (Greenhaus et al., 2000), which is consistent with excessive work time and schedule conflict dimensions and role overload (Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980). A Māori employee whose work role takes up time otherwise committed to their whanau role, means they will generally be unable to satisfy both roles in the same timeframe, leading to time-based conflict. Strain-Based Conflict was defined by Greenhaus et al. (2000) as existing “when the strain produced within one role affects experiences in another” (p. 291). This is also known as spillover, where “stress experienced in one domain of life results in stress in another domain for the same individual” (Westman, 2001, p. 717). Employees who experience work role conflict or ambiguity, and who are exposed to extensive emotional demands, whose workplace is constantly changing or the work is boring and repetitive, are likely to experience work-family conflict (Greenhaus et al., 2000). For example, an employee with a large whanau who are all sick will most likely have a reduced focus upon their work, thus leading to family-work conflict. Finally, Behaviour-Based Conflict is when behaviour that is effective and accepted in one role, becomes unacceptable and inappropriate in another role (Greenhaus et al., 2000). Greenhaus et al. (2000) suggested behaviour-based conflict might occur when family members might expect family members who are managers to be warm, nurturing and emotional at home, when instead they try to bring their managerial approach into the home. According to Greenhaus et al. (2000), “if people cannot shift gears when they enter different roles, they are likely to experience behavior-based conflict between the roles” (p. 292).
Boles et al. (1997) noted that work-family conflict occurs from employees trying to meet the conflicting demands from work and family commitments. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) suggested that work-family conflict is intensified when the work and family roles are salient to employees, for example when a role is central to the individual's self-concept and when powerful and negative sanctions for non-compliance with role demands are likely to arise. For Māori, the whanau role is very important and this might trigger additional work-family conflict when work interferes with family and whanau, and conversely, when family and whanau interferes with work. As such, under the theories associated with work-family conflict, we would expect Māori to have potentially greater conflict from imbalance relating to interference of work into family and family into work. However, such an assertion has not been tested. For example, a male Māori employee with a large whanau might want to focus his time and energy upon his father-whanau role (salient family role), while his manager stresses work deadlines (salient work role) and threatens termination if the project fails (strong negative sanction). The result would see the Māori employee suffering intensified work-family conflict. To date, no study has explored work-family conflict on Māori employees, or compared them to a population of non-Māori to determine whether large sized whanau’s lead to increased conflict.

Internationally, major demographic changes have exacerbated the balance of work and family commitments, including the increased participation rates of working women and working mothers (Milliken, Martins and Morgan, 1998), a rise in single-parent families (Morgan and Milliken, 1992), the growth of dual-career couples (Goodstein, 1994), and the enlargement in the elderly population (Goodstein, 1995). These changes have also affected the Māori population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Due to these changes, Elloy (2001) stated that “the phenomenal increase in the number of married women in paid employment and the consequent emergence of the dual-career couple have raised the potential for stress and strain arising from the work and family spheres” (p. 122). Similarly, we argue that these changes are likely to influence employed Māori and lead to increased potential for conflict and stress between work, family and whanau.

Demographic research show that the potential for increased stress also applies to Māori. For example, 30% of Māori children under-five years have parents who are both working, with 13% having both parents working fulltime while 17% has one parent working fulltime and the other working part-time (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). Gendall (1999) examined the findings of the Statistics New Zealand childcare surveys and stated that Māori mothers were more likely to be working over 20 hours per week than European mothers (at 65% compared to 58% respectively), and thus may have a greater need to balance their work and family/whanau roles. It has also been suggested that the risk of conflict between work and family roles increases as individuals in dual-career situations have to balance the simultaneous, and sometimes conflicting, demands of two careers within the family (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997). While increased financial benefits of two incomes can make balancing work and family easier through greater financial resources to spend, whether this occurs for Māori is less likely given their income levels are less than non-Māori in New Zealand. For example,
Statistics New Zealand (2001, 2001) reported that Māori employees earn consistently less compared to non-Māori/European in New Zealand.

Another driver of work-family conflict is care-giving demands. Barnett (1998) has suggested that the role of caregiver is part of most employees’ range of roles, and managing dependent caregiving has been called the “unexpected career” (Aneshensel, Pearlin, Mullan, Zarit & Whitlatch, 1995). This is important for Māori because whanau can be widely inclusive and may include parents and even grandparents. Consequently, Māori employees are more likely to have wide ranging family structures, including two to three generations of family, which is more likely to provide additional strain on working members.

Kossek, Colquitt and Noe (2001) stated that “during their careers, most employees will make caregiving decisions” (p. 29). Kossek et al. (2001) asserted that care-giving decisions might focus upon different types of dependents including the young and the old. Again, given the focus of Māori upon the elderly as respected elders, the likelihood of Māori employees caring for young and old is likely to be higher than that for non-Māori in New Zealand. Further, given Māori have a life expectancy much lower than Europeans in New Zealand at around 8 and a half years (Ministry of Social Development, 2008), there might be greater demands towards eldercare at a time when employed Māori are also looking after children. Ward and Spitze (1988) used the term sandwich generation to describe the middle-aged generation who have dependent children and elderly parents. Pierret (2006) suggested that a large proportion of employees in the U.S. could be classified as ‘sandwich generation’, although he noted that only seven percent of those aged 45-55 years old had a household with three generations. While these issues have started to be explored in the New Zealand context (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Dharmalingam, 2002), there has been less work towards Māori. What work has explored these aspects towards work-family conflict in the New Zealand context, O’Driscoll (2000) found no clear support for sandwich generation employees reporting higher work-family conflict or more stress. However, again the lack of focus on Māori employees highlights areas of interest for researchers.

The Role of Family Support

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) referred to social support as a coping resource, as the access to a social network may enable employees to utilize coping strategies more successfully. Typically, social support is viewed in a positive manner, as it may intervene between a stressful event (e.g. work-family conflict) and the stress reaction (e.g. lower job satisfaction) by preventing a stressful evaluation of the stressor situation, which in turn, increases an employee’s ability to respond in an appropriate manner (Monat & Lazarus, 1991). Cohen and Wills (1985) suggested that employees who perceive that others can provide necessary help and resources may lead them to reduce the potential for harm or increase their perceived ability to handle the situation. Consequently, a number of authors have suggested employees with better access to social support are able to better manage stressors (Quick, Quick, Nelson & Hurrell, 1997; Fenlason & Beehr, 1994). In their meta-analysis, Viswesvaran,
Sanchez, and Fisher (1999) stated “there seems to be at least partial evidence of a moderating effect of social support on the work stressor–strain relationship” (p. 327).

There are three basic types of social support: emotional (e.g. someone to talk to), instrumental (e.g. assistance to resist a form of threat), and informative (e.g. communicating to decrease uncertainty) (Fenlason & Beehr, 1994; House, 1981; Scheck, Kinicki & Davy, 1997). Support can be provided from both the workplace or outside of work, such as family and friends (Billings & Moos, 1981; Jackson, 1992). Within the work-family literature, work-based support has been well studied including the support form supervisor, co-worker, and organization (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002; Frone & Yardley, 1996; Goff, Mount, & Jamison, 1990; Martins, Eddleston, & Veiga, 2002; Fu & Shaffer, 2000), with supervisor support being found to be among the most studied types of support (Lee & Ashforth, 1996). Lim (1997) noted that support from non-work sources might also allow employees to discuss work issues and gain a fresh perspective on any workplace issues. However, work-family studies testing the role of family support have been neglected. This is somewhat surprising given the importance that family plays in the field, with researchers recognizing the growing importance of non-work dimensions in providing greater understanding of the work-family phenomenon (Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007; Bishop, Scott, Goldsby, & Cropanzano, 2005; Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). Consequently, we expect family support will allow employees to recast situations in a more positive manner and achieve better balance and well-being. Given that Māori employees are likely to have greater sized whanau, the chances for greater family support and associated, whanau support might be of interest to work-family researchers, especially since these aspects have been unexplored to date.

Overall, these aspects lead to our two research questions for this paper.

1. What influence does Tikanga Māori have on employed Māori regarding their work-family conflict, and
2. What influence does Tikanga Māori in the form of whanau, have on employed Māori regarding receiving family/whanau support.

Further, we offer the following diagrams that encapsulate the literature regarding (1) a traditional model of the work-family interface (Figure 1), and (2) a proposed new model of work-family interface including Tikanga Māori (cultural elements).
Figure 1. Traditional Model of the Work-Family Interface

- **Work Support** (e.g., co-worker, supervisor, organizational, work-family practices)
  Buffers conflict leading to reduced conflict

- **Family Support**
  Buffers conflict leading to reduced conflict

- **Work Demands**
  e.g., hours worked, workload etc.
  Leads to increased conflict

- **Family Demands**
  e.g., family-size, childcare, eldercare etc.
  Leads to increased conflict
Figure 2. Proposed Model of the Work-Family Interface considering Māori Culture

**Cultural Demands**
e.g. does expertise in one role leading to cultural expectations for hapu & iwi, thus leading to increased conflict

**Work & Cultural Support**
e.g. co-worker, supervisor, organizational, work-family practices). Buffers conflict leading to reduced conflict
Q: do cultural elements (tikanga?) also reduce conflict?

**Whanau Demands**
e.g. larger family-size, greater childcare and eldercare issues etc. Leads to increased conflict?

**Family & Whanau Support**
Buffers conflict leading to reduced conflict
Q: do cultural elements (whanau support) also reduce conflict?

**Work Demands**
e.g. hours worked, workload etc. Leads to increased conflict

**Family Demands**
e.g. family-size, childcare, eldercare etc. Leads to increased conflict
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MARKET MODELS FOR SALVATION: NEO-LIBERALISM, THE SOLIDARITY ECONOMY, OR SOMETHING IN BETWEEN FOR THE WOMEN OF VANUATU?

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Why is a market model necessary?

Any country operating a legal institution of government whether they are democratic, communism, monarchy or oligarchy must decide on the type of market model that is suitable for them to operate under (Britannica Online, 2008). Some of the various market models that countries use are: capitalism also known as the free market economy or the free enterprise economy, feudalism, solidarity or the collective economy (ibid).

Capitalism which emanated from the 16th century is dominant in the Western world, whereby the means of production are privately owned and the markets are responsible for production and income distribution (ibid). It is the free play of the market forces that decided prices and the distribution of goods (ibid). Profits or excesses obtained from the production over consumption is utilized to increase productive capacity or create more products in mass rather than to invest in non-productive and uneconomical enterprises (ibid). While the capitalists were reaping the profits from the production, it was the workers who created economic value as outlined in Marx’s labour theory of value (ibid). Owners of capital dominated non-owners of capital so the workers were paid pittance for their hard labour of value creation (ibid).

Capitalism has been blamed for a lot of ills in the world today because businesses and organisations are only interested in the maximization of profits while paying little attention to the equal distribution of resources to all citizens and for the welfare of its workers (ibid). Shanin (1986) signaled how the capitalist economies failed the contemporary global society including state economies for the unlimited advancement and general welfare security as preached by nineteenth-century theories of progress.

Feudalism operated by aristocracy disintegrated when capitalism came into the fore (Britannica Online, 2008). On the other hand, countries like Russia, China, Korea, and some areas of the Pacific islands operated on the concept of the solidarity or the collective economy whereby people worked in cooperatives or in groups for the common good of everyone (ibid).

Although some critics will argue that the solidarity economy is a model adopted by communism and fascism, it has worked well in Melanesian countries and especially in Vanuatu whereby collectivism is the backbone of its societies.

For this paper, I will concentrate on the solidarity economic model that has been successfully practiced by Ni-Vanuatu women classified as poor in the urban centres of Vanuatu and operating as members of the Vanwods Microfinance Incorporation. I will investigate whether this model or something in between is suitable for the women of Vanuatu in contributing to the livelihood of their social units and in general to the economy of the Republic of Vanuatu.
Brief context of Vanuatu

The “Republic of Vanuatu” was born on 30 July 1980 and it was formerly known as the “New Hebrides” (Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981, p. xi; Van Trease, 1987, Every Culture Com, 2008; Piau-Lynch, 2007). Vanuatu meaning - our land comprised a group of islands silhouetted in the shape of the letter - Y (BBC Homepage, 2008, Every Culture Com, 2008). It has over 80 islands of which “65 are inhabited” (Piau-Lynch, 2007, p. 1; Huffer and Molisa, 1999; Jolly, 1996; and Morgan, nd.). Some of the islands are remotely located acquiring a land mass of “12,190kms or 4,707 square miles” (ibid, Destination Vanuatu South Pacific, p. 1). Vanuatu hosts a population of over 200,000 people and is a medium-sized Pacific state situated in the Pacific ring of fire with a rich history of dual domination when it was colonised and administered by France and Britain in 1906 (Huffer and Molisa, 1999; Jolly, 1996; Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981 and Morgan, nd.).

Vanuatu is classified as a Melanesian country because it hosts an indigenous population from this ethic group (BBC Homepage, 2008; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2008, Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981). The term Melanesia means the islands of the black skinned people and the ethic group Melanesians are described as black skinned people or better known as “savages” (E-Museum Minnesota State University, 2008; BBC Homepage, 2008; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2008; Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981). Vanuatu interestingly acquired the term savages because of its animosity against missionaries and foreign explorers (E-Museum Minnesota State University, 2008). Some countries belonging to Southern Melanesia are: Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, Fiji and New Caledonia (BBC Homepage, 2008; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2008, Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981).

Melanesia hosts a multiple array of languages with history confirming that languages spoken originated from the Austronesian languages (Merriam Webster, 2008 and Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2008). Vanuatu is no exception with between “110” to “118” spoken languages (Salong, 2008, p. 4; Van Trease, 1987, p.4). It is no wonder that with so many languages operating in Vanuatu, people in Vanuatu would also have “many mental pictures” of a single subject matter in the world (Salong, 2008).

Collectivism in Vanuatu’s culture

Eighty percent of inhabitants of Vanuatu lived in social kinship and cohesive units comprising of both nuclear and extended families in villages, communities, and societies (McDowell & Sharp, 1999, Van Trease, 1987, Every Culture Com, 2008, Pacific Churches Research Centre, 1981; Britannica Online, 2008). The social group’s dominant work is agrarian or subsistence agriculture (Encyclopedia of the Nations, 2008; Van Trease, 1987). Although from affluent Western society standards, rural people in Vanuatu will be considered poor if they do not have funds of more than $2.00 a day; however, they have everything that the land and sea provides to nourish them so that they can keep living. They participate in the informal economy and food grown in the gardens are harvested to feed the social groups as well as utilised for bartering with neighbouring villages for any food or resources that is not locally
produced. Villagers also grow food for important occasions such as weddings and funerals of relatives, custom ceremonies to acquire chiefly status or hold important communal meetings externally and within the community (Vanuatu Culture, 2008).

Some societies and social groups encouraged endogamy marriages, whereby relatives married into the kinship arrangement to preserve land title ownership while others may be more open to exogamy marriages (Van Trease, 1987).

Ni-Vanuatu women’s roles in the household

A chieftain is responsible for the traditional governance of his society and although men were considered the heads of the family unit and the extended family, they needed the assistance of women - their wives, children and other members of the kinship and community to preserve and maintain the cohesiveness of the social units (Randell, 2003, p.31; Huffer and Molisa, 1999; McDowell & Sharp, 1999; McLeod, 2007).

Nonetheless, women’s varied and important roles as subsistence farmers and their multiple roles and tasks as child bearers, carers, household food producers, nurse, community leader, first educator, church and family management are recognized and given value and status in the Melanesian society (VNCW, 2005, Scott & Marshall, 2005; Priola, 2004).

Women’s roles in the informal economy

Randell (2003) outlined the multiple roles that women in Vanuatu were expected to perform as: “... 80 percent of women in Vanuatu are living in rural villages engaged in subsistence agriculture and other day-to-day roles, such as mothers, nurse, food provided, community leader and first educator” (p. 5). Even so that the former President of the Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs, Chief Tom Numake, described women as “the backbone of everything that the chiefs do for their family, community, village and the country as a whole” (VNCW, 2005, p. 5).

Ni-Vanuatu women classified as the urban poor because they do not have access to land or the sea to make a living have been contributing very effectively through their businesses to Vanuatu’s economic growth. Britain-based sociologist Teodor Shanin (1986) in a recent interview offered some explanations as to how the majority of the poor live – and what the rest of the world needs to learn from them:

The poor do not own land. They do not possess other assets. If conventional economics is to be believed, they should have died of hunger long ago – still, they not only survive, but have found a way of life that is diametrically opposite to the manner in which human beings live in industrial society. They didn’t have a job, pension, steady place to work or regular flow of income. Families held a range of occupations from farming and selling in the market to doing odd jobs or handicrafts. Their aim was survival rather than maximisation of profit. Rather than earn wages, labour was used within family enterprises or shared out among the village (p. 3).
Shanin (1986) interestingly talked about the “strata of plebeian survivors - a mixture of increasingly mobile, half-employed slum-dwellers, part-farmers, lumpen-traders, or pimps—another extra-capitalist pattern of social and economic existence under capitalism and/or third-worldish types of state economy (p. 17)”. More and more people are involved in the informal and/or family-bound and/or “black” and/or mixed economies continue to grow around the globe (ibid).

Touted as the “father of peasantology”, Shanin (1986) said that the informal economy should not been seen as the “political economy of the margins”. Rather he claimed that the informal economy can “make you more a master of your destiny” (p. 3) He therefore argued that “nurturing the informal economy is the only way forward for polarised, unjust societies in the Third World … and that we can learn as much from the poor as they can learn from us (ibid). It is true that 80 percent of the inhabitants of the rural areas of Vanuatu do play a very important role in contributing to and nurturing the informal economy including the poor Ni-Vanuatu women living in the urban centres of Vanuatu who have utilised some aspects of capitalism and collectivism to contribute to the informal economy. James (2008) prescribed that “Vanuatu’s subsistence economy has never been quantified but is more important to the Ni-Vanuatu than the “formal economy”. Most land, labour and capital is re-invested into the subsistence economy and not the formal economy” (p. 4).

Is the Neo-Liberalism market model conducive to Ni-Vanuatu women’s needs?

The arrival of colonisation (France and Britain through the Anglo-Franco Condominium pact in 1906) in the former New Hebrides lasted a total of 75 years (Van Trease, 1987; Smith, 2005, p.5). After colonisation ended in 1980, the new Vanuatu Government followed in its predecessors’ footsteps by adopting a British Westminster system of governance with a French Presidential Head of State role (Van Trease, 1987).

The United Nations (UN) gained a foothold in Vanuatu straight after independence when it established an office from 1985 to early 1990s known as the United Nations ESCAP Pacific Operations Centre. This office was responsible for advocating UN’s objectives for Vanuatu as well as other countries who were its members (UNESCAP, 2008).

The UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of ESCAP, Dr Noeleen Heyzer, prescribed the aspirations of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) in a speech on 24 October 2008 and confirmed that the UN needed the assistance of its members to create an inclusive and equitable society in the following statement:

It is for people that the UN strives to create an inclusive and equitable society. A celebration of the United Nations achievements cannot - and should not - pass without an acknowledgement of the goodwill and support that so many people have for the United Nations as it carries out its various activities... It is with the people’s support, and that of their governments, that the United Nations is able to work towards ending violence and promoting tolerance; advancing development and ensuring equality; protecting human
rights and alleviating poverty. The United Nations, at its best, enables the achievement of these highest of human aspirations (UNESCAP, 2008, p. 1).

The UNDP/UNOPS collaborated with the Vanuatu Department of Women’s Affairs in 1996 to establish the Vanwods Microfinance scheme, a scheme to alleviate poverty under the Millennium Development Goal for poor women of Vanuatu which used the concept of the solidarity economy being discussed in the next section of this paper.

Although certain individuals in Vanuatu have attempted to run businesses on their own, most of them have found it really difficult to sustain them (Salong, 2008; Goldenberg et al, 1992). In a study undertaken by Oxfam New Zealand, Slatter (2006) described how Ni-Vanuatu tourism business owners fared badly compared to their expatriate counterparts:

If the intention of the Foreign Investment Promotion Act was to reserve small and medium-sized enterprises in tourism for local people and especially for Ni-Vanuatu, as is widely perceived, this is not being realised. In several reserved investment areas, despite strong evidence of entrepreneurship among Ni-Vanuatu and considerable external support for their efforts to get a fair share of the tourism pie, expatriate investors and Vanuatu citizens of European descent (including naturalised citizens) have set up successful businesses (sometimes with Ni-Vanuatu as ‘sleeping partners,’ to get around the reservation) and have come to dominate the market (p. 6).

Despite the Vanuatu Foreign Investment Board categorising some businesses as reserved for Ni-Vanuatu citizens, some of the Ni-Vanuatu entrepreneurs who embarked on capitalistic pursuits were unable to sustain the businesses. Ni-Vanuatu bus and taxi owners in Port Vila complained how the wholesaler and expatriate-owned tour operator Adventures in Paradise used “Ni-Vanuatu sleeping partners to get around the VIPA regulations” prevented them from servicing and providing round-the-island trips to clients disembarking on the P&O Cruises because wholesale bookings were predominantly controlled by Adventures in Paradise (Slatter, 2006, p. 13).

Marginalisation of Ni-Vanuatu business owners did not only occur in the transport sector but also in “P&O’s single-operator arrangements” which also extended to other “in-port services, such as the provision of food parcels for tourists handled by a single, expatriate-owned company in Port Vila” (ibid, p. 14).

Furthermore, Ni-Vanuatu bungalow owners in the rural areas “receive few, if any, tourists from one end of the year to the next”. Despite calls and encouragement by the government to build more bungalows, with no customers visiting and no money coming in, these bungalows deteriorated quickly if they were not destroyed by cyclones (ibid, p. 6).

Cosy relationships existed between big hotels/resorts which are owned by expatriates and foreign investors and wholesalers such as Adventures in Paradise. These wholesalers accounted for 80 percent occupancy rates in the three foreign-owned hotels. Because the wholesalers only promoted accommodation packages in the urban centres of Vanuatu as they favoured higher-charging service providers to maximise their commission earnings, Ni-Vanuatu bungalow owners do not have any external means of advertising their products or acquiring
overseas bookings. As such, their bungalows continue to remain empty and they lose out in their capitalistic pursuits (ibid). Slatter (2006) confirmed this predicament in the following prose:

While island bungalows lie empty, expatriate investors with access to capital and markets have successfully moved into the small and medium range tourism accommodation market, leasing land and beachside properties to set up ‘boutique resorts’ and pricey ‘bed and breakfast’ accommodation units (p. 7).

Trade liberalisation in Vanuatu also opened up the casino market in Port Vila. However, having a casino in Vanuatu did not increase tourist numbers but instead created other negative side effects in that indigenous politicians and women market vendors were gambling their incomes “in the vain hope of striking it rich” (ibid, p. 14).

Trade liberalization also meant that land ownership in Vanuatu could now change hands from indigenous ownership to foreign investor ownership. Sales of customary lands on Efate alone accounted for 80 percent of it being owned by foreign investors. Slatter (2006) typified the business dealings through the following words: “There is a visible and widening divide between white wealth and black poverty as a result of the land sales and property development boom”. Capitalism through neo-liberalism distributed resources inequitably to the citizens of Vanuatu and instead ensured the survival of the fittest (expatriate business owners or foreign investors) and the continued degradation of the poor (Ni-Vanuatu indigenous business owners) (ibid).

Due to Vanuatu’s political and economical crisis in the mid-1990s, the Asian Development Bank seized the opportunity to coax the Vanuatu Government into undertaking a comprehensive economic restructuring and civil service reforms (ibid). The Vanuatu Government obtained a loan of US$20 million of which a major portion of it went to pay for the 40 foreign consultants that ADB brought in to implement the CRP. The CRP was closely linked to Vanuatu’s application in 1995 to join the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Vanuatu was required to make a lot of policy changes during the accession negotiations and this “liberalised its economy and trade way beyond other countries in the region, and ahead of most other Least Developed Countries (LDCs) which are already members of the WTO” (p.18). Nevertheless, the general consensus in Vanuatu is that the “CRP failed to meet its objectives” but instead created more problems for the country such as the sale of government assets, a staggering external debt (mostly from ADB foreign currency loans) and the loss of valuable expertise from the unnecessary civil service downsizing (ibid). Slatter (2006) concluded that the “negative social impacts of the CRP have been widespread, and the burden of the reforms has fallen heaviest on Vanuatu’s rural and urban poor” (p. 19).

Unintended side-effects were experienced in Vanuatu from rules that were designed to encourage trade liberalisation and investment in the tourism industry may also “allow access in other areas that governments had not intended to be open to foreign competition”. Trade liberalisation may mean “allowing foreigners the right to get involved in waste management, for instance, could leave the door open to foreign control of water supplies (ibid, p. 16).

A caution was sounded that Pacific countries must be overly cautious “before signing up to long-term or permanent commitments, lest they find that in an effort to provide transparency
and certainty for foreign investors, their ability to legislate in the best interests of the nation has been compromised” (ibid).

Although trade liberalisation through tourism could in theory provide sustainable livelihoods for Ni-Vanuatu communities; however, it is failing to do so. There needs to be a rethink of the tourism concept. Calls were made that Vanuatu needed to preserve its “policy space so that it can make any changes to laws and regulations that may be necessary”. Blindly signing up to obligations imposed by the WTO, or under an Economic Partnership Agreement with the EU, will have negative consequences for Vanuatu (ibid, p. 14).

Slatter (2006) stated that it is obvious that the “perils of rapid investment liberalization in the contexts of a weak regulatory framework and inadequate protections of the interests of local people” are occurring in the Vanuatu’s tourism sector (p. 6).

It is very evident that “most of the benefits from the tourism boom are flowing to foreign investors and expatriate residents, with Ni-Vanuatu scrambling for the crumbs from the table” through neo-liberation in Vanuatu (ibid, p. 14).

Finally, trade liberalisation and the drive to grow the industry and attract foreign investment are creating other problems for Vanuatu, particularly in terms of land ownership issues. Sophisticated and dubious expatriates easily circumvent any regulations to protect the interests of Ni-Vanuatu people relating to both land ownership and economic opportunities (ibid).

Is the solidarity economy suitable to Ni-Vanuatu women’s roles as entrepreneurs or should there be a market model in between?

