‘We are all in this together’: H1N1 and Global Health

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Abstract

Recently, there has been a significant terminological and political shift from ‘international’ towards ‘global’ public health. The rise of this global public health paradigm has been characterised by both structural and discursive changes. The 2009 H1N1 Pandemic represented an important test of these new conceptualisations, since it was an event that was by definition globalised in nature, and therefore a focus for ‘global health’ action. This paper examines the way in which the concept and structures of the new ‘global health’ impacted upon the management of H1N1. Specifically, the consequences of the diminished authority of the World Health Organisation in specifying pandemic management actions are focused upon. It is argued that this has led to the further marginalisation of the interests of developing counties. Though the global public health paradigm emphasises global solidarity, it serves to reinforce inequalities in terms of access and action.

Key words: Global health, pandemic, H1N1, World Health Organisation, inequality

Introduction

Contemporary changes in the discourse and structure surrounding global public health – and the displacement of the international health model - have important implications for the way in which disease events are managed. Diseases which are now linked to globalisation, such as influenza pandemics, provide particular evidence for the outcomes of the new global public health paradigm. Through the analysis of World Health Organisation (WHO) documents, this paper examines the effects of the global health paradigm on the management of the 2009 H1N1 Pandemic.

The paper is drawn from a larger study on the role of the WHO in managing H1N1. This study utilised qualitative textual analysis to examine all WHO epidemiological documents, public statements, press conferences, and policy papers pertaining to H1N1 from the first acknowledgement of the virus (April 2009) to the official declaration of the post-pandemic period (August 2010). This paper focuses upon those statements and documents which pertain to the concept of global health, and the WHO’s relationship with the concept of ‘global health’, through the frame of the sociology of global health and global health inequality.

The paper focuses upon the effects of the new conceptualisation of global public health in terms of discursive and structural change. Particularly, it reflects on the impact of political and structural changes in global health decision-making (namely, decreasing the power of the WHO) upon public health actions. The paper provides evidence for the enduring global health

inequalities exacerbated by this shift in practice. Overall, it is argued that, while the new paradigm emphasises global solidarity and decision-making in both discourse and process, in reality it leads to the further marginalisation of the interests of the developing world.

The global public health paradigm

As a result of globalisation, public health has undergone significant changes in conception and organisation. Since the 1990s, 'global health' has been replacing 'international health' in institutional and public discourse. This shift is not only semantic but also reflects wider structural changes (Brown et al. 2006; Janes and Corbett 2009). 'International health', which referred to the control of epidemics across the boundaries of the nation state, predominated during the 19th and 20th century. In contrast, the new 'global health' implies that the needs of a global population should supersede the interests of individual nation states (Brown et al. 2006; Yach and Bettcher 1998).

Global public health refers to a consciousness that the world is an interconnected place, which in turn implies political assumptions about how public health should be ordered (Keane 1998). The predominance of 'global health', sometimes referred to as the 'global public health paradigm', suggests that public health issues should be understood and managed on a global level. Furthermore, the number and scale of perceived health concerns, particularly in the context of infectious disease, is growing (Taylor 2005). Infectious agents can indeed move more swiftly across the globe, rendering national boundaries meaningless in pandemic management. For this reason, pandemic events represent an important discursive focus of global health.

A shift in public health structures has accompanied this shift in discourse. International governance, the past structuring of public health, reflected governance structures focussed around the sovereignty of the nation state, and defined through relationship with intergovernmental agencies (as they were then conceptualised), in particular, the WHO (Brown et al. 2006; Taylor 2005). In contrast, global governance refers to the repositioning of state actors, intergovernmental (now 'global') organisations lose some of their authority, and a broad range of non-state actors such as NGOs and multinational corporations have become included as health 'partners' (Brown et al. 2006; Buse and Walt 2000; Maguire and Hardy 2006; Taylor 2005). As part of this emphasis upon 'partnership', the leadership power if the WHO has been diminished. Health policy is now formed at the global level through networks of these private-public partnerships. Furthermore, public health management has become increasingly fragmented and verticalised (Ollila 2005), with emphasis being placed upon selected interventions (particularly in respect to infectious disease) each with their own coalition of actors. This has fundamentally impacted upon the way in which health interventions are managed, and led to the marginalisation of the role of the WHO.

Discussion:

Global health and H1N1 - the role of the WHO

The global health paradigm implicitly rests upon the perception of the effects of globalisation. The H1N1 threat, like many widespread infectious disease events, had clearly been described by the WHO as a globalised disease. For example, one of the aspects of the virus that was most heavily emphasised was its ability to cross boundaries and affect diverse populations. Thus:

> Influenza pandemics, whether moderate or severe, are remarkable events because of the almost universal susceptibility of the world's population to infection. We're all in this together, and we will all get through this, together (Chan [WHO Director-General] 11/06/09b).

In this way the H1N1 threat was characterised within discourses of globalisation and as a 'global health' problem. This understanding of H1N1 as a globalised threat was fundamental to management strategies, and to the roles of various key actors within the global public health structure.

At key points in its history, the WHO has led, reflected or adjusted to changes in the wider structuring of public health (Brown et al. 2006). The recently changing context of public health necessarily resulted in shifts within global health governance structures, including alterations in the structures and practices of the WHO. In fact, the rise of the global public health paradigm was deeply influential on the institutional arrangement of the WHO, which needed to account for the rise in prominence of global public-private partnerships. Primarily, the WHO's structures changed as a reaction to the appearance of new players in the global health arena, deferring decision/-making processes to these actors (Kickbusch and de Leeuw 1999; Maguire and Hardy 2006; Szlezak et al. 2010). Instead of presenting itself as a key decision-making body, the Organisation began to reconstruct itself into the role of coordinator and strategic planner.

The WHO now perceives itself as primarily concerned with the coordination and facilitation of dialogue among various global public policy networks, which include not only state actors but also corporations, NGOs and other elements of civil society. Thus, the Organisation's authority has been weakened to that of a 'facilitator' rather than leadership position. This is emphasised by the WHO's own statement:

> …this is a time in which we can work with countries to be as prepared as possible. That is the bottom line. Our bottom line is that there are things that countries can do, that we can help them with, to get them prepared… (Fukuda [(WHO Spokesperson on H1N1, Special Advisor to the WHO Director-General on Pandemic Influenza, and WHO Assistant-Director General] 07/05/09).

The redefined role of the Organisation was thus to coordinate global efforts against disease – coordination and assistance were emphasised as opposed to delivering recommendations or engaging in direct action; these were now almost the sole domain of nation states.

The WHO strongly suggested that the reaction to the pandemic threat must be a global one. Corresponding to the discourse of global public health, it was suggested that the threat of H1N1 affected all nations and, furthermore, that the reaction to the threat should be multi-institutional and cooperative. Thus, in keeping with the proposed universal nature of the threat, the concept of 'global solidarity' was key to the WHO's depiction of necessary action against H1N1. It was

emphasised that '[a]n influenza pandemic is a global event that calls for global solidarity' (Chan 04/05/09) and it was suggested that:

> An influenza pandemic is an extreme expression of the need for solidarity before a shared threat...As I said, an influenza pandemic is an extreme expression of the need for global solidarity. We are all in this together. And we will all get through this, together (Chan 11/06/09).

The suggestion that 'we are all in this together' was characteristic of the WHO's depiction of the necessary global reaction to H1N1. In this way, the notion of worldwide vulnerability and the importance of global cooperation was emphasised.

The specific term 'global solidarity' was heavily utilised. It was suggest that '[a]ll countries profit from this expression of solidarity' (Chan 18/05/09), and the idea of working in cooperation was emphasised throughout.

> Above all, this is an opportunity for global solidarity as we look for responses and solutions that benefit all countries, all of humanity. After all, it is really all of humanity that is under threat during a pandemic (Chan 29/04/09).

As this suggests, though the H1N1 virus was depicted as capable of significant disruption and harm, the notions of a common humanity and 'working together' against the virus was invoked as an important protective mechanism. In accordance with its coordinating role within global public health, and the global public health paradigm, the WHO emphasised cooperation between actors as a means by which to combat the pandemic.

Global health inequalities

Epidemic and pandemic events affect the developing world, with its lack of health infrastructure, disproportionately. Historically, the WHO has portrayed itself as a champion of the interests of developing nations, and this was again evident in the case of H1N1. Thus the Director-General stated that '[i]t is my duty to help ensure that people are not left unaided simply because of the place where they were born' (Chan 04/05/09) and she strongly urged wealthy nations to 'look closely at anything and everything we can do, collectively, to protect developing countries from, once again, bearing the brunt of contagion' (Chan 11/06/09).

However, in contrast to these discourses of solidarity, in practice, public health priorities often reflect the concerns of the wealthy (Ollila 2005). In this case, the advent of a global pandemic was a priority for the West (H1N1 had been so heavily mobilised around because of this), whereas the developing world faces more immediate health concerns. Simultaneously, infectious disease problems are also often perceived as originating from the developing world (Bashford 2002; Brown et al. 2009). Fundamental to these perceptions are what King (2002) refers to as the 'emerging disease worldview', which has arisen in the West and narrates the link between the developed and the developing world through the experience of infectious disease. Here, the subjective perception of globalised interdependence is embedded within moral narratives locating disease in the Third World, suggesting that the West is increasingly susceptible to infectious disease threats which originate in developing countries.

This narrative of contagion links together with differential access to therapies. The 'WHO is really trying to ensure that all countries, including developing countries, will have access to vaccines' (Kieny 06/08/09). However, at the same time access to vaccines (the dominant containment strategy) was necessarily unequal:

> ...a vaccine is like any other, in certain aspects, is like any other commodity that is produced by a manufacturer, a producer, and which is then marketed and sold to a private or a public customer. Now of course it is not completely like that because as we know there are a lot of issues about public health, about equitable access and it cannot be considered simply as any other public good (Fukuda 06/05/09).

In regards to this, it was acknowledged that vaccines would not be fairly distributed:

> Who will get the vaccine? Well, of course the first countries to receive the vaccines will be two categories of countries. First are the rich countries, with a high income. These are the ones which have already at the beginning even before the pandemic started, purchase agreements with manufacturers...The other type…is the countries that they do not have to be rich, but to have domestic production (Fukuda 24/09/09).

Thus 'a final point that I want to make about vaccines is that we are in a situation in which some countries have vaccine available and other countries do not' (Fukuda 05/11/09). As such, the WHO asserted that it coordinated with manufacturers and more affluent nations to 'have access to vaccines for developing countries…through donations or purchase at a reduced price...' (Kieny 06/08/09). However, as according to the global health paradigm (which emphasises a presumed equality and partnership of various health actors, despite their relative power), the WHO's role has been relegated to advocacy and negotiation. The shift in power and management processes, through increasing the independence of the nation state in preventative action, further marginalised the interests of the developing world. The reality of the unequal burden of contagion within the developing world contrasts sharply with the effects of the discourse, presented by developed nations, of the developing world as the source of contagion.

For example, during the early part of the H1N1 threat there was considerable fear of travellers from developing countries. It was suggested by governments of developing nations in several cases that they had been subject to discrimination through results of other nations' disease control measures. For example, as the first cases of H1N1 arose in Mexico, that country quickly became a target of sanctions. The WHO however failed to react. One reporter (Eva Ussi, Grupa Radio Centro, Mexico) suggested that:

> …the influenza virus has already caused international hostilities particularly against Mexico, who have seen how Argentina, Cuba, Ecuador and China have cancelled flights to and from this country. China even went further and kept Mexican businessmen and Mexican tourists, around 70 people, secluded in a hotel. They were not infected, nevertheless they could only return to Mexico on a special flight. Mexicans feel hurt because they were unilaterally stigmatized for being Mexicans. This treatment was not given to the United States or Canada [who had also presented cases]. (Fukuda 06/05/09)

The new structures of global health prevent the WHO from issuing directives regarding the preventative actions of (and against) individual countries, as national governments are now primarily responsible. This shift in authority rendered the WHO relatively powerless to issue definitive statements on global health actions. As such:

> …countries can take additional measures, other than those recommended by WHO that they feel might be necessary to respond to a public health risk. However, countries adopting measures that are significantly different and/or interfere with international traffic must provide WHO the public health rationale… We have begun the process of getting more information from a number of countries. …We do remind you that the IHR does require that Member Countries treat travellers with respect for their human rights, dignity and fundamental freedoms (Fukuda 06/05/09).

In a second instance, the reporter (Frank Jordans, AP) stated that '…we have heard a lot about discrimination against people from certain countries because there are outbreaks there' (Briand 08/05/09), to which it was replied:

> …according to the International Health Regulations a country, if it wants to take health measures above and beyond what is recommended by WHO can do so, but it must justify those in public health terms. Often times, WHO will write to a country asking for justification for these measures. We have done that in quite a few instances already, I don't exactly know how many, and we have received responses… (Briand 08/05/09).

In its facilitator role, as defined by the global public health paradigm, the WHO was unable to issue concrete directives, and could not protect developing countries' interests to the extent that it once could. In this way, under the present global public health paradigm, the potential for stigmatising and marginalising the developing world is aggravated.

Conclusion

The changing nature of public health management, referred to as the global public health paradigm, has led to fundamental shifts in both institutional structure and discourse. Both of these have had important implications on the management of disease events. In the case of the 2009 H1N1 Pandemic, the discourse surrounding the event emphasised global solidarity. However, coupled with structural changes (in particular the diminishing of the authority of the WHO and the increasing independence of nation state in defining preventative actions), this further intensifies the negative outcomes for the developing world in both the distribution of pharmaceuticals and the enactment of stigmatising public health actions. While proposing a discourse of collaboration and globality, the global public health paradigm in effect serves to reinforce inequality.