The CEDAW Convention highlighted the need for Vanuatu’s patriarchy to incorporate both rural and urban women into the country’s economic development (ibid). As such, the United Nations Development Programme/UNOPS and the Department of Women’s Affairs collaborated and launched a millennium development goal to eliminate poverty through the Vanwods Microfinance Incorporation in 1996 whereby poor women could access finances to become entrepreneurs in their own rights (Salong, 2008; The Republic of Vanuatu, 2004; Winn, 2004).

Vanwods’ vision is: “To be the respected leader in the provision of financial and business development services for people to live in dignity and security” (James, 2006, p. 6).

Salong (2008) described how these women through blood sweat and tears, through discipline and hard work improved their living standards (Winn, 2004). A press release from Vanwods date 4 June 2008 expressed the success of the Ni-Vanuatu urban poor women entrepreneurs in the following prose:

VANWODS has demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that Vanuatu mamas who were written off, have been able to engage on Vanwod’s four principles of success such as: good work habit, savings habit, trustworthiness and cohesive and bridging social capital thus contributing to: education for the children, improved household income, improved housing and greater respect for mamas in the community (James, 2008, p. 1)
The women utilised certain concepts of the liberal ideologies of capitalism but worked together in a collective, social and cohesive system seeking finances to run successful businesses and successfully repaid their loans (Salong, 2008). James (2008) prescribed that “Vanuatu's society is organised around groups sometimes referred to as wantok. The group, be it extended family, or island origin or province is more important than “individual”. Therefore, economic empowerment happens only within a “group context” (p.3).

Furthermore, these women were encouraged to pledge savings every week into their multiple accounts at the Vanwods Microfinance Incorporation (ibid) to continue to improve their lives (Salong, 2008). Vanwods’ success has uncovered four principles of economic empowerment: economic empowerment is not installed; it is cultivated with good habits engaging unchangeable principles. The four principles are:

- Get up in the morning and work (empowerment is sown with blood, sweat and tears... hard work builds character)
- Discipline (save a little each day, put aside some seeds for a future garden, save the cuttings for future growth)
- Trustworthiness comes with timely and diligent loan repayment (trustworthiness is the ingredient for community trust)
- Collectives (cohesive social capital and bridging social capital are the key ingredients for 100% repayment record) (ibid, p. 36).

Poor Ni-Vanuatu women in the urban centres on the other hand have shown that collectively, “united they stand” and “divided they fall” (quotation mine). Women through their collective networks have been able to harness capitalistic means (sustainable cohesive social and bridging social capital) to improve their lives and living standards in Vanuatu (ibid, p. 28; Winn, 2004).

Conclusion

To summarise, the CEDAW Convention offered a process to assist both “qualified” and “poor women” in their human rights and fundamental freedoms to want an equal influence in the economic shaping of Vanuatu either through the quest for leadership or business entrepreneurs (Republic of Vanuatu, 2004; Salong, 2008). Improved good governance in Vanuatu can only arrive from the equal participation of the rural and urban poor into economic development, transparency, accountability and the effective monitoring by NGOs and civil society as prescribed by CEDAW and the United Nations.

Despite the rampant discrimination that Ni-Vanuatu women continued to experience in their daily and working lives, Ni-Vanuatu women both in the rural areas and the urban poor have continued to work together collectively for the best interest of their societies and their business ventures thus contributing towards the informal economy in Vanuatu.

To provide a succinct response to the market model for salvation for Ni-Vanuatu women in Vanuatu, I would like to conclude that some parts of capitalism and neo-liberalism are used effectively by Ni-Vanuatu women as well as the concept of collective partnerships for economic empowerment. The Ni-Vanuatu urban poor women who are members of the Vanwods
Microfinance Incorporation and the Ni-Vanuatu rural women making up the 80 percent of rural dwellers have continued to contribute effectively to the informal economy in Vanuatu. The solidarity economy or the collective partnerships practiced by these Ni-Vanuatu women have somewhat improved their lives and more so in the urban centres of Vanuatu. The women entrepreneurs were given economic empowerment through their group context and contributed to education for their children, improved their household income, improved their housing and last but not least obtained greater respect from the community (James, 2008).

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Free Trade IS Fair Trade? Trick or Treaty?

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What voice is available to Pākehā (critical organisational) scholars in Aotearoa, in a bicultural nation state or nation (to be) governed by Māori if Aotearoa/New Zealand is to be a significant contributor to global justice/sustainability and the flourishing of humanity and Earth rather than a pawn in the Global Empire?

The Project(ion) of Silent/Silenced Pākehā Questions

It was the 1980s. Neoliberalism had been unleashed in New Zealand. Unemployment was rising. 'The Economy' was 'In Crisis' and 'the free market' was to be the remedy (Humphries 1998). This turn in the discourse coincided with ever more assertive calls for Te Tino Rangatiratanga and related activism from a small but strong group of Māori activists manifest into action (Awatere 1984; Walker 1990, 1987). [Market] 'freedom' was also to be bestowed on Māori (Bargh 2007). Land, forest, fisheries, and intellectual property would be further commodified and responsibility for their management would be [selectively] placed in the control of Māori. The few Pākehā paying some attention to Māori calls for greater self-direction and management were beginning to focus on the racism embedded in the institutionalised practices of cultural expression (Spoonley 1993). However, among the small group of Pākehā committed to exploring the notion of a Treaty based future for Aotearoa were a number of people in search of a generative theory of justice that might become compelling for those who had the power to transform New Zealand (Fleras and Spoonley 1999). These Pākehā increasingly spoke among themselves for the need for greater reflection on and responsibility for past injustices inflicted on Māori by The Empire – an Empire mostly understood as the Colonising State, a manifestation of The British Crown. They sought to inspire a more vigorous attention to the legacy of colonization which had generated so much destruction of people and places of this land (Huygens in press; Huygens 2006). Much of their work was conducted in organisation of service: education, health, welfare, justice.

Statistical evidence of grossly unequal social policy outcomes as experienced by Māori and non-Māori were often used as a compass towards articulating aspirations of redress. Widespread Pākehā blindness to structural racism was identified as a significant contributor to which concerned Pākehā could address their attention (Kirton 1997). Some Pākehā committed to learn some reo with the intent to contribute to its normalisation in very-day life, to waiata when it seemed appropriate, and to navigate a path between the positive and the critical responses of Māori towards such commitments. Certainly, today it would be unthinkable for senior Public Servants not to be able to carry at least some part of their professional life with some competencies in approved Māori protocol, if not exactly in the ideal
sense of a bi-cultural structure, then certainly guided by some form of advisory or consultative organisational construct. The Pākehā movement has recorded some of its work in its challenges to structural racism and its attempts to support Māori challenges and aspirations as they were understood at a given time (Spoonley 1999,1993; Huygens et al 2004). Despite all this activity, despite some of the very significant achievements in the legal, social, and economic arenas, these Pākehā recognise that there is much yet to do, much yet to think about, as Pākehā, if the might of The Empire is to be constrained or transformed, justice to be won, and all human beings and Earth are to flourish – even with Obama in the White House.

Among the group of Pākehā thinkers committed to a more just future for Aotearoa, some minds were increasingly turning towards a broadened definition of The Empire – a confluence of State and Corporate might – in which Māori were becoming a growing constituency. This confluence gathered momentum over a period of less than thirty years, a period in which ‘the free market’ was imposed as the macro-context for us all. Few critics, Māori or Pākehā, were given voice. Those who spoke out could be widely ignored, and at times, demonised.

As the social outcomes of neo-liberal economic directives began to manifest, the unequal outcomes of the economic reforms were undeniably affecting Māori and Pacific peoples severely. By the mid 1990s, critiques of the limits of ‘freedom’ promised Māori and the socially devastating consequences of the ‘freed markets’ were gaining momentum (Kelsey 2002,1995). Unemployment was high – Māori were (again) disproportionately affected by the (now predominantly) economic directives of The Empire. The more economically focussed of Pākehā Treaty educators, asked among themselves “how would Māori, drawing on their espoused values of te mea nui, love for the people, find a more humane pattern for economic and social development than the one imposed on the country – and the world over. But few Pākehā were willing to deeply question the form ‘settlement’ of ‘Māori grievances’ that began to take place. The exception was those adding their voices of outrage to the proposed ‘billion dollar envelope’ with its unreasonable expiry date. It was now better understood that Māori were indeed unjustly deprived of their land. Their current economic and social ‘plight’ could indeed be linked to the confiscations of early settlement and (less explicitly acknowledged) to the colonising effects of European occupation (as has often happened throughout the world. The remedy was to return (only under tortuous, expensive and divisive processes) that which they could prove had been unjustly taken, and could afford to claim or buy back.

Among Pākehā Treaty educators, some have long wondered about the nexus of capitalism and (de) colonisation. For some, observing the confluence of neo-liberalism and a heightened discourse of Te Tino Rangatiratanga was deeply thought provoking. Among the questions that were silenced were those about how Māori leadership would engage with this wider/global economic context. Who were we, Pākehā, to have any say on the way Māori chose to develop their hard won settlements? The dubious freedom offered Māori through the processes of ‘liberation’ to ‘the free market’ was a question on the minds of the more critically
oriented Treaty educators – but a question disciplined to silence. It is a question many of them still remain silent on. And here we are, facing a new crisis of capitalism. And a Māori Party heading into an alliance with the incoming National Government – but why not? Until our Parliament becomes a Treaty Based partnership, pragmatism seems as useful a guide to action as any other.

**(Market) Freedom or The Demon(ised) Managed Economy?**

At the time of writing, *The Economist* (October 2008) in its [selective] demonization of [selective] State intervention in the crisis of the financial industry, is bellowing like a frustrated bull. Increased partnership between the state and private sector institutions is resentfully deemed a ‘necessary’ but hopefully ‘temporary’ remedy. The poor will pay the price for stabilising markets – through cut backs in jobs, incomes, services and opportunities. Globally, many will die earlier and more harshly than they might have done, had it not been for this remedy for crisis for capital (Humphries 2007). The colonising logic of The Empire remains deep seated and globally applied (Banerjee et al 2001; Gopal et al 2003; Mir et al 2006).

Has all the work by Māori and others begun to address the vulnerability of the structurally marginalised and impoverished and the depletion of the vitality of Earth as we hurl towards ever intensifying globalisation of capitalism – even a capitalism perhaps only momentarily influenced by the election needs of aspiring politicians (especially so NZ and USA as the issues for both collide in time and space)? The current and predicted intensification of the new crisis will again disproportionately affecting Māori and Pacific peoples. Whether Māori have the resources or the institutional structures to take care of their own, is again not a question Pākehā will find comfortable to ask. But we are asking: “What part, for Pākehā is there in the challenges of this current crisis – if we are indeed in this together? What tensions do we set up if we challenge the economic directions of the country if this is where Māori are placing their hopes?

*Pākehā: ill fitting, inadequate identifier for the struggle for justice*

For early Treaty workers, the very ‘setting themselves apart’, from both Māori ‘partner’ in the then emerging discourses of Honouring the Treaty or the later development of a bicultural framework for action, filled many a workshop poster. There was much expressed angst about terminology with which to label ourselves: people of the colonising partner... yet not the same... not always ‘white’, not necessarily directly linked to those who perpetrated the historical occupation and the attempted genocide, yet unable to deal well with incoming waves of even

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4 We cannot know whether the hope and expectations placed on Obama will translate into a significant influence on the way in which capitalism is practiced – though we are hearing the rising spirits of Black, and Latin/Asian Americans. If changes are to occur, will these include a redress of the injustices bestowed upon Native Americans? We cannot yet know. A commitment to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous people could be one sign of good faith that we, in the wider world could build on.
newer settlers, the global pressures for economic exposure. Tauwi perhaps? Now Tangata Tiriti? Citizens of a country entering a new era of conservative directives?

Most New Zealanders, Māori or Pākehā, may not articulate or know or want to care about this history of The Empire and our complicity in or domestication by it. Many are experiencing the contemporary manifestations of its antics and some will suffer deeply. Perhaps many feel that they cannot afford to care, as their own survival and that of their children depends on how they can survive in the pockets of society to which they are being shunted (CPAG 2008).

While the invitation to reflect on the identity of Pākehā, and with the due caution and respect for the unknown, and perhaps unknowable (by Pākehā) of Māori identity (in terms of the constraints of the bi-cultural identity discourse as it is framed in the call) there are risks in exposing one’s reflections to the attention of a wider readership. Yet, it is through such risky self exposure and sharing of reflections that Pākehā have come some way to seeing into the history and effects of the impositions of The Empire. From a perspective that invites seeing ‘the world’ through this lens of bi-culturalism, challenging questions have arisen – in which reflection on being Pākehā in this land unavoidably invokes reflection on the visible (to Pākehā) expression of Māori identity and aspirations. The discourse of bi-culturalism unavoidably invokes this. What Pākehā ‘see’ and ‘hear’ of course, and thus how this seeing and hearing shapes Pākehā identity, continues to challenge notions of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in complex ways – some of which are more easily articulated than others. Some are perhaps (yet) unspeakable. And yet – this is the conversation to which we are invited.

“What does it mean to do critical organisation studies from here in the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand?” Our gathering for our reflections at Te Kohinga Mārama is indeed “an exciting and challenging opportunity to sharpen our thinking about ‘organisation’ in relation to our bi-cultural identity.” Calls such as this one, explicitly invites reflections on identity based on the Māori /Pākehā distinction of the bi-cultural discourse invoked. For those of us who identity as non-Māori scholars in Aotearoa, the call to reflect on our identity is a somewhat unsettling invitation to review some aspects of this bi-cultural discourse. This is no doubt as it should be.

Unsettling? The de-regulation of the New Zealand economy in the 1980s may well have been a fruitful moment in relation to the (global) investment opportunities for Māori that have followed Treaty settlements. Pākehā critical management scholars, on the whole, refrained from comment. These were turbulent times. Somehow, even in the context of some deep concern, we could understand that for those who fought hard to create and advance the economic, social and political position of Māori through this mechanism had much to celebrate – and would face many challenges ahead in the navigation of the global arena they entered. The particulars of the challenges facing Māori business leaders are not the focus of this paper – yet they are related. Many (not all) of those with tertiary education in the organisational disciplines will have been educated in schools of management, along with all other
management students, under the predominant, but often implicit rather than explicit influence of neo-liberal thought leaders (Humphries 1992). On the whole, many Māori (and the poor of all communities) paid a disproportionate price for that formation of the economy. That the most vulnerable will (again) pay the highest price for the re-stabilization of ‘The Empire’, will certainly affect Māori disproportionately, as it will again affect disproportionately the poor everywhere.

The current ‘crisis’ has been attributed to the rampant spending of consumers. Yet, the poor and the working classes alike were constantly assured that real growth in the economy (and in their spending power) would be the salvation of families – even if this entailed an underwriting of low paying jobs with ‘tax credits’ for those ‘in work’. However not all consumption was on luxury items by the self indulgent. Everything from child care to the necessary access to fresh water has for many people been commodified. These now require significant cash incomes. As people lose jobs, and the ‘in work tax credit’ is lost to many families, this flaw in our logic will surely become more evident. It is too early to tell, how election promises to support the vulnerable in this new crisis of capitalism will materialise.

Marx understood that the best way to domesticate a population is to invite indebtedness. We are all of us now, ‘in debt’ to The Empire in so many ways. Māori and Pākehā are in this crisis together – and yet – the fragility of our relationship makes it a difficult conversation to open – in part – because we are differently implicated and differently affected – within and across these overly simplified identifiers of Māori and Pākehā and the embedding lexicon of bi-culturalism. Perhaps with a somewhat fraught and imperfect submission to the established code of practice, that Pākehā have no business in commenting on Māori decisions, our paper addresses what it means to be a non-indigenous scholar of organisation(s), people of comparative privilege, who dare question the right and might of ‘The Empire’ - no matter whose particular interests are being apparently served or harnessed at a point in time. This perspective is vexing, particularly to those newly accommodated in the global market as perhaps relatively big national players or as suppliers of goods and services in small entrepreneurial start ups the world over. ‘Emerging economies’ or ‘individual entrepreneurs’, as well as established players big and small, are facing what Business Week (27 October, 2008) is calling ‘unchartered waters’, ‘a train crash’, and a to be feared move towards ‘socialism’ (The Economist 18-24 October: 67) disguised under the “euphemism of ‘public-private’ partnerships” (ibid, page 24).

Our questions revolve around the harnessing or assimilation of all that might serve as self preservation for ‘The Empire’ at the cost of the organisation(s) for justice, peace, and human and environmental flourishing – when the distinction between Māori owned or not, State controlled/moderated or not. What can we (Pākehā ) possibly have to say if Māori choose to cast their lot with The Empire? It is a question not just for our domestic consideration. It is a question reverberating through the international context as emerging economies struggle with the Empire’s dual command to serve economic priorities framed in/pressured by increasingly
complex social and environmental creeds – creeds selectively ignored by The Empire. Where do Pākehā critical scholars of organization(s) put ourselves in this situation?

We cautiously invite, at this conference, an open a reflection on potential Pākehā responses to the extent to which, and in what ways, Māori choose to engage with intensifying globalisation and all its ripples – not for an examination of the decisions made by and for Māori per-se, but with a mind to how Pākehā understanding of these choices affect our positioning as Pākehā critical management scholars – vis-a-vis organisational studies – with specific reference to the yet unforeseeable way, at the time of writing this paper, the public-private partnerships will swing into gear to save our (collective) bacon!

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**Marginality and Subalternity: Necessary but different CHALLENGES for justice**

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**Introduction**

The management of substantial financial assets by Māori are generating an increased need for accounting support for Māori and joint ventures, and for accountancy firms that support these. Māori women have become more desirable employees of accountancy firms due to the growing economic power of Māori tribal organisations (Hammond 2003) and the chronic shortage of accounting graduates in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Yet, when Māori women enter the workforce they are commonly referred to as being ‘doubly disadvantaged’ due to their gender and ethnic affinity. A focus on the pressures for assimilation into the Western corporate capitalistic environment add complexity to this dynamic beyond a regular EEO perspective (Smith and Taki 1993). Hence, their career trajectory, as Māori women, is anything but simple. Since 1999 we have worked with Māori women who have chosen a career in the profession of accountancy (McNicholas, Humphries et al. 2004; McNicholas and Humphries 2005). Out of this work we have a number of issues pertinent for the gathering of OIL.

We are experimenting with the potential of a distinction between concepts of marginalisation and subalternity, and explore the emancipatory potential and limitations of each. A focus on marginalisation is a necessary focus, as on the basis of EEO commitments alone, Māori women are entitled to the same opportunities as anyone else who chooses to work in this profession. This focus, however, from a more radical analysis, generates issues we would like to explore more. We argue that when a call from subalterns to be included on their own terms can be heard, valuable institutional transformations will come from such engagement. Our
focus in our research is on the voices that dare to speak out – to make it clear that at the most rudimentary level, their position is not equal to that of their professional peers. These are the voices of courage, whether calling from an experience of marginalisation, or in the voices of the subaltern. Among the most courageous of these voices are those who expect not only to be included in the profession as it now is, but to fully participate in the shaping of its future in a way that does not compromise the values and aspirations of Māori as Māori.

We challenge those who claim that a fully-voiced subaltern position is ever wholly formed in any specific individual or uniformly and unflinchingly expressed. The overlay of colonisation, the extent of real day-to-day needs perceived as necessarily met through affiliation with the Empire, all influence the extent to which individuals can or will explore the amplification of their subaltern potential. Our research aims to stimulate further discussion and debate in this area and to advocate for an increased focus on and activity in the subaltern voices through the conscious shaping of research design as an emancipatory practice – for researchers, participants and the discipline of accounting.

Theoretical Background

Subaltern: a commissioned officer below the rank of captain in certain armies… a person of inferior rank or position (Hanks 1979), p.1445).

Subalternity: A concept within the field of post-colonial studies that is “concerned to explore the experience of peoples who have been subject to western colonialism” (Bullock and Trombley 2000), p. 837).

The theoretical development of the concept of subalternity originates in the work of Ranagit Guha. Guha was in search of the authentic voice of those whose experiences have been written out of history. According to Kilburn (1996) Spivak objects to the sloppy use of the term subalternity and its appropriation by other marginalised, but who are not specifically “subaltern” groups. “Subaltern,” Spivak insists, is not “just a classy word for oppressed, for Other, for somebody who’s not getting a piece of the pie.” (p.2). Spivak, (cited in Kilburn 1996) suggests this to be a field of work that risks over intellectualised controversies based on an unproblematical subject whose voice can be discovered and given permission to speak. She points out that in Gramsci’s original covert usage the word signified “proletarian”, whose voice could not be heard, being structurally written out of the capitalist bourgeois narrative. Spivak is particularly leery of the misappropriation of the term by those who simply want to claim disenfranchisement within the system of hegemonic discourse, i.e. those who can speak, but feel they are not being given their turn (p.2). Their gripe is that they are not included in the privileges of the elite – and want to be;
many people want to claim subalternity. They are the least interesting and the most dangerous. I mean, just by being a discriminated-against minority on the university campus, they don’t need the word subaltern... They should see what the mechanics of the discrimination are... they’re within the hegemonic discourse wanting a piece of the pie and not being allowed, so let them speak, use the hegemonic discourse. They shouldn’t call themselves subaltern. (Spivak cited in de Kock 1992, p.46)

What then, is it that is different about the subaltern from the aspiring marginalised? In postcolonial terms, “everything that has limited or no access to the cultural imperialism is subaltern -- a space of difference” (de Kock 1992, p.45). Spivak cites the work of the Subaltern Studies group as an example of how this critical distinction can be enacted. The strategy is not to assume one can give the subaltern voice. The subaltern already has a voice. The task is to help clear a space for them to speak. But how? Our approach has been to work with a group of Māori women accountants to explore their experiences and perceptions of the organisational practice of the profession, and to explore their potential to influence the knowledge base of accounting by engaging the profession in addressing the concerns of Māori.

Based on the consideration of Māori as both marginalised and subaltern in contemporary institutional contexts, Māori and non-Māori are working across all political and social organisations to redress the inequality equity discourses have rightly brought into the open. Exposing the injustice, pain and inefficiency marginality generates has been a necessary attention. This exposure has drawn on the courage and tenacity of generations of activists and thinkers. Their demands for inclusion are acts of determination to hold to account all those who claim egalitarian ideals. However, we argue that in the determination to require such inclusion encompasses also a weakness generated from a flaw in the supporting analysis. The crucial flaw for the purpose of our research is what we are calling the ‘categorisation mistake’. In the creation of bounded categories, ‘Māori women’ for example, we are given an image of homogeneity that is not representative of the diversity among Māori women. Notions of ‘marginality’ or ‘subalternity’ (or their platforms of redress) are also not always noticed, experienced, or actionable always by all Māori women at all times.

In social systems of any type people are always multiply positioned. Individuals may be both powerful and powerless under various circumstances within a given social order – or powerful in one and yet subjugated in another (Ritchie 1992). Individuals can concur with or resent the social order to which they are born or have been harnessed to serve. They may comply inconsistently over time and space, depending on circumstances and mood, coloured by changing levels of consciousness and perceptions of risk to self and loved ones. Always people respond to the circumstances of their lives in a complex range of voices. Collaborating, appeasing, resisting, and rebelling voices are demonstrably expressed within and across individuals, and the interest groups they form or are allocated to. Responses are not always ‘self-conscious. Even when they are, the potential or the risk of the response is not always
known at the outset. Unsurprisingly, the women in our project demonstrated this diversity of response among each other and in the conversations with us about the experiences of their own lives.

Method
In 1999, as part of a larger project semi-structured interviews with thirteen Māori women accountants and one Māori women consultant were undertaken (McNicholas 2003). During our conversations our particular interest was to learn about the women’s educational experiences, family/whanau reactions to their choice of accountancy as a career, their experiences of the working environment of accountancy firms, their perceptions of possibilities for career advancement and their concerns about the organisation and practice of accountancy (McNicholas, Humphries et al. 2004). In keeping with the liberatory intent of a Māori centred research approach that contributes to decolonising processes for Māori (Smith 1999; McNicholas and Barrett 2005), the Māori women were asked what suggestions they would like to make for change in the profession to improve the recruitment and retention of Māori accountants. We also discussed what initiatives they could undertake to help bring about these changes for themselves. In hindsight, these very questions developed as an informal conversation guide seem to re-enforce the already strongly assimilationist discourse of EEO. This was not obvious to us as the initiating researchers and also not to the women. In January 2004 we continued our conversation with some of the women to discuss their efforts in setting up Māori accountant Special Interest Groups and networks.

Findings
From as early as 1999, Māori women accountants who joined us in our research have expressed the need for radical attention from both Māori and from the profession. Many of the women met informally for the first time in August 2000 to discuss strategic interventions they could undertake. The first formal meeting was held in Auckland in 2002 by the Māori Special Interest Group they initiated to define short-term and long-term objectives to encompass broader cultural and social objectives, including the nurturing of tikanga Māori (Māori culture). Māori accountants have since held national hui’s (gatherings) in 2004, 2005, 2007 and 2008 to establish their goals, consider the role of Māori accountants in Māori economic development and ways to grow their future. These initiatives have created a group of Māori women who are working together with Māori men to make changes to accounting as a profession and as a discipline.

However, there are many institutional transformations that are yet to be achieved. In reflecting upon their experiences as women academic accountants Broadbent and Kirkham (2008) suggest that the reasons “for women’s disadvantage are not always simple and are to a great extent institutionalized” (p.470). At the simplest level of response to their positioning as statistically un-favoured as members of the accountancy profession, Māori women have been instrumental in encouraging the profession to collect statistics on members’ ethnic background.
This information has only been collected on a sporadic basis for a few years. Statistics at December 2006 indicate that out of a total of 28,721 members of the New Zealand Institute Chartered Accountants (NZICA) only 275 women claim Māori ethnicity. Māori women currently represent less than 1% of the membership of the NZICA. It is likely that the majority of these women will go into the public sector rather than the accountancy firms with monocultural staff systems (Wilson, 1987) as reiterated by one of our participants:

There is a real worry that a lot of [Māori] accountants aren’t going into public practice.

Statistics on both gender and ethnicity are not published in the NZICA Annual Report and these figures are not easily obtained. A lack of research by the Institute to date means that the specific barriers to Māori participation in the profession as it now manifests itself are not yet identified. We have little by way of research based information about whether the profession holds an attraction to this ethnic group. The Institute’s branding continues to reflect its monocultural practices. At this initial level of response to the unequal presence of Māori women in the profession, institutional transformations that are sought call for an understanding of and sensitivity towards the Māori worldview and to the acceptance of cultural practices that will assist Māori in the management of tribal assets. Recognition that the financial reporting requirements of Māori organisations require the definition and measurement of not only financial resources, but also human and physical resources would go some way to considering the Māori perspective in their quest for self-determination. Growing professional interest in sustainability reporting opens an avenue for ensuring that Māori economic, social and environmental values are articulated. To do so, Māori need a strong understanding of both their culture, and the profession and discipline of accounting. As a useful beginning Māori accountants now seek ways to maintain their cultural identity and promote the use of the Māori language in their practices as accountants. By ensuring that these efforts are not pressured to morph into Empire supporting discourse, would be one strategy towards a more creative engagement with the subaltern voices, and all that might be learned from it – by the Māori women themselves and the institution of accounting.

We argue that for the Māori women who expressed wide reaching transformational aspirations coming to the knowledge and the confidence to sound out the subaltern voice is a process, a process of consciousness-raising, strategic intervention and courage. To participate fully, mutually, and properly in accordance with the ontological foundations of Te Ao Māori (the world of/for/by Māori), the profession and the very foundational principles of accounting would need to change. To benefit from the potential of their transformational contributions, the ideological reach and professional career paths of Māori women would need to change. By opening up a discussion regarding our various multiple positioning and our [sometimes unconscious] responses, the profession may engage in a more robust notion of emancipation than is currently implied in the genres of work on marginality in the accounting discipline.

Discussion
Is subalternity a useful theoretical framework to assist in bringing about transformation in the accountancy profession to reflect the bicultural nature of this land?

Spivak attempts to make a distinction between marginalisation and subalternity. How can we use this distinction to improve our understanding of Māori women’s experiences in the accountancy profession?

How can we clearly articulate these two separable positions in gathering data from our Māori women participants?

How do we use subalternity as a position, without being patronising of Māori women accountants?

References


1 In keeping with our interest in the theoretical literature on ‘subalternity’ we are naming this system ‘the Empire’. We take this to mean the combination of western capitalism with its patriarchal overlay.
Does this crisis need OIL?

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The Crisis so far
Most western economies appear to be in the grip of what some regard as the worst financial crisis in 70 years. US and UK governments are involved in a series of spectacular efforts to prop-up or nationalize failing economic institutions. The root of the problem appears to be in a form of debt-fuelled economic activity that now seems to be unravelling and leaving an as yet unknown degree of personal and public misery.

Aotearoa-New Zealand is far from insulated from the crisis. The finance company sector continues to collapse, house repossessions have increased sharply, pension funds, including the Government’s ‘Superfund’, are reporting negative returns, major retail chains are reporting steep declines in turnover and earnings, more people are seeking help with debt problems while those with money have attempted to shuffling it between locations in the hope of avoiding losses. Meanwhile the incoming National Government has promised a transition payments scheme for workers who jobs are lost in the recession. This runs alongside a bank deposit guarantee scheme erected quickly by the previous government to guard against runs on the banking system. Economic commentators and government officials are forecasting recession and rising unemployment in 2009.

Enough OIL on the fire?
Given this level of uncertainty, and in some cases fear, some might look to business school academics in management and organization studies for explanations and commentary on, not only, the cause, consequence and responses to this international crisis, but also analysis of how local conditions and arrangements exaggerate, shield or contribute to the crisis and developing recession. While this field remains largely the preserve of newspaper commentators, politicians and government officials, a small number of Aotearoa-New Zealand-based academic economists in particular have stepped into the breach. Auckland University’s Tim Hazledine recently provided commentary on the US Government’s bail out of Wall Street (2008). He describes the deal as the worse kind of ‘crony socialism’ and illustrates his points with a comparison of how such a bailout might work locally. In the process he compliments Aotearoa-New Zealand’s banking sector on its stability apart from, that is, ‘the disreputable finance firms that have gone under’.

An OIL Crisis?
Hazledine is an economist with a core interest in competition. He is not an organizational analyst and not a member of the OIL (Organization, Identity and Locality) network. While we might extract some features from his work it is not an attempt to provide commentary on how
local organizing processes contribute (and vice versa) to the relative security of banks and the insecurity of finance companies.

OIL is a network of predominantly business school-based academics with a strong interest in developing indigenous forms of analysis of management and organizational practice. Much of this work draws from the interpretive and critical traditions. As far as I’m aware, there are no examples of commentary or analysis of the current economic crisis by those involved in the OIL network. Why is this the case? What might we do differently to develop a capacity for such engagement? In what follows I briefly offer an example of how conceptual resources used by OIL colleagues might be brought to bear in commentary on the current economic crisis.

The value of OIL

One effect of this lack of commentary is that there is precious little investigation of the core organizing processes that commentators and officials promote or defend in their analyses and judgements. The debate over weaknesses of some firms over others - banks over finance companies for example – are often shaped by assumptions about the effectivity of management practice. For example commentators tend to assume that the relative instability of Aotearoa-New Zealand’s finance company sector - where more than 40 of an estimated 100 firms in the sector have frozen operations or in receivership - is a direct consequence of a lack of Reserve bank regulatory supervision – in another words a direct result of a lack of management.

For example respected business columnist Bryan Gaynor noted at the time of the failure of National Finance 2000 and Provincial Finance in 2006 that ‘the primary risk is that [finance companies] are almost totally unregulated whereas the 16 trading banks are subject to strict registration obligations and scrutiny by the Reserve Bank, including the requirement to have a credit rating’ (2006:C2). Gaynor has repeated this commentary at least twice since. He discussed it in 2007 with the collapse of Bridgcorp (2007) and in late November 2008 in relation to the restructuring proposal put by Hanover Finance executives to investors.

Unfortunately, Hanover Finance is yet another example of woeful corporate governance and inadequate disclosure that has destroyed confidence in our capital markets. (2008)

Gaynor’s argument, which is repeated by others, is that without tough regulatory supervision finance companies are prone to failure. But how is this possible? What particular powers does regulatory supervision infuse and is this ascription of powers to warranted? But what about the context in which such powers are exercised? What does this attention to supervisory activity obscure? The assumption seems to be that the steady, silent and seemingly rational gaze of the Reserve Bank enacted by a set of auditing practices creates prudence that protects the hard-won savings of the much touted ‘mum and dad’ investor from the unscrupulous, the over-
zealous and the self-serving? This may be the case. But is there something about the nature of the business that finance companies engage in, something about the nature of speculative capital investment, which is being obscured here? What does the historical record tells us about such activity and what theoretical vehicles might OIL infuse to unravel such issues?

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the effectivity of inter-organizational supervision in the context of finance capital. Rather, I offer this as an illustration of an opportunity available to members of the OIL network to put our developing indigenous form of organization analysis to work - to take it out from ‘under the bushel’ so to speak.

**Refining OIL**

In the service of the issues just outlined, the paper, in its full length version, does three things. It describes and critically reviews the first four years of work presented at the OIL workshops.

The aim here is to identify the range and scope of the substantive topics, conceptual frameworks, methodological approaches and explanatory contributions found in OIL papers.

A preliminary review finds, not surprisingly, that the topics tackled and approaches used in OIL contributions to date would struggle to provide a framework for analysis of the organizational processes implicated in the current economic crisis. In response, the paper offers, in its second section, an open-ended form of institutional analysis of organizational practice (see Prichard, 2005; 2007 a, b; 2008). This type of analysis - informed by the work of economists Steve Resnick and Richard Wolff (1987, 1992, 2003a,b; 2005) - makes possible illuminative and scalable explanations of not just the relations of meaning and power that infuse current organizational practice, but explanations that discuss the relations of value (value creation, realization and appropriation) that also infuse such practice.

To illustrate this approach the paper provides, in its final section, an analysis of the explanations for the failure of a string of domestic finance companies alongside analysis of commentary on those that, to date at least, continue to operate successfully. The paper concludes with a commentary on how this kind of analysis might provide a means of adding some much needed OIL to Aotearoa-New Zealand’s public debate on organizational processes.

**References**


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5 The paper will review available abstracts from the 2005 first meeting and from statements from the 2006, 2007 and 2008 proceedings (see www.massey.ac.nz/~cprichar/oil.htm).


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**Researching the elder-organisation interface in Aotearoa New Zealand: Conceptualising elders within discursive and bi-cultural “spaces”**

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**Abstract**

This paper explores issues associated with developing a research proposal to investigate ageism and positive ageing as manifested in communicative interactions at the elder-organisation interface. In the proposal we identified trends and perspectives that highlight issues for such research within the Aotearoa New Zealand context as well as under-researched areas in the literature. One under-researched area identified was cultural context (Posthuma & Campion, 2008), but for various reasons, we did not fully address in the research proposal. As a result, we chose in this paper to focus on local cultural contexts and specifically,
those of Aotearoa New Zealand. We firstly examine understandings of “elder” and then “biculuralism” (Barclay, 2005; Liu, 2005; Durie, 2003) to explore how these particular perspectives could influence our research. Moving beyond an “uncritical biculuralism” (Barclay, 2005, p. 124) we identify issues and questions to consider in our research endeavour. In particular we look closely at the notion of “a constitutive outside” (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) and discursive spaces (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) that both limit and resist dominant representations of elders and cultural contexts. We finish with asking questions that could influence our research endeavour.

Introduction

During 2008 we were members of a research syndicate whose task was to develop a research proposal for the purpose of winning funding to investigate ageism and positive ageing as manifested in communicative interactions at the elder-organisation interface. (We defined “elder” as a person 55 years or older.) The requirements of the funding body combined with our own research-orientations to position organisations and elders in particular ways. For example, we noted that one comprehensive review of ageism in the workplace concluded that future research should: (a) address specific practices that mitigate the negative effects of ageism, (b) consider under-researched contexts (such as elders as investors, volunteers, and customers), (c) consider cultural context, and (d) adopt methods that avoid socially desirable responses (Posthuma & Campion, 2008). While the proposed research design sought to actively address three of these areas, we did not fully consider cultural contexts. In this paper, we wish to explore how, as organisation communication scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand we could approach research on ageism in organisations paying particular attention to “local cultural contexts”; what it is to be “elders” and to meanings of “bi-culturalism”. In order to do this, we begin by outlining key issues in current research on ageism, elders and organisations, and under-researched areas in the literature.

Key Issues in Research on Ageism, Elders, and Organisations

In our review of the literature on population ageing, ageism, and organisation-related research, we noted that overall there is a lack of diversity in representations of elders, a lack of diversity in the roles taken-up by elders, and a lack of diversity in the perspectives taken to researching this issue. To illustrate this we briefly discuss ageism issues currently associated with the “longevity revolution” and organisations.

New Zealand’s population is ageing. It is predicted that the number of people aged 65 years and over in New Zealand will more than double by 2028 (Statistics New Zealand, 2004). This demographic change is occurring around the world and is often accompanied by two major challenges for policy makers: how to manage the economic consequences of an ageing population, and how to create a good quality of life for ageing citizens. These challenges point to increasing longevity as a problem, largely because of the perceived need for governments to channel more resources into aged care, and fears that the resulting cost burden will contribute to economic decline. These concerns can trigger ageism—prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory practices toward older people (Butler, 1980; 2008)—and indeed, research indicates that aged-based prejudice may be on the rise (e.g. Ray, Sharp & Abrams, 2006),
despite legislation outlawing such practices (at least in relation to employment) in many countries, including New Zealand. One explanation for the intransigence of ageist attitudes is that age-based practices are deeply embedded in societal structures (Riley & Riley, 1994) and in the cultural and ideological processes and societal conditions that sustain such structures (Hendricks, 2005; Roscigno et al., 2007). Thus, while policy makers advocate for solutions to the “ageing problem” based around “active ageing” programmes designed to increase the participation of older people in economic and social activities, organisations rarely afford older people the same priority often looking on them as ‘employees of last resort’ (Taylor, 2008 p. 208).

In terms of studies of ageism within organisations, much research attention has been focused on older workers, particularly, in relation to identifying the barriers to and the benefits of their employment. This focus recognises the skills and knowledge of older workers as untapped resources that may enable economic transformation (Davey & Cornwall, 2003; Dychtwald, Erickson, & Morison, 2004; Toder et al, 2008), but also acknowledges that many employers remain reluctant to employ older workers (Kossen & Pedersen, 2008). Overall, these studies indicate that older people can face difficulties in gaining employment; as well they encounter negative perceptions of their ability to adapt, to learn, and to perform on the job (e.g. EEO Trust, 2006, McGregor & Gray, 2002; Smith, 2001; Wilson & Kan, 2006). This is the case despite there being no clear evidence of a universal age-related deficit in job performance (e.g. Davey & Cornwall, 2003), and in spite of positive perceptions of older workers’ dependability, reliability, loyalty, and commitment (e.g. Drew & Drew, 2005; McGregor & Gray, 2002; Wilson & Kan, 2006; Wrenn & Maurer, 2004).

Although these studies have made an important contribution by drawing attention to the problems encountered by many older individuals in the workplace, they have not identified why and how age discrimination and negative stereotypes exist, nor how they are maintained (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). Moreover, the picture they provide is but a partial one. Researchers have, for instance, paid little attention to the possible interaction effects of multiple group membership—for example, being older, female, and a member of a minority group (Posthuma & Campion, 2008), or to the specific ways in which local cultural context might impact attitudes to ageing and older people, and potentially offer different ways of being an older person, as well as different models of organising that include older people.

In our research proposal we undertook (1) to frame ageing and elders as offering organisations and society opportunity for individual, organisational, social and economic development; and (2) to consider elders as a diverse group of individuals. In this context we considered a variety of roles at the elder-organisation interface, including included volunteers, customers, employees, investors and members. However, it became clear to us, that there is a need to consider a variety of local cultural contexts and a greater range of representations if we are to imagine new possible futures for elders individually and Aotearoa New Zealand society more broadly. In the process of reconsidering our proposal with reference to local cultural contexts, we were introduced to the concept of “space” as a way to re-view elders’ and their roles at the elder-organisation interface.
Theorising “Elders” as Identity Space(s)

The terms “older person”, “older people”, “the elderly”, and even “the old” are common terms often used to refer to individuals and groups of a certain chronological age (e.g., 40-plus, 50-plus, 60-plus). However, they are also largely taken-for-granted constructs that hide heterogeneity. Our literature review led us to the ideas discursive (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) and of identity spaces (Barclay, 2005; Laclau, 1995), that would help us to (re)consider understandings and meanings of what it is to be “elder” within the Aotearoa New Zealand cultural context.

Ainsworth and Hardy (2004) use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the identity of older workers and interrogate taken-for-granted notions of the older worker, as a white male, in his early 60s, leaving a full-time occupation for “full-time retirement” (p. 233). They argue that women and members of different cultural groups face different issues from those experienced by the traditionally constructed older worker. They and others (e.g., Fairclough, 1992) highlight the role of discourses as resources in the re-construction of identities. For example, discourses of “active ageing” and “active leisure” have become cultural resources that enable the construction of retirement lifestyle and a restructuring of the life course, with the retired person becoming a “leisure participant” and “active retiree” (Featherstone & Wernick, 1995; Phillipson, 1998; Rudman, 2006). Simultaneously, actors may draw on other discourses such as the “dependent elderly” to inform constructions, images, and representations of older people within given discursive—and even geographical (e.g., Laws, 1995; Mansvelt, 2005)—spaces. Importantly, such tensions and contradictions create room for resistance within the discursive field (Weeden, 1999). This all demonstrates that “[d]iscourse plays an important role in the processes that go towards ‘making up’ people as new categories of people and ‘new ways for people to be’ are brought into being” (Hacking, cited in Ainsworth & Hardy, p. 237). However, from a communication perspective, it is important to focus on the communication practices at the individual, organisational, and societal levels to identify which discourses predominate, who uses them, and whose interests are served by doing so (e.g., Deetz, 1996; Mumby, 1997).

In the light of the above, it seemed necessary to examine what we meant by “elders” in the context of our proposed research focus on the elder-organisation interface. The “space” metaphor with its inherent sense of demarcation seemed useful when considering elders’ identities. Laclau and Mouffe (2001) argue that the very claiming of identity spaces creates a “constitutive outside”: that is, in defining elders’ identities as inclusive in particular ways, other ways of being older and elder are necessarily excluded. For example, even to suggest that all people over 60 are “elders” glosses over the heterogeneity of this group; that is, the various roles and relationships of individuals in families, communities, organisations, and society; their interests, lifestyles, needs, wants, and opportunities. Questions emerge for us about how as researchers we may be attuned to the “inside” and “outside” of discursive and identity spaces. This is especially the case when organisational representations of elders as in care (Hugman, 1999) or in retirement villages (Simpson & Cheney, 2007) dominate the discursive space (as well as perceptions of geographical space).
These ideas led us to consider the possibility of exploring elders’ identities and the local cultural context in new ways—without necessarily knowing exactly where to begin. Within the literature on ageing, we noted that “very few studies have considered how a target’s race or ethnicity affects evaluations of older adults” (Kite & Smith Wagner, 2002, p. 144) whether in the workplace or other roles. Yet, it is generally accepted that beliefs are influenced in complex ways by race, gender, and social class, so it would seem that attitudes towards ageing and older people would be similarly influenced (Kite & Smith Wagner, 2002). We do not profess to have examined race and roles of elders in Aotearoa New Zealand at this stage, but note observations of others about cultural differences. For example, within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, key differences have been identified between attitudes towards, and expectations of Kaumātua (Māori elders) and Pākehā elders. Durie (1999) writes, that “despite several generations of Western influence, Māori society generally retains a positive view towards ageing and elderly people” (p. 102). Unlike many older Pākehā, Kaumātua (elders) are seen as respected holders of the traditional knowledge and many are involved in a range of social and political roles in both Māori and broader Aotearoa New Zealand society (Maaka 1993; Durie, 1999, 2003). Such observations challenge common (Western?) representations of elders as “dependent elderly” and “leisure-active retirees”.

Following on from above, a salient feature of the Aotearoa New Zealand cultural context is “biculturalism” (Barclay, 2005; Liu, 2005; Durie, 2003). As a political commitment, biculturalism has been described as a recognition of the Principles—Partnership, Participation, and Protection—of The Treaty of Waitangi (Barclay, 2005). In practice, biculturalism means recognising the indigenous status of Māori in societal and organisational structures (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Durie, 2003). Such practice includes introducing Māori values and norms to an organisation’s management and service delivery so that Māori employees and customers “feel a greater affinity with the [organisational] processes”, and/or focusing on making an organisation’s “core business more relevant to Māori” (Durie, 2003, p. 135).

Such expressions of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, although part of an international trend in the “politics of recognition” (Barclay, 2005, p. 119), actually gained “gained traction and coherence, primarily through a discourse of equality rather than a recognition of cultural claims within democracy per se” (p. 120, original emphasis). Thus, the discursive space became infused with taken-for-granted notions of belonging—a state that Barclay (2005) calls “uncritical bi-culturalism” (p. x). In this space, once equality is perceived as being achieved, resource-based biculturalism is seen as irrelevant by Pākehā with symbolic biculturalism (biculturalism in principle) being preferred (Barclay 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2004). Barclay suggests that this indicates “depoliticised culture is acceptable while any political recognition of culture or indigeneity is rejected” (p. 121). This in turn, suggests to us as researchers, that we need to keep in mind the political dimension of bicultural identities.

In the context of our proposed research on the elder-organisation interface, the central emerging questions concerned how meanings of biculturalism impacted on our understandings of elders, organisation, and the research endeavour itself. This is the focus of the next section.
Discussion and Conclusion

This paper is exploratory in nature and is based in a reflexive research position that is multi-level and interactive. Whereas reflection is linear focusing on specific aspects of the research, reflexivity concerns the interactions between those aspects as well as their impacts (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). The possible impacts of locating elders and organisation within discursive and bicultural spaces are only just beginning to emerge as we notice new possibilities and raise questions.

At the time of developing the original research proposal we were aware that the potential participants were likely to be older Pākehā—in retrospect, partly because of how we conceptualised organisation(s) in response to the requirements of the funding body. Even so, we expanded the notion of elders beyond common representations that place them in roles characterised by non-dominance, passivity, and vulnerability. We identified additional roles at the elder-organisation interface that assumed greater participation, assertiveness, and partnership. For instance, in addition to employee roles we included volunteers, customers, investors, and members as contributing to individual, organisational, and societal wellbeing. Even so, our focus was on elders and organisations within “mainstream Pākehā culture, in which almost every citizen has to participate” (King, 2000, p. 513). Locating elders’ and even organisations’ identities within bicultural spaces where identities are claimed and contested, means that we as researchers need to consider political, practice, and critical dimensions of elders’ identities and their place in the research—with elders themselves. While we acknowledged in the proposal that organisations involve elders’ from different cultural groups, we begin to appreciate how our focus may have prevented alternative forms of organisation and world views from being visible. If we had taken a bi-cultural approach different forms of organisation and relationships at the elder-organisation interface may have been brought into view.

The concept of space also brings into consideration the research endeavour itself. It is well documented that “Western” research “on” indigenous peoples has often been to the detriment of the latter—exploitation being one outcome (e.g., see Smith, 1999). With this in mind, we ask ourselves how, in bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand where political and practical commitment to the Principles of the Treaty is called for, do we as ethical researchers find ways to work bi-culturally? We think this means noticing the constitutive outside of the research process; the incommensurable; that which we don’t know we don’t know—the “non-assimilable difference” (Liu, cited in Barclay, 2005, p. 126)—but are committed to as part of the bicultural relationship (Barclay, 2005).

In our research proposal we set out to attend to the heterogeneity of elders as a group and involve them as co-researchers in the research process. However, our conceptualisation of elders and organisations led us to identify both within mainstream Pākehā constructs. At this point, we wonder to what extent our research proposal could have been different had we foregrounded the local cultural context. This is not meant to undermine our work or the proposal, but rather to suggest that taking a bicultural view of the elder-organisation space may have enhanced it. Our reflexive process has raised questions for us to continue to grapple
with. We are particularly interested in exploring more deeply the discursive and material implications of locating elders, organisation, and research within a bicultural space.

References


Title: ‘To do or not to do – that is the question?’

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The question that frames this paper is: What consequences flow for academic work that addresses bi-cultural organising in the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand? It is a question that until now, I have not given a lot of thought since my belated entrance into academia. I am a female, Pākehā New Zealander of Irish, Welsh and German decent. My standpoint, constructed by and within historically entrenched relations of power, reflects all facets of my identity. These are portrayed through the critical theory of ‘intersectionality’ that metaphorically, represents separate ‘ingredients’ fused together to make ‘the whole’ that can not be separated again (DeFrancisco & Palczewski, 2007). Through research, I choose to draw on what McCall

1 We appreciate that race is a socio-political concept that warrants further explanation.
2 Aotearoa New Zealand is generally understood to be a multicultural society. That not withstanding the focus of this paper is the influence of biculturalism in the research context.
(2005: 1783) terms an ‘intracategorial approach to complexity’ and look at how a mix of identity ‘ingredients’ ‘are produced, experienced, reproduced and resisted in everyday life’. My choice of ‘ingredients’ reflects my biography and experiences. At this point in time personal research agenda’s have focused on intersections of gender and age within the context of sport management in Aotearoa/New Zealand. So while the bi-cultural locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand is inevitably linked to the knowledge produced, for this researcher, the marginal ‘other’ is not associated with bi-culturalism and bi-cultural organising but sits within the philosophical framework of a feminist standpoint epistemology.

Multidimensional feminist standpoint epistemologies do closely resonate with indigenous voices and epistemologies of resistance (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:10). For example, Harding (2007) provides an overview of the history, numerous challenges posed and the resilience of feminist standpoints over two decades in contributing to knowledge on the lives of differing subjugated female groups. As Collins (1991) notes, standpoints are constructed by and within historically entrenched relations of power. It allows a researcher to delve into what is claimed to be ‘true’ in relation to group-based experiences so to reveal partial, situated truths. Groups will encompass diverse individuals. Standpoint theories are, however, concerned with the commonality of their experiences and perspectives within hierarchical power relations. Feminist praxis ‘builds on the understanding of difference and translates these insights by emphasizing the importance of taking issues of power, authority, ethics and reflexivity into the practice of social research’ (Hesse-Biber, 2007: 16). According to Collins (1991) dialogue and empathy between differing standpoints is therefore a critical prerequisite if this epistemological approach is to transcend the dominant approaches to ‘truth’ prevalent in Western social and political thought that are reflected in the oppositional stances of positivist science and relativism. She writes;

As epistemological stances, both positivist science and relativism minimize the importance of specific locations in influencing a group’s knowledge claims, the power of inequities among groups that produce subjugated knowledge’s, and the strengths and limitations of partial perspective. (Collins 1991: 235)

Standpoint epistemologies and the methodological questions raised within that paradigm bear a similarity with, for example, Bishop (2005; 2008) in his discussion of Kaupapa Māori research. This model of indigenous research, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2008: 11) is ‘characterised by the absence of a need to be in control, by a desire to be connected to and to be part of a moral community where a primary goal is the compassionate understanding of another’s moral position’. Collins (1991) call for ‘dialogue and empathy’ between differing standpoints is juxtaposed against a non-indigenous scholar questioning the shape that dialogue should take; in other words ‘to do or not to do?’ It is to that question the paper now turns.
As a context to situate research it is interesting to consider the role sport plays in this bi-cultural locality. Sport matters, love it or hate it, in New Zealand you can not avoid its’ presence. Yet, despite its’ pervasiveness, sport has, as a research context, suffered neglect as an area of serious academic study. Recognition of neglect is reflected in a statement by historian, James Belich who argues that New Zealand “should be the world capital of the historical study of sport. It is not – almost as though sport is a religion too important for scholars to tamper with” (Belich, 2001: 370). This comment follows those of Crawford (1987) who, writing 13 years earlier, questioned the lack of social analysis given to something that is seen to be at the core of national identity. Research in sport management exemplifies this neglect. It lacks a tradition of critical organisation analysis and as a consequence, discussions on bi-cultural organising and the implications of culture, race and ethnicity in sport organisations (Thomas & Dyall, 1999). Yet, in a locality with a bi-cultural past and a multicultural present and future, “intercultural understanding and critical debate of race and ethnicity issues seem even more pertinent” (Palmer, 2007: 309).