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The Settlement ChallengesFacing South Sudanese Refugee Community in the Western of Suburbs of Melbourne

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to explore the settlement challenges facing the South Sudanese refugee community in the western suburbs of Melbourne. The refugee community from South Sudan that resettled in Australia are among the country's most disadvantaged and vulnerable community groups. The critical settlement situation of the South Sudanese community is due to many issues, including alack of sufficient support services for thecommunity and vulnerable families. This article discusses settlement related challenges facing the South Sudanese refugee community from their perspective with an aim of sharing findings with an audience that may have no real life experience of being a refugee or resettling out of their comfort zone. The settlement period has been extremely challenging for the South Sudanese refugee community in many ways. Since resettling in Australia, the community has faced settlement difficulties like making certain adjustments to the Australian way of life.

The South Sudanese refugee community in Australia come from a difficult background of a long civil war which has affected this community in many forms; the community are going through a recovery process from past traumas and sometimes it is difficult forindividuals and families to forget past experiences of conflict and move on with their new lives. Refugees often lose the opportunity of independency due to conflict and overstaying in refugee camps as not enough services are provided to help them gain relevant skills and education. People struggle with daily survival issues rather than investing in long-term life skills.The lack of sufficient skills and education related to the western world's way of life has impacted on families and individuals that resettle in Australia. Settlement issues hamper many families and individualswithin the South Sudanese refugeecommunity. The struggle to understand a new culture and people, a new system and related bureaucracy is extremely problematic to people when they are settling. Due financial hardship and the chronic lack of employment, this community tends to have a higher risk of experiencing problems like homelessness, family breakdown, social isolation, financial hardship, poor health, drug and alcohol abuse, gambling problems, unemployment and young people's involvement in criminal activities such stealing and robbery. Stereotyping refugee community groups in a new culture, like the South Sudanese community,increases the risk of young people becoming socially disconnected from the mainstream community by dropping out of school.The needs of individuals and families tend to be different based on their level of education and experiences in refugee camps. Depending on their understanding and expectations, different generations have differing experiences of settlement issues.

Key words: Settlement challenges, South Sudanese, Refugee community

Introduction

The South Sudanese refugee groups are one of the newly emerged disadvantaged communities in Australia. Regardless of their minoritystatuswithin Australia, their issues are very much visible in the media as many people within this community are struggling with settlement issues.This article is part of a study done for Victoria University'sMaster of International Community Development. The overall aim of this research is to inform service providers, governments and the wider community and to provide a voice for the South Sudanese refugee community on the common settlement issues. Secondly, it contributes to the existing literature on settlement and refugee issues in a broader context. In order to reshape settlement policy, it is fundamentally important to understand refugees' social conditions and historical, cultural, economic and political backgrounds and difficulties encountered during the settlement period. The South Sudanese community is one of many refugee communities that were forced to leave their homeland because of civil war, cultural oppression and the denial of the basic human rights, including social and economic rights. While settling in Australia, they are faced with enormous settlement challenges including housing, employment and cultural adaptation.In Australia, among the challenges that refugee and migrant settlers find pressing is a struggle to adjust to the new culture and integrate into mainstream services. For the South Sudanese refugee community and other African refugee groups, it is even worse when compared to other refugees and migrants in Australia. This is because the practices and values that are being reflected in their new environment are sometimes inconsistent with the African communities' values and traditional way of engaging community groups. African refugees that are resettled in higher income counties like Australia face certain challenges, such as family breakdown, parenting, unemployment, racism and discrimination (Renzaho 2011). The high costs in the Australian housing market have brought significant consequences to the economically and socially disadvantaged South Sudanese community and other minority ethnic groups (Atem 2011).The study focuses on settlement experiences and the community's understanding of settlement challenges. This study hasraised critical challenges issues around settlement for refugee communities. Significant issues such as unemployment, housing, racism and discrimination are discussed from the community's perspective.

The South Sudanese community

Due to a long civil war in Sudan between the Southern Sudanese and the Northern Sudanese, many people from the South Sudan region were displaced and forced to seek refuge in other countries around the world, including Australia. Currently, it is estimated that more than 24,000 South Sudanese are living in Australia and the majority of this population came between 2001 and 2006 (Atem 2011). Many South Sudanese families chose to live in Melbourne. Adjusting to a new culture is one of the most pressing challenges facing many South Sudanese refugee settlers. The experience of a new culture, new system, and the lack of language acquisition are impeding refugee families and individuals.The war between the North and the South of Sudan has claimed an estimated two million lives, with many millions more homeless and displaced (Coker, 2004). The roots of this war lie in long-standing ethnic and religious hostility between the lighter-skinned Arab-Muslim rulers of the North and the mostly Christian ethnic groups in the South, fuelled by the discovery of oil in the southern provinces (Deng, 2005). As a result of this devastating conflict, the South Sudanese refugee group entered Australia between 2002 and 2005 under the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (the Refugee Convention). During this period Sudan was at the top of the Australian Humanitarian Program. Many families decided to settle in Melbourne's western and eastern suburbs because of rental affordability and community

connection. Although South Sudan became an independent nation in 2011, large numbers of South Sudanese refugees are still living in exile, in places such as the Kakuma refugee camp in northern Kenya, refugee camps in Uganda and Ethiopia, and urban refugees residing in Cairo (Turner &Fozdar, 2010).

The experience of migrating and resettling can significantly disrupt a refugee's social world. Their social relationships become lost or fragmented while the social network crumbles and remaining families become dislocated. The past social world has vanished while a new economic, political and cultural context is formed. The refugee's war-related suffering is reinforced by challenges and losses that are migration-related (Westoby, 2008). During the period of transition and settlement, the community is faced with many social issues and problems on top of what they have already gone through before their arrival to Australia. Past suffering includes traumatic life experiences in conflict zones and in refugee camps, displacement and separation of family members (Tipping, 2010).

Generally, refugees in camps start their resettlement processes with help of the UNHCR as well as Australia's Humanitarian Program that visit camps and conduct interviews. Conditions in refugee camps are often unbearable as UNHCR only provides for basic services that are needed for survival (Tipping, 2010). Upon arrival in Australia,refugees face considerable challenges in adapting to a new life, a new system and a new culture. Time is needed for them to adapt to the new environment, culture and language. Their experiences from past conflicts and refugee camps have eroded the skills and abilities of refugees. Although these experiences have been reinforced by their settlement difficulties, community members have tried their best to support one another during difficult times (Commonwealth of Australia, 2007). However, there are many barriers and limitations for South Sudanese community members to provide consistent help to families and young people who face a higher risk and are more vulnerable to the challenges of settlement. The South Sudanese community members tend to live in different suburbs far apart but despite this challenge their community's social fabric still brings them together to celebrate cultural events (VFST, 2006).

Refugees and UNHCR

Recently in Australia, there have been many discourses about refugees, including "bad" refugees and "good" refugees, due to the significant increase of asylum seekers by boat. Although none of the South Sudanese refugees have arrived boat, they are treated as "bad" refugees because of their visible settlement related challenges. Refugees from the South Sudanese community came to Australia through genuine processes from the UNHCR. Those whom the UNHCR have identified as refugees are allowed to apply for a status of refugee to those countries that signed the Refugee Convention. As a result of an increasing number of refugees and humanitarian entrants, the United Nations (UN) established the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950. Since that time, the UNHCR has been mandated by the UN General Assembly to assist and protect refugees, asylum seekers and internal displaced people (IDP). Its mandate is to lead and co-ordinate international action to protect refugees and resolve refugee problems worldwide, and its primary purpose is to safeguard the rights and wellbeing of refugees (Tipping, 2010). Australia is one of the countries that has signed the convention and has resettled many refugees. The majority of the South Sudanese in Australia arrived through the help of the UNHCR in refugee camps; the process itself is very difficult for the refugee. They experience a high level of homesickness and isolation and this is aggravated by a culture shock that further hinders their ability to begin their life in Australia. The impact of integrating into a

new society can often cause high levels of stress and anxiety for refugees (Refugee Council of Australia, 2011). Besides a shared traumatic past, many refugees have experienced poverty, poor quality or total absence of formal education, and may have low or no levels of English language knowledge. If they were living in a refugee camp prior to their arrival, they may have no concept of interacting with society and its institutions such as banks, hotels, etc. These are some of the reasons that refugees in a country like Australia struggle with unemployment, English language barriers, post-traumatic disorders, general health and cultural issues (Harte et al, 2009).

Research methodology

This study used a qualitative study method, and explored critical issues that are taken for granted by some and yet are pressing issues for refugee community groups. Six families were recruited for the study and the head of each family was interviewed in two parts. The first part was about their personal experiences of settlement related challenges and second part was about their familiesand other close community members experience in Australia. Participants were engaged in a semi-structured interview in which their views were scripted and analysed as findings. Pseudonym names have been used in this study, meaning the names given to participants in this research paper are not reflecting real names of people who were interviewed. Participants were engaged in a flexible and respectful method to enhance their confidence and ensure full participation in the interview. This was done by allowing participants to choose a closed and convenient venue for the interview; time was arranged according to their availability and personal information was coded anonymously (Boyce and Neale 2006). The qualitative research method is commonly used in many fields, including fields of community development and refugee studies. This qualitative methodinvolved conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation.Participants can share their experiences and thoughts about program operations, processes and outcomes, and their concerns (Boyce and Neale 2006). Qualitative methods are very effective and provide a relaxing atmosphere in which information can be collected easily through conversations. People may feel more comfortable having a conversation with a researcher about their program as opposed to filling out a survey (Cynthiawoodsong et al 2005).

Findings and discussions

As one of the newly emerged communities in Australia, the South Sudanese refugee group has experienced a number of settlement issues.This research has discussed settlement related challenges from the South Sudanese community's perspectives, particularly members who are currently living in the western suburbs of Melbourne. The experiences of the South Sudanese community in this region also relates to other regions of Australia where the South Sudanese refugee group are settling. There is no doubt that newly arrived refugee community groups are experiencing substantial challenges although some government funded programs are available to provide support services (Gifford et al 2007). Common settlement challenges facing the South Sudanese refugee community include unemployment, language barriers, housing issues, discrimination and racism. There are numerous factors that affect refugees' settlement into Australia. These factors are based on their capacity to adjust, level of education obtained and the life skills a person acquires to adjust in new environment. Settlement is understood as a transformation process of helping refugee community groups to settle in a new country. Settlement is the period of adjustment that occurs following a migrant or refugee's arrival in a new country, as they become established and independent in their new society (Richmond, 2011). This means that refugee community groups that have been in

Australia for over five years are still facing settlement issues for a number of reasons including language and cultural barriers. A refugee community member from South Sudan speaks of the difficulties and complexity of defining settlement due to the many issues surrounding it:

> *Settlement is a broad thing you cannot define it in sentence or in paragraph because it is continuum and endless. There is no yearly stick of measuring the South Sudanese community's needs of settlement as these or that. But what I can say is that our people from the South Sudanese community do need orientation and support services. You could see that people are not well oriented and that is why they are struggling with issues related to settlement. I think there is no end to settlement but there is a beginning. If there are no proper services provided, people cannot settle. Social issues can continuously emerge from time to time* (Samuel)

The above statement is reinforced by the fact that social support can influence immigrants' and refugees' feelings of belonging or isolation. Refugees are facing social issues in their host country, which intensifies problems with integration and their social relations may be either disrupted or de-valued in the host country. Being an immigrant or refugee can impact on each community member's role, expectations, and can increase conflicting values within families. For refugees, social support services can enable them to access information and services in the host society, and help them maintain a link with their homeland (Stewart el al, 2008).

"I think settlement is when you are successful in new life or in new country. It is enabling, integrating people and I think the aim is to enable people or to allow people to reach a point where they can be self-sufficient and well integrated in the community. It is very much about understanding the system of new culture in new country, navigating yourself to know the ways of life in new environment and stimulating in new culture. I don't think that settlement is about taking someone's life comprehensively. It is about enabling someone; provides knowledge, skills and opportunity to be able to help them self within certain community" (Monica)

The settlement period is a difficult time for refugee community groups in many ways and can be a dramatic experience for families and individuals. This period requires sufficient support services for refugee community groups because of constant social issues striking refugee families and individuals, including financial hardship, family breakdown, intergeneration conflict, social isolation, cultural shock, home sickness, unemployment and discrimination.

"*My parents were overwhelmed by the many responsibilities with children and financial pressure. In the community generally, people who are older are facing many challenges of because of the responsibilities and things that they wanted to do but could not do because of language barrier. For example they could not get jobs to help themselves and they only depended on welfare payment. They could not help their relatives and family members who were left overseas. It is so difficult and frustrating to people who do not understand English as they are unable to help themselves*" (Adeng)

Parents and young people appeared to experience settlement issues differently; perhaps parents or adults tend to have higher expectations of wanting to get jobs and earn moneyto support their family members and relatives either in Australia or overseas. Young people have less responsibility and do not have the same level of expectation to get a job.However, the reality is that adults' high expectation of gaining employment within a short time after settlement is unachievable due to many employment barriers. For example getting

a job is a challenging process for someone who has a very little or no English. The process of getting a job is competitive in Australia; and people with low English level struggle to get jobs in a competing process.

"*My experience was difficult. There were many challenging things that we faced in between. My family was struggling to get things rights in Australia including learning language. Yet we were hammered by culture shock, home sick and social isolation. There were also discrimination attitudes that we faced from here and there at different places"* (John).

Beside the common settlement issues facing families from the South Sudanese refugee community, parents are facing difficulties in raising children in two different cultures. Young people have some familiarity with Australia's systems and are receptive to Australia's lifestyle. However, parents are still holding their traditional and cultural ways of parenting in South Sudan, which is completely different to Australia's way of parenting. Parenting is one of the challenges of arriving in a new country. In the South Sudanese expression, "parenting in new culture is not a glass of water to drink" - meaning this is not an easy task and cannot be underestimated when working with refugee communities.