Critical questions on bi-cultural organising in New Zealand sport has to-date been predominately the preserve of scholars of Māori decent. For example, Horowhitu (2007) has shown that while on the one hand, the egalitarian ideal of ‘level playing field’ allowed Māori to assimilate sport into their communities it did, on the other, act as a conduit to assimilate Māori into Pākehā culture. In this way, sport is often portrayed as a manifestation of the bi-cultural dream (Horowhitu, 2007). History however, has demonstrated that an undercurrent of discrimination, racism and stereotyping has existed and continues to exist to tarnish the ‘level playing field ideal’ (see Horowhitu, 2007; Palmer, 2007). To this extent, Palmer (2007: 323) asks a range of critical questions that require critical analysis; “Why is it Māori are heavily involved in some sports and not others? Why is it that Māori are highly visible at the grassroots level, but virtually invisible at the management and governance level of sport?” Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) also highlight a need for critical analysis of global forces if Māori are to maintain and protect ownership of, for example, the haka, from appropriation by transnational corporations such as Adidas. To gain an insight into these and other pressing research questions on New Zealand’s bi-cultural legacy, sport and the specific rights the Treaty of Waitangi conferred on Māori , academic work needs to address the dominant ideologies of sport in this locality. In saying this and reflecting on what it means to do critical organisation studies in the bi-cultural locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand – one simple question is - who should venture down the bi-cultural research pathway? So while there is a dearth of research pertaining to bi-cultural organising in the highly visible and valued institution of sport, who is the right person/s to conduct the research and for what purpose is it intended, remain contentious yet unanswered critical questions (Jahne & Taiapa, 1999). As Bishop (2005: 110) writes;

“Despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Waitangi, the colonization of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the subsequent neo-colonial dominance of majority interests in social and educational research have continued. The result has been development of a tradition
of research into Māori people’s lives that addresses concerns and interests of predominately non-Māori researchers’ own making, as defined and made accountable in terms of researchers’ own cultural worldview(s)."

**Methodological Challenges For Sport Management**

To venture down the bi-cultural research pathway to address questions of bi-cultural organising would require a review of research designs and methodologies (see Proudford & Nkomo, 2006). Sport management scholars for example, have been challenged to explore innovative methodological approaches to better understand the contemporary sports environment (for example Journal of Sport Management, 2005, p.19). Amis and Silk (2005) description of sport management as a “field blinkered by disciplinarity” (p.360) is understandable as its fixed nature, rigidity and conservatism may only be evident to those whose research, is “decentered” to the margins. Critical organisation studies research that addresses questions of bi-cultural organising would at this point in time fall into marginal space. Poststructural feminist approaches to management studies of sport are a further under-represented, marginalised group (Aitchison, 2005). Embedded in the language of poststructuralism and postmodernism, critical organisation studies have made problematic three interlocking arenas: representation of the researcher, legitimation of the research and praxis (Denzin, 1997; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In the first instance and as discussed previously, reflexivity has placed the role of the researcher under increased scrutiny. The core question here asks: is it possible to separate the writer, text and subject matter (Denzin, 1997)? Closely linked to this is debate on the meaning of validity, generalisability and reliability and how each applies to the multiparadigmatic epistemologies inherent in qualitative methodologies. At the heart of this debate is the question: is there a ”world out-there that is truthfully and accurately captured by the researcher’s methods” (Denzin, 1997, p.6)? To illustrate, a feminist epistemology recognises that participants are central to the research. It is participants who choose what is told so create the knowledge that may represent a plurality of voices and identities (Poggio, 2006). Participants are collaborators in the research as opposed to subjects of the research, with the objective being to make injustice visible in order to bring about social change (Aitchison, 2005; Poggio, 2006). The thinking behind data collection is “their evocative content, their ability to highlight complexity and richness of experience” (Poggio, 2006, p.230). Denzin (1997) describes poststructural research aptly through the phrase “messy texts” (p.8) and it is this world that the innovative, methodological approaches required to study bi-cultural organising in all its complexity would need to inhabit. Can the field of sport management in this locality inhabit this space? The answers to this question remain a mystery!

Thus, this brief paper sought to reflect on the question, what consequences flow for academic work that addresses bi-cultural organising in the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand? It has highlighted the significance a mix of identity ‘ingredients’ and experiences have on establishing research agendas that in turn, led to one simple question - who should venture
down the bi-cultural research pathway? The paper highlighted that sport in the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand is a valued cultural institution yet the field of sport management research has been remiss and not addressed questions of bi-cultural organising. To do so however, would incur epistemological and methodological challenges that in the words of bell hooks (1990 cited in Fine, 1998: 132-33) require a shift beyond the ‘colonizing mentality’.

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Doing bicultural research: The material presence of the ‘other’
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Introduction

This paper addresses the central question for OIL symposia: “What does it mean to do critical organisation studies from here in the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand?” It is focused on the research process, on research design, and the decisions we make as researchers about our methodology, our research questions, and the scope of our research projects. However, instead of asking, “What consequences flow for academic work that addresses questions of bicultural organising?” I argue in this paper that academic work in Aotearoa/New Zealand that does not consider questions of bicultural organising fails to engage with essential bicultural issues that should underpin all of our research. In other words, I suggest a more appropriate question would be, “What consequences flow for academic work that fails to address questions of bicultural organising?”

In this attempt to consider our ‘responsibility’ as critical researchers in Aotearoa, I base my argument on recent work in organisational communication and organisation studies that addresses questions of agency, materiality, and marginalisation, and I illustrate my argument, and my own inadequacies, with reflections on my own doctoral study and current research agenda. I argue that we have an obligation to do justice to the bicultural nature of our locality that we rarely meet. At the same time, we have an opportunity to provide a unique perspective on organisational studies and organisational communication that is of significant value to the international academic community, given current discussions about the impact of globalisation. I do not therefore believe that by engaging specifically with our bicultural heritage in our research we are in danger of being considered an ‘exotic, and therefore marginal, other’ by the international academic community.

Background

My ideas for this paper have been triggered by two personal experiences; the first while I was conducting my doctoral research, and the second more recently, while I have been writing a submission for a Marsden grant.

In the first instance, my doctoral study focused on the identities and rationalities that were actively managed by the kiwifruit industry and dairy industry organisations at the time of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification, both in their submissions to the Royal Commission and in their internal and external communications. In both cases, the industry organisations made brief reference to Māori perspectives on genetic modification in their submissions, but rarely in other communication. The background interviews I conducted in support of my data collection within these two industry organisations included a single
interview with a member of Ngati Wairere, the iwi that resisted the dairy industry GM research most strongly, and I explored documents submitted to the Royal Commission such as those written by the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA), by activists such as Angeline Greensill, and other researchers/writers such as Bevan Tipene-Matua, and Moana Jackson. In my thesis, I therefore mentioned Māori perspectives, but I failed to engage with the issues that they represented. I discussed economic, political, and environmental contexts for the GM debate in Aotearoa at length, but bicultural contexts took up three brief paragraphs. In short, I chose not to engage with Māori perspectives:

Additionally, Māori values were not highlighted in the kiwifruit and dairy industries’ positioning on GM. So, in this study, I only consider Māori perspectives where there has been specific comment in relation to Māori issues in the context of the kiwifruit and dairy industries’ GM positioning. Since I did not specifically seek out Māori perspectives, Māori were not sought as participants in either focus groups or interviews.

I chose not to discuss why bicultural issues were not highlighted by these two industry organisations.

In the second instance, my current research agenda focuses on “What counts as healthy food?”, and specifically how food-producing organisations balance tensions among diverse agendas and translate these into action, as they attempt to influence the debate about healthy food. One section of the Marsden grant submission template is titled Māori Responsiveness, with the instruction: “If your research is of relevance for Māori, there is an expectation that appropriate consultation with Māori be undertaken . . . If no specific interest for Māori can be identified, this section should be left blank.” Research about healthy food has significant cultural relevance for Māori; yet, I chose to leave this section blank because I felt that this was not the primary focus for my research. Engaging with Māori perspectives would engender new considerations and methodologies with which I am as yet unfamiliar, and would mean that my Marsden submission would be tentative, untried, and less likely to be successful. I therefore again failed to engage with why Māori perspectives are important, and how such voices might be marginalised.

In both instances, my decision not to engage with the underlying bicultural context for my research also represents a hesitancy based on my own feelings of inadequacy; I was concerned that as a Pākehā I had no right to research Māori perspectives on these issues, and that I would not do justice to them.

**Theoretical considerations**

This section represents my initial attempts to theorise these ideas. It is very much an early working draft and I look forward to discussion at the OIL symposium which will allow me
to develop these ideas further. I draw on the work of James R. Taylor, and others, that reflects on the interaction of human and material agency in the constitution of organisations.

If, as Joerges and Czarniawska (1998) suggest, organisations, not persons, inscribe the worlds around us, organisations, through their institutional orders define organising practices which are both a set of actions and outcomes. Taylor, Cooren, Giroux, and Robichaud (1996), additionally, argue that organisation cannot exist independently of communication. Organisational scripts therefore can be said to represent a materiality which impacts on the actions of organisational agents. As agents make influence attempts, these actions allow us to glimpse the scripts that underpin/denote the organisational processes that define these actions (Taylor, 1999). The script-as-agent is a mode of being of an organisation that provides frames for actions (Latour 2008).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, I contend that bicultural scripts thus underpin organisational actions, whether we consciously recognise these or not. For example, within most government-run organisations such as public health and education, bicultural practices are reasonably evident and well supported, but even in the smallest private businesses in Aotearoa, our bicultural heritage is evident, sometimes as much in what is resisted as what is practised. How frequently are Māori cultural values recognised in the workplace (the subject of another OIL paper) other than in acknowledging leave for a tangi?

Taylor (1999) additionally argues that research, like other organisational activities, is reflected in the conversations and texts of the members of the research community; and a research discipline can be further conceptualised as an organisation, embodied and performed (Cooren, 2006). Researchers are thus agents performing the activities of an organisation – the academic community. I argue that the presence of biculturalism in Aotearoa provides a background script both to the processes of organising within the communities that we research, and to our own research practices. Thus whether our work involves empirical data collection within Aotearoa or reflective essays on more global issues, in either case we have a unique opportunity and responsibility to acknowledge the (often marginalised) voices and perspectives of both Māori and Pākehā in our data collection and/or our writing.

Concluding Remarks

I suggest that bicultural scripts underpin all of our research, whether or not we specifically choose to engage with how such bicultural scripts are enacted. These scripts inform us of how we should act as researchers and as members of organisations both within Aotearoa, and in the wider international research community, and deserve greater attention. How we manage the research process reflects how we attempt to influence the world through our research; it demonstrates our agency as researchers. Our interaction with human and material ‘others’; that is, both individuals and organisations, within this research activity is part of an attempt to maintain stability as human and material agencies are enacted. In this paper, I therefore call for us to engage with the materiality of the symbolic, political, and practical aspects of organising within Aotearoa/New Zealand in all of our research and writing, and to
give more consideration to the consequences of academic work that fails to address questions of bicultural organising.

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Constructing Community Image and Community Identity

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As co-researchers we are interested in the impact of corporate downsizing of the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill on the small town of Tokoroa. Growth and retraction of Tokoroa’s population has mirrored the expansion and retraction of the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill work force. For example, the town’s population grew from approximately 1100 in 1948 to peak at around 18,000 in the 1980’s (Campbell & Weerasingle, 1986), similarly, the Mill workforce peaked at approximately 5500 in the 1980s (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). Since the mid-1980s, the Kinleith workforce has been repeatedly downsized and by 2003 stood around 270 workers (Graham, 2003 June 03) and the population at the 2001 census was recorded as 15, 120 (The South Waikato District Council, 2006).

As researchers, we have different perceptions of the likely social issues and impact of these rolling redundancies on Tokoroa. These differences appear to be based on an outsider’s image of and an insider’s identity with this community. Specifically, Suzette has developed an image of this township through publically available reports and media coverage about the town, much of which portrays the town in a constant state of crisis. On the other hand, Suzanne was raised in the town and continues to have family and social ties with the community. In this paper, we draw upon the construction of community image and community identity to tease out our differing perceptions.
Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) described community identity as a “potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings as well as types of settings” (p.60). Wiesenfeld (1996) develops this notion and suggests community identity entails a “set of individuals who have built identity from shared experiences and processes which homogenize them in regard to characteristics, actions and perspectives” (p.345). For Foreman and Whetten (2002) and Stets and Burke (2000) community identity manifests as social norms reflected in the behaviour of individuals and groups belonging to community. These social norms are generally believed to be constructed over time through individual (psychological) and group (sociological) interactions (Deason & Randolph, 1998; Howarth, 2002a; James and Eisenberg, 2004; Proshansky et al, 1983; Puddifoot, 2003; Wiesenfeld, 1996). Moreover, these social constructions are thought to be affected by demographic features of community members, for example, sex, age, social class, personality, and occupations (Pretty & McCarthy, 1991; Obst & White, 2007).

Image, according to Gioia and Thomas (1996) “is tied to the perceptions of …external constituents … regardless of whether these views are normative or manipulated” (p. 372). The media play an important role in constructing an image of an issue, event, or community through creating news frames (Bronstein, 2005; Gamsom & Modigliani, 1987; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). Gamsom and Modigliani, (1987) define news frames as “a central organizing idea or story” (p.143), and Bronstein (2005) notes that through news frames “journalists construct the symbolic representations of society … [and create] … familiar story patterns that subtly tell readers how to interpret information” (p. 785). Howarth (2002b) demonstrates how the media constructs negative community images in the minds of outsiders by developing a sense that the town and its residents appear inferior and thus maintain its status as marginal and subordinate to wider society.

We draw on a number of media ‘snippets’ that illustrate the formulation of negative image and the counter-frame of positive community identity. In particular, we have chosen to draw upon publicly available material and media quotes and headlines that illustrate the contradiction in external images and community identity.

Expressions about Tokoroa: Constructing an External Image

The socio-economic impacts of downsizing on the community throughout the 1980s have been detailed in a number of reports. For example, between 1986 and 1989 single parents receiving welfare payments doubled (Osborne, Rangiwha & Williams, 1989) and unemployment grew from 1% to 9% between 1980 and 1989 (Statistics New Zealand, 1980, 2000). During this time, there was a recognized shortage of affordable housing for the growing low-income population (Campbell & Weerasinghe, 1986; Osborne, et al., 1989). More recently pronounced income polarization were attributed to high Mill wages and concomitant growth in welfare-benefit recipients (Wycherley, 2002 April 02), by 2003, the towns unemployment rate was 13.3% compared with the national average of 7% (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

Mill redundancies announced in 2001 were accompanied by a three month union strike action (Graham, 2003, May 29). Media coverage at that time detailed concerns that job losses
and strike action was affecting local retailers who were facing possible staff cuts and shop closures (Binning, 2002, “Belt-tightening as Town readies for the Worst”; Talor & Blake, 2001, “Town on Edge for Sawmill Decision”). Other accounts noted residents were withdrawing from community organisations, including sports clubs and voluntary work, because of their uncertainty of remaining in the community (Thorley, 2002, “Subdued Tokoroa Waiting for Axe to Fall”). More poignantly, one member of the community was reported as suggesting the town would end up like a “ghost town” (Tokoroa Braced for Hard Times, 2003), a possibility supported by a population decline recorded between the 1996 and 2001 census (The South Waikato District Council, 2006).


Expressions from Tokoroa: A contrasting identity
In contrast to the external negative image, a positive community identity can be discerned. In reference to the negative image, one resident notes we are “tarred with the same brush” (Tokoroa Braced for Hard Times, 2003). In response to the media representation, the The South Waikato District Council (2002) has developed an Economic Development Strategy to enhance the image of the township and surrounding area by promoting the many positive features of the locale. These positive features include the town’s central location to rivers, dams and lakes; and an extensive industry base that includes forestry and pastoral farming. This same report concludes that residents consider Tokoroa an affordable, friendly place to live, with good schools, quality health care and interesting recreational activities (The South Waikato District Council, 2002).

The positive community identity presented in the Economic Development Strategy is also supported in the content of some media coverage where residents are quoted about their experiences of living in the town. For example, residents report that Tokoroa as a “vibrant town which is proud of its friendliness, family oriented principles, and cultural richness”, and “It’s a community town, a family town. It will survive” (Wycherley, 2002, “Bruised Mill Town Refuses to Surrender”). In response to redundancy announcements in 2003, one resident was quoted as saying “We have been here, done this before. The town will get through this” (Tokoroa Braced for Hard Times, 2003). The depth of community is nicely expressed by one resident who says “Once you have made a friend in Tokoroa, you know them for the rest of your life” (The Spirit of Tokoroa, 1998).
The media representation of Tokoroa as a town that experiences violent crimes is not supported by national averages. For example, Queenstown, a major tourist attraction which promotes itself as “New Zealand’s premier destination” (www.queenston-nz.co.nz) is reported to be the “most violent place in the country” (Jamieson, 2008, “Queenstown most violent place in country”). Police statistics indicate that a person is almost twice as likely to be violently assaulted in Queenstown that anywhere else in New Zealand (ibid). These statistics are in contrast to the violent image media often portrays of Tokoroa. Indeed, Tokoroa Police challenge the negative portrayal of the town observing “Tokoroa is a safe place to live” (Silvester, 2008, “Stats show Tokoroa is a safe town to live in”). They quote Police Statistics for 2007/2008 which indicate an overall decrease in crime and suggest the town’s bad image is not warranted and has been caused by past media hype (ibid.). Moreover, the residents of Tokoroa have shown their support for victims and disdain for crime through town meetings and town marches (Communities March Against Child Abuse, 2007).

Conclusion
The media framing of Tokoroa presents an image of a town in crisis. These frames tell a story of a community whose social fabric has been disrupted by economic downturn and corporate downsizing of the major employer. Yet, a close reading of some of the media reports suggest that the residents have a strong community affiliation and a positive community identity that includes strong bonds, a willpower to survive economic disruptions and life long friendships. These contrasting images and community identities may affect the townships ability to attract visitors and workers to regenerate the community’s economic base.

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From “cow town” to “wow town”: Communicating cultural sustainability and establishing identity

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Introduction
The transformation of city centres, a sense of identity and the need to engage the population with a sense of purpose has resulted in the development of creativity and identity frameworks for local communities across the globe. From a globalising world, where cultural homogeneity has threatened to dull the vibrant creativity and liveliness of people to a glocalised world where creativity and innovation are celebrated, cities are involved in regeneration and consideration of the needs of those who live in them.

This paper provides a case study of a city at the edge of the world in Aotearoa New Zealand, one which was established unambiguously as a service centre for the rich agricultural productive land industries that surrounded it. The passage from “cow town” to a modern, vibrant and culturally developed city has been a long, but sustained journey. The destination is in sight and is now culminating in extensive efforts by local government to encourage citizens to participate in the renewal of the city centre, the development of cultural and iconic events which will not only encourage a sense of identity, but also invite others to visit an energetic city, full of pride.

The question for this paper is concerned with whether Hamilton’s identity is dependent on shrugging off its cow town image and whether it should, instead, embrace it and draw it into the organic development of a more mature identity already existing within the city. Hamilton is situated at the centre of the dairying industry and relies on it for economic viability. A major agricultural research centre at Ruakura was established more than 60 years ago and today is a major agricultural scientific campus in New Zealand. Hamilton is also growing as a centre for business and industry.

A more important question in terms of identity is the lack of acknowledgement of Māori history, naming and cultural identity of the city. Hamilton was settled by Ngati Wairere on the banks of the Waikato River and called it Kirikiriroa or “stretch of sand”. Tainui Group Holdings has a significant property portfolio which embraces the key sites within Hamilton including University of Waikato, Wintec and AgResearch. All these factors play a major role in contributing to the development of the “wow” town and its unique identity within the heart of the Kingitanga and the heart of New Zealand.
The case for Hamilton

Hamilton has always had a case to answer about its identity. Disparagingly called a “cow town” in the 1950s and 1960s, the development of a university and wider manufacturing base in the 1970s and 1980s brought Hamilton to be better known as a well-positioned city in central New Zealand. At that time, it was probably best known as a place to pass through on your way to somewhere else, or as a place where you were temporarily settled until you had managed to work your way up some unidentified corporate ladder. At that time, also, there were attempts to attach the moniker Hamilton, Fountain City because of two fountains in the city. In the 1980s and 90s, Hamilton searched for a new identity, changing the slogan from Hamilton, where it’s happening to Hamilton, more than you expect. Neither of these slogans seemed to catch the imagination so the idea was mooted that Hamilton change its name to Waikato City. This was greeted with outrage by the residents and no further suggestions were forthcoming. The idea of reverting to the original Māori name of the city, Kirikiriroa, has never been put on the agenda. Indeed, there is very little use of Māori translations in the activities and names of city council facilities apart from a mandatory translation of Hamilton City Council Te kaunihera o Kirikiriroa.

With the growth of the University of Waikato, the students developed terms of endearment: “H-town” and “The Tron”. Both of these terms can still be heard today. With the election of a younger mayor in 2004, and one who was steeped in the advertising industry, there were renewed attempts to get a slogan that worked. In fact, the final decision was to keep it simple by highlighting the “on” in Hamilton and various slogans were built around that. For example: “Turn on to Hamilton”; Hamilton in concert.

In July 2007, internationally renowned consultant Charles Landry was invited to Hamilton to lead and facilitate workshops with members of the local community. As Landry (2007) identified,

“City making is a complex art; it is not a formula. There is no simplistic, ten point plan that can be mechanically applied to guarantee success in an eventuality. But there are some strong principles that can help send good city-making on its way.”

The core principles derived from the workshop were based around the question: Is it good enough for Hamilton? A fresh perspective on the city focused on developing an attitudinal change whereby the city says YES instead of no; understanding that everything presents an opportunity for the imagination and innovation; that the city is a communication device by which it presents and explains itself; that leadership must be brave and inclusive to foster a creative city without boundaries; and one which plans with foresight for the next 30 years. In essence, these principles entice the public “to fall in love with Hamilton” (Creativity & Identity framework, Hamilton City Council, 2007).
The strategy targets four themes, 40 innovative projects over four years, some of which will be in the short term (400 days) and others longer term. The four themes are: attracting and growing talent which focuses on attracting creative and innovative people to the city; enhancing the aesthetic experience through public spaces and places, cultural facilities, public art, diversity and sustainable public practices; re-connecting to the Waikato River symbolising the life and history of the city; and making small effective – that Hamilton embraces its size as a strength and where people can interact easily.

The identification of these specific themes reveals that city and culture are intertwined. But the concept of culture appears to be limited to the notion that culture refers to the arts and cultural activities of the city.

There is a recognition that public spaces, and places deliver particular cultural features to the residents, and the connection to the Waikato River is firmly aligned with recognition of Tainui Māori as the original inhabitants of the area known as Kirikiriroa. It is interesting to note that there have been no suggestions in the Identity Strategy that the name of the city should revert to its original Māori name, nor that the street names, place names and suburbs should have a particular connection to the city’s proximity to the heart and home of the Kingitanga. With Tainui now playing a major role in the economic development of the city, it is curious that there is little reference to Māori, except in terms of a connection to the river, nor is there any reference to the Māori history of the city.

Creative Cities

Theme One is concerned with attracting and growing talent which focuses on attracting creative and innovative people to the city. This is clearly identifying a direction that the city needs to consider for its development. Creative cities attract people from the creative and cultural industries, and in turn, these people make the city more vibrant, further attracting more creative people. Florida (2002) describes this as the “‘human capital’ theory of regional development” (p. 221). This theory argues that cities grow, not by offering cheaper goods and services, but by attracting large numbers of “highly educated and productive people” (p. 221). Florida’s ‘people attracting people’ theory creates clusters within cities of creative people and, as they join the workforce, clusters of creative industries. This is obviously what the strategy planners of Hamilton had in mind when they developed the first theme for the Creativity and Identity strategy.

According to Tay (2002), creative cities are “spaces you want to be seen in, places to be seen” (p. 220), and offer a vibrant and dynamic lifestyle. Creative cities share a set of defining characteristics that contribute to a culture of creativity. They have a sense of purpose and ambition, which includes “fostering visionary individuals and organizations” by “being open minded and willing to take risks” (Landry, 2000, p. 234). Creative cities also need to anticipate and plan for change and growth and utilise the local cultural resources to create a sense of
distinctiveness. Tay (2002) also notes that creative cities need to have policy around the distribution of resources which requires the generation of employment opportunities in the creative and cultural industries.

An industry cluster is a “geographically proximate group of interconnected companies and associated institutions in a particular field, linked by commonalities and complimentarities” (Porter, 2002, p. 261). These creative clusters require infrastructure to support the industries as well as suppliers, governmental agencies, educational and trade associations thereby focusing talent within the geographical location. Rantisi (2004) describes how these clusters occur because “cultural industries tend to agglomerate in certain places to more easily access specialized labor, supply firms and support services, and to tap into the creative energies of other industries” (p. 92).

Creative industries differ from other industries in that they rely heavily on intellectual property and creative thought. Because of this, creative industries flourish best in an environment where they can feed off the ideas and gain inspiration from other creative industries and the vibrancy and dynamism of the city itself. They also thrive if the city has in place policy initiatives that support the creative industries and if the industries can draw from a strong symbolic identity of the city itself (Scott, as cited in Larner, Molloy & Goodrum, 2007).

The first development industry hub was established in Hamilton at Innovation Park on the Ruakura AgResearch campus. It was established through public/private partnership to enhance Agritech and Ag-Bio industry sectors. It is currently the home of over 50 companies involved in these industries and provides spaces for start-ups and innovative entrepreneurs working in these specific areas. This paper argues that an institution such as this makes a significant contribution to the creative identity of the city and has specifically embraced the agricultural sector as central to the city’s identity.

A creative industries hub was established in Hamilton in 2008 as a joint venture between Wintec and the Hamilton City Council. It is envisaged that this incubator will enable the development of successful creative industry businesses. This initiative reinforces Hamilton’s economic vision that its economic development strategy is aligned with the concept of developing Hamilton as a vibrant creative city which encourages the expansion of the creative industries sector.