"*We live in a country where young people see their ways and young people tend to be smarter than parents and parents are still holding traditional parenting style. This is one of the causes of family conflict. Family can easily breakdown as a result of continuous tension and distressing situation if there is no understanding*" (Monica).

4.3 Lack of continuing support services after five years for refugee communities

The Australian government funds settlement services agencies to deliver settlement support services to newly arrived refugee families and individuals. Agencies are mandated by the government to work with refugee community groups and individuals by delivering casework, community development, orientation, advocacy, housing and accommodation and so forth, depending on the requirements of newly arrived clients. However, these settlement support services are only delivered within a specified timeframe from a refugees' arrival of up to five years. This is often hard for families and individuals that have passed the five years mark and are still struggling with settlement issues. One of the participants speaks of her family not being supported by social workers from agencies while struggling with housing issues.

"I think we had bad settlement experiences when we came here, we didn't have social worker to help us. We did things alone, we struggled to get government housing which I think everyone who is new struggles to get and to make matters worse we are still struggling to get government housing. We are already six years in Australia which means we cannot receive any services in settlement area. But the ironic part is that we have not received any services or any help at all from the start" (Monica)

Refugee community groups that are struggling with settlement issues require intensive support services including community development initiatives.

"*I think organisations fail to engage refugee community groups actively to address their needs through community development group. There is lack of accountability; organisations should be accountable to newly arrived community groups. Although there is this notion of helping refugee community groups to settle. Sometimes, refugee families don't get enough support as much as family's needs are concerned"* (Samuel).

Language issue

Refugee community groups that come from non-English countries and settled in English-speaking countries are constantly faced with language difficulties. It is not easy for adults with many other responsibilities to learn the language quickly, and it takes time for refugee adult groups to learn English and to understand the system fully. People must be supported to improve their levels of education in literacy and numeracy, as these skills are crucial for employability (DIAC, 2012). The problem is that newly arrived refugees and migrants are only eligible to take free English lessons for 510 hours provided by the AMEP. Extending refugees' learning support services is important inimproving their English skills in writing and communication. Education services provided by AMEP assists newly arrived refugees and migrants to learn English but this learning support service is only provided within the specific timeframe of up to 510 hours after arrival. One of the participants has indicated that 510 hours is not enough for community members from South Sudan to learn English.

"510 *hours for refugees' education support is not realistic, especially for those who come from a non-English background and oral culture such as south Sudanese group. In South Sudan, people never even learn how write and read in their own language. It is challenging for them. I do think that it is not good idea to classify people in one boat by making them learn English within 510 hours. Learning is depended on personal basis; some people require more or less hours to learn.*" (Monica).

Unemployment

Employment is an important part of supporting refugee communities to settle better in a new environment. When people gain employment and have a stable income, it reduces the stress of financial problems and they feel accepted and respected in society. However, refugee communities usually struggle with many social issues that affect their ability to secure employment in their new country (DIAC, 2012). The South Sudanese community is one of the groups of refugee communities facing social issues and isolation in the employment area.

*"Getting employed is very important. It means lots, you integrate easily by understanding system and cultures by having other people work with you. People need employment, but it seems to be hard for many refugee groups particularly we South Sudanese community members in Melbourne" (*John*).*

Gaining employment is essential; it is critical for material welfare and identity. It is clear that many refugee people from an African background find it difficult to gain employment since they have no locally acquired skills and experience. However, some of the problems are unrelated to lack of skills but relate to racial discrimination. Discrimination plays a role in keeping Africans unemployed or underemployed, even when they have got Australian qualifications (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009).

*Discriminating people not to have jobs is disempowering and this makes people to depend their lives on government's welfare benefits. It is not good enough for someone who wanted work and get out of welfare dependency. Many young people are looking for jobs but no way for them gets jobs quick, it is frustrating and stressful to attend many interviews with no luck or applying for many jobs and no call for interview. This is a real situation for the South Sudanese in Australia" (*Monica*).*

The unemployment problem is associated with several factors including limited schooling and discriminatory attitudes in workplaces. People from refugee backgrounds are often confronted by difficulties in the labour market which cannot be explained alone by poor English language skills, occupational skill deficiencies or the recentness of their arrival. Refugees face greater adjustment problems in settlement, possibly as a direct consequence of the traumatic events leading to their arrival. Refugees from African backgrounds are suffering from excessive unemployment, inactivity, non-employment, disguised unemployment and under-employment (Atem 2008).

Refugee communities are dealing with complex issues during the settlement period. The South Sudanese communityappear to lose their confidence and ability to look for suitable jobs because of discriminatory attitudes of employers. The community's situation has constantly deteriorated due to a lack of support provided from settlement organisations. As a result of people losing hope, they remain helpless and struggle with unemployment issues. There are many young people who are looking for employment but it is difficult to get jobs because of high competition and the lack of available jobs in the market. Furthermore, unemployed parents cannot have a choice about where to live and where to educate their children as the lack of financial stability is daunting for refugee families who are depending on welfare payments. Paul Atem (2008) argues that racial discrimination is one of the major impediments in gaining employment as some employers tend to dislike hiring black Africans in their workplaces.

Housing

Obtaining affordable housing for families of a larger size is stressful and challenging process in many parts of Australia. The Australian government is attempting to address the housing shortage but a lack of resources to build affordable housing for everyone has made it hard for the government to address housing and homelessness issues in a large scale way. Families from refugee communities are struggling to get accommodation or housing because of the number children in the family; two or three bedroom flats or houses cannot accommodate families in some situations (Atem 2009). On top of this, landlords are fearful to rent their properties to families with many children because of the likelihood of property damage. This makes it harder for families with many children to be accepted into private renting. It is widely acknowledged that people of African backgrounds encounter significant difficulties accessing adequate and appropriate housing in Australia. These difficulties need to be understood so that strategies can be developed to assist African Australian families to meet their accommodation needs. It is also necessary to explore structural and systemic practices that prevent African Australians accessing suitable accommodation (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009).

Access to appropriate and affordable housing is very important and is a fundamental human right (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009). Getting affordable accommodation is one of the issues facing unemployed families from the South Sudanese community. During their settlement period, families have been struggling to find suitable accommodation for their family. "John" speaks of getting a house for a single mother with low income and a number of children as difficult.

"*Getting a house for single mother with low income and number of young children is very difficult in Australia particular with real estate agents. Families are denied based on their incomes and number of children they have, this made difficult for many families from South Sudanese community to access private rents. It is also difficult to get government*

housing due to long waiting list and as well as four to five bedroom are rare to get too with government's houses" (John).

African migrants in Australia are facing difficulties in the housing sector due to their larger family size, lack of personal transport; lack of financial and social capital; racial discrimination; limited English language skills and lack of knowledge in dealing with public and private sectors. The traditional family structure of African migrants appears to differ from other migrant groups in Australia. Africans often have larger family sizes than those of non-African households making the traditional Australian housing designs not suitable to meet the African migrants' housing needs (Atem 2009)

As a result of financial hardship, families are forced to live in high-rise accommodations that are not suitable for raising children. The South Sudanese families that live in high-rise buildings are there because they cannot afford to pay the market rent of houses. Families with children are fearful that the wrong group will influence their children (Atem 2009). The South Sudanese refugee community would ideally like to be placed in suburbs where accommodation is affordable and there are amenities such as public transport, public hospitals and schools. Every person has the right to an adequate standard of living, which includes the right to adequate housing.Whether housing is adequate depends on a range of factors including legal security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, accessibility, habitability, location, and cultural adequacy (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009) .

Racism and discrimination

Australia is a country of many nationalities. The many people that make up Australia's population have an overseas connection in either the first, second or third generations of their family backgrounds, except indigenous-Australians. According to the Australian government policy, Australia is a diverse nation that has embraced multicultural policy in which no individual is discriminated against. Nevertheless, racism and discrimination are still outstanding issues when it comes to newly arrived refugees. African–Australians want to build their new life and contribute to the Australian society but many of these newer arrivals have been confronted by numerous barriers including accessing employment, housing and racial issues (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009).

"*Racism and discrimination is something sensitive to be discussed openly in Australia. You find that the whole institutions completely either ignore intentionally or are uninterested in such issues or they just find it insignificant, yet it is something essential to be addressed as the way you see yourself as an Australian. So I do think racism is a big factor at schools as well as employment sector. At schools for example, there is a number of young people from South Sudanese background that dropout at schools because of racist attitudes toward them. If you talk to young people, some of them will tell you that they are called monkeys at schools, things like that can be constituted as racism. Young people are supposedly to spend 80 per cent of their day at schools, there is no way you can spend such time as a human being in an environment where you feels unsafe, un-respected or treated as you are person who has somewhere to go*" (Achol).

Common barriers faced by African-Australians are visible differences, access issues related to English language skills and local experience in the employment arena. These and many more barriers are often linked to discrimination and barriers maintained by professional bodies (Australia Human Right Commission, 2009). The Australian government's multicultural policy position is that racism and discrimination are unacceptable in Australia. It is unlawful to discriminate against people based on their skin colour, nationality, faith and social status including disability,for example. However, it is one of the sensitive topics that

many people do not like to discuss in public and it still exists in many forms. Refugee community groups are experiencing racial attacks and discrimination in different forms including comments made by prominent politicians against refugee community groups. In 2007, the former Minister for Immigration, Kevin Andrew, publicly announced that African migrants had failed to integrate into mainstream society. As a consequence of such comments, media groups including channel 7, 9 and 10 in Melbourne targeted the 'Sudanese' issue and reported negatively on African refugee community groups for their commercial interests (Due, 2008).

As a consequence of such comments from politicians in the media,refugeesfrom the South Sudanese community end up being the victim of discrimination and racial abuse. Atem (2011) argues that African refugees face discrimination related to Australia's narrow perception of them. This translates into discrimination in the labour market and health, education and housing sectors.

"*You have all these groups of young people, myself is included, who sometimes faces other avenues in which one would feel different forms of discrimination. Sometimes I felt that I'm totally discriminated against and this is also applied to many young people that do go out with me. Yet we have nowhere to go and address our grievances about awful feeling of discrimination*" (Monica).

People can be unsettled in some cases when they are still struggling with feelings of being unsafe, discrimination at the workplace and racial comments on the street or from neighbours. For example, a refugee child may feel unwelcomed at school because of comments made about his or her skin colour. Communities generally feel unsafe in such situations; people want to move to a better location where they feel welcomed, respected and treated fairly. Families and young people from the South Sudanese community have experienced confronting issues of racism and discrimination. Due (2008) describes political representation in Australia as hegemonic with one dominant power since the time of the White Australia policy. This has reinforced the attitudes of some people who are still holding negative views towards migrants and refugees.

"*My brother was constantly threatened at school which was horrible, eventually we have to move out, and particularly we cannot cope to live there anymore because it was not safe for us. As consequences of living in that area before, my brother is struggling with school. The South Sudanese young people are struggling to find their ways of belonging in of term identity in Australia. This is due to constant issues confronting people in many places, and these issues includes racism and discrimination at workplaces, schools and other public areas"* (Monica).

The experience of discrimination by African immigrants in Australia has been noted by major studies on African settlement in Australia. Some of the literature indicates that racism has a significant impact on health due to stress and has both physiological and social consequences (Due, 2008). At the physiological level, stress has adverse effects on our health and at the social level, it reduces our chances of accessing vital resources such as employment, education, housing and recreational amenities. Discrimination and theresultant stress depend on other factors including previous experiences, personal resilience and the availability of social support. Young men from the South Sudanese community find themselves being constantly threatened by police and being named 'gang groups' because they are walking in a group. In the South Sudanese culture, it is common to travel in groups as young men and young women as part of socialisation. This part of the culture is not being understood in many contexts; it is the reason many of these young men are being stopped randomly by police (Mungai, 2008).

Recommendations

From the resultsof the study's findings of settlement issues facing the South Sudanese community in the western suburbs of Melbourne, the author of this article is recommending that refugees' issues need to be understood based on the level of education obtained in their previous countries of origin, time spent in refugee camps and the types of services provided in these particular camps. Service providers need to improvetheir delivery of services in areas of employment, racism and discrimination, social isolation as well as early intervention services. There is also a need to create cultural appropriate services to help the communityin addressing past trauma related issues and settlement issues in a way that is appropriate to their culture and experiences. This could be an effective intervention strategy. Without effective intervention strategies and alternative engagement, there is going to be continued risks and challenges facing families and individual members regardless of how long this community spends in Australia. Some of the risks facing members of the community include problems that are interrelated such as unemployment and the continual dependence on social security support as main source of income for families. Social isolation and the effects of discrimination and racism can affect people's abilities and can make them vulnerable throughout their livesresulting in the cumulative effect of being economically and socially excluded from Australia's mainstream society.

There are some important steps that need to be taken seriously by the government when settling refugee community groups into the mainstream community. Firstly, settlement can be successful when there is a strong connection between refugee community groups and local community groups. Therefore, it is vital that refugee community groups are helped through a connection with local services and to local people. The second step is to create awareness and educate the local community to avoid some tensions and prejudicial ideas of why refugee families are settled in a particular local area. There is also a need to inform the local community to accept refugee families in their neighbour centres, schools and workplaces without discrimination and negative stereotyping.

Conclusion

There are many issues that block refugee communities from accessing mainstream community services. These issues include racism and discrimination that people choose not to talk about openly and yet is something that exists on many levels. A second issue is a lack of appropriate cultural services from the mainstream agencies, leading to a misunderstanding between clients from refugee community groups and mainstream agencies. Refugee families and individuals find it difficult to cope with their settlement issues. Housing, unemployment, language barriers and discrimination are overriding issues. There is also a concern that 510 hours of learning English is not enough for refugee groups from a non-English speaking background to acquire adequate English skills. According to the South Sudanese refugee community, they cannot master the English language within such a short period of time. Some people who have no education background from their previous countries end up finishing their free 510 hours within a very short time without gaining sufficient English skills.

The community has also identified a lack of sufficient engagement between refugee community groups and settlement services agencies due to insufficient resources. Furthermore, the refugee community finds it difficult to gain employment due to low English proficiency, lack of skills in labour as well as discrimination in workforces that affected refugee members with qualifications. Large families are similarly struggling to find suitable

homes and accommodation as most houses built in Australia are mainly between two and four bedrooms. Settlement challenges cannot be underestimated; refugee community groups need enormous support services to rectify their settlement issues and to help them assimilate better in the mainstream community.

The settlement period can be a difficult time for refugee families and individuals. Therefore, without a good connection between local services and local people, refugee families and individuals can be struck by social isolation, feelings of confusion and helplessness due to a lack of understanding as well as direction. Even when there is support and connection, people still struggle with feelings of homesickness, isolation, culture shock, unemployment and discrimination. Refugee community groups like the South Sudanese community that came from a long civil war background require time for rehabilitation because people that come from such situations are usually deprived of social skills. Ideally, refugee communities are looking for more support to help them address settlement issues. It is extremely frustrating for refugee families and young people to live in crisis and instability in relation to unemployment as well as accommodation. This research identified significant settlement challenges facing the South Sudanese community and these included: unemployment, housing issues, language barriers, trauma issues, general health issues and discrimination. People's ability to start a new life and integrate successfully into the mainstream community is impeded by these settlement issues.

The South Sudanese refugee community are very much a disadvantaged group due to the lack of resources and support services to help families and young people address their settlement issues. Some of these families and young people have experienced difficult issues prior to their arrival in Australia. Young people have trouble coping with the education system in Australia because many of these individuals arrived in Australia without basic educationdue to the fact that there was no stability in refugee camps for education. Parents and adults are also struggling with many issues; some find it hard to get jobs or to understand the existing bureaucracy system in Australia. The quality of their lives is critically endangered by common settlement issues namely language barriers, unemployment, discrimination, financial hardship, social isolation, stereotyping, housing issues and difficulties in parenting children in a new culture.

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Key words: Settlement challenges, South Sudanese, Refugee community

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Key words: Settlement challenges, South Sudanese, Refugee community

Integrating Participant-observation and Social Network Analysis: First Guidelines for Fieldwork

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Abstract

Social Network Analysis (SNA) can be used by a participant-observer to gain an overview of linkages and connections in a study setting. Qualitative theory recognises that theory matters to data collection and this paper demonstrates how SNA's ontology necessitates person-specific data collection methods. Standard SNA collects data through sociometric surveys and this paper argues that a participant-observer can achieve the same outcome unobtrusively. It illustrates the principles of people-specific data collection through the example of eliciting and recording information about weak ties and argues that qualitative data requires the use of SNA's tie data list formats rather than the older format of sociomatrices. Tie data lists create a coherent record of all data including qualitative materials of any kind. The paper illustrates some data analysis that can be done directly with tie data lists and concludes with a discussion of the extension of the model described in this paper to more ontologically complex models.

Keywords: Social Network Analysis, Social research methods, Participant-observation, Qualitative data, Methodology.

Introduction: The Value of Social Network Data to Participant-observation Studies

Participant-observation allows social researchers to study work groups, organizations and any social settings where there is ongoing interaction among a reasonably stable group of people. Participant-observation supplemented with interviews is a manageable and viable fieldwork strategy. Social Network Analysis (SNA) has techniques for mapping and studying patterns of interaction that give a systematic overview ofan SNA dataset – a 'birds-eye' view or 'whole network' perspective (Kilduff and Tsai 2006). To use SNA however, the researcher has to shape data collection to its needs and requirements.

Participant-observation isalso the starting point of richer, interpretive ethnographies that draw on a range of qualitative theories. Qualitative theories suggest that naturalist views of ethnographic data as existing 'out there' to be uncovered by participant-observation are misplaced and even naïve (Gubrium and Holstein 1997). Theory matters. It shapes a researcher's sensitivities of observation and data collection. Good theory helps a researcher align data coding, analysis and presentation with their methods of data collection to create internal validity (Cresswell 2009: 163-65).

This paper describes how SNA directs a participant-observer to particular strategies of observation and systematises the collection and recording of 'network data'. This paper works at a basic level only. It considers the simplest form of network data, the 'from-to'

relation where the researcher has information from one respondent (ego) with respect to a particular, identifiable other (alter). More complex suggestions for integrating qualitative theory with SNA are available in Hollstein (2011), Edwards (2010) and related readings. From the other side of the fence more mathematically oriented SNA researchers have formulated claims about the operation of networks in social settings as 'network theory' (as distinct from the 'theory of networks') (Borgatti and Halgin 2011; Prell 2009). Network theory deals with concepts such as social capital, weak ties, brokerage, 'small world' networks, homophily and other key ideas of SNA and related fields. It suggests a wide range of things a participant-observer might look for in a networked social setting.

This paper assumes that participant-observer has access to a relatively well defined work group in an organizational setting. Standard SNA collects data through sociometric surveys. This paper suggests that a participant-observed can gather this data unobtrusively. It illustrates the principles of people-specific data collection through the example of eliciting and recording information about weak ties. It argues that qualitative data collection and recording requires the use of SNA's tie data list formats rather than the older format of sociomatrices. Tie data lists permit a coherent recording of all types of data including qualitative materials of any kind. The paper illustrates some data analysis that can be done directly with tie data lists. It concludes with an assessment of the extension of the principles described in this paper to more ontologically complex models.

SociometricData Collection and Tie Data Lists

Participant-observation ethnography and SNA intersect in the data collection methods of sociometry.SNA originatedfromethnographicstudieswhich involved asociometric survey. The Manchester school of social anthropology was an important base (Scott 2000: 26-32; Kilduff and Tsai 2006: 14-17).As it developed down its own path, SNA's analytic formalism meant that ethnographers and qualitative researchers lost sight of it as a related practice and were alienated by SNA's disinterest in rich data.

This paper argues that sociometric data is still the bridge between participant-observation field research and SNA.Sociometric surveys are a systematic and disciplined form of data collection. The researcher draws up a roster of all persons in the study population and then asks every person to nominate all people on the list they relate to in a certain way (Marsden 2011: 372-3). Accurate and consistent attribution of information from a respondent (ego) about particular, identified 'to'persons (alters) is essential for SNA diagrams and all analyses and a sociometric roster survey guarantees this accuracy. The content of the nominations define a relation of interest to the researcher. In organisational studies the standard content questions are; Who do you go to for advice? (Advice-seeking) and Who do you consider a friend? (Friendship). The roster method ensures that a name not ticked is a definite non-tie. A good roster will also leave space for respondents to nominate someone whose name is not on the list. An SNA dataset is only considered complete when everyone on the list has responded to every possibility.

Respondents' nominations can be assembled in a tie data list. Each row of a tie data list has two node (person) identifiers (IDs). The first (FROM)ID is the respondent filling in the questionnaire the second (TO)ID is the particular identified person to which that response relates. Data collected in the tie data format can be uploaded into NetDraw or UCINET (Borgatti et al. 2002) to produce a network diagram. (The NetDraw manual specifies this as

the VNA – Visual Network Analysis - format. In UCINET it is labelled as an edgelist format.) There is no need to re-organise it into a sociomatrix. The researcher thus has an immediate picture of the network connections in their data.

The accurate matching of names/IDs is the core feature of a sociometric SNA dataset. The SNA software needs accurate information to correctly place its arrows (which represent respondents' 'from-to' nominations) in diagrams. Typos and errors produce false diagrams. Information about the attributes of each node (Age, Gender and so on) are recorded on a separate list with just one row identifier, the node ID in exactly the form it appears in the 'from' and 'to' columns of the tie data. Egonet data collection is person-specific but does not identify the alter in any specific way. Alters are simply nominated with first names or nicknames and the researcher will not know if two respondents are referring to the same actual person.

The person-specific nature of sociometricSNA data collection underpins the recording of the data in the relational structure just described. Such data collection requires a certain discipline from the researcher which I now describe.

Collecting Person-specific SNA Data in a Participant-observation Study

Sociometric surveys are structured as short self-completed forms. A participant-observer can collect the same type of information unobtrusively through questions. They can also collect any qualitative information or additional data about specified from-to ties. This is easily recorded in later cells along the rows of a tie data list.(Note that any textual information will need to be coded with numbers (as with SPSS) to be read into SNA software.)

The researcher must learn to recognise any relational information contained in indirect statements or stories. Relational data is generated when a respondent makes statements with respect toa particular identifiable other.As in the formal sociometric survey the researcher needs to verify the actualperson referred toand record the information in the correct row of the tie data sheet.

A tie data list could look something like this. The researcher has gone to four people (MichaelA, PatB, JaniceC and FionaD) and used a roster or asked each respondent about their ties with the three others on the list. The first data column (i.e. Col 3) is binary data – Do you go to (this person) for advice? Y/N. The responses can be simply coded as 0 and 1 and the first three columns feed into NetDraw.

Example Tie Data List: Sorted by (FROM) Respondents

FROM	TO	Go to for Advice Y/N	What do you discuss?	Frequency of Contact: Daily, Weekly, Monthly	Why do you value this contact?
MichaelA	PatB	1	Research management	Monthly	He knows a lot about funding requirements
MichaelA	JaniceC	1	Administrative problems	Daily	Knows all the procedures
MichaelA	FionaD	1	Research policy	Weekly	Is the person in charge of area
MichaelA	RichardD	1	Research policy and cases	Weekly	Is the faculty dean
MichaelA	SueE	1	Research policy development	Monthly	Is the senior manager of the area
PatB	MichaelA	0			
PatB	JaniceC	1	Administrative problems	Daily	Knows the admin system completely
PatB	FionaD	1	Research policy and joint research	Weekly	We have shared research interests
JaniceC	MichaelA	1	Administrative issues and policy	Daily	Has been around a long time
JaniceC	PatB	1	Research administration	Weekly	Was previously in charge of the area
JaniceC	FionaD	0			
FionaD	MichaelA	1	Research policy and adminstration	Weekly	Knows the systems and their history
FionaD	PatB	1	Research issues and policy	Daily	We share research and he did this job last
FionaD	JaniceC	1	Administration	Daily	Is a great problem solver
FionaD	RichardD	1	Cases	Monthly	He has to tick off on most of my stuff

The second data item (Col 4)is unstructured responses to the question 'What do you discuss?' There are a variety of answers and the researchercan (open) code these to create useful and valid categorisations of the type of advice-seeking involved; there is more than a simple division between 'research' and 'administration'. The third data column is a structured question producing interval data. The fourth data column is evaluative, qualitative data which gives insight into what each person gets from that relation. If you across the rows you get a sense of the motivations of each person.

The advantage of the tie data list is clear in this example. All the data about each from-to relation is visible at once. We can work from this data to build a rich understanding of the network of relations and social setting we are studying.

Identifying Weak Ties: The Principle of Person-specific Data Collection

Mark Granovetter's (1973) claims about the 'strength' of weak ties (SWT) are an iconic example of network theory. He argued that alters in our inner social circles are densely connected. Weak ties are our links to alters outside this inner circle. Whereas ideas and information are already shared among people to whom we have strong ties, weak ties will connect us to different information and ideas (see Borgatti and Halgin, 2011 for a systematisation of the SWT concepts).

In a relatively well defined organisational setting the researcher has the organisation's accounts of its groupings and social boundaries. Ties within groups will, in most cases, be strong, insider, ties. Theresearcher will also want to know about respondents' weak ties. Weak ties will show up as names, not on the roster, written in by respondents. The researcher will need to determine if they are truly 'weak ties' that go outside the social boundaries of their study population rather than persons who should have been included in the original roster. If they are truly weak ties the researchercan then investigate the meaning of these ties for the respondent and what information or resources they get from them.

The free recall option added to asociometric roster allows respondents to name people outside of those listed by the researcher. Person-specific data collection requires that the respondent identify the actual person referred to and that the researcher obtain full identifying information. This allows the researcher to verify shared links when another respondent names the same external person. The researcher will need to collect attribute data about the external person from their respondent or from public sources. The constraints of a participant-observation study will probably not permit extra interviews.

In the example tie data list MichaelA has nominated two persons outside the original list, RichardD and SueE. FionaD has also added RichardD to her list. RichardD is thus connected into the original group by two links whereas SueE has only one. RichardD will appear connected in the network diagram but SueEwill be a 'pendant'.

A researcher will need to set criteria to decide whethera new name should be added to roster of group members or treated as a weak tie. If they decide to incorporate that person into their dataset they will need to interview them to gain their nominations of which members of the group they go to for advice (and/or consider friends). In this oversimplified example we could argue that RichardD is part of the advice-seeking network but SueE is not.

Another approach could work from theory. Weak ties have different uses and outcomes than strong ties. A researcher could use the evaluative comments. FionaD goes to RichardD because she has to ('he signs off on my stuff'). This contact is not bringing her new sources of information and ideas. The qualitative data may allowthe researcher to make judgements based on theoretical arguments.

This discussion has illustrated the principle of person-specific data collection. The next examples suggest the value of the data analyses which tie data lists can facilitate.