Creative clusters can be encouraged through the development of creative hubs. Creative hubs are spaces designed to offer a range of services to growing businesses in the creative industry. The creative hubs provide networking opportunities leading to the development of new projects, provide a place to showcase and expose newcomers to the possibilities available while, at the same time, expanding the boundaries of social and economic development (Evans, Foord, Gertler, Tesolin & Weinstock, 2006).
Furthermore, these creative clusters provide the building blocks of social capital available within the industry. “Social capital consists of the stock of active connections among people: the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values and behaviours that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible” (Cohen & Prussic, as cited in Canadian Cultural Observatory, 2005). Social capital is essential to the growth of an industry as it provides a network for businesses and encourages competitors within the industry to work together to provide inspiration and create new markets.

Identity and image
The identity of a city (or any organisation) is that “which is central, enduring and distinctive about [its] character” (Gioia, Schultz & Corley, 2004, p. 349) but, at the same time, it is something which is changing constantly because of the changing relationships between citizens and institutions. So, although a city may be perceived to have a particular identity, this is formulated through continuous change and interactions both internal and external.

Cities are reimagining and redefining themselves constantly, but the one thing that identifies them is their name (and often the name of the country to differentiate one from another, i.e. Hamilton, New Zealand; Hamilton, Ontario; Hamilton, Bermuda etc.). Also, boundaries shift and shuffle to include and exclude particular areas. Much of this decision making falls on the local councils and as Landry (2000) points out, they are required “to make decisions of international importance or to cut down a tree” (p. 296). Thus, local government must stay closely aligned with constituents’ needs, monitor the mood of residents and endeavour to keep communication channels open as much as possible. This can be a particular challenge to local government for it requires “a means by which there is enough involvement of the individual citizen, through a variety of participative means within a structure that allows the bigger picture issues to be dealt with. Yet, in the end, the decision must be a judgement on what sustains both wealth creation and social harmonies” (p. 296)

For cities, it is not difficult to identify the image that is projected since people choose to live in cities for a variety of reasons – for work, for lifestyle, for educational opportunities for their children, ease of access, etc.. However, portraying the right image is crucial for a city to attract creative people. There are a number of factors that a city can cultivate and use to promote the city. Lifestyle and a fully functioning creative sector will influence a city’s image, but it is also important that it is affordable and sociable with readily available commercial real estate (Tay, 2000; Wu, 2005) and access to cutting-edge technology and ideas. A creative city also needs policy to provide a cohesive framework for the creative industries. Tay (2002) stresses that cultural policy is more important for the longevity of creative industries than ‘hard’ infrastructure like buildings. She states that:

cultural policies need to focus on the local, place-based networks that encourage integral synergies. These are the “soft” infrastructure – people, social networks, and
business skills. It is these informal, yet important, links that span both social and business relationships which are capable of embedding a culture of innovation in the local context. (p. 228).

In addition to infrastructure and policies, it is essential for a creative city to provide “a unique set of local characteristics” (Wu, 2005, p. 19). This includes diversity of people and jobs, an attractive environment, vibrant street life, and access to networking, both formal and informal. Creative cities also need to “foster a culture of innovation and provide an integrated habitat for all forms of creativity” (Wu, 2005, p. 27).

So why does a city even want to have a creative and cultural identity and be residence to a variety of creative industries? It has been well documented in the literature that the creative industries contribute positively to a city’s economic and cultural growth (Brecknock, 2004; Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002). The economic contribution lies not only in the creation of a fashion garment or piece of artwork, but also in the large and diverse system of supporting industries, suppliers, and distribution networks that are necessary facets of the industry (Brecknock, 2004).

The notion of culture is associated with a high quality of life. The most attractive cities are deemed so because they can market themselves with their beautifully designed cultural facilities such as performing arts venues, concert halls, museums and art galleries. To attract international companies and creative people, a city needs to market itself as also having a vibrant cultural lifestyle. To do this they need to attract and develop businesses in the creative sector (Landry, 2002). Landry (2006) states that:

encouraging [the creative] industries is one of the most powerful means of enhancing the city’s identity and distinctiveness, while simultaneously creating employment and generating social capital. In a world where every place is beginning to feel and look the same, cultural products and activities mark one place from the next. And tangible differences create competitive advantage. (p. 39).

Essentially, for a city to be unique and have the ability to market itself as such, it needs to harness the power and vibrancy that the creative industries can bring to a city. To do so, it needs to focus on creating the policy and infrastructure required to attract the right people to make the city creative.

**Cultural well-being and cultural sustainability**

According to Eames (2006a) wellbeing refers to the state of being healthy, happy, and prosperous. Although wellbeing is typically understood as being at a personal level, belonging to an individual, wellbeing can also be created and understood at a community and economic level. Community wellbeing refers to the health of a community and can be measured through
social interaction and participation. Economic wellbeing refers to the health of the economy and can be measured through the command of economic resources (Eames, 2006a).

Traditionally, the value of art and culture has only been understood through its contribution to this creative community alone. However, today there has been considerable research into the effects of the cultural industries on other areas of society and it has become evident that art and culture affect not only personal wellbeing, but also the wellbeing of the wider community and economy (Reeves, 2002). The cultural industries have been found to promote social connectedness (Eames, 2006a), encourage participation as well as helping to identify and resolve social issues (Eames, 2006b).

Traditionally, sustainable development has focused on environmentalism but as the concept has matured, increased emphasis is being placed on the social and economic dimensions of development and a three-pillar approach to sustainability: economic, environmental and social. Over the last five years, increased interest has been created around the concept of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainability (Canadian Cultural Observatory, 2005). Cultural sustainability not only promoted sustainability of cultural initiatives but also as a means of ensuring the survival of indigenous cultures around the world as well providing a lens through which sustainability as a whole is viewed (Holt, 2004). In New Zealand’s Local Government Act 2002, cultural wellbeing is included as one of the four wellbeings that local government are required to promote to achieve sustainable development, along with economic, environmental and social wellbeing (Local Government Act, 2002). It has been found that local government have generally reacted positively to this legislation (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2005) and confirmation that promoting cultural wellbeing is an important role of local government is evident through an increase in creation of arts and culture policies and plans, at all levels of government (Hawks, 2004).

**Hamilton’s struggle for identity**

The vision for Hamilton, as presented through the Creativity and Identity Strategy, is one based very much on the literature concerning the renewal and re-imagining of cities through a creative lens. The emphasis on attracting talent and creative people through a vibrant and exhilarating experience of the city is possibly more of a dream than a reality. What is at issue in Hamilton is that there is a sense of needing to copy what has happened in other cities which have embraced the creative cities idea. In essence, Hamilton presents itself as a monocultural city while, at the same time, referencing the diversity of ethnic groups that have settled in the city. Ethnic groups are encouraged to take part in city activities and there is an Ethnic Council which feeds into the City Council bureaucracy.

However, the lack of acknowledgment of the cultural roots of the city denies it the possibility of ever having a distinctive character or identity. Identity is not about logos and strap lines, but rather the historical connections with an area, the construction of meanings about a place, and
how these issues are communicated to residents and future citizens. Charles Landry, in his 2007 presentation to residents of Hamilton, pointed out that the street names in Hamilton had no significance whatsoever to the identity of the city. For instance, Victoria who? (the main street); who was Hood, and why was he famous enough to have a street named after him? Who was Hamilton? Most residents of the city have no idea that Hamilton was named after Captain Hamilton of the British militia stationed in Kirikirianga, who died in the battle of Gate Pa in Tauranga.

When there are no cultural connections, a city simply exists because it does. The Creativity and Identity framework can put in place a structure for developing ideas and creating a sense of who we are, but it is the historical and cultural fabric of a society that provides the material to draw on to establish identity and pride in a place.

This paper ends with more questions than it begins with. Through its development and review, there are obvious threads that require expansion and thought. Does the literature on creative cities provide a particular mould that all cities should aspire to, or does it simply give some direction to consider when discussing visions for the future development of a city. One essential job must be done before steering committees or councillors even begin the task of imagining the city: cultural planning. There has been no attempt to find out what already exists in the city; who is doing what; what is the current cultural life of the city? Who needs to be involved? What process might this take?

Hamilton is still small enough to encourage discussion about its identity, and to embrace all sectors of the community. It will need to acknowledge its historical connections, consider its name and cultural associations and embrace its past. This dialogue will require courage if the city is to take risks and become a place that says YES, rather than NO – that it is inclusive, rather than exclusive, and that it can define itself in terms of its place and its identity within Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Introduction

Although distinct ‘flavours’ and interpretations of social enterprise may be discerned in various geographic regions, at a basic level ‘social enterprise’ is often assumed to describe the cluster of organisations and/or activities linked to the not for profit/community sector of society, which engage in some form of market/enterprise activity (Grant, 2008). As such, the enterprise activity provides a means through which social objectives might be met. Compared with other regions such as the United Kingdom, Europe and North America, social enterprise in New Zealand is still in its infancy. The nomenclature remains unfamiliar to many New Zealanders, and with a diverse range of organisations adopting the social enterprise label there is scope for a number of different definitions to be applied (Grant, 2008; Grant & Dart, 2008).

Government policy influences an organisation’s activities, and correspondingly its identity in various ways. To date, support for social enterprise by the New Zealand government is relatively low key. The Ministry of Social Development (MSD) Enterprising Communities scheme currently funds a number of not for profit organisations venturing into business activity – activities which could be seen to fit under the ‘umbrella’ of social enterprise\(^6\). Administered through the Department of Labour, the Enterprising Communities scheme focuses on helping communities create local employment opportunities and community owned businesses. The MSD policy is to co-fund, rather than fully fund these social enterprises; building on the belief that in order for a social enterprise to be sustainable past the duration of government funding, the community needs to have some level of financial capital established. Through taking this approach, the MSD policy can also be seen to imply scope for the community to enter into partnerships with business.

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\(^6\) The October 2008 issue of Labour Market Development News celebrates the 200\(^\text{th}\) Enterprising Communities Project, Te Reo O Raukawa – a community radio station.
I am keen to develop a deeper understanding of the Enterprising Communities Scheme, with a view to establishing the extent to which this fund may or may not contribute to emancipation, human flourishing, and wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand. As an initial line of enquiry I have begun to critically consider the discourse Government engages to promote and explain the scheme. For the purposes of this paper, the discourse and declared aspirations of two separate, but similar, descriptions of the fund sourced from MSD publications are considered. It is important to note however, that this analysis is only a preliminary step towards what I hope will develop into a full investigation. Language is but one influence and the actions and attitudes of those who implement the programme may prove to be a more accurate indicator of it’s intent. Thus it is my hope that any subsequent research will engage a range of Enterprising Community stakeholders.

The potential tension between social and economic aspirations is of interest to me. Supporters of social enterprise purport that through the deliberate positioning of social values along side economic considerations, social enterprise may be seen to provide a safe place for people who can, and would like to, enter the work force in some capacity. In contrast, critics of neoliberal and Third way policies may contend that government support for social enterprise should be challenged as being an extension of the NZ government’s welfare policy premise that the ‘best’ way out of poverty is through paid work. Illness and disability, physical and social isolation including poor access to services, fewer employment opportunities and lack of support may all act to preclude people from paid work (Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)). Critical consideration of the lexicon MSD chooses to describe its programme may begin to uncover the principles and intent which directs the programme, potentially indicating which, if any, ideology may dominate.

**Enterprising Communities**

The following definition can be found on the Ministry of Economic Development website, as part of the Ministry of Social Development Work and Income Regional Economic Development 2008 Resource Road Map:

“Enterprising Communities Grants are focused on achieving labour market outcomes for disadvantaged communities and groups. Many of the funded projects provide training and sustainable employment for those disadvantaged groups to improve their access to the labour market. These projects will also often help meet locally identified skills shortages. There is a tight focus on clearly identified areas of need with an emphasis on investing in skills and services to build communities. All Enterprising Communities funding is to not for profit organisations that will create employment and have a plan for sustainability”


The Enterprising Communities Grant scheme has been identified by the New Zealand Government as one of their ‘Decent Work’ initiatives, in support of the International Labour
Organisation (ILO) objectives established in support of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights of Work adopted in 1998.

In a table outlining progress made towards achieving ILO objectives it is noted how:

“Enterprising Communities’ assistance is focused on achieving labour market outcomes for communities and groups who are disadvantaged in the labour market. The aim is to help not for profit organisations develop initiatives leading to sustainable employment opportunities and financial independence”


Critical reflection on these two quotations raises many questions and begins to identify the potential conflict in, and distortion of, values and intent. For the purposes of this paper, three key themes will be considered briefly.

**Labour market orientation**

With direct reference to “labour market outcomes”, “training and sustainable employment” and “locally identified skills shortages” the strong labour market orientation of the programme is undeniable. Indeed, press releases from the Department of Labour acknowledge the programme was structured with a deliberate intention “to strengthen the focus on labour market outcomes” (CommunityNet Aotearoa, 2005). Stiglitz (2002) concurs that employment is important and observes basic labour rights are part of “equitable, sustainable and democratic development” (p 27). Yet, he contends that a focus on the provision of employment is short sighted. Consideration must also be given to the conditions of work, the ability to empower and engage workers in all aspects of society so as to address the basic principles of social justice. That government seeks to align the Enterprising Communities fund with the ILO principles of Decent Work suggests that concern for social justice might be implied, however the lexicon applied by MSD in these instances highlights the risk of labour being perceived as a commodity – and thus in conflict with the intentions of the ILO. The Decent Work agenda challenges the dominant assumption of *homo economicus*, i.e. the radically individualised participant in economic and social life, instead situating the individual in the context of community. Work, is seen to provide a link between individual and community. Commodification of labour seeks to separate society and the economy, thus denying this important link (Peccoud, 2004).

**Disadvantage and sustainability.**

The existence of inequality and need in Aotearoa New Zealand is acknowledged by MSD through reference to the ‘disadvantaged’, but there is variation between the two quotes as to what type(s) of disadvantage Enterprising Communities seeks to address. The first quote refers to “disadvantaged communities and groups” in general, however when aligned with Decent Work initiatives in the second quote this focus has been narrowed considerably to
those communities and groups “who are disadvantaged in the labour market”. Similarly a
general reference to “sustainability” in the first quote is relatively open and thus potentially
addresses one or more of the dimensions of environmental, social, cultural and/or financial
sustainability. Yet in the second definition, this scope is once again narrowed, so that
“sustainable employment opportunities and financial independence” are identified as key
objectives.

To assume this discourse implies that ‘employment = wellbeing’ may be too large a leap in
thought for some, but the risk that such myopic thought be taken for granted can not be
denied. Although the ILO Decent Work agenda identifies getting a job as the important first
step out of poverty and into social integration, they stress that the approach must be people
centred – specifically with a focus on what people think, aspire to and expect (Peccoud, 2004).
It is important that these aspirations of social justice and wellbeing are not constrained and/or
reduced to what can be measured in monetary terms. The first quotation identifies scope for
“locally identified skill shortages” – but nothing else. If definitions and criteria are set too
narrowly (e.g. as suggested in the second definition), opportunities for people and communities
to identify what is important to them are constrained.

Development
An important part of discourse analysis is considering what isn’t expressed – and neither of the
quotations mentions ‘development’. MSD departmental publications such as the Labour Market
Development News regularly profile Enterprising Communities ‘success stories’ and as such,
development appears to be yet another implied construct. Yet, once again this implication
appears to fall short. Stiglitz (1998) highlights how:

“development represents a transformation of society…..Development enriches the
lives of individuals by widening their horizons and reducing their sense of isolation. It
reduces the afflictions brought on by disease and poverty, not only increasing
lifespans, but improving the vitality of life…” (emphasis in original, p.3).

Development is shown to be much more than economics, and thus is an outcome unable to be
achieved through processes such as employment and training alone. As noted in the
discussion above, although commitment to social outcomes may be implied, the lexicon of the
Enterprising Communities Fund demonstrates limited commitment to move beyond economic
outcomes such as employment – suggesting once again a narrow, market oriented ideology.

Where to from here?
This preliminary paper suggests the risk of distorted values within the Enterprising
Communities fund is real and thus warrants further indepth investigation. World financial
markets are currently in turmoil causing many to question the market driven philosophy which
proponents of capitalism purport to be essential for the growth and development of society. A
lack of congruence between expressed and implied aspirations in funds such as Enterprising
Communities may allow these same market processes to dominate administration of the fund, to the detriment of societal wellbeing. For example, the underlying issues which contribute to the ambiguous state of ‘disadvantage’ appear not to be acknowledged, and hence we are yet to determine the extent (if at all) to which these influences are addressed by Enterprising Communities funding.

Social value cannot however, be discerned from lexicon alone. As the saying goes, actions speak louder than words, so as highlighted in the introduction to this paper the next step is to invite staff and participants of the Enterprising Communities Programme to engage collaboratively in this research process.

The funding application process must be considered to ascertain the ease or difficulty potential applicants may experience, and how well these forms allow communities to express what is important to them. Consideration of projects funded will provide insight into the types of outcomes the fund has been able to achieve, hopefully indicating the extent to which communities have been able to benefit. Likewise, the types and levels of partnerships initiated with business or other government or community organisations can be explored. A partnership nurtured by a relational ethic may be more likely to empower communities than one driven by instrumental intent (Humphries & Grant, 2006).

Consideration of these dimensions will help determine whether this fund is able to truly empower communities and address issues of social justice in our nation, or is at risk of becoming yet another ‘band-aid’ administered to Aotearoa New Zealand society.

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How can antipodean theory help career transition research?

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Introduction
I am currently researching professional career transition, and much of the literature on this subject comes from overseas, particularly the United States. In background reading for this project, two books have greatly added to my understanding of New Zealand society in ways that correspond to the focus of OIL. Although I would like to spend this paper discussing these texts, instead, in order to maintain my current research focus, I will consider ideas from them in relation to career transition. Other participants may find ideas in these texts interesting to take in other directions to support or extend work they are doing. I passed one of them around colleagues at last year's OIL conference; I have copies of both here this year; and it may be that on another occasion a fuller exposition might contribute to drawing insights from these authors into OIL discussions.

In terms of our conference call, my focus question is the question in my title above. And my explicit statement of the consequences of asking this question is this: it is likely to challenge the common sense obviousness of careers and career change, and create uncomfortableness in following the implications that modern careers (and hence career transitions) are largely a north American invention. In a New Zealand locality, treating careers and career transitions as 'natural' is a form of being colonised, of making a concept fit our country and culture when it only partly fits (we are largely a Western society). Standard ideas of career ignore our global economic smallness, our geographical distance, our differing cultural priorities, and the non-Westerness by which Māori impart a difference to the whole of New Zealand society. This paper only nibbles at the edges of these implications.

Antipodean theory
The two books I refer to are by Connell (2007) and Beilharz (1997). Connell's title is Southern Theory. She calls for southern societies to create their own theories and practices because northern societies (Europe and the United States) write social theory that is actually very self-centred, even though they write as though their ideas are true for the whole world. Countries on the geo-political periphery are not just marginalised economically, but social and business theory which should name those facts, often simply reflects the centrisim of socio-economic power. She examines Giddens, Coleman and Bourdieu to illustrate her argument about their
misreading of southern society. Four assumptions underpin northern theory – claims of universal truth, reading from the centre, gestures of exclusion and grand erasure (pp. 44-7), causing northern societies to miss-see us (and themselves). She sketches several strands of globalisation theory, failing it for projecting northern experience onto the global south. Generalising from the northern centres’ own history fails to see our historical experience is very different, including the significant influence and control that imperial and neo-colonial economic dominance has had, and continues to have, on us, and the fact that we have a different relationship between white and indigenous people.

Beilharz’s title *Imagining the Antipodes* is a detailed engagement with the writing of Australian art historian Bernard Smith in analysis of shifting national and imperial depictions, reactions and criticisms of visual representations. Many of the things Connell discusses are assumed in Beilharz, and other things are added. First, the imperial relations of political and economic dominance is understood in civilisational terms-that the long flow of historical time has its own levelling effect on the powerful and marginalising forces exerted by the metropolitan centres. Second, this centre-margin relationship has potent and unexpected effects over time. Southern or antipodean edge societies are not the opposite of the centres, both poles over time are hybrids of each other-the centres see who they are through the ‘other’ at the margins, and antipodeans adopt, adapt and absorb various of the dominant modes of being and perceiving. Third, while this hybridity can easily silence those at the margins-the overt effect is being marginalised, not having voice - the implications of Beilharz’s antipodean understanding is to go past claims of being treated unfairly, and demand for equity, towards developing a quiet confidence in this edge locality we inhabit away from the turbulent metropole.

I won’t expand on this directly any further here. I recognise that such language may well be difficult to grasp to those not familiar with using these forms of social theory terminology. I find myself re-reading these texts as I am myself drawing on these ideas in my career transition research, not so much to write about southern theory or antipodean theory, but to use the leverage such perspectives give me to gain distance from the simple ‘truths’ about career and hence career transition, that are often repeated unproblematically.

**First efforts to apply the ideas**
I have been exploring these specific ideas since just before OIL_4, 2008, working at that stage with only the Connell text, and publishing a couple of articles as part of the exercise of trying to understand what such a perspective might mean. I will briefly sketch those efforts since they both reflect the effort of application, and they bring us to the subject of career.

**Career development:** The first article made one application of southern theory ideas to career development (Burns, 2008a). Having in my reading about career transition been increasingly irritated, even angry, by the many assumptions made by career theorists that seem to me to reflect their north American location, I found the bite of disagreement from Southern theory quite freeing in giving me space and voice to verbalise my disagreement. Instead of muttering, feeling a sense of voicelessness because it would be churlish to
disagree, or that maybe I did not really understand, I gained a renewed sense of confidence that my disquiet at all these assertions and assumptions – even when more recent career theorists felt they were moving on from older dated ideas – was not a chimera, but could be argued for from this different theoretical starting point. American ideas do not always apply, or are not applicable in the same way, to peripheral societies like New Zealand as they do in the home country itself.

In that article I made specific critique of Donald Super's mid-century model of adult career transition stages adopted from educational-psychological child development literature of that era and embodying many of the modernist and national cultural assumptions and experience of post-World War Two America. From my antipodean viewpoint I regard Super's stages as factually incorrect, never proved, but continuing to mislead even research conducted today – I cited a couple of recent examples. In my view, even aside from the moralism of the 'career maturity' idea, Super's corpus of subsequent work can be read as a continuous attempt to bring his early, wrong theory, into contact with the realities of career change in later decades.

**New Zealand Counselling:** The second article considered southern theory in relation to New Zealand counselling (Burns, 2008b). Although this is not so explicitly linked to career transition, but note career counselling, this piece of work again made an application ofConnell's ideas using the four identified northern assumptions as points of critique of northern counselling practices and ideas. In particular, I noted analogies between our national New Zealand experience of being at the global margins, and Māori historic experience of being on the margins of New Zealand society. In this sense, Māori involvement in sense-making concerning our society is not primarily about being fair to Māori, but listening and making use of their valuable though painful experience of being marginalised in their own land. A Māori interpretive lens is what we as New Zealanders collectively can make good use of as we read and respond to our global position in the antipodes. Beilharz is clear that a key to understanding antipodeanly is to realise it is a relationship. This is not trying to be radical but pragmatic and realistic about that intuition we have about the claims of bigger societies and economies, automatically shucking some of the truth of assertions about how global relations and society is, or how it works.

**Southern theory and professions:** The third area I have written up this year is in relation to professions and professionalism (2008c). This was not an article but a conference paper delivered to the Work stream at the Society for Socio-economic Advancement (SASE) conference which works at the interface between sociology and economics (both broadly construed). The events of September-October 2008 certainly confirmed the papers at SASE that were challenging claims that the economy is or should be autonomous from the rest of society. My paper used Connell's four named assumptions as convenient critique points of sociology of professions that has historically read the emergence of professions in nineteenth and twentieth century modern society as natural progress, part of science, civilisational advancement, and failed to account for its historical and temporal location that imbued professions with universalistic and apparently rational characteristics from their privileged white, gendered, and class cultural location.
That paper is only a small contribution to reassessment of professions and organisational behaviour, which I have previously approached using the concept of post-professional (2007). I now see possible ways in which I could interface these two concepts. Professions within organisations, and increasingly so-called conventional professional careers, seem to shift to new positions and areas of expertise more readily than ever, either through on the job learning or through additional study and training.

**Some additional ideas**

Overall, an antipodean viewpoint has given me space to think outside the conventional square. This is, after all, the business of new perspectives. Gender perspectives, whiteness theories and other concepts of ethnicity and identity each bring particular optics that see things that otherwise are missed. The viewpoint of the metropolitan geo-political centres creates its own blindness. As Poggi (1965, p. 284) said, a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing. Awareness of our own antipodean identity sees careers and other aspects of society in new ways. Connell and Beilharz in quite different ways offer conceptual tools that challenge us to take this task of analysis.

Ideas that help challenge the unproblematic naturalness of career and career transition that I am working on:

- The standard concept of career developed historically in post-war America and was part of the conjunction of economic and workforce expansion, confidence in military success, and improving living standards. How and why should it be used in other societies?

- Because of the global dominance of the American economy the career concept has been exported internationally. It is as much an expression of modern forms of organisation and neo-economic power as the inevitable 'truth' of working life. Indeed the human ill-fit of many careers is written about in academia, media and books and plays continually.

- Evetts' (1992) idea of career as reified, that is, made into a real 'thing' when it is not, is a valuable addition to breaking through the supposed naturalness of the idea of career. Ibarra (2004) takes this further from research showing that professionals 'do' career transition by adopting a 'test and see' approach and not the traditionally supposed 'plan and execute' approach derived from a formal-rational approach to career.

- The career transition approaches of Bridges (1980) (endings, neutral zone, new beginnings) or Schlossberg (Anderson, Schlossberg, and Goodman, 2006) (anticipated, unanticipated and non-event transitions) provide substantial freedom from older career transition models by their emphasis on the process of change. This very freedom, however, can be seen to leave them open to absorbing cultural values into
these models rather than challenging them.

- In a wider sense, the deconstructing effect of antipodean theory also creates space for further work on agency-structure/context debates about what causes or motivates career transition. This is a long way from resolving these debates, but by seeing and naming much of the career development industry as having a distinctive American inflection even as it addresses distinctively American cultural values—not universal truths, or other cultural values—a more factual description of career transition and its variations is opened up.

Concluding comment:
I intend to continue to work on the further reach that Beilharz’s ideas offer such as how transition involves change from the historic formation of modern American society, a long process of civilisational change. Comments in the present paper have been points of application and not critique of these antipodean ideas or perspectives, but this is of course a necessary part of appropriating ideas into career theory or any other topic.