Analysing Qualitative Tie Data: Homophily

Homophily is the claim that people cluster with others of similar characteristics. Some researchers focus on the institutional structures that induce homophily (status or baseline homophily), others on the extent to which individuals seek out people who are like themselves – value or choice homophily (McCallister and Fischer 1978; McPherson et al. 2001). Colloquially, researchers talk of 'meeting' and 'mating'. Tie data lists can be easily organised to display information about homophilous and non-homophilous ties in a particular dataset. Research designs with overtime data might provide ways to investigate the dynamics of meeting and mating.

Classification and categorisation of ties is distinct from the classification of individuals by attributes.All the information in a tie data list relates to a tie, not the individuals. The different attributes of individuals need to be stored in the node data list.

Ties can be classified by combining attribute data relating to both nodes specified.Gender classifications illustrate this. A tie can be a same-gender, female tie FF, a same-gender male tie MM, a mixed-gender FM or MF tie. The last two categories are distinct if we retain the from-to ordering of the tie or the same if we consider them as 'mixed gender' ties.

We can enter thegender mix category foreach tie in an additional column of the tie data worksheet. We sort the worksheet by these categories andexamine ties in each. In the example I scorethe 'frequency of contact' data (Daily = 3, Weekly = 2, Monthly = 1, with 0 for no contact) and calculate the average frequency of contact for each gender mix category. Analysis of the qualitative data might decipher more.

The example data worksheet now looks like this (the unstructured and evaluative data columns have been omitted and new columns for Gender Mix, Contact score and average contact score have been added.):

Example Tie Data List: Gender Mix Categories and Contact Frequency

FROM	TO	Go to for Advice Y/N	Frequency of Contact: Daily, Weekly, Monthly	Gender Mix	Contact score	Average Contact Score
JaniceC	FionaD	0		FF	0	
FionaD	JaniceC	1	Daily	FF	3	1.5
JaniceC	MichaelA	1	Daily	FM	3	
JaniceC	PatB	1	Weekly	FM	2	
FionaD	MichaelA	1	Weekly	FM	2	
FionaD	PatB	1	Daily	FM	3	
FionaD	RichardD	1	Monthly	FM	1	2.2
MichaelA	JaniceC	1	Daily	MF	3	
MichaelA	FionaD	1	Weekly	MF	2	
MichaelA	SueE	1	Monthly	MF	1	
PatB	JaniceC	1	Daily	MF	3	
PatB	FionaD	1	Weekly	MF	2	2.2
MichaelA	PatB	1	Monthly	MM	1	
MichaelA	RichardD	1	Weekly	MM	2	
PatB	MichaelA	0		MM	0	1

In this simplified example both mixed gender categories are strongest with FF contacts next and MM weakest.

Much more could be done when there is information about more than one relation and more qualitative data. For example, we would expect friendship relations to show more contrast than advice-seeking ones. Comparisons of ties are also available from egonet data collection. McCallister and Fischer (1978) did several analyses of this type and later studies of homophily use similar analyses (McPherson et al. 2001). Spencer and Pahl (2006) used egonet methods and unstructured interviewing to carry out a major study of friendship relations.

Analysing Qualitative Information about Ties: Examining Dyads

Relational data collected with sociometric, rather than egonet methods,has the special characteristic that the researcher can calibrate statements from A with respect to B against the reciprocal statements from B with respect to A. In effect the researcher constructs a dyadic

pair from separate observations and then assesses whether those partners have, or do not have, an advice, friendship (or other) relationship.

Sorted into dyads the example data worksheet now looks like this. (Weak ties and contact scores are omitted.) The weak ties are omitted since there is no reciprocal information from those people. By the same token dyadic analysis is not possible with egonet data. There is no information about the relationship from the second person.

Example Tie Data Sheet: Sorted by Dyads

FROM	TO	Go to for Advice Y/N	What do you discuss?	Frequency of Contact: Daily, Weekly, Monthly	Why do you value this contact?	Gender Mix
MichaelA	PatB	1	Research management	Monthly	He knows a lot about funding requirements	MM
PatB	MichaelA	0				MM
MichaelA	JaniceC	1	Administrative problems	Daily	Knows all the procedures	MF
JaniceC	MichaelA	1	Administrative issues and policy	Daily	Has been around a long time	FM
MichaelA	FionaD	1	Research policy	Weekly	Is the local person in charge of area	MF
FionaD	MichaelA	1	Research policy and adminstration	Weekly	Knows the systems and their history	FM
PatB	JaniceC	1	Administrative problems	Daily	Knows the admin system completely	MF
JaniceC	PatB	1	Research administration	Weekly	Was previously in charge of the area	FM
PatB	FionaD	1	Joint research interests	Weekly	We have shared research interests	MF
FionaD	PatB	1	Research issues and policy	Daily	We share research and he did this job last	FM
JaniceC	FionaD	0				FF
FionaD	JaniceC	1	Administration	Daily	Is a great problem solver	FF

Here we see that two of the relationships are one-way (asymmetrical). MichaelA goes to PatB for advice but PatB does not go to MichaelA. FionaD goes to JaniceC for advice but JaniceC does not go to FionaD. The qualitative data and information suggest why asymmetries arise. Reciprocity, mutuality and trust are important and complex sociological phenomena. The numerically coded tie data used in an SNA diagram is only a very crude indicator of what may be involved in a dyadic relationship. The tie data list sorted by dyads shows all the information for each of the dyads. The details and subtlety of the qualitative data can be seen within the dyad. This opens the way for researchers to use open coding to find and specify variations of dyadic relationships. In the example data the MichaelA-PatB relationship is unreciprocated but it makes sense when one sees that MichaelA is seeking advice from the person with the relevant knowledge. The details of the PatB-FionaD relationship are also clearer. They meet weekly on their shared research interests but she gets daily advice about administrative matters.

Summary and Discussion

Theoretical frameworks matter for field research because they sensitise and inform data collection methods. This paper asked howthe theoretical framework of SNA can inform data collection in a participant-observation study and explored aputative example of a work group

in an organisational setting. The paper described SNA methods of data collection for such a study and advocated the use of tie data lists for researchers using qualitative data. I then gave two examples of using the tie data list to analyse qualitative data.

Qualitative theory assesses theories in terms of their ontologies (Crotty 1998). In this paper I have used the simplest SNA ontology. The social world is simply social actors (nodes) and the from-to nominations they make. In SNA terms this isa localised, respondent-based data model only. Cognitive SNA (Krackhardt 1987;Kilduff and Krackhardt 2008) involves distinctive, but complementary methods of data collection based on respondents' perceptions of subgroup formation – who hangs out with whom? (see Alexander 2011). These cognitive approaches also go some way to addressing the ontology and perspectives proposed by Actor-Network Theory (Latour 2005). Another practical problem for participant-observation is how to make use of partial datasets; good person-specific SNA information from some, but not all, members of a study population. The guidelines offered in this paper are just one aspect of a wider project to integrate SNA with participant-observation social research projects.

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Recalcitrance within the ranks – Habitus, resistance and childcare practice

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Abstract

Feminist scholars have observed the difficulties of resistance, when what is being resisted is also valued. This paper explores the ambivalence of resistance for childcare staff, as they express their discontent at the lack of value given to their work, while also seeking to affirm the fundamental worth of the work that they do. Using the idea of *recalcitrance* to express the ambivalence of this resistance, three forms of resistance are identified and discussed; foot-dragging, dis-ease and subversion.*Foot-dragging* expresses, often unconsciously, a desire not to do all those things that are being expected of you. *Dis-ease*, is a more conscious awareness of the problems with the system, but without any expectation that these can be changed. *Subversion* constitutesthe attempts by staff to resist actively the expectations of others, while remaining within the limits of what it means to be a 'good' caregiver.
It is suggested that a habitus of recalcitrance is an integral, if unacknowledged aspect of the occupational habitus typical in childcare practice, and so the docility of the childcare workforce cannot be taken for granted, neither by governments nor management.

Keywords: Childcare, Resistance, Habitus, Practice, Recalcitrance

Introduction

In long day care services, childcare staff perform a wide range of tasks. Some of these (such as tidying up or changing nappies), while necessary, are associated with domesticity and 'women's work', and so remain unvalued. Others are complex and demanding, but still under-valued, like managing the emotions of the self and others, whether parents, children or colleagues. Lastly there are tasks that are considered more important, such as documenting children's learning, or conforming to bureaucratic demands. Any and all of these tasks can become sites for resistance.

Resistance has been a contested term in the history of the social sciences. Aptheker (1989) noted the narrowness of definitions of resistance in male-dominated protest movements, and offered suggestions about how this might look from a more feminist perspective. Lawler (2000), in her work on motherhood, has written about the difficulties of 'resisting' when what is being resisted is overwhelmingly seen as valuable. This paper explores the ways such constraints on resistance operate within childcare settings, as staff struggle to express their discontent in the face of both their desire, and the external expectation, that they will remain 'sensitive caregivers'.

Resistance within the childcare field expresses the tension between wanting to do it right, like a good caregiver, and not wanting to do it at all, because it is so little valued by others. To express this tension, I take up the notion of *recalcitrance*, which Skeggs(2004) sees as a way for people to reconcile their existence when their own value system differs from dominant, more privileged, value systems. She defines this habitus of recalcitrance asa habitus of 'non-belonging, of no-caring, those who refuse to make a virtue out of necessity' (2004: 88).The three forms of resistance that I describe beloware ways that childcare staff are refusing to 'make a virtue out of necessity'. Yet that habitus of recalcitrance can seem to co-exist uneasily with the occupational habitus that exists within the childcare field. Occupational habitus describes the large body of practices and attitudes that have become taken for granted within childcare services (Colley et al. 2003; Vincent and Braun 2010).Like all forms of habitus, this is a product both of history, and of particular circumstances, constituting an embodied knowledge - a 'feel for the game' of childcare. Work requirements will differ from workplace to workplace, and over time, in response to bureaucratic changes, the perceived requirements of the users of the service, and the particular preoccupations of managers and directors. Occupational habitus, on the other hand, represents the collective, slow-to-change practices of the childcare class as a whole.

Childcare staff often seem like the ultimate docile workforce. When surveyed, childcare staff rejected the suggestion that they remain in childcare because of few other options (National Children's Services Workforce Project. 2006: 5). However, there are clearly gendered constraints operating when the workforce comprises 97% women(Vincent and Braun 2010). Kept busy by the combined demands of children, parents, management, and government requirements, staff are left with little time for critical reflection on their conditions of work. Yet the low pay, and perhaps more critically, the lack of respect for this work, seems to make unmitigated docility impossible. Despite the combined discipinary effects of the discourses of intensive mothering (which childcare staff are presumed 'naturally' to embody, as women), and discourses of 'professionalism' (that demand high levels of work performance, without professional pay), resistance nonetheless emerges (Fenech et al. 2010; Foucault 1977; Osgood 2006).In fact, O'Connell (2011) argues that the childminders in her ethnography of family day care practices in the UK drew upon discourses of mothering to resist what they perceived as the negative aspects of quality embodied in discourses of professionalism.

I suggest that the most common form of resistance seen within childcare is *recalcitrance*, a stubborn desire not to have your labour treated as valueless. This has parallels with what Bradbury calls 'passive resistance' (2012: 181), in her interviews with two early years

teachers in inner London schools. Such recalcitrance is expressed in a range of ways, from stubborn refusals, to attempts to challenge the habitual expectations of compliance.

The childcare field

This paper draws upon a qualitative case study of long day care services in Melbourne, and how these are shaped by classed and gendered expectations. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-three childcare staff, working in six different services, serving economically diverse populations. Participants range in age from nineteen to sixty-two years of age, and come from both minority and majority (Anglo-Australian) cultural backgrounds. They have worked in the field anywhere from a number of months, to over forty years, and hold a variety of positions, from 'unqualified', to 'qualified', to various leadership roles.

Resistance within childcare work

In this paper I highlight the three forms of resistance that were apparent in the work of research participants. These were:*foot-dragging*, that semi-conscious go-slow strategy of the disengaged;*dis-ease*, the sense that a staff member's own values were at odds with that of their workplace, even if they felt powerless to do much about this; and*subversion*, where participants creatively challenged the expectations of their role and workplace.

Foot-dragging

The most elementary and widespread form of resistance seen in childcare is what I have called foot-dragging, a recalcitrance manifested in an unwillingness to do more than the necessary minimum. Unsurprisingly, no participants described themselves in this way, reflecting a selection process that sees only more motivated staff being willing to be interviewed, as well as people's desire to present their own behaviour in a favourable light. Most participants did talk about the disengagement of *other* staff, and the difficulties in working alongside those who would rather not be there;

> *...it does, with the young ones... they go into childcare, they think it's going to be... easy. And as you know, it's complex. It's not easy, and... they'll let others do it... They've sort-of lost their enthusiasm and their energy, but they'll say, "oh well, but they don't pay us much". So, okay, we only work to what, the value they give us, and that's how I'm seeing it.* (Mirjeta, Swiss-Albanian-English Australian[1], 60s)

The normality of this phenomenon among the interviewees is probably its most disturbing aspect, suggesting the pervasive lack of morale across the field. This lack of morale is understandable, given the low-pay, high levels of regulation, and stressful nature of the work (Bretherton 2010; Osgood 2006; Watson 2006). This has flow-on effects, such as the high turnover of staff, as well as a more pervasive long-term impact, in the diminished quality of the teaching that happens in childcare.

Dis-ease

For those more committed to their work, recalcitrance must be expressed in different ways. This seems to happen at internally, at the level of values. As Sayer has noted, in his discussion of the moral and ethical dimension of class practices;

> *...individuals' ethical dispositions need not be entirely consistent with the particular nexus of relations in which they are situated or with wider discursive norms.... Such differences can generate anomalous behaviour and resistance, whether deliberate or inadvertent* (2005: 44)

So although these staff take on the occupational habitus of childcare, there remains a discomfort with what is expected from them in their work. This discomfort may be related to the ways that new work requirements conflict with the occupational habitus, or because their own classed habitus does not align effortlessly with the habitus expected of childcare staff. Perhaps the classic example of this, and one brought up by a majority of the participants in the research, was their frustration with the heightened safety regimes of modern childcare, as Dianne observes;

> *...the fact that we've got this generation of children that we've wrapped up in cotton wool... We've got a fantastic peppercorn tree that we're not allowed to climb, and I think, 'What a shame!' You know, when I was a kid, we got dirty, and we climbed, and we hurt ourselves, and all the rest, and we're bringing up a generation of children who don't, who can't take calculated risks... (Dianne, Italian-Australian, 40s)*

While discourses of child safety are too strong for anyone to ignore, there is a gap between the managerialist/bureaucratic response, and that of staff. While the former sees only the injuries, and associated threat of litigation or departmental censure, childcare staff are concerned as much with children's *lives* as with their *bodies*, a broader understanding of well-being. They understand that too much safety means too little exploration, and even less learning. As Amber argues;

> *You know, these rules of... 'You can't have that climbing equipment there, because it's too close to dirt, and not on the soft-fall. But they* [the children] *want it there because they're building a cubby house there. I feel like we give them too much limitation and not enough... freedom.... And you know what? There doesn't have to be climbing equipment there, for them to fall over. I've seen kids fall over their own feet* **[laughs]**.... *And you just really think that there's too much limitation, too much bureaucratic tape, um... too much focus on paperwork, and not enough focus on... teaching being with the kids, teaching the kids...* [Amber, 20s, Caucasian]

Yet even Amber, with her obvious frustrations around this issue, does not feel able to challenge the hard bureaucratic line on child safety. Although she believed that management were wrong to get her to tell the children they could not build their cubby where they wanted to, she had not found a way to challenge the wisdom of those safety regimes, except to sound off to me, as an outsider. The discomfort remains, but so do the existing practices.
One of the most contentious forms of this dis-ease is that articulated by Ondine, who acknowledged that despite working in childcare, she would not be happy *using* it, however good the service provided. She has her own form of balancing act;

> *I also try to be discrete about my feelings regarding putting young children in childcare - no working mother wants to be made to feel guilty about leaving her new-born baby with strangers.* (Ondine, Anglo-Australian, 30s)

Such an opinion can look self-defeating, without considering the discursive environment shaping childcare practices. Feminist scholars have documented extensively what has come to be called 'intensive mothering expectations' – the powerful belief that the mother is the best carer for a child, and that she should consider this her highest calling (Hays 1996; May 2008; Vincent 2010). To question, or even reject such assumptions, is to be labelled a 'bad mother.' Layered onto these gendered power relations is a classed dimension, where childcare represents the shifting of devalued childcare work 'down' the hierarchy to less privileged women, often in terms of 'race' or class, and the discomfort with such a process both by those delegating their childcare, and those taking up that care (Bowman and Cole 2009; Glenn 2010; Wrigley 1995). Women working in childcare are faced with an

impossible choice[2]; either respect what you know of your work, but so collude in 'bad mothering', or be a good mother, and deny the possibility of a rich and meaningful childcare experience (Page 2011).

There is a very complex form of resistance going on for Ondine, as she experiences the pressures of competing discourses. She experiences the profound dis-ease of many others, but carefully keeps it to herself, colluding in a general silence about the untenable 'choices' of women.

Subversion

Though much resistance remains at the level of personal values, invisible and rarely spoken about, some staff do find ways to resist more actively, finding ways to subvert the usual expectations of the 'nice ladies' to be found in childcare (Stonehouse 1989). Fenech and her colleagues (2010) describe an 'ethics of resistance' that covers similar territory, though I would question whether most staff see this as part of their professionalism, if they feel 'professional' at all. As noted by O'Connell(2011), professionalism often seems to staff like an imposition, rather than something to aspire to.

So for Anne, working in a highly corporatised childcare setting, with very rigid guidelines about every aspect of daily life, such resistance took the form of a humorous, perhaps even sarcastic, reinterpretation of the rules, as she describes;

> *I was really annoyed. My... the... one other thing that I did that was... silly... but it amused me at the time... we had to wear hats, sun hats, in the middle of winter and I just thought, 'That is the most idiotic rule in the world.' ...they had one of their little... they'd have a little cohort... come down, and they'd say,* **[stridently]** *'You aren't wearing a hat' so, fine, I went and made myself, out of a newspaper, a big newspaper pirate hat, and out I went to play... one of the other staff said to me afterwards, 'You're so naughty! You did exactly what they said. You wore a hat outside, and you stuck up for your...' and I thought, 'Was that really what I did?' And it probably was, but... I'm not always like that. It's only when I get provoked that I become like that... and so I'm thinking, 'Oh, okaaaayyy, this shows that I'm a little bit stressed... and I'm irritated.* (Anne, Anglo-Australian, 50s)

From the reaction of her colleague, we can see that this sort of defiance is a risky action for Anne, which could have resulted in serious consequences. Such acts of subversion are specific to each workplace and time. Although most childcare workplaces share the experience of over-regulation, the opportunities for subversion will bedepend on the management and history of each service.

Sometimes the pressure comes from the parent-users of a service, as Ruby's experience shows;

> *we... were having... discussions, because... the, the parent wanted us to force... her child to go... to the toilet, and had... very different views about the toilet training.... she had her views on how it should be done, and we had, you, you know, our knowledge, combined with... our limits, of what we could do, in childcare.... 'If she doesn't want to go, she doesn't want to go, you know, we can't force her, we can't pull her, we can't drag her, we can't intimidate her into doing it, we can't bribe her, that's, it's not okay, and, um... so... it was trying to... get to a level where... we could help her satisfy her needs.... but then also keep our own values, you know, as, as, as childcare workers, because... we don't wanna have...* **[longer pause]** *you know,* **[amused tone of voice]** *emotionally scarring a child... on our repertoire of... things we did this year, so...* **[laughs]** (Ruby, 20s, Zambian/Scottish-Australian)

In this case, Ruby was able to draw on discourses about children's rights to defend hers and her colleagues' resistance to the mother's demands. It is a reminder, though, of the differing power relations that exist between government schools and childcare centres, and the greater say that parents feel they have in a childcare system funded directly by parent fees.
The last example of resistance, is of resistance to those wider governmental and bureaucratic pressures that have intensified with the introduction of a National Quality Framework (Australia. Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations. 2011). Marie, who as a pedagogical leader within her service seems more willing to challenge what is taken-for-granted about the work, recounts;

> *Am I writing two individual learning stories per month for most of my children. A big fat 'no'! I seem to be doing everything else right, so I'm... and I've been encouraging others... to also write that 'no'. Don't lie! Say 'no', because maybe... this is our way of changing that expectation...* (Marie, 40s, Immigrant white Australian)

This constitutes a more direct challenge to the systems that control childcare. As Marie seems to understand, these only have power for as long as staff continue to comply unthinkingly with bureaucratic demands, however unreasonable they might be, or however unresponsive to the existing demands on staff time.

Resistance and constraint
Such subversion tends to be at an individual level, however, and rarely emerges as a more collectivised resistance, in that more traditional sense[3]. Lauren's experience is interesting here, coming as she does from outside the Australian system, and so having experienced alternative practices and standards. Recalling a conversation she had in her mothers' group, where she felt compelled to defend childcare in a more public way, she says;

> *And it was just... that she thought that you just... watched the kids play, and I said, 'A lot more goes into it, that apparently you don't even realise'. There's a lot... the push right now from the Union is to get pay for professionals, and there's a lot of that talk going on, in the industry, I guess,but I have a hard time... talking to other people in the centre sometimes because they don't see themselves as educators either. And I'll say, 'You're coming to school, and you're coming to... I'm a teacher' and they're like, 'No, you're not, you're not at school, you're at childcare!' (Lauren, American, 30s)*

When Lauren tries to be an activist around childcare issues, raising awareness of Union campaigns with her colleagues, she runs up against their apathy about any possibility of change in the field. Though all interviewees acknowledged in various ways the poor pay and conditions of childcare staff, many struggle to believe that anything will change.

Conclusions – a slumbering beast?

Many shades of recalcitrance can be discerned within the practices of childcare staff interviewed for this project. Sometimes this manifests as disengagement, and a refusal to do any more than the minimum requirements of the job. For others, they can see problems with the ways that childcare operates, but they hold these concerns to one side, in the interests of maintaining their commitment to children and families (as well as the practical concern of earning a wage). For some, their disagreement with aspects of the childcare system leads them to take action, in both words and deeds, that challengesthe expectations of their employers, the parents-users, or the regulatory authorities.

I want to suggest, in this paper, that a habitus of recalcitrance is intertwined with, perhaps even an integral part of, the occupational habitus of childcare. The long (collective) experience of childcare staff has lead to particular values about what childcare should do and be, that are increasingly at odds with the managerialist perspectives of those who control childcare services. Though all of those involved in the childcare business appear to want the best for children, there are marked differences in what 'the best' constitutes, and how this can be achieved. Childcare staff remain at the centre of this struggle, attempting to manage different expectations while holding onto their own vision for childcare, based on the collective, and painfully acquired, wisdom of those who have been doing the work.
These recalcitrant voices, of various sorts, get articulated at a local level to colleagues. Usually this provides a sense of solidarity in the work that helps keep the field strong, despite the constraints that are experienced. However, as Moi thoughtfully observed, habitus constrains 'what can legitimately be said – or perceived – within the field' (1991: 1022). This makes it hard for staff to acknowledge that the constraints they feel, and the problems they perceive, are *structural*, rather than merely their own personal difficulties. Without this awareness, a habitus of recalcitrance cannot become something more, a collective will to action.
Staff know that they are badly paid, and undervalued, but they also know that the work they do is valuable and meaningful(National Children's Services Workforce Project. 2006).Though at the moment there is no widespread *collective* challenge from within childcare services to the inequities of their work, the strength of the voices I heard make this seem possible, perhaps even inevitable.

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[1]All cultural backgrounds are self-described
[2] There seems to be no similar pressure experienced by men to meet a particular standards of 'fathering'
[3] The 2003/4 industrial action by nursery nurses (childcare staff) in Scotland was a rare event, and not widely reported beyond Scotland.

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Territorial stigma: 'Housos' and the representation of disadvantage in the media

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Abstract

In October 2011 the Australian comedy series 'Housos' premiered on SBSTelevision, despite vocal opposition earlier in the year from social housing tenants in Western Sydney. Housos is a satire about the daily life of tenants in a fictitious social housing estate called 'Sunnyvale', a lawless zone where people act outside of the law and common norms of society. The depictions of the social housing tenants draw on a number of caricatures and stereotypes, with the characters often portrayed as feckless individuals who shun work, survive on welfare benefits, indulge in substance abuse, routinely commit crimes and cause generalised disorder.

This paper reports findings from research which forms part of a larger ARC Linkage project entitled 'Residents Voices'. The questions and methods used in this study emerged after screening of the first episode of Housos at an inner city social housing estate for an audience consisting of social housing tenants and community workers from across thegreater Sydney metropolitan area. These questions were then taken up in a *tenant-led* research project conducted over the 9-week season of Housos in Sydney and Adelaide.

Keywords: territorial stigmatisation, social housing estates, media, television, images of the poor, stigma, neighbourhood reputation

Introduction

In October 2011 the Australian comedy series 'Housos' premiered on SBS Television, an independent part publicly funded free-to-air station. The nine part series screened over the following weeks, despite vocal opposition earlier in the year from social housing tenants in Western Sydney (Crikey, 2011; Molitorisz, 2011). In

response, the television station that planned to screen the show issued an explicatory press release stating that Housos was an "exaggerated parody" (Molitorisz, 2011).

Housos is indeed a satirical parody about the daily life of tenants in a fictitious social housing estate called 'Sunnyvale', a lawless zone where people act outside of the law and common norms of society. The depictions of the social housing tenants draw on a number of caricatures and stereotypes – with names such as Dazza, Shazza and Franky, portrayed as feckless individuals who shun work, survive on welfare benefits, indulge in substance abuse, routinely commit crimes and cause generalised disorder, and exhibit highly dysfunctional families and relationships. Each ofthe episodes deals with a different theme such as defrauding the welfare system, drug dealing and redevelopmentof the estate.

In the Australian context, the use of the term *Housoin* the title of the program immediately identifies a subject associated with very specific and well-defined urban localities, and evokes well-rehearsed sets of stereotypes and popular perceptions concerning the jobless underclass. This paper reports on the findingsof a study conducted collaboratively with social housing residents in Sydney and Adelaide, which sought to explore and theorise the issue of territorial stigmatisation through the experience of tenants themselves examining and reflecting upon the television program.

Territorial stigma, disadvantage and the media

Building on Goffman's(1986)seminal work, Wacquant's (2007) concept of territorial stigma provides a useful framework to investigate the ramifications of'blemish of place'. Wacquant (2007) argues that a key omission in Goffman's (1986) thesis is a link to 'blemish of place' or a discredited neighbourhood reputation, whichleads to what he terms as 'territorial stigma'. From this perspective, analogous tothe situation of tribal stigma, territorial stigma can project a virtual social identity on families and individuals living in particular neighbourhoods and thus deprive them of acceptance from others(Ruetter et al., 2009).

Place and person become intertwined and,consequently, 'blemish of place' can add an additional layer of disadvantage to any existing stigma that is associated with people's poverty or ethnic origins. In this waycommunity identity is constructed by others, often outsiders, and stigma is not just associated with the neighbourhoods but also the individual persons who live there.