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The Act of Mapping
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ABSTRACT

The young lieutenant of a Hungarian detachment in the Alps sent a reconnaissance unit into the icy wilderness. It began to snow immediately, and unexpectedly continued to snow for two days. The unit did not return. The lieutenant feared that he had dispatched his own people to death. However, on the third day the unit came back. Where had they been? How had they made their way? ‘Yes’, they said: ‘We considered ourselves lost and waited for the end. We did not have any maps, compasses or other equipment with which to ascertain our position or a probable route out. But then one of us found an old tattered map in a seldom used pocket. That calmed us down. The map did not seem to quite fit the terrain but eventually we discovered our bearings. We followed the map down the mountain and after a few wrong turns eventually found our way.’ The lieutenant borrowed the map and had a good look at it. ‘This isn’t a map of the Alps,’ he said. It’s a map of the Pyrenees.’

Karl Weick, Substitutes for Strategy (1987)

The map is one of the most powerful metaphors used in strategy. In this paper I want to explode the metaphor of map. This is intended to be a creative act of exploration. I want to take maps very literally and very metaphorically.

“This fragment of skin on the edge of the world’s ulcer”
Ruth Dallas
Mapmaker, mapmaker…

In the basic geographic act of mapping I find three conjunctions: that of the place mapped with the one who maps it; that of the mapper with the map itself; and the finally that of the map with the mapped – this last a confrontation that tests the worth of the first and second.

Tim Robinson Setting Foot on the Shores of Connemara

The global gladiator swirls his tools through space;
with optical fibres strung from point to point
he claims all time and space have collapsed,
as if everyone’s rhythm and everyone’s place
are pinned by the coordinates of his fantasy.
But what manner of map is this that records
no shape nor contour, no colour, nor smell,
but makes the territory a mirror of madness?
The exiled Renaissance eye, moved from ‘who’
to ‘from what point’ is relentlessly forced back
to a body-bound socket, where finally,
face-to-face, heart-to-heart, and shoulder-to-shoulder,
we make sense of the space between us.

What kind of kilometre captures a morgen’s labour?
What standard weight would bear what quantum of faith?
How is one faithful to merely the measurable
when faced with a derelict archway dribbling stones
along lines that once enclosed dreams clamoured to the sky,
now nestled in worn flags, and barely a sigh?

If time has collapsed space, why do my arms
ache for a lover who is only a phone call away?

The eyes of the mapmaker seeking his coordinates
in the lives of bodies, shine like beacons;
unlike the lacerated vision of the deracinated function
whose gaze is a gauge of control, managing the landscape,
pinpointing in metrics, marking influence, but, drawing
back from the cliffs collapsing and ravenous waves
to a gridlocked life of hallucinated certainty.

I’d rather dance down the shoreline of my life,
let the sea scrape my skin and pore over the debris
of interior journeys spewed by the rivers returning
from a land that, here at its edge, abandons bits of itself
to the sea that it captures between tides.

Bay into inlet into creek; peninsula, headland and spit:
tide turning one into lake and the other into island;
causeway cuts channel and rocks mushroom into sight;
channel cuts causeway and islands are unmoored;
a lunar schedule of one-act plays; a slow sashaying of fate
as a shifting shoreline fingers its way into our hearts
to clutch us, and remind us, that our metrics are mindless
without a body to break the silence of stones and dance
to the songs of wind.

West Coast Canto

Something about the West Coast.
The idea of the edge of things.
Coming to. Going away.

Waves, but not so obvious.
Something about the West coast,
about going towards the end of things

through open space where
anything can happen
nearly always not there
nearly always has been,
wherever;
Namibia, California, Connemarra
and now Kapiti.

A West Coast cantilever
that leaves you reaching out
and all you can think
of is of
what might have been or might be,
imagining it here,
on the western edge of where we are.
Cross this line

It starts with the way the waves lap up against the rocks staining a straight brown line into a ragged jumble of curves and planes.

Another time of day with the waterline now into the bay
I walk the space between the lines and it – the notion – grows the way a field might, with seaweed taken from the shore and hauled up to hilltops to be worked into the soil-filled cracks between the rocks scraped skinless by ice in ages long before there came a time when any claim on sea or soil would make sense to a man heading to town to cross the Wolfe Tone bridge over what used to be a border splitting Gaul from Flaherty, wall from hooker, winding his way to what is the last great stone cathedral built in Europe, thanks to Boston, by proceeds from the island’s greatest export. Its people are returning now, the EC-filled begging bowl has brought a tiger to life, but it’s a hungry cat this imported metaphor that with a lilt of Irish laughter claims the lives of refugees, because it’s what it needs. The border bares its teeth but some slip through to raise the ghosts of love ones gone, who crossed a line to live a life on other shores where I would not be surprised to find a kindred spirit walking over rocks and sand, kicking bits of driftwood, slowly turning over the notion of what it is that separates us.

Sago pudding

For Sarah Rome, formerly Lindsay, neé Cardwell, born 5 January 1898, Dalton-on-Furness, Lancashire (now Cumbria), England, died July 30 2001, Cape Town, South Africa.¹

I am on the phone to my mother
in Cape Town, South Africa,
from West Wicklow in Ireland
at 9h30pm, July 30, 2001.
Nanna this afternoon.

¹ In order to calculate the distance between two points on the earth's surface, one may use the following formula, which will yield the approximate distance in miles. Approximate distance in miles = sqrt(x * x + y * y) where x = 69.1 * (lat2 - lat1) and y = 53 * (lon2 - lon1). You can improve the accuracy of this approximate distance calculation by adding the cosine math function: Approximate distance in miles = sqrt(x * x + y * y) where x = 69.1 * (lat2 - lat1) and y = 69.1 * (lon2 - lon1) * cos(lat1/57.3).
The diaspora turns back on itself –
Mum’s father left Dublin for Lancashire,
she left Lancashire for South Africa.
Then her mother left Lancashire,
to join her in South Africa.
I left South Africa for Ireland.

My mother had been
at Nanna’s nursing home deathbed
from 9 ‘o clock this morning.
Her morning.
At lunchtime they asked her
if she wanted to eat.
‘No thank you, I can’t eat now,’
but then -
‘If there is a nice pudding...’
They went off to find out
and came back to tell her,
‘It’s sago pudding.’

My mother laughs,
telling me the story.
‘I can remember Mum
giving me sago pudding,
and I wouldn’t eat it.
“I can’t eat the bubbles,” I’d say,
and I would get it later, for tea.’

And there it is,
at lunchtime
in Cape Town,
July 30, 2001,
sago pudding!
Mum laughs again –
‘I didn’t eat it.’
From her father’s birthplace,
I laugh with her.

Nanna died,
physically,
not long after lunch,
103 years old,
and 6,109 miles away from home – physically.

What does it mean to do meaningful work? New Zealand community social workers, biculturalism and professional identity
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A social worker has quit after a 12-year-old Northland girl in Child Youth and Family care took her own life. Krystal Repia was found dead by her 7-year-old sister a fortnight ago, a month after CYF removed her from her foster family in Kalkohe … The girl’s father was granted regular supervised access with Krystal … and in early August he telephoned CYF to lodge a formal complaint on behalf of his daughter. CYF’s usual protocol in cases like this would be to immediately remove the child from the home of their caregivers. But in this case the worker decided not to follow up on the complaint as he was suspicious it was simply a ploy by the girl’s father to discredit her daughter’s foster parents. Three days later [the father] complained again to CYF and this time he also notified police and his local MP. The following day CYF removed all of the children … from the home of their caregivers. However, the difficulty for CYF was trying to accommodate all the children together so Krystal and her 7-year-old sister ended up in Auckland, separated from their siblings. Her father claims it was the distress of this and the earlier complaint that tipped his daughter over the edge … [CYF spokeswoman Lorraine Williams did … confirm it was looking into its practices around the case and involvement with the family to see ‘what, if anything, could have been done better’. She said CYF was continuing to work with the family to identify whanau caregivers for the remaining seven children.

Cook, 2008

In their professional capacity, social workers are required to mediate, negotiate and manage client problems, deal with various institutions and engage in advocacy on issues relating to their work. The recent New Zealand Herald article quoted above recounts the suicide of a young Māori girl and the subsequent resignation of her social worker, apparently because he had not acted on complaints made by the girl’s father against her foster parents. It describes how social workers are involved in a complex set of relationships focused on solving the ‘private’ problems of their clients, using ‘public’ institutions, negotiating within the political
process and working within institutional demands. In particular it raises questions around knowledge, professionalism and biculturalism. All of these will be examined in this brief paper, which reflects on our proposed study of community social workers (CSWs) in New Zealand.

Firstly, the overall aim of the study, some characteristics of the social work role and our theoretical perspective are discussed. The second substantive section considers the literature on meaningful work and its relevance to our investigation of community social work. Then we extend our literature review to encompass the commentary on professionalism in social work and the value placed on certain types of knowledge. The New Zealand context is also considered in relation to the profession. The final section of the paper poses questions for discussion regarding the implications of the proposed academic study.

**Study aims and relation to call for papers**

The first overarching question driving our study is what constitutes meaningful work for community social workers employed by District Health Boards. The second is how these men and women construct and manage their identities in order to cope with the various, often conflicting, demands of their work. How, then, do community social workers construct, experience and talk about their jobs and the organisations they are employed by? We would specifically like to investigate how CSWs from a range of cultural backgrounds position themselves in relation to social work as a profession and its occupational values. We are also interested in how individual employees challenge or resist prevailing discourses representing their work and occupational identity and the alternative ways of working which might result.

Our interest in these interrelated questions is based on anecdotal evidence from CSWs describing the struggles they face in navigating competing expectations of their professional identity, the way they do their jobs and the appropriate focus or client group for their endeavours. Importantly, these expectations seem to us to be mediated by culture, especially because “we can argue that social work is constructed on universal ideals of human rights, social justice and advocacy, but just how these ideals became universal is suspect, and how these ideals get translated to fit local realities is debatable” (Razack, 2009 p. 12). It is also significant that these CSWs report staying in the job despite its many tensions because they experience their work as meaningful, they have a sense of professional purpose and they are emotionally attached and committed to the community that they serve. Thus our project speaks to organisation, identity, locality and biculturalism in a variety of different ways.

Like many other nurturing occupations, social work is dominated, particularly at the lower levels, by women, and many social workers come from backgrounds similar to the clients they are employed to help (Dominelli, 1996). The majority of clients are poor, marginalised, vulnerable and, in the New Zealand context, Māori (Gray et al., 2002; Johnstone & Read, 1999). It comes as no surprise, then, that social workers are often called upon to bring about “social transformation”, such that “both individually and socially … [they] should respond to
human rights abuses and contribute to the promotion and realisation of human rights and social justice” (Gray et al., 2002, p. 99). Similarly, Carmeli and Weisberg suggest social workers “are involved in jobs that go beyond merely fulfilling an organizational mission and encompass a broader social responsibility. This social challenge entails a sense of contributing to the well-being of society as a whole” (2006, p. 196). They go on to argue that this occupational ‘social conscience’ to a large extent compensates for the drawbacks of the job – comparatively poor remuneration amongst them. But many of the problems that social workers are tasked to address originate in structural inadequacies which are beyond the remit of the individual professional. As a result, when “[c]onfronted with such situations, social workers become the cooling agents …, attempting to help people to cope with the persisting problems” (Mmatli, 2008, p. 300).

Others add that the gender of the worker concerned has some bearing on the way he/she negotiates the job role, given that social work is highly feminised in terms of actual numbers of women employed and the caring nature of the occupation itself (Christie, 2006). There is also evidence that a worker’s commitment to professionalism (discussed below) might mitigate against an “explicit orientation to social justice” (Fargion, 2008, p. 216) as “social justice” implies a lack of objectivity and neutrality. Further, and akin to many other public sector employees, social workers have had to contend with an emerging managerial focus that demands productivity, efficiency and tangible outputs (Taylor & White, 2001; Thomas & Davies, 2002, 2005). However, as Ackroyd et al. (2007) argue it is important not to overestimate the impact of New Public Management on social care provision in particular, which offers another potential avenue of enquiry in terms of individual employees’ experience of the relevant developments. And of course social workers must acknowledge clients’ ‘hard stories’ as well as seeking their resolution, such that compassion fatigue, emotional distress and burnout are very real possibilities for the men and women involved (Adams et al., 2006; Konrad, 2007; Siebert & Siebert, 2007).

All these issues come together to underpin our interest in how social work knowledge is constructed, what is valued and practised and how ‘good’ social work is defined (Cnaan & Dichter, 2008) in bicultural New Zealand. Philosophically, we are interested in the subjective, experiential, micro-level of everyday life, the “subtle, routine, low level forms of struggle and challenge” (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 720) at which identities are constructed and contested within and against broader cultural, institutional, organisational and professional discourses. Relatedly, our study applies a feminist theoretical framework that regards subjectivity as both inevitable and desirable and acknowledges reflexivity, agency, power relations and local accounts of knowledge. We are, likewise, committed to making a difference, however subtle and context-specific, to the participants with whom we work and the communities in which we live (hooks, 1984, 1989, 2000; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Thomas & Davies, 2002; Fine et al., 2003).
Our own position as middle class, Pākehā academics, one of whom lives in the UK and the other in New Zealand, must also be acknowledged and considered in the research design. As research in New Zealand has all too often perpetuated the idea of “the “inability” of Māori culture to cope with human problems and propositions that Māori culture is and was inferior to that of the colonizers in human terms” (Bishop, 2005 p. 110 – also see Smith, 2005). We should also mention Razack’s example of an African social work student at her Canadian university who found continual classroom references to HIV/AIDS in Africa unsettling, as he felt they served to erase the history of the continent and its various nations, as well as their many strengths. Similarly, other students from the global South were angered by a white student’s passionate polemic against child labour, having previously made the point that children in their home villages often had to go to work in order to ensure their families’ economic survival and indeed shared their own experiences of working as children for the same reason (Razack, 2009, p. 14-15).

Our own personal and cultural background, then, necessitates that we pay careful attention to the risks of silencing our respondents by privileging our interpretations over theirs. After all, even where more ‘marginal’ voices are ‘heard’ in academic research, they may be submerged in the supposed authority of the researcher/s because of how the data gathering is undertaken and the eventual text constructed and disseminated (Said, 1978; Woolgar 1988; Calás, 1992; Opie, 1992; Lincoln, 1995; Wray-Bliss, 2002; Grey & Sinclair, 2006; Brewis & Wray-Bliss, 2008). We need to ensure that our research agenda is as open-ended as possible when entering ‘the field’ to allow for it being taken in the directions indicated by our participants. We must also carry out an extended form of ‘respondent validation’ so that we extend participants the courtesy of being able to approve how they are represented in any publications that result. We must likewise remain mindful of Sewpaul’s (2006, p. 423) observation:

*If one adopts an essentialist or stereotypical view about race, gender or national identity or experience, one is likely to defend that essence or experience, rather than promote full knowledge of it, and its inter-dependence with other systems of knowledge. For example, if one presumes that all ‘Indians’, all women as a category, or all South Africans [or Pākehā or Māori or Pacific Islanders] are the same and have the same shared experiences, then one is unlikely to promote full understanding of individuals within such categories.*

The proposed research methods for this study will certainly acknowledge, challenge and seek to identify Eurocentrism and the silencing of indigenous knowledges in the design (Dumbrill & Green, 2008). Consideration in the design will also need to be given to the emotional nature of the CSWs work (Campbell, 2002). The data will be drawn from a group of volunteer men and women CSWs who are based in the North Island of New Zealand. Volunteers will be sought through a snowballing approach and via flyers and internal communications. The promotional flyers, letters and other communications to the participant will detail the study aims,
background and researchers’ details. Interested volunteers will be asked to contact Cheryl directly to maintain privacy and confidentiality from the organization. Volunteers will have the study explained, and any questions or concerns they may have will be addressed either over the telephone or face-to-face.

Cheryl will conduct all the interviews with the participants, and we anticipate contacting the volunteers on two or three separate occasions over the data collection period. Depending on the work schedules and number of volunteers, it is anticipated that the data collection period will last between 6 to 8 months. Before interviewing the CSWs Cheryl will contact and conduct background informative interviews with a volunteer Clinical Manager, a representative of the Social Workers Union and an academic who teaches on a social worker qualification. These background interviews will enable us to understand the historical development and current issues regarding the move towards the professionalism of social work in New Zealand. The participants will be encouraged to seek information, challenge the research, provide feedback and engage in an open, interactive dialogue with the researchers throughout the data collection period and conclusion of the study.

Inherent in our research design is that we recognize that meaning derives from language and all individuals actively construct knowledge (hooks, 1984, 2000; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Thomas & Davies, 2002). In addition due to the busy and sensitive nature of CSWs work practices, observations will not be carried out. Instead, two to three themed and semi-structured interviews will be held with the participants. Prior to the second or third interview participants will be asked to reflect on a critical incident or story related to their paid work life experiences. This information along with the data from the first interview will help construct the themes and focused questions for the subsequent interviews. CSWs clients, colleagues’ names and other sensitive details will, of course, remain confidential and private. Cheryl will adhere to both the university’s ethical conduct and the Social Workers’ code of conduct.

All the interviews will be transcribed verbatim and then analysed using thematic analysis (Patton, 2002). The data analysis will be carried out after the first interviews and then after all the second or third interviews, critical incidents and end-of-study questionnaires are completed by the participants. Both authors will independently read the transcripts and identify persistent themes from the interviews. This literal, descriptive coding of the data will then be developed further through collaboratively analysing patterns, themes and categories in the data to achieve convergence (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2004). Finally, an end-of-study evaluation will be conducted with all the participants to collect their feedback and experiences of being involved.

**Betwixt and between: Good work, meaningful work, social work**

Discussions of meaningful work within the organisational communication literature have identified the tensions around whose work is represented as meaningful as well as the influence of wider discourses on both the participant’s and the academic’s representation of ‘good work’ (Cheney & Nadesan, 2008). Social work could be seen to typify everyday western
conceptions of good or meaningful work, “occup[ying] the space between the respectable and
the dangerous classes, and between those with access to political and speaking rights and
those who are excluded” (Parton, 2000, p. 457). In fact the early social workers were middle
and upper class individuals seeking, usually under the auspices of charities, to do good work in
the poor and vulnerable sections of society (Cnaan & Dichter, 2008; Fargion, 2008; Razack,
2009). Through to the present day, as suggested above, an empowerment based practice that
pursues change and develops autonomy for clients is, as a result, often privileged. Social
workers, then, may be invested in or encouraged to commit to political processes because of
their (putative) role in ethical change-oriented practices and social transformation (Gibbs 2001;
Gray et al., 2002; Sewpaul, 2006; Mmatli, 2008).

Laird, for example (2008), refers to substantial critiques in African social work scholarship of
the “predominant Anglo-American psychosocial remedial casework model” (p. 136) in favour of
a more developmental approach which seeks to expand client capabilities and alter
problematic socioeconomic circumstances. A focus on client strengths as opposed to
deficiencies is usually recommended as a starting point, as well as an acceptance that any
intervention must work alongside client coping tactics as opposed to supplanting them. Coates
et al. (2006) proffer a similar argument in relation to social work amongst First Nations and
indigenous peoples in countries like Canada and Australia – but do not mention New Zealand
specifically. However, as Laird also points out, although in South Africa this approach has been
formally adopted as part of state policy, wrangling over its implementation inside the profession
itself combined with a contracting economy in recent years has stalled much real progress in
this regard.

In New Zealand, the philosophy underpinning social work is likewise writ especially large given
the country’s historical trajectory (Gray et al., 2002). Unsurprisingly, the colonisation of Māori
by early western settlers discounted local perspectives. As a result a western, ‘scientific’
approach to knowledge, social care and health was promoted in the early years of the
profession (Johnstone & Read, 1999). Since the 1970s, however, the rise of Māori
demands for inclusion of the Treaty of Waitangi in all aspects of life has challenged and changed social
work training, recruitment and practice. In addressing issues of racism, inequality and poverty,
the occupation now has an explicit commitment to biculturalism and the Treaty. However, there
are many New Zealand professionals who still value western models of health and social care
and are opposed to the inclusion of biculturalism in their work practices (Gray et al., 2002). As
such, as Razack (2009) argues, “We cannot dissociate social work from its historical role in
imperialism” (p.11).

On the one hand, then, New Zealand social work could be seen as a meaningful job and one
that is committed to the inclusion of bicultural practices. But this neglects the obvious tensions
regarding the types of knowledge which are actually valued on the ground (Papps & Ramsden,
1996). Biculturalism arguably pits a social approach to care, health and knowledge against
more generic, western discourses of professionalism and organisational demands concerning efficiency, measurable outputs and the validity of ‘judgement calls’. As Coates et al. (2006) aver, “Difficulty in adequately addressing diversity stems from social work’s preference for modernist, ethnocentric (i.e. Euro–American) paradigms which define rules for acceptable knowledge and practice. This has contributed not only to intellectual colonization, but also to the devaluing and marginalization of indigenous and local knowledge” (p.382).

This raises the question of how social workers, and perhaps especially those of Māori and Pacific Island origin, “are required to practise [their] ethical beliefs without compromising or acquiescing to larger governing bodies while still striving to achieve [their] goals of anti-discriminatory practice and social empowerment” (Kean, 2007, p. 41).

Moreover, and as Kreiner et al. (2006) point out, social work could even be considered ‘dirty work’, involving what they describe as a pervasive level of ‘social taint’ given the incumbents’ direct and “regular contact with stigmatized populations” (p. 620). They also suggest the professionals involved will likely develop a range of tactics for responding to and negotiating this ‘taint’, including gallows humour, direct challenges to damaging stereotypes of clients, encouraging clients to avoid stigmatizing behaviours or distancing themselves from or blaming clients for their problems. These claims derive from the US context, however, and as such it is interesting to interrogate them in the very different cultural setting of New Zealand.

Identity work and professionalism: Developing trust?
In addition, and as the newspaper story we began with suggests, social work relies on the judgement of the social worker to make decisions about the care of vulnerable clients. This individual must navigate the complexity of each client’s problem based on his or her own experience and training, which of course produces uncertainty as to the appropriate ‘solution’. As Taylor and White comment, “in order to explore their moral judgements social workers need to concern themselves not simply with knowledge acquisition, but also with the sense-making activities entailed in practice as well as understanding their own and others’ reasoning processes” (2001, p. 48).

With social workers’ mistakes often reappearing as high profile newspaper stories like Krystal Repia’s suicide, the occupation has become increasingly concerned with developing a way to ensure accountability, legitimacy and social status. Professionalisation is seen as one such avenue (Cnaan & Dichter, 2008; Taylor & White, 2001; Coates et al., 2006). Professions are usually characterised as drawing on a discrete body of knowledge developed via formal educational attainment, which validates particular skills or techniques and provides the security of known practice outcomes. All of this engenders trust in the accredited expertise of the individual professional (Kerfoot, 2002). Thus incorporated in any drive for professionalisation are changes to occupational practices that emphasise expertise and accountability in order to legitimise and validate individual workers’ judgements (Gray & Mcdonald, 2006). But the extent
to which social work can or should be a profession – or indeed has become one - has been hotly contested at least since the early twentieth century, with such controversies persisting to this day (Fargion, 2008; Morris, 2008).

The debates around the introduction of evidence-based practice in social work, for example, argue that the knowledge and decision making activities used emphasise objective and neutral judgements regardless of context, history or the client’s situation. Meanwhile, the social worker’s own tacit knowledge and experience are de-emphasised because they do not reduce occupational uncertainty nor legitimise decision making, especially given the watchful eye of the media. There is also evidence that client satisfaction depends much more on interaction with the social worker than on any specific outcome and that an emphasis on professionalism leads to an inappropriate distance from clients (Taylor & White, 2001; Butler et al., 2007). Mafile’o’s (2004) finding from her study of Tongan social workers in New Zealand that professionalism does not gibe with Tongan culture is also extremely significant here. For these men and women, “discarding professional identity … does not infer a lack of ethical or safe practice; rather it represents a reconstruction of practice using principles and skills such as fakafekau’aki [connecting] and fakatokiilalo [humility], in order to practice competently within a Tongan paradigm” (p. 253). She suggests that Tongan social workers are very far from unprofessional but may instead disavow some of the potential inflections of the concept as they relate to objectivity, elitism, superior expertise and detachment from clients.

In fact, with the coming into force of the Social Workers Registration Act (2003), the move towards professionalisation of social work in New Zealand has actually come fairly late compared to other ‘developed’ nations. Now, entrance to the occupation usually requires a social work degree, and there is currently voluntary registration of all social workers (Beddoe, 2006; Kean, 2007). To register workers need to hold a recognised social work qualification, have enough practical experience, and demonstrate their competency (Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers, 2008). The competency test also requires social workers to demonstrate that they can work with Māori and other ethnic groups. Nonetheless, voluntary registration has obvious pitfalls, and many social workers are finding it difficult to complete or further their education anyway due to lack of funds, time or employer support (Beddoe, 2006; Clare, 2006). All of this is complicated by the inter-professional context of social work, such that individual employees often need to collaborate with (inter alia) clinicians, therapists and health visitors, depending on the needs of any given client. Reynolds’ (2007, p. 455) data suggest “some quite entrenched characterizations of professionals from different backgrounds as ‘other’” result when various occupational groups are asked to comment on working with each other in this regard.

Possible consequences

New Zealand is at an interesting juncture with regard to professionalism, identity and social work practice. Our proposed study would contribute by exploring how social workers define
their work and construct their identities against a backdrop of biculturalism, (some) professionalisation and public sector restructuring. How are the “changes ... targeted at reorienting the ... identities of social work professionals” (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 721) and what types of resistance and struggles might emerge as a result? We will also explore the differences between Pākehā, Māori and Pacific Island social workers in this regard, as well as seek to establish similarities and differences in the ways in which clients react to social workers of varying ethnicities - which may of course vary with their own ethnicity. Of additional and particular interest is how indigenous identities and ways of knowing are included and valued (or not). As one New Zealand social worker, Si’anaua, reports, she has adopted a white, western outlook in order to feel accepted in her occupation and has advised other Māori colleagues to do the same:

Being a Pacific person was not an issue for me because I got on with everyone. I did notice one other Māori colleague didn’t mix well. She once told me about being uncomfortable with being the only ‘darky’, so I suggested that she think about herself as being white and to look upon me as being white – to see if that would change things for her.