The consequences of experiencing the effects of 'territorial stigma' can be dire with the allied effects identified in the literature including:residents living in areas with adverse reputations adopting 'self-defeating behaviours'(Arthurson, 2012b); discrimination by employers on the basis of post code address (Bradbury and Chalmers, 2003; Palmer et al., 2004); businesses being reluctant to operate in or near particular neighbourhoods(Jacobs et al., 2011); changes to the nature and quality of service provision (Hastings, 2004); the selling off of social housing to the private market (Arthurson, 2012a; Darcy, 2010); the displacement of social housing

residents(Wacquant, 2008; 2009);and impacts on residents' health and well-being (Palmer et al., 2004).

The media is one of the key instruments through which images of social housing estates and their occupants are depicted and relayed to the general public. The media plays an active role in mediating territorial stigmatisation, which appears as one of the central aspects in debates determining the future of social housing estates(Hastings, 2009; Jacobs et al., 2011). Stressed urban communities are sought out by the media to set 'nightmarish portrayals of urban life' that may serve or extend negative stereotypes(Lee, 2007). In the end it matters little if these areas are or are not "in fact dilapidated and dangerous, and their population composed essentially of poor people, minorities and foreigners … the prejudicial belief that they are suffices to set off socially noxious consequences" (Wacquant, 2007: : 68).Residents of stigmatised places bemoan the fact that others and the media, in particular news and current affairs programs, stigmatise their neighbourhoods and occupants, often without even having visited there or knowing the people(Kelaher et al., 2010; Hastings and Dean, 2003).

Residents' Voices and the Housos study

This research formed part of a larger Australian Research Council funded Linkage project entitled 'Residents Voices' (Darcy and Gwyther, 2012). The questions and methods for the Housos study emerged afterwe organised a screening of the first episode of Housos at an inner city social housing estate for an audience consisting of social housing tenants and community workers from across thegreater Sydney metropolitan area. This was followed by hosting discussions with anexpert panel of social housing tenants, some of whom had raised previously concerns about the program.

Some audience members stated they"enjoyed the show", while others expressing the viewpoint that the stereotypes drawn on in the program would "reinforce the stigma attached to social housing" (Tenants). The discussion and Question and Answer (Q&A) session that followed resulted in a group of tenants developing a set of research questions for further investigation of this issue. These questions focussed on: the role and focus of satire in society; the wider public's conceptualisations of social housing estates; the stigmatisation of residents of estates by the media; narrow and prejudiced understandings of social housing; and the dangers of 'glamorised' portrayals of disadvantage in the media.

These questions were then taken up in a tenant-led research project conducted over the 9-week season of Housos. Two active tenantsjoined us as tenant-researchers and recruited tenants from their local area to participate in the study. The Residents' Voices team provided institutional and research assistance during recruitment and throughout the project. The tenant-academic research team then recruited tenants from Adelaide andalso non-tenant viewers of the show to participate in the research. Each week the 19 participants were sent an episode of Housos with a set of research questions. Participants watched the episode in their own time and responded to each

week's questions by writing and email or recording an audio or video diary on their mobile phone.

The analysis presented here was produced by a tenant-academic team who reflected collaborativelyon the panel and Q&A discussion and the diary entries from the 19 participates including: (1) twelve residents of a number of inner city and suburban estates in Sydney and Adelaide; (2) two community workers who work on estates; and (3) five self-nominated viewers of the show.

It was important for the academic researchers on the team not to impose a pre-existinganalytical framework onto tenants. The research team decided to hold a final focus group to conclude the study whereby the two tenant-researchers, a tenant community worker and tenant participant from the study, reviewed and interpreted participant contributions. The group reviewed the tenant diaries to explore the ways in which tenants mediated between the *virtual* identity of a Houso presented in the show and their *actual*personalidentity and experiencewith managingor challengingstigma(Ruetter et al., 2009). They also reviewed the non-tenant diaries to better understand how others construct images of social housing tenants from this parodist representation.

Findings

In this study tenantsexpressed mixed views about whetherHousos informs negative public perceptions or if indeed the highly aggrandised caricatures actually work to reinforce and further stigmatise estates from the viewpoints of outsiders.As one panel discussant suggested, "I don't think [it reinforces stigma]. It's so exaggerated nobody in their right mind would believe it" (Tenant).Nevertheless, many other social housing tenantswere affronted by these perceptions and felt they had derogatory effects on residents' feeling of self-confidence and self-esteem. One tenant stated the show demonizes social housing tenants, while another stated

> People do assume, simply because I'm on a pension and I live in social housing; I'm a drug addict, I'm a dole bludger, and I'm just the worst that can be. And this [Housos], I think, gives them the right to say they're right, and I'm no good because of where I live and what income I have. (Tenant).

Other comments further supported the notion of geographical confinement or territorial constraint through which social housing neighbourhoods have become prison-like(Wacquant, 2001), confining and constraining those within.

> … by being confined - the stigma forced in a sense - psychologically forced people to stay within their area that they understand and are safe with; they know the rules and all that. So there are positives for them as well. They know how to survive within that area. (Tenant)

In turn, the viewpoint was commonly put forward that these feelings of confinement and awareness of knowing how to survive in stigmatised neighbourhoods could lead to self-limiting aspirations and behaviours for residents. One tenant stated,

> They're taught this is what is expected of you; this is your expected behaviour. If you don't conform to that pattern of expected behaviour you're damaged goods. This becomes a barrier" (Tenant).

A related aspect of these self-limiting behaviours included the finding that people often choose not to venture outside of the neighbourhood, instead staying within the estate boundaries where it felt safe and familiar, as demonstrated by this comment "There are two sides to that [territorial stigma]. There's a sense of feeling safe and secure within that, and feeling uncomfortable out of it" (Tenant).

Moving onto the main storylines in Housos, participants remarked on how the narrative in the show was played out like a game in which interactions and relationships between the housosand various government agencies resulted in weekly winners and losers. The police force figure prominently, but so too do Centrelink, child protection and local government. In the highly irreverent spirit of the parody, representatives of these agencies usually appear self-interested, if not corrupt, bumbling and incompetent. They constantly scrutinize and frequently interrogate the housosin unsuccessful efforts to catch them defrauding the system or prove them guilty of other crimes.

After watching these episodes, non-tenant participants in our study consistently reflected on their belief that the system was not effectively preventing welfare cheats and 'bludgers' from loafing at their (taxpayers') expense. They called for greater surveillance and more stringent requirements to work.

> … the Government should look into it, as they have done lately … I see grandfathers, father, sons, all the way through they just, all on the dole; all housos.(Non-tenant viewer)

Tenant participants on the other hand, took up this theme to reflect on the highly regulated life on the estate, and on the disempowering, or even infantilising nature of these relationships:

> Yeah, the human services. So you're totally surrounded by all these agencies, so it's usually agency as parent. (Tenant)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, relationships with housing managers were characterised by tenant participants as particularly controlling, "It's territorial authoritarianism - housing authorities thinking they can control who *talks* to *their* tenants"(Tenant).

Tenants commented further on the way the episodic structure of Housos sets up a weekly problem of economic survival as a contest against the system or even a game, where winning could support a positive self-image. In the program, the housosalways 'win' at the expense of frustrated authorities. Equally, tenant participants did not seek to deny or disown illicit activity in their own neighbourhood lived experience, except to point out that it was the practice of a minority, and even then was usually intermittent. Participants in the focus group were also less concerned about the legality or morality of cheating the system – rather they explored the implications of the game metaphor for tenants' individual and collective identity.

> There are certain rules about how you play it and all that kind of stuff …Actually you've got this social political system, and it's a system with all these various elements like government departments, politicians, developers, and the middle class.They're there to protect their interests and maintain a certain kind of lifestyle for themselves and their own interests. (Tenant)

Tenant participants were highly attuned to implications of conflicting interests with those of non-tenants, often demarcating"them", defined as "the *authority* and *society*", with "us",as the tenant body (Tenant). When reviewing the video diaries, focus group members identified the negative stereotyping and highlighting of difference imposed by 'mainstream' citizenry as a possible defence against disadvantage. The reflections of tenant participants on their own game-playing included several accounts of deliberate and self-conscious use of 'negative' social status to produce positive collective identity and other benefits.

All participants freely identified places in their city that fictional Sunnyvale referred to, and linked living in these places with particular social characteristics and behaviours. Non-tenant participants most often reiterated commonly held ideas about concentrated poverty: "That's what they've grown up with and many of them have been there that long, that's all they know." (Non-tenant viewer) Tenant participants, on the other hand, pointed to social distinction of another kind, and were more likely to emphasise the positive aspects of their local community life:

> It's not all negative actually, I find that people here will help you quicker that say somebody in private, we're quick to help one another. We'll go out of our way really quickly, I think we have more communication that people in private do, and we have a better community than people in private do because they're all so isolated … we're part of a community. (Tenant)

In response to the final episode of Housos, many participants noted the way thatthe housos stick together to defend their place when confronted with a government plan to redevelop Sunnyvale and break up the social housing estate. "Well to tell you the truth, they are pretty close, ah?" stated a non-tenant viewer, or "they were actually all pretty supportive of each other, and help each other out where possible" stated a tenant. The suggestion here is that stigma based on place or territory may be offset by the mutual support and potential solidarity that tenants can offer each other.

Conclusion

In the end it matters little whether Housos is real or imagined as the exaggerated parodies are shown here to reinforce existing attitudes in ways that potentially affect real peoples' lives. To a large extent the views expressed by social housing tenant participants supported Wacquant's (2001) arguments that economic and political forces and changing modes for governing poverty have resulted in geographical confinement or territorial constraint of residents on estates.

Tenants voiced some of the obvious signifiers of this situation pointing to judgements made about their worth and potential and the territorial taint attached to places, they inhabit. They also recognised their own experience in the ways that state agenciesconstantly scrutinise and frequently interrogate the housosin their unsuccessful efforts to catch them defrauding the system or in seeking to prove them guilty of other crimes.

When tenant and non-tenant participants reflected on the fictional representation they almost always talked simultaneously about 'real world' tenant and social issues. Tenants frequently referred to experiences of discrimination and social barriers that make life harder and also to the effects of housing management. Non-tenant participants often rehearsed common prejudices about social housing, and consistently reflected on their belief that the system was not effectively preventing welfare cheats and 'bludgers' from loafing at their (taxpayers') expense.

Tenants were not mere victims of territorial stigma, but did highlightthe 'othering' imposed by 'mainstream' citizenry in programs such as Housos. Tenant participants' reflections on their own real life game-playing included several accounts of deliberate and self-conscious use of 'negative' social status to produce positive collective identity and other benefits.

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On being Australian: Second-generation Sri Lankans' narratives of national identity

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Abstract

In this paper I examine the ways children of Sri Lankan immigrants in Australia understand and interpret their national identities. My study focuses on an immigrant cohort characterised by middle class dwelling, employed in white-collar professions and/or following higher education with the intension of pursuing white-collar professions in future. It is important to explore how this group which demonstrates a high socioeconomic integration to Australian society understand their national identities. Through an analysis of thirty interviews, I argue that the children of middle-class non-white Sri Lankan immigrants in my study dwell in a paradoxical condition of visible difference and high socio-economic integration which directly impact on their identity formation. This paper focuses mainly on participants' narratives on their 'Australianness' and I examine the ways the children of Sri Lankan immigrants describe their sense of belonging to Australia as well as the meanings, practices and limitations accompanying these labels.

Key words: Second-generation, Sri Lankans, ethnic identity, national identity, racialisation

Introduction

Children of immigrants' identification with the host society has gained far less consideration in migration research compared to studying immigrants' ethnic identification (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). The relationship and interplay between the ethnic and national identities are important to understand the complex process of hybrid identity formation of descendants of immigrants. In this paper, I examine the ways children of Sri Lankan immigrants discuss their national identities.

The scholarly work on marginalisation and assimilation assume that becoming middle-class would result in declining issues related to racial discrimination and minority groups' assimilation into the mainstream society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964). Gordon (1964) hypothesises that "*Once structural assimilation has occurred…all of the other types of assimilation will natually follow*'' (p. 81). It is only recently that scholars (Kibria, 2002; Tuan, 2002) have started to focus on the children of middle-class, non-white immigrants to see whether this viewpoint is accurate across all groups (Purkayastha, 2005). This recent scholarship has demonstrated the importance of examining race in identity studies, which is a perspective, lacking in most of the studies on ethnicity and identity formation of children of immigrants. However, most of this research (Espiritu, 2002; Kibria, 2002; Purkayastha, 2005; Tuan, 2002) explores middle-class immigrant groups in the American society and is

relatively limited in Australian scholarship. The second generation Sri Lankans in Australia – being highly educated children of middle-class, non-white immigrants in the contemporary multicultural Australian society – provide an ideal case study of the particular predicament of immigrants with the freedoms of high social capital and the constraints of visible difference to the majority white population.

Social construction of ethnic identity

This study is founded on the social constructionist perspective of ethnic identity, based on Jenkins's (1997) argument that "ethnicity is both collective and individual, externalized in social interaction and internalized in personal self-identification" (p. 166). Jenkins (1997, p. 14) writes that social construction of ethnic identities encompasses four key processes: cultural differentiation, social interaction, flexibility and individual and collective influences. This definition highlights the importance of ethnic identity as a social identity, which involves both self-identification and external categorisation. Accordingly, two dimensions of ethnicity – individual and collective – guide the framework of this research. The individual dimension of ethnic identity refers to the way persons relate to and understand themselves. The second dimension is the collective aspect of ethnicity; ethnic identity is socially supported and learned through the social structures of the ethnic group as well as the host society. For example, being middle-class, highly educated, affluent professionals, the Sri Lankan second-generation may see themselves as Australians but the question is do outsiders consider them 'Australian' as well and how self-identification is adapted, transformed or altered in response to such structural circumstances? With this argument in the background, this paper conceptualises ethnic identity as having two intrinsic and interrelated dimensions as individual and collective.