Si’anaua, cited in Aiono, 2000, p. 5

In the light of comments such as these, to what extent are Māori and Pacific Islander social workers recognised “as knowledgeable; as potential partners; as keepers or guardians of treasured cultural and personal information; and as worthy advisors” (Gibbs, 2001, p. 30)? The Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) and other public sector organisations, as we have seen, promote a commitment to the Treaty and biculturalism, but our interest is in what happens on the ground, especially when some social workers may well hold racist or outdated views (Johnstone & Read, 1999). At the same time, as Coates et al. (2006, p. 387) observe, it is important “to guard against demonizing Western ways and romanticizing indigenous ways”.

Overall, then, we can sum up our focus as follows. In the context of a mainstream public health and social care organisation, what are the discourses of Same and Other around culture, gender and professionalism in New Zealand community social work, and how are these maintained, resisted and challenged? As the occupation shifts from its basis in experience, uncertainty and trust in the individual social worker towards legitimising, accountability and competencies in the ‘business’ of social work, several questions arise that we would like to start to explore in this informal conference setting. As Razack suggests,

There ought to be more theoretical considerations of the history, identity, knowledge production, spatialities and race of the underlying notion of helping and doing that is applied to different contexts and countries ... nationality and identity are significant in how we locate ourselves within the profession and in the larger global community.
We are of course presenting this paper in advance of the data gathering proper, and as such the discussion will aim to outline the theoretical and empirical parameters for the project – we cannot yet offer any more concrete thoughts as to the answers to the various questions that we pose. However, in terms of practical outcomes and given our aforementioned commitment to making a difference (however small), we see this research as at the very least allowing community social workers the opportunity to step back from the hurly burly of their professional practice and reflect on what their occupations mean to them. More than that, we hope that the findings will provide a “collaboratively constructed story” (Bishop, 2005, p. 122) about diverse micro-level experiences of the profession, one which has been co-created by ourselves as academics and our social worker participants, and as a result constitutes a relevant and useful account of the research site for further discussion by those who are employed within it – perhaps senior officials in particular.

References


Why Study Creativity in Aotearoa? :

He Tangata, He
Tangata, He Tangata

(Māori proverb which can be translated as: it is the people, it is the people, it is the people— which are important.)

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New Zealand or Aotearoa has been said to be a piece of “Godzone”, the land of milk and honey since her inception by her European settlers. Mixed with breathtaking and dramatic landscapes, unique culture of her indigenous people and her pacific cousins, of skilled musicians and artists, surely New Zealand is a place of creativity for all her people? It is indeed people, people, people which are important to a creative economy and to build a true meritorious knowledge society. Here every person has the potential to use their own creative abilities as a knowledge worker. You would think this was a ‘done deal’ when urban geographer and now popular management speaker Richard Florida proclaimed this isle as hosting one of the great creative capitals. Famed for the filming of Lord of the Rings movies where the creative fusion reached its epitome with high tech IT fuelled animation met Peter Jackson’s creative but uniquely New Zealand talent, and set amongst some of the worlds most spectacular landscapes. But like Lord of the Rings, this is one of the many myths about New Zealand this paper will begin to unravel and provoke discussion on why these Pacific isles and the people’s that reside here are ideal for answering my research question that deals with “the subjugation of creativity with technology in people’s work for business profitability”.

To open up this juxtaposition, I will firstly review briefly the literature that led to the development of my research question. Then I will answer the specific question of why New Zealand provides an ideal setting both historically and in current times for analyzing this research question and finally how locality and specific organizations and informants were chosen in light of this.

122
The research question

Literature

Creativity though a word we are familiar with is but a recent invention (Amabile, 1983; Sterne, 2003). An invention of the industrial age, of modernity, of science or as some may say Enlightenment. Why did this word come to be, that summed up this most taken for granted attribute of human life? The answer you will see lies in the historication of human social history and this unique epistome that saw the separation of creativity from every day human activity and life (Sennett, 1998; Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000).

For it is at the junction of the industrial age a new form of human society took hold, this was based on a new understanding of knowledge (Danaher et al. 2000). Rather than the past where human society had looked to religion for universal guidance, this new regime of knowledge replaced religion with a new and all pervasive system of universal human management (Weber, 1940). The aim of which was to have a purely rational outlook for the pursuit of self interest for profitability.

This may seem like an extreme outcome but this had purely noble intentions with the aim of stopping the religious wars of aristocrats that raged across Europe based on religious zealotry and passion (du Gay, 2002). This saw many people killed for what the great thinkers of Europe believe were highly irrational reasons. Hence they believed that the rational pursuit of money making may be a better alternative. Initially it was believed that individuals would be able with appropriate education be able to guide their own ethics and behaviour, this however proved not to be the case as not all society as yet had equal access to education and so by law regulations of conduct were instilled in law.

How this epistome unravelled for ordinary people and their work and home lives, is where we see the inception of the term creativity. For the change to a society based on rational profit was fuelled by a new elite of entrepreneurs that utiliazed the mass migration to cities of rural populations, to provided them with the work force for this industrialisation and for profitability. This was realized in people's lives as a dramatic shift from cottage industry where an apprentice 'lived and broke bread' with his master's family, as such no boundary between work and home life existed (Sennett, 1998). Here an apprentice learnt a craft, and to qualify as a master he created a great master piece or work of art, such as an original clock of technical ingenuity mixed with great beauty. Passion and creativity, were part of a whole system of life and not separated off in the division that would emerge in the new epistome. This could be said to have been what we consider knowledge work, but knowledge in our hands and backs as much as our heads at this time.

Nevertheless with the advent of the industrial age was to change, as in the new factories there was a clear marking off, of social time and space. Work for the majority was no longer the place for creativity, as too were often home based emotions, the work place was now for pure
rationality where workers in the mass production factories became the cogs in the machines. At this point creativity was gradually removed for the majority of workers and placed in the hands of a few elite entrepreneurs with the scientific management practices that saw how a worker performed a task to be determined now by a trained and observant manager and not the worker themselves. (Bauman, 1993).

Nevertheless despite the system of universal human management that used instrumental rational to control and normalized this new workforce – “people” seemed at times impossible to completely control. People required sleep, meal breaks, sick leave….all of which slowed down the production line and thus the pursuit of ever greater profitability. Technology became a means to overcome human flaws, and in sequential phases it has been used to replace human workers or control their less than desirable irrational behaviours. From the machines on the factory floor, to the continuous conveyor belt of Fordist factories, to robotics, but also to the modern office where even intellectual work of clerks and their middle managers has been taken over by the modern personal computer. People have come to an age where it is rational for a machine to replace or control every moment of human work, to achieve ever greater profits (Postman, 1992; Bauman, 2002; Capurro, 2003a).

This epistome was not to be restricted solely to the western world, as this was akin to a religious movement of conversion to rationality and profitability the invasion began to civilize all humanity and so too the colonization of many indigenous people also became part of the mission – to save them from their non rational, non western, and not profitable ways (Danaher et al. 2000). To train them to become self disciplined people or “normal citizens”, the ultimate goal was that they too could become a member of the workforce to fuel the growth and expansion of the industrial age. Here too divergence from the deemed rational path needed to be purged, and so endo colonization happened in Europe’s cities and their people as well. As too exo colonization of indigenous people, all lost their ability to be creative in their work. Their crafts often ripped away as cheap no consequential works, and relocated to the factory floor or the fields and mines to provide the raw resources for industry. This trend has continued with the modern times in outsourcing practices, but once again the glory in countries of India people of achieving the contracts has been short lived as the economic boom and bust cycle sees the downsizing of her people. Eventually none seem able to escape the effects of cruelty that this rational instrumentality inflicts on workers lives, aided and abetted by technology.

The loss of creativity has been hard for many workers to stand- though due to the social embedded nature of this regime and how technology is appropriate to aid in this enforcement - many are at a loss to why they feel dejected, depressed, why they suffer medical disorders, such as heart attacks (Mills, 1959; Sennett, 1998; Florida, 2002). Or why suddenly they loose their job due to a new computer system? As they have been schooled and educated for the past century in the single truth claim of this regime - that this is purely a “rational” decisions that need to be made for the pursuit of profits (Danaher et al. 2000).
Creativity for these workers continues to be substituted for a wage (Bauman, 1993; Parsons, 2002). The wage was a unique feature of this epistome - the concept of a wage for the hours of labour a person performed whereby worker could buy goods to give them happiness. However this happiness was short lived and empty and could not replace the previous epistome whereby the spiritual fulfilment that religion system. As such, creativity has not been so easily substituted for a wage. People have continued in their private lives to seek creativity, in hobbies, in draconian work places they have achieved creativity by day to day resistance, and some more positively have managed established their own businesses to try to escape the grasp of universal human management of traditional business (Bauman, 1993; Ray, & Anderson, 2000).

However this still leaves a challenge for management and research, as this universal system of rational management, may not necessarily be a system that is best for profitability. Furthermore, this universal system, may not be the way managers and owners want to manage their workers either. This seeming conflict between management and workers may not be the conflict it seems on the surface, but more a contradiction that the current system of universal management has trapped them in – as Max Weber (1940) famously proclaimed – ‘humanity had found themselves trapped for eternity in an iron cage of reason’. In more recent times with pervasive instrumental rational application of digital technology this has been called the electronic cage of surveillance (Capurro, 2003a). Here in this research I pose that this is an irrational cage that traps people from a whole and creative life with social equity that ironically increasingly is proving detrimental to productivity and sustainability of business profitability too.

For businesses believe they need more creativity, as with the globalization and deregulation of the work marketplace, competition has become harsher (Porter, 1980; Snow, Miles, & Coleman, 1992; Florida, 2002; Pink, 2005). As digital technology has sped up the time business occurs in and the space of transactions is also seamless in a global context with the virtual organization and outsourcing (Castelles, 2000). The loss of creativity from workers it seems is thus a paradox to the ultimate aim of profitability. Early research in the 1980’s showed that when workers could be informed or empowered with the application of modern computer technology that delivered workers knowledge to make decisions for themselves. That with such empowerment the company achieved the aim of greater innovation, profitability and also worker satisfaction, as each worker could innovate their specific job tasks (Zuboff, 1980). But due to this epistome’s dominant social force of instrumental universal human management this paradox is for many impossible to solve.

This pattern of the reinstatement of universal rationality over creativity continued to be persuasive despite the continuous management initiatives or fads that now frequently utilise technology innovation. For example reengineering which looked to empower workers, reinstated new forms of rationality and was used to remove workers and the knowledge in their
heads rather than harness it for business innovation. Also knowledge management that aimed to utilize the knowledge in workers heads as human capital, got lost in using technology such as ERP systems which provided greater bureaucracy than before these initiatives began and stifled creativity still further. Currently new knowledge systems and social technologies that in theory could be at the fingertips of every worker to aid them in creative endeavours by collaborating and sharing knowledge world wide and are ironically being “fire-walled off” not embraced by businesses. And once again it is seen that business reinstate the instrumental rational system and forgo the potential creative technological application, preferring to use technology to achieve ever greater efficiency by surveillance and control of workers (Postman, 1992; Bauman, 2002).

Yet still we see a call from Richard Florida to acknowledge our creative work force and to use technology to facilitate their creativity with his mantra of the three T’s (technology, tolerance and talent). Nevertheless as we have stated before this commentators like Peter Drucker as far back as 1960 called for all workers to be empowered with technology to become self managers or as he coined them knowledge workers. And in this approach each worker could contribute to the competitive potential of a business. This trend we see continued in 1970’s with the TQM movement and again in 1980 with Michael Porter and as we said before to the ages of reengineering and KM, all have found it impossible in the long term to sustain creativity for all and create the ultimate utopia of a technocratic and meritocratic society that has been hailed since the beginning of the Enlightenment project (Rowe, 1990).

This plight may seem hopeless however there is an alternative vision that stems from the arts world, which since the inception of instrumental rational approaches to management has sought to resist the new universal systems and illustrates how with constant vigilance this system can be mediated to maintain self creativity (Bourdieu, 1985). The art sector saw that to maintain their creativity that it was necessary explore alternative life styles, tastes and sensations. This they saw that this was in opposition to the commercialization or appropriation of creative objects or ideas. Technology here was not seen as a means for profitability but as just another tool to help in the expression of their creative ideas. Here a computer is seen as being no different from a paint brush. Or to using an extreme case; of seeing the fork as a tool of an artist, a means to to help feed themselves to give them energy as they worked. Here technology is ordinary, neither emancipatory in its existence or the means creating wealth (Sterne, 2003). However with the artist’s; eyes, hands and imagination such ordinary objects are able to be transformed. But this is due to how an artist manages their lives and challenges rather than the actual objects themselves that creates the great works (Bourdieu, 1985). As such, technology has countless ways; to be management, to assist in peoples lives, to suppress and control them or to liberate them. As too, people despite the dominant regime having power over ordinary lives, people can resist, and can reappropriate technology to help them achieve creativity in their working lives (Rose, 1996; Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000).
In this presentation I want to open up the questions of. How did these western ideals and outlooks invade the isles of Aotearoan sunny shores?, And why may the story of her people’s help unravel the complexities and struggles of business creativity with the use of modern computer technology?

New Zealand or Aotearoa is a country that provides an ideal setting for unravelling this research question as these isle have many features such as her renowned creative people, to her high uptake of technology her creative and talented indigenous people, her governments radical economic liberal polices of past and more recent neo-liberal policies. These are some of the many features that allow this research question to be explored and that may help enlighten New Zealand managers and workers alike to why they are trapped in this system and provide them with the knowledge to begin to emancipate themselves to find creativity in the workplace and appropriating technology in this new light.

Why New Zealand provides an ideal setting to answer this question

The following areas are discussion points on why New Zealand has become a centre of interest to study creativity and technology. Furthermore in the context of this research question it offers the ability to unravel the complex social-historical subjugation of creativity of workers for profitability in New Zealand.

Historical aims to hope remove a class system

New Zealand or Aotearoa, was established political with the aim of a chance for all New Zealanders, politically land monopolies were broken up to allow this, and to ensure the British class system did not again take hold of another colonized nation (Richardson & Bennetts, 2006). This can be said to still be evident in the spirit of many people who identify as New Zealanders. That for many there is an entrepreneurial and creative spirit, that unlike her British counterparts, that they have the ability to be not a cog in the machine but the creator of their own lives, not just in terms of inventions and "number eight wire" mentality but also in their creation of life styles and family lives, which culminated in small business initiatives (Carden, 2007). This mythology of New Zealand creativeness is summed up as follows,

The notion that New Zealand is a society of innovators has become part of New Zealand’s folklore. From the ingenuity of the Māori to the making-do of the early, isolated European pioneers to the tinkering of 20th-century heroes like motorcycle speed-hound Burt Munro, it’s easy to gain the impression that creativity is in our drinking water. (Carden, 2007, p.1)

However this is further supported by raw statistics of collective creativity in New Zealand having a larger share compared to other nations of pending patients and places them in the top six of world leading innovators of, Japan, Korea, the US, Germany and Australia.

Resistance of Indigenous People
The term Aotearoa and New Zealand have been used interchangeably in this paper to symbolize that there resides a conflict in those who feel like New Zealanders and those that identify with groups outside of the dominant western led regime. For in any colonized country there is beneath the western regime another way of knowing and understanding life (Barnes, 2006). Indigenous races often still have remnants of the balanced and holismistic approach to life, that once as we saw earlier was also true of western nations. Here creativity was not separated off from day to day work time but home and work space merged together cohesively (Fowler, 1997). Further traditionally creativity provided mana for the whole tribe, that the pursuit of profitability was never the main aim of life or the object of creation. Although this may be seen as a romantic analysis of indigenous lives of past, where survival was harsh and hand to mouth, it is the spiritual and tribal strength that provided as much the food to grow children as did the physical food that production achieved. The indigenous people of New Zealand are seen to be a proud warrior race that have resisted colonization since its inception. Renown for their talents in music and craft work, their resistance to colonization has continued to help these isles be a place of creative interest, skills and inspiration to others who are exposed to their culture. It has also to use these artistic and cultural (calving, weaving, dance and song and oration) practices to creatively resist the persuasive forces of western ideas and their struggle as a colonised people. Due to their particular warrior strength they have more than other pacific cultures, been able to use their art as a means to creatively resist. As such, in resent times these elements of rich culture, talent and resistance have seen Māori creative endeavors, such as, Māori people branding their own trade mark and in general Māori people taking ever more control of their own industries and businesses (Panoho, 2007; Royal, 2008).

**History of alternative communities**

Not only has New Zealand had a bi-cultural history, its open environment has allowed alternative communities to flourish (Sargisson & Sargen, 2004). This has seen many crafts people choose New Zealand as a place to establish themselves. It has also fostered the establishment of; political, religious or spiritual and artistic based communities. This further contributes to the vibrant diversity that is reflected in New Zealand’s talented population. These groups have or are struggling to find alternative utopian ways of life beyond the dominant regime of pure profitability. Tolerance of alternative life styles has been emphasized in overseas arts communities as an important means to foster creativity (Bourideau, 1985). Although these “utopia’s” often have been shown to be problematic, these communities have contributed to the development and potential to nurture alternative paths and perhaps this is reflected in the ability of New Zealanders to establish small communities and collectives that from alternative business clusters.

**Recognised as highly creative people**

Innovation in general has come to be seen as a trait of New Zealanders. Often referred to as the number eight wire mentality, as was mentioned earlier this recognition has gone beyond our own belief but been shown to be true in the global marketplace. Comparison of Australian
and New Zealand innovation, has shown to be quite different (Rennie, 2008). New Zealand being isolated and a country based on farming rather than mineral wealth, New Zealand had to rely on this ingenuity rather than money to generate new products. This has also helped New Zealanders not be afraid of technological innovation but rather embrace them. Some criticism has said this leads to sloppy work, rather than precision craftsmanship. Both arguments have been seen to unravel in the Lord of the Rings production, whereby the costume and armory work and software effects all received unprecedented acclaim. However some of the general safety and employment practices where later brought into questions, due to the “she will be right mate” attitude (Astin & Layden, 2004).

*High uptake of technology*

This leads to the next point, that research on technology is often conducted in New Zealand due to the high uptake of technology per capita by New Zealanders (Myers, 1996). This clearly places New Zealand well within Florida’s criteria of creativity rich where he signals the importance of technology now as a fundamental element of success (Florida, 2002, 2004). Further the use of technology for creative endeavours spreads across all industry sectors from traditional to the arts based industries. This provides a population that is exposed to technology in their working and social lives. As a result people will be able to articulate how technology affects them and has impacted them and how they have resisted its use to manage how they live their lives (Richardson & Hope, 2003).

*People work longer hours than other countries*

Contrary to the image of New Zealand as ‘laid back’ and ‘easy going’ citizens, enjoying a ‘utopian paradise’, employment statistics find New Zealanders work longer hours. They are very much citizens of western capitalist ethos and find work-life balance hard to achieve (Dyson, 2004; Goode, 2007). New Zealanders have already been show to struggle with this and technology has been shown to be another means for a flow over into home time. As Goode (2007, p1) stated in recent comparative research on work-life balance and the role of technology in this over flow of work to non-work time and space,

New Zealanders and Australians also weren’t as good at switching off from phone calls and email during the weekend. Only 20% of Australians and 26% of New Zealanders always switched off their work phones and emails during the weekend - the Irish maintained a much firmer boundary between work and home, with 55% of managers always doing so.

…

Even holidays weren’t sacrosanct for Australasian managers: 41% of Australian managers and 39% of Kiwi managers always or sometimes take their PDAs or laptops on holidays with them.
However, when the Irish go on holiday, they don’t want to know about work - 83% of them never take their PDA or laptop, even if their team has a heavy workload or there are major changes at work.

**Neo Liberal leader**
New Zealand has also been seen as a leader in neo liberal policy over the passed decades, with the privatization or the management of public sector organizations using private sector methodologies or frameworks (Meyer, 1996; New Zealand Association for Education Research, 2000). This also makes them apart of the rhetoric of Florida that talent and thus potential profit should be valued over other measures of social concerns in nations and key cities. This ignores the previous sociological work that illustrate that this approach was neither new or the only way for government policy and business to unravel and that a more socially responsible approach may be more appropriate due to the already prevalent issues faced in modern urban life, of community break down, increasing crime rates but to name a few results of this outlook (Florida, 2002; Admin, 1994). This social experimentation continued with the government fusing with private sector to promote New Zealand to have a “knowledge based economy” and later a creative economy, where it fused; arts, science and business to bring the latent art industry up to market place speed (HUMANZ, 2000; NZIER, 2002).

**Small business**
Small business has historically provided a means for people themselves to find an alternative way to work to the dominant regime. This is due to the historical and cultural reasons stated earlier, due to recent government policy promoting and actively supporting small and creative businesses.. As previously noted New Zealand more than other nations provides an environment that makes establishment of small business with alternative outlooks more mainstream approach and sees that alterative motives (family, life style, personal freedom and creativity, sustainable business practices) for setting up their own businesses (van Gelderen, 2007). A phenomenon highlighted in research by Ray, P. & Anderson, S. (2000) in people who unlike Florida’s creative class decide to not partake in the spectacle of “creative cities” but often move to rural locals and establish businesses based on environmental and humanitarian principles.

**How this reflects in the choice of method and samples.**
The method chosen is going to use life history techniques of storytelling (Bauer & Gastell, 2000; Tierney, 2000; Hollway, & Jefferson, 2000). This has been chosen as it is a technique that is recommended to use to answer a research question set in a social historical setting such as this one. It also allows the study of a subject to transverse the boundaries of work and home life. This is more effective than traditional interviews, as it captures a person’s whole journey between jobs and between social spaces. This is not only important due to the instability of employment in current times but also that technology has been frequently used to cross between these spaces and to understand how it has been appropriated by management
and workers a method that holistically crosses these boundaries is important. This method is not a radical departure from interviewing, but is more focused on the stories that are told and providing more of a voice for the workers that traditional or even open ended interviewing. Further it can help provide better emancipatory abilities for workers participating in this research.

A sample of technology based industries will be used to test this research question. One of the main reasons that the IT industry has selected is that in research in the past many employees struggle to understand or are able to discuss how technology impacts their work. Technology workers are more able than most to talk about technology. Often in sociology this industry has been selected as workers here have the highest exposure to technology and can reveal what the impact of technology will be in the future on workers. Also in their life times technology workers will have seen more cycles of technology introduced and the impact this has on their wider lives compared to other industries. Technology industries have been at the forefront of the boom and bust cycles of this new economy, and technology has been frequently used as a means to readjust this industry, with replacement or off shoring of business or the extending contact time with employees (remote working). Also the extensive fusion of art and technology means that comparing use of technology will be comparable when considering levels of technology use to the mainstream IT industry.

Summary
This research looks to New Zealand as a country considered to have the ability to provide alternative to the pervasive system of universal management that was brought to her shores with European colonization. This paper hopes to demonstrate that not only have the indigenous people been colonized but also the European ancestors too. Both people’s are in a struggle to resist this dominant regime, to try to be happy rather than wealthy New Zealanders. Businesses that used technology for ever increased rationality forgo the greatest wealth of this diverse and culturally rich nation, that of creativity. But even managers who attempt to break free from traditional instrumental rational approaches often find themselves trapped back in the systems iron bars of reason. As much as New Zealand has provided a test bed for; technology, social policy, both liberal and neo liberal, New Zealand also offers to provide understanding of how people can resist and re-appropriate technology to escape the iron cage of reason. It is only then that people, people, people will be important to the survival of and sustainability of New Zealand and Aotearoan business.

Reference List


Issues in Māori organizational governance: A defined place, balance and the aunty brigade.

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Māori organizations are increasing in number and the size of assets they control. Many entities such as tribal and urban Māori organizations and an increasing number of privately controlled entities have greater control over their destinies and in ways that they have not had since the beginning of colonization.

According to Te Puni Kokiri in their 2006 factsheet Te Tirohanga Hou: Discovering the “Māori Edge”

“It is no longer expected or accepted that Māori be on the sidelines of economic development discussions. Māori are now not only participating in such deliberations, but are often setting agendas and leading debate. Māori understand business and are increasingly expressing their aspirations through commercial enterprises.”

Māori are slowing starting to be seen as players in the economy. The new National government’s willingness to call talks with 6 Māori leaders and also the Māori party, from which a deal was secured, provides a marked contrast to the divisive Brash era of several years ago. A multitude of issues still need to be overcome, but signs are encouraging. These issues are now discussed in more detail.

Issue 1 – The knowledge gap

One of the major issues for Māori organizations is the knowledge gap of experience in running an entity (that may control tens or hundreds of millions of dollars). There has been a significant gap in Māori history where ownership of substantial economic resources has been missing and the opportunity for significant control has been unavailable. However, despite 160 years of the breaking down of traditional Māori structures, of laws that worked against Māori goals & impinge on Māori wellbeing, Māori remain group culture orientated and mostly wish to work
towards common group goals over individualism. So despite having a lack of knowledge in some areas, there is generally a genuine wish to uplift the whānau/hāpu/iwi.

How can the knowledge gap be overcome? As a short term solution many organizations purchase the knowledge from outside, both Māori and non-Māori. Māori are not afraid to co-opt in knowledge where necessary whilst retaining ultimate control.

Looking longer term, development of people is a key issue. A number of post-treaty settlement entities spend considerable funds on tertiary scholarships as well as cultural revitalization programs. We are now starting to see the fruits of those labours but Māori society is cautious of people who may have qualifications to burn but are not part of the community. They are aiming for balanced individuals to step into their organizations.

Issue 2 – The Treaty of Waitangi process

The reality of Treaty of Waitangi settlements is that they force whānau and hapū groupings of Māori into pan-centric tribal entities in order to receive a settlement. The government does not like dealing with small entities. However, by forcing small groupings into consolidation the resulting created corporate entity are sometimes perceived as being removed from the grass roots. The locus of control seems frustratingly detached for many people and is an ongoing source of tension. Ballara in her book Iwi clearly highlights that Māori organizational structures were pragmatic and organic in nature, and that they that changed as the external threats arose or waned. My particular tribe, Ngai Tahu, have 18 papatipu runanga (tribal councils) spread across 4/5ths of the South Island. It took approximately 30 years from the time of the first complaint in 1849 by Tiramorehu before Ngai Tahu collectively worked together as a tribe on their land claim. The moral is, just because you are related does not mean that you always get on with or like each other all of the time.

Each whānau or hāpu has their own sovereignty that needs to be acknowledged and the extent to which individual entities retain mana independent of larger corporate structure and have access to settlement assets and their capacity is an ongoing debate within those structures.

Issue 3 – The media and public perception

When a Māori organization experiences problems, the media gleefully swirl above, scoping for the opportunity to scavenge but rarely do they actually tell the truth of the situation and of the real reasons for the situation arising. They suffer ethnocentric mainstream bias in their reporting. There is no doubt that issues existed with the organization however course quality in some areas was low because of huge demand greater than they could cope with, they were in effect a victim of their own success. The government has two representatives on each tertiary institutions governing board who report back to the crown on a regular basis. Both parties used the institution for political mileage through the media and almost contributed to its demise. Who would have been the loser if that happened?
Have you heard anything in the media lately about how well Te Wānanga O Aotearoa is doing now? Many tertiary institutions are secretly quite envious of their rejuvenated position. The silence from the media regarding the turnaround is deafening.

Problems arise within Māori organizations at board level and other parts of the organization, just as within any non-Māori organization. However of most importance to the ultimate owners or stakeholders of the organization, is whether the people who are in charge of the organization have their support. Yes, financial success is important but success does not automatically guarantee support. Decisions made without support within the Māori world are doomed to failure in the long run. The leaders of those organizations need to be seen by the people to be open to them and to be humble. Māori culture does not take too kindly to people who think too much of themselves. Note that this is not the tall poppy syndrome that is often talked about on talkback radio stations, as Māori celebrate their successes. It is the reality check that makes sure that the leaders keep their support base close to them so that the supporters can continue supporting those in charge.

Accountability in Māori organizations starts long before the person walks into the boardroom. If you do something wrong, be not afraid of the 180cm 130kg bro waiting outside your door. You have much more to fear from the aunty brigade who will give you an ear bashing like you would not believe and who will make you wish you were born on another planet and who are willing to harass you until you get there!

There is also the reality that a small but significant portion of the population of this country does not want Māori to succeed. They want to see Māori remain on the fringes of society rather than at the forefront of it.

**Issue 4 – Leadership**

Interestingly, some Māori held up as being leaders of their people by the media are not in fact viewed so by their people. Just because a person has kudos in the Pākehā world does not mean that the equivalent exists for that person in the Māori world. In fact that person is more likely to reside in the safety of the Pākeha world & all of the accolades that come with that persons status. Having a high profile position within a corporate entity does not mean that they are accepted by their people. If you want to know if someone is really respected as a leader within Māori society go to a hui and talk to ordinary Māori to get their perceptions of that person. The results might surprise you. The general rule is the more humble the person, the more respected they are in the Māori community and the more capable they are!

**Issue 5 – The corporate warrior syndrome**

Where there is money and power then there will be people who will want to take advantage. Māori are no different in that respect. Corporate warriors gain positions of power within an
organization but usually their lack of ability means that they turn everything around them into an economic and social custard; which makes their position untenable in the long term. Being in a corporate entity can give one the perception of relative freedom to exercise the power gained but beware the Aunty brigade as do not take kindly to people who do not understand the importance of maintaining relationships with people & they will track you down no matter where you are. There is no hiding, except the one that you will get from them whey then get a hold of you! Beware!

**Issue 6 – The perception that economics and Māori don’t mix**
Economics and Māori culture have been viewed by many as being somehow unable to be combined. That for some reason Māori are not as good at business as other races. Obviously this is not true as everyone is born equal. I can distinctly remember playing touch rugby in a back yard with a much younger cousin of mine. He pointed to the ground & said that I had dropped some money. Duly looking to the ground & then looking up to see that he had raced past me & scored a try in a flash. Entrepreneurial vigour is not lost on Māori, increasingly as opportunities arise, those who are confident in themselves will take advantage. Until a person has confidence in themselves, they remain hamstrung. My cousin was taught how to take the opportunity by his father and gained the confidence to try it. It is no different in the business arena.

Tainui experienced problems early on but they have been particularly strong performers over the past few years. This is indicative of the fact that ongoing experience in the economic arena will create more success. Their initial troubles can be seen as more due to a lack of experience and in bedding down of structure than ongoing systemic problems.

**Issue 7 – To what extent should tribal entities take on a social services role as opposed to what government is obliged to provide.**
Some tribal entities have separate trusts set up for this purpose and target specific issues. There is the view that government cannot fix the long-term problems of Māori, that Māori best understand their communities needs and that they are the best people to engage with their communities.

**Issue 8 - What do Māori want**
In the words of acknowledged Māori leader, Mark Solomon the Chairperson of Ngai Tahu. “We will always be here”. He is stating that we will always belong to Aotearoa and it will be here for us always. This thinking engenders a long-term strategic view within organizations as they are thinking 20-50-100 years ahead. Māori want to be Māori (which means that they want to nurture the relationships that they hold to the land, the sea to their families, to knowledge passed down, to their community so that all are kept in balance). If they don’t then the aunties will come looking for them to put them on the straight and narrow!
SUPPORT FOR MĀORI CULTURE IN THE WORKPLACE: 
A SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY APPROACH

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Introduction
Statistics New Zealand (2007) show that Māori make up a small but sizeable portion of the New Zealand population (14%) and similarly the New Zealand workforce (12%). While there is a growing body of literature on Māori in New Zealand towards history, culture, language and health (e.g. Kingi & Durie, 2000; Walker, 2001; Durie, 2005), there has been limited exploration of Tikanga Māori (Māori customs and beliefs) in the New Zealand workplace. Despite the richness of Māori culture and the attention it has received, there has been little exploration of how Māori culture interacts with employees and employers. Despite the current credit crisis, the New Zealand workforce is still at very low levels of unemployment amongst both skilled and unskilled workers, and this includes the Māori workforce. For example, Māori workforce participation rate is at 69.3% with 225,000 Māori employed (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Further, New Zealand 2006 Census data reported that Māori have increased employment by 21% between 2001 and 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007), indicating a strong period of employment for Māori.

It has been noted that there has been an overall renaissance regarding Māori culture and language (Piripi, 2006). For example, New Zealand 2006 Census showed that almost 24% of all Māori could hold a conversation about everyday things in te reo Māori. Further, the New Zealand national anthem has become bi-lingual with both English and Māori versions rendered (e.g. sporting events), indicating the ease with which New Zealand society embraces Māori culture. Further, Māori cultural aspects are often portrayed favourably regarding tourism and new business creation. Clearly, Māori culture plays an important role in New Zealand and this importance is growing. However, some have question the contribution of Māori in New Zealand, suggesting that Māori have not fulfilled their full potential. For example, there is a belief that Māori are under-represented in the New Zealand economy with an estimated $41 billion lost due to under performance of Māori in employment, education, and income generation (McLeod, 2005). Associated with this, Māori are consistently under employed and underpaid when compared to non-Māori in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2001; 2002). What we don’t know is whether this purported poor performance of Māori might be connected in some way to support (or lack of support) towards Māori culture in the workplace. Given the major push within Māori towards economic independence, the
focus on Māori cultural support towards Māori workers is timely and relevant. Further, the Quality of Life Survey 2006 found that Māori reported the lowest levels of work-life balance compared to Europeans, Asians, Pacific Islanders and others (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). This suggests that Māori employees are not enjoying the same levels of balance between their work and family roles.

Overall, the above factors relating to Māori and Māori culture within the context of the New Zealand workplace, might lead some to question whether Māori workers are that different? It has been noted that Māori as a people place the collective above the individual, and view personal humility and service to the group as important cultural traits (Ritchie, 1992; Humphries & Grice, 1995). Clearly, this suggests that there may be some differences inherent among Māori workers. What we don’t know is whether Māori workers place the organisation or their team above themselves due to their collective versus individualistic focus, and what implications this has on job-related attitudes and behaviours. Consequently, Māori have a character that is unique in the workplace and this character is currently poorly understood. Similarly, we do not know if these characteristics of working Māori make the working experience different for them. Are they motivated by the same aspects as non-Māori or do different aspects lead to different reactions? In particular, we do not know what interest Māori hold in having their cultural needs being met by the employer in the workplace.

In the context of organizational support, we do not know what form of support this might take in today’s busy and often complex environments towards indigenous people like Māori. While the effects of organizational support has been well explored in Western societies, especially America (e.g. Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison & Sowa, 1986), this has not been explored at all towards Māori employees. Further, these drivers form the background for the exploration of perceived organizational support towards Māori culture regarding Māori employees. This aims to explore whether the renaissance in Māori culture has lead to new demands for greater cultural support in the workforce; whether this support has been met; and whether there is frustration at a perceived lack of support. As Māori participation in the workforce remains high, understanding the role of culture and the impact on employees and employers deserves greater attention.

While Māori have been critical of being ‘over researched’ (Smith, 1999), there has been little attention paid to cultural dimensions in the workplace. The present study focuses on organizational support towards Māori culture in the workplace and will apply social exchange theory towards hypothesising the associated antecedents and consequences of perceived organizational Māori cultural support.

**Social Exchange Theory**

Social exchange theory relates to the relationship of mutually contingent tangible and intangible exchanges (Dyne & Ang, 1998) in which specific services the employee would be
obligated to perform, but are not known in advance (Blau, 1964). In economic exchange, the exchange between employee and firm is established from the start, for example, rate of pay for workload. However, under social exchange in an organizational context, this exchange is not established from the start and is thus open to interpretation. For example, firms would not know whether there support towards Māori culture would lead to any benefits. Social exchange theory recognises conditions under which employees might feel obligated to reciprocate when they personally benefit from their employers actions. This theory is offered to understand why employer actions are offered to employees, which might or might not end with employees responding in a similarly positive manner. For example, an employer providing some benefit or practice such as work-family practices might invoke employee obligations to reciprocate some benefit in return for this benefit, such as higher organizational commitment (Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard & Werner, 1998). Recent studies have used social exchange theory to understand the relationship between work-family practices and job outcomes including organizational commitment (Haar & Spell, 2004) and organizational citizenship behaviours (Lambert, 2000). A central concept in social exchange theory is the norm of reciprocity (Dyne & Ang, 1998), which is detailed below.

Westphal and Zajac (1997) noted that the norm of reciprocity emphasises the social obligation between people (employer-employee) underlying the principle of reciprocity, which relates to a rule of behaviour in social exchange situations. The norm of reciprocity is a cultural universal based on the principle of give and take, to the mutual reinforcement by two parties of each other’s actions. Hence, an employer providing a benefit to employees which does not lead to any form of reciprocation would not be expected under the norm of reciprocity. Gouldner (1960) asserted that under the norm of reciprocity, the recipient of practices and benefits, such as support for Māori culture, should have a form of moral obligation asserted on them to recompense the donor, in this case their employing organization. Lambert (2000) used social exchange theory to understand how benefits offered by the employer lead to reciprocated benefits from the employee, such as increased employee participation and initiative, stating that employees felt “obligated to exert ‘extra’ effort in return for ‘extra’ benefits” (p. 801). Consequently, perceptions of organizational support for employees through work-family practices will incur employee obligations and the repayment of this obligation will reinforce organizational giving and thus strengthen the mutually beneficial exchange of benefits (Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-LaMastro, 1990; Blau, 1964; Eisenberger, Cotterell, & Marvel, 1987).

One of the foremost studied mechanisms for testing social exchange theory in the workplace is perceived organizational support (POS) which was developed by Eisenberger et al. (1986). A recent meta-analysis has shown POS to be a major predictor of job attitudes and behaviours (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Eisenberger et al. (1986) noted that employees develop beliefs regarding how much they are cared and valued by their organisation. Hence, employees can view their treatment by their organization in either favourable or unfavourable
terms, and perceive this as an indication of organizational favour or disfavour (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Consequently, employee's who feel they are highly valued by their organisation will be more likely to perceive their organisation as valuing them, and thus view it favourably. In turn, they would be more likely to reciprocate with favourable responses. For example, a wide range of outcomes have been predicted by POS including organisational commitment, job satisfaction, turnover intention, and employee performance (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

One limitation of the norm of reciprocity is its universal but conditional nature (Lambert, 2000). Consequently, employee responses to benefits such as support are likely to differ amongst employees, and therefore, we should expect some divergence in the obligations felt by employees. As such, the same benefit or support, such as organizations providing some form of cultural support for Māori employees, should produce a different reaction from various employees (Lambert, 2000). For example, one Māori employee might judge the support from their organization for cultural elements as highly unusual, positive and supportive, and thus respond with strong reciprocation such as higher performance and lower turnover. However, another Māori employee might perceive this support as expected and normal, and thus think it is of little value, leading to no reciprocation from them. Under the norm of reciprocation, we are left to wonder whether any support for Māori culture from an organization would be likely to encourage a moral obligation from Māori employees. This conditional nature of the norm of reciprocity means that organizations will typically offer benefits and practices in small numbers first, when there is a high risk of non-reciprocation (Whitener et al., 1998). As such, we might expect the drive for moral obligations to be most effective when there are multiple benefits or policies on offer, especially for an extended period of time. Haar and Spell (2004) suggested this should allow “for a moral obligation to develop” (p. 1042). However, some studies have found that this extended time period is not supported, with the greatest benefit being at the initial stage with reduced effects afterwards (Casper & Buffardi, 2004; Arthur & Cook, 2004). Hence, while timing might be an issue, pinpointing the exact effects might be somewhat hard to test unless a longitudinal design is undertaken. However, given that Māori culture has been an established and well understood component of New Zealand society, the exact timing of its support (or lack thereof) in the workplace might be less important. Either an employee feels their organization supports Māori culture in the workplace for which they reciprocate in some manner (e.g. higher commitment) or not. As such, we suggest testing a measure that encompasses Māori cultural support in the workplace based on the POS measure of Eisenberger et al. (1986).

We hypothesise the antecedents and consequences of perceived organizational support for Māori culture to be similar to POS. For example, in their meta-analysis, Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) found that under organizational support theory (Eisenberger et al., 1986) there are three general forms of perceived favorable treatment received from the organization that should influence POS. We suggest the factors of (1) fairness, such as procedural justice (Greenberg, 1990); (2) supervisor support (Kottke & Sharafinski, 1988), and (3) organizational
rewards and job conditions (Shore & Shore, 1995) will also be associated to perceived organizational support for Māori culture. As such, Māori employees who feel their organization deals in a fair manner towards its employees, who has supervisors who support Māori employees and Māori culture, and firms who recognise, pay well and promote their Māori workers, as well as providing job security, autonomy and training (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) are more likely to lead to Māori employees perceiving greater support for their Māori workers and their culture. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) meta-analysis found the first two factors were most powerful in predicting POS, and likewise, we expect these factors to be strongest for predicting perceived organizational support for Māori culture, with organizational rewards and job conditions being only weakly related. We also suggest the consequences of POS will be similar for perceived organizational support for Māori culture. These outcomes include organizational commitment (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001), where support by the firm for a Māori employees culture is likely to make them more committed. Similarly, Māori employees might respond to greater perceived support with higher job satisfaction and job performance (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), and lower turnover intentions (Guzzo, Noonan & Elron, 1994) and withdrawal behaviors such as absenteeism (Eisenberger et al., 1986).

This assimilation of social exchange theory and Māori culture leads to our three research questions for this paper.

1. **Do Māori employees have an interest in organizational support for Māori culture in the New Zealand workplace? If so, do they feel it is being met, and are they satisfied with such support?**
2. **What are the antecedents of perceived organizational support for Māori culture, specifically towards fairness perceptions, supervisor support, and rewards and job conditions.**
3. **What are the consequences of perceived organizational support for Māori culture, specifically towards organizational commitment, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and withdrawal behaviors.**

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In this paper I want to look at themes of organisation, identity and locality in a particularly macro setting: at the scale of a certain representation of the national economy and national society. I briefly demonstrate how locality and identity have been constructed and projected in the discourses of government since 1999, drawing a link between political language and the principles of what the geographer Nigel Thrift calls a “soft” managerialist discourse. In this exercise I pay particular attention to how locality is used to argue for a certain course of political action, and how identity is actively constructed in the service of that course of action. Within this project, individuals and groups within the state are addressed as role-performers, and valued according to their willingness and ability to contribute to the official “shared” national purpose. Drawing on a tradition of critical political theory, I work towards the question of the grounds on which the state or, indeed, private firms, are justified in utilising cultural identity and group difference as means to their own ends, focussing particularly on the discursive positioning of Māori identity.

Nigel Thrift’s description (2000, pp. 75-77) of what he calls a ‘new softermanagerialist discourse’ presents it as resting on five inter-related principles. These principles are (1) a conception of the business environment as complex and fast-moving; (2) the related imperative
for the business organisation to be ‘an island of superior adaptability in this fast-moving environment’, the framing of
the business organisation as (3) ‘a flexible entity, always in action’ and as (4) a ‘cultural entity’
giving rise to new traditions and new representations of itself and the world. Lastly, (5),
business organisations are understood as being made up of willing and willed subjects. It is
relatively easy to demonstrate (and I will do so briefly below) that the language of the Labour-led governments in New Zealand since 1999 closely correlates with these five principles. The
fact that this is so adds strength to the argument that the practice of political language (and
thus political practice more broadly) is increasingly influenced by the norms and values of the
business world.

In keeping with the principles discussed by Thrift, Labour has stressed themes of change and
velocity since 1999, and argued that New Zealand (as an economy and as a society) needs to
move quickly to adapt in the fast-moving and complex global business environment. In
parliament, Helen Clark argued that changing circumstances, in which ‘the pace of change has
never been faster’ (Clark, 2001) demanded a response: ‘[i]n an ever-changing world we cannot
stand still and prosper’ (Clark, 1999). Rather, ‘[w]e need to be innovative and adaptive to
changing international demands’ (Clark, 1999). The global economy was represented as a
realm of hostile competition necessitating a co-ordinated national-level response. This
response is importantly shaped by locality (Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), 2002, p. 15). As
the Government would have it, ‘New Zealand needs to aggressively find ways to overcome its
geographic location and connect with global markets (OPM, 2002, p. 15). New Zealand’s geo-
economic peripherality was held to necessitate (but also facilitate) a range of responses:
innovation, knowledge-based products, interconnectedness and flexibility. In what was
presented as a clear break with the past, the Government insisted that ‘our exports need to
reduce in eight and become heavier in knowledge and value’ (OPM, 2002, p. 32).

National values and identity, it was acknowledged, would need to be modified according to the
demands of the changed and changing global conditions. ‘No matter how much people value
the “New Zealand way of life”,’ the Government warned, ‘capital and labour are mobile’ (Office
of the Prime Minister, 2002, p. 12). While a report from the government-instituted Science and
Innovation
Advisory Council (SIAC) noted that the required traits of entrepreneurship and risk-taking were
not naturally part of New Zealand culture (SIAC, 2001), it nevertheless insisted that ‘[w]e must
not let our past, however glorious, get in the way of our future’ (Charles Handy, cited in SIAC,
2001, p. 12) and it enjoined New Zealanders to change their attitudes towards success,
towards “tall poppies” and towards risk. In the pursuit of economic competitiveness, then,
certain markers of identity (pragmatism and inventiveness, for example) were reiterated,
recaptured and reinterpreted, while others (such as risk aversion and a supposed lack of
ambition) were repudiated (Bond, McCrone, & Brown, 2003).
Thrift links his ‘softer managerialist discourse’ to the generation of new representations of the business organisation and the world. It is, of course, noteworthy, that the traditionally left-leaning Labour Party has spoken so fluently of New Zealand in terms broadly consistent with those of a business organisation. Beyond this, three aspects of the Government’s representation of the country and the world are significant here.

1. Contemporary economic circumstances were held to require a coordinated national response in which all New Zealanders were united in their pursuit of a common goal.
2. The narrative of globalisation was relentlessly future-focussed and consequentialist, in a way that under-valued the importance of history and non-economic consequences.
3. As a result of (1) and (2) above, culture was seen as instrumentally rather than intrinsically valuable.

To take these aspects in order, we should firstly note that the Government’s representation of globalisation implied a demand that New Zealand act as an entity united in the pursuit of a common goal. To ‘create the innovative New Zealand we need to achieve our economic and social goals’, the Government argued, ‘we must agree on our vision and our objectives and we must work together to achieve them’ (OPM, 2002, p. 6). Elsewhere, Clark argued (2001) that ‘[r]eversing our fortunes as a nation requires us to develop a shared vision about what could be, and the road map to get us there’. The idea that a political society is fundamentally united by its joint pursuit of a putatively shared purpose is anathema to a liberal perspective, according to which society is united, more minimally, by its members’ acceptance of a common set of rules. For liberals, citizens are only required, metaphorically, to ‘speak the same language’, not to also ‘say the same thing’ (Oakeshott, 1975, p. 205).

It is useful to think of the Government’s construction of globalisation as instituting a “state-at-war” narrative. This is a useful political device, in that during times of war, the state can call for an almost endless degree of loyalty and sacrifice in the name of a clearly-defined shared objective (see Agamben, 2005, p.3). The claimed urgency of the pursuit of ‘our vision’, ‘our objectives’ and ‘our fortunes’ served to marginalise divergent perspectives and identities as unhelpful, divisive, even “anti-kiwi” (see Turner, 2005). So while the Government officially narrated the nation in terms of openness and diversity (OPM, 2002, p. 6), a certain conformity was insisted upon as well. The Government’s national branding project, for example (see True, 2003 for a general discussion), was based on a perceived need to project a ‘consistent brand image of New Zealand across our industry sectors’ (Clark, 2002) towards the end of constructing a ‘contemporary and future focussed Brand New Zealand’ that would project New Zealand as ‘a great place to invest in, live in, and visit’ (OPM, 2002, p. 48).

The language of cultural policy since 1999 serves as an example of the limits placed on representations of the country. Cultural production has been celebrated (and funded) since
1999 for its supposed ability to communicate New Zealand’s ‘special values to the world’, offering the country thereby a ‘strong competitive advantage in a world jaded by sameness’ (Creative New Zealand, 2002, pp. 5,6). Artists are understood, then, as Thrift’s ‘willing and willed subjects’ in the Government’s programme of economic transformation. It is worth considering in this context Labour’s response to the selection of the artist et al as New Zealand’s presence at the 2005 Venice Biennale. Following sustained criticism from the media and opposition politicians, Helen Clark complained that ‘yet again an artist has been selected who is unable to act in an ambassadorial role for New Zealand’ (cited in Wedde, 2005, p. 37) and no New Zealand artist was funded to participate in the 2007 Biennale. Ian Wedde, however, makes the case that representing New Zealand ‘might consist more usefully and accurately of being, and of being seen to be, independent, uncompromising and principled’ (Wedde, 2005).

Secondly, the Government’s discourse of globalisation and a correlative national response was fundamentally oriented towards future consequences, defined in economic terms (Turner, 1999, 2005). Individuals and groups both within and outside the nation were therefore addressed and evaluated according to their willingness and ability to contribute to the specified national purpose. Immigrants (welcomed by Clark (in Television New Zealand, 2002) as those who will ‘pay for our pensions’ and ‘generate economic growth’) were assessed on their ability to ‘connect and contribute’ (Department of Labour, 2006, p. 2). The Government’s future-focussed consequentialism (a broadly utilitarian approach) marginalised other ways of distributing resources, rights and recognition.

Specifically, claims of right based on historical entitlement were difficult to hear within a hegemonic discourse that was facing in the other direction. When National leader Don Brash, in 2004, offered a vision of nationhood based on ‘the essential notion of one rule for all in a single nation state’, Labour criticised him for ‘playing the race card’. Yet a similar discourse of equivalence can be found in Labour’s own language, as when David Cunliffe, then Minister of Immigration, celebrated the ‘talents [read, the value-adding potential] of our … migrants new and old, whether they came by waka, tall ship or jumbo jet’ (Cunliffe, 2006).

Māori are addressed in the Government’s economic agenda in the reductive terms of potential contribution. The key statement on this theme situates Māori identity in the broader Brand New Zealand project, with the Government promising to work ‘with Māori to find ways of leveraging [their unique contribution to a national brand] for the benefit of all New Zealanders’ (OPM, 2002, p. 48). The evaluation of Māori in terms of their capacity to contribute to a “shared” national goal is reinforced when the “Brand New Zealand” project celebrated the capacity of “our” Māori influences to act as a unique selling point for the country (Moore, cited in Martin, 2004, p. 10) and when Deputy Prime Minister Michael Cullen described Māori as ‘the New Zealanders who, by definition, make us different'
from any other nation’ (Cullen, 2006, my emphasis). Even if other countries are also clean-and-green, and even if they are also creative and innovative, New Zealand’s Māori culture is seen as offering a non-replicable competitive advantage.

Thirdly, then, culture - instead of acting as the guarantor of personal meaning and autonomy - is commodified and reduced to a marketing angle within a “state-at-war” narrative of globalisation and national response (see Johnson, 2000, p.32). Group identity, which had been rejected as irrelevant under neo-liberalism’s emphasis on the individual, has come now to be managed through processes of co-option. Difference is accepted – even celebrated – as the state generates new representations of the nation. This is what Stephen Turner calls the ‘inclusive exclusion’ of difference: difference is allowed, even celebrated, so long as that difference is oriented towards the shared purpose of the nation (Turner, 2005). The critical point is that the difference that can be celebrated is the sort of difference willing and able to act as what Turner calls ‘difference for the nation’s sake’ (Turner, 2005). This sort of approach may be acceptable from a utilitarian perspective, as it promises an increase in overall social utility without any quantifiable losses. On the other hand, it does appear to offend the basic Kantian injunction against treating people as means to a specified end, rather than as ends in themselves.

The emphasis within recent political theory on “identity politics” holds that the proper recognition of identity and difference is important, and should not be neglected in favour of an exclusive emphasis on rights and resources. This way of thinking offers grounds for critiquing a political discourse that positions identity, culture and difference (whether of the nation as a whole or of groups within the nation) as means to the end of economic growth. Political societies, in other words, are generally expected to pursue a range of goals, not all of which will be reducible to economic outcomes. The broader question, in the context of this conference, is whether (and if so, how) other organisations (business corporations, for example) might be justified in utilising culture and identity as strategies for achieving their own objectives.

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