Methodology

This study utilises a qualitative research design to investigate the identity formation of the second-generation Sri Lankan immigrants in Australia. The paper is based on analysis of in-depth interviews with 30 participants belonging to three Sri Lankan ancestries in Australia, namely Sinhalese Tamil and Burgher.

At the time of the interview, all except three participants have either completed or enrolled in tertiary level education. Twenty one participants had already completed or enrolled in Bachelor university degrees, five had completed postgraduate degrees, and one was reading for a PhD. Moreover, fourteen participants were full-time undergraduate students and sixteen were employed full-time in 'white-collar' professions mainly administrative and managerial positions. As evident from the residential pattern, educational qualifications and employment this study sample constituted significant numbers of middle class[1] individuals who maintained a high level of social mobility.

[1] Following Purkayastha (2005) in this study the term *middle class does* not to connote a particular income group. It refers to the high level of education, linguistic proficiency, white-collar employments and suburban residences of the participants.

Prominent markers of national identity

A number of studies dealing with ethnic identity of second-generation immigrants have illustrated that second-generation identities often encompass a hybrid character; rather than adopting one ethnic or national label, the second-generation tends to claim a wide range of ethnic identities (Kibria, 2000; Noble & Tabar, 2002; Purkayastha, 2005). The majority of the sample of this study also saw themselves as 'partly Sri Lankan and partly Australian' or as they commonly put it, 'Sri Lankan-Australian'. They gave precedence to both the migrant label as well as the national label in describing their sense of self and belonging. They considered that both aspects are equally important in describing who they are. Not only did they label themselves 'Sri Lankan-Australian', they were mostly aware and conscious about characteristics of Sri Lankanness and Australianness in them. The majority of the respondents gave precedence to Sri Lankan culture and cultural belonging as the core elements of their ethnic identity: 'l feel like I am Sri Lankan culturally but I am Australian in every other way' (Tarangini, Tamil). This participant, as well as others with similar responses could name the characteristics of their dual identities in relatively straightforward manner (See also Poynting, 2009). They constructed their ethnicities by creating and recreating their cultural practices as opposed to Australian ethnicity, which they commonly talked about with reference to Anglo-Celtic culture.

Although the participants in this study strongly identified with their migrant culture mainly through close family ties, values of life and food, all the participants contended the importance of Australian identity or 'Australian side' in describing their sense of self and perceptions of belonging. The migrant Sri Lankan identities made up only a part of who they are; their Australianness was a significant marker upon their understanding of themselves. While acknowledging that the children of Sri Lankan immigrants in my study self-identified with hybrid, migrant-national identities, this paper focuses on discussing how they conceptualise their national identities and social, cultural and physical characteristics that they perceived to encompass the core of their Australianness.

Linguistic cues – 'my accent is Aussie'

All the respondents in my study considered English language, particularly the Australian accent as a signifier of their Australianness. Use of Australian idioms in day-to-day life and particularly the Australian accent was a prime dimension of their Australianness since that visibly differentiates them from their parents' generation and recent migrants from Sri Lanka. Particularly when they travel overseas, the Australians accent helps them be seen as Australian because when people hear them talking, they are naturally identified as Australians. Very interestingly, they mentioned how they unconsciously 'put on' their 'Aussie accent' when they wanted others to see them as Australians and while talking to parents how they deliberately change their accent to match with the audience. All the participants in my study proudly mentioned their ability to speak fluent English with Australian accent as one of the main characteristics of their 'Australian side'.

Emotional attachment to Australia – 'Australia is my home'

The majority of participants saw Australia as 'home' and that attachment made them feel a part of Australian identity: 'I feel like I am very much at home here. That's how I feel like I am part of it'. Being born in Australia and/or grown up in Australia were often pointed out as reasons for this attachment.

The participants vividly described their emotional attachment to Australia and often mentioned 'I love Australia' which suggests the positive feelings they have towards the country, which may have derived from their sense of belonging to the Australian nation state. Furthermore, familiarity with Australian society and knowledge of Australian history were other frequently mentioned factors for their emotional allegiance to Australia. They felt positive about being born and/or grew up in the Australian society and talked about the Australian citizenship with pride. The majority of them planned to stay in Australia, raise their children in Australia and establish their careers in Australia, in particular to engage in a government job. Their structural integration to Australian society particularly in terms of white-collar occupations encouraged to see themselves as Australians. Uma, a final year Arts-Law undergraduate described 'I am going to the public service next year in Canberra, so I certainly see myself as an Australian and I am grateful for that'.

Return visits to Sri Lanka not only reinforced their belonging to Australia but also at the same time presented them with an opportunity to understand the Australian characteristics in them with comparison to Sri Lankans and their practises. As the narratives suggest, the complex interplay between local and transnational ethnic identities – that they are seen as Sri Lankans in Australia but Australians in Sri Lanka – promoted their allegiance to Australia.

Everyday culture– shared civic values, westernised ideas & leisure

Shared civic values were another prominent marker of their national identity. The majority of participants believed that Australian society is egalitarian and they described qualities such as being non-judgemental, equal treatments to all, mateship, a fair go, loyalty and democracy as their characteristics of Australianness:

> I am really nonjudgmental. I think that comes more from my Australian side, that whole sort of egalitarian side of Australia (Amal, Sinhalese, age 28, male).

Everyday cultural factors like clothes they wear, the kind of entertainment they enjoy, activities they do outside of work, were seen as Australian. Australian sports were another symbol of their Australian identity. The participants perceived the Australian culture in a very stereotypical manner mainly in terms of barbeques, beers, surfies, and being laid back. Primarily the male respondents declared their interests and pastime engagements are 'Aussie' and drew upon interests such as 'going down to the beach', loving Holden cars and fondness for outdoor activities such as barbeques and camping when describing their Australian identity.

Multiculturalism in Australia has given the children of immigrants some legitimate space to articulate their dual identities. The majority of them believed that Australia is a multicultural nation and therefore there is no longer a typical Australian. The majority of participants in my study believed that integration between cultures is important and at the same time, so as 'not to be an outcast' in the Australian society, it is vital to adopt certain elements of Australian culture. As Taraka explained:

> Even though I am a Sri Lankan I have merged into Australian culture, I haven't changed my culture or I haven't totally adopted Australian culture but I have created the common interest and I believe I am there (Taraka, Sinhalese, male).

Discussion

As evident from the above narratives, the children of Sri Lankan immigrants in my study engaged in discursive construction of national identity through language, everyday culture and sentiments of belonging to Australia. They actively constructed their national identity by othering the first generation immigrants, recent migrants and persons living in Sri Lanka, who were perceived different to them. As opposed to transnational literature that suggests that transnational immigrants tend to have weak attachments to the nation state (Hall, 1991), my study demonstrates that the children of Sri Lankan immigrants felt a strong sense of belonging to cultural conceptions of Australian national identity. More importantly, none of the participants categorically rejected their national Australian identity, a finding that differs from some pertinent literature (Butcher & Thomas, 2003; Zevallos, 2008) that notes some second-generation immigrants tend to claim that they are 'not Australian'. I argue that their strong identification with Australian national identity is directly related with their middle-class character. Their middle-class background – predominantly living in white neighbourhood, attending schools with a white majority and white-collar careers – promoted high social assimilation in second-generation Sri Lankans. They formed friendships mainly with whites and the majority of them preferred whites or non-ethnics as dating or marital partners. The social inclusion which happened through their fluency in English and high level of education prompted them in considering themselves as Australians in their everyday life. Therefore it is vital to explore why this group who maintained a high socioeconomic integration and positive sense of belonging to Australian nation state concurrently identified themselves as ethnics or with hybrid, migrant-national identity.

Even though the second-generation Sri Lankans refer to themselves as Australians at different points of the interviews and perceived Australia as a multicultural country, all the respondents had the preconceived ideas about racial construction of Australianness: 'but I know that I am not Australian like white Australian and I can never be, no matter what I try to do.' (Dulani, Sinhalese). They considered their appearance and skin colour are something that is not Australian, as Nathan said '….even I forget until I look in the mirror that I just sort of see myself as a normal Aussie person' (Nathan, Burgher). The way of painting national identity based on 'white Australianness' excluded the children of Sri Lankan immigrants from being completely Australian or fully belong to the nation.

Their perceptions on racial categorisations regarding Australianness were often reinforced through their experiences of racial discrimination and everyday encounters of otherness. In spite to their unaccented Australian English diction, Australian citizenship and 'Australian way of life', participants in this study reported being subjected to racialisation in everyday life based on their non-white appearance. Being subjected to name calling such as 'blackie', 'brownie', 'chocolate cover', 'poo-poo' particularly during the school period was a common experience of racialisation for the majority of participants. Most participants attended middle-class schools with a white majority and as Tarangini described 'I was like this alien person dropped into a sea of white people'. They were implicitly conscious of their apparent difference from the majority in the classroom and these negative comments made their difference pronounced.

In spite of their high socioeconomic standard of life, the narratives of many of my participants reveal the ongoing impact of race upon their identities. Studying young Australians from culturally diverse backgrounds Ang, et al. (2006) notes that the experiences of racial discrimination and prejudice determine the extent to which they 'feel' Australian.

Similarly, the Sri Lankan Australians in my study also felt that their ethnic identity is continually reinforced by their inescapable 'reality' of being 'non-white' in a 'white' dominated Australian society. This constrained the extent to which the second-generation feel a sense of belonging to Australian national identity:

> Whatever said and done at the end of the day, the white Australian people will think you are not Australian because you are not white. There is nothing you can do about that, so I thought why try to be something that you are not, so, yeah, now I happily say that I am Sri Lankan… (Kelsey, Tamil, age 27, female).

Regardless of how strongly they may be grounded in Australia, they were often viewed through a prism of otherness by the wider society and marked as non-Australian. There is increasing evidence that the visibly different ethnic minorities do not exercise the same identity choices as enjoyed by whites (Espiritu, 2002; Kibria, 2000; Purkayastha, 2005; Song, 2003; Waters, 1990). As the findings of my study confirm, the identity options available for the second-generation Sri Lankan immigrants were substantially limited and bounded due to the continuing salience of racialisation in Australian society. Vasta (1993) argues that racial construction of Australian identity as a main factor behind the hyphenated identities of immigrants and the 'Australian' identity of Anglo-Australians. Similarly, my participants also felt that a single identity label is inaccurate as they were aware and made aware that they are 'not only Australian but something else as well'. Besides their allegiance to Sri Lankan culture, everyday encounters of otherness (questions like 'where are you from?'), experiences of racial discrimination and ideas of whiteness reinforced their 'partly Australianness'.

Conclusion

This paper affirms that Australianness was a significant part upon the Sri Lankan-Australians understanding of themselves and their sense of belonging. I found that the participants in this study articulated their national identity though language, everyday cultural elements and claiming an emotional belonging to Australian nation state. Overall, migrant identities and national identities were not completely consistent and stable but generated differently in different contexts.

As the social constructionist perspective used in this paper emphasizes ethnic identity of my participants is a complex construct, determined by the interplay between individual self-identification and external ascription. On the one hand they had positive sense of belonging and a strong emotional attachment to Australia. On the other hand, the same respondents felt that they are excluded by the larger society and no matter how hard they try; they cannot be 'real Aussies'. This reflection raises the question, despite being a multicultural society: a white body is the basic constituent to claim an authentic belonging to the state. My contention is that that the children of Sri Lankan immigrants experienced concurrent inclusion and exclusion as a result of the interplay between structural assimilation and visible physical differences.

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Re-distributive Philanthropy and the ChineseAustralian Diaspora

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Abstract

The discipline of sociology has paid relatively scant regard to either the actualities or the potential of voluntary giving of funds as a process capable of making a contribution to addressing social inequalities. While the literature that does exist includes arguments identifying aspects of elite philanthropy as being essentially self-serving (Ostrower, 1995; Odendahl, 1989) it also includes those who contend that giving is fundamental to social cohesion (Komter, 2007) and that redistribution is one of the most ancient forms of philanthropy (Frumkin, 2006; Payton, 1988).In very broad terms, the redistributive aspects of philanthropic giving havebeen present to varying degrees across the centuries and across myriad nations, cultures and religions. The prevailing western philanthropic processes have included both amelioration, in addressing acute needs in the moment, and transformation, in addressing the underlying causes of social inequalities. The extent to which such western processes are universal however remain largely untested. This is of particular significance in Australia where the ethnic and cultural composition is quickly changing and where many residents no longer come from western traditions. The 2011 Census reveals that over 866,000 Australian residents identified themselves as having Chinese ancestry. Of these, 318,969 were born in China, making China the 4th most common country of birth for Australians behind Australia, Britain and New Zealand (ABS 2012). This paper begins to address the almost entirely absent understanding of the similarities and differences in the normative influences over thephilanthropic attitudes of this the fastest growing Diaspora in Australia**.**

Key words: philanthropy, diaspora, Chinese, Australian, re-distribution

Introduction

Over the past decade there has been a heightened international interest in Diaspora philanthropy by sociologists and other social scientists (Dunn, 2004; Johnson, 2007; Riddle et al., 2008; Sidel, 2008; Baker and Mascitelli, 2011) and by those interested in the philanthropic possibilities associated with increasing financial capacity of Chinese Diaspora communities (Yuen and Ho, 2011; Morris, 2011; Menkhoff and Chang-Yau, 2010). The Chinese Diaspora is large, complex and globally diffuse. Despite its growing importance to the economy and culture of Australia, and many nations, studies to enhance knowledge and understanding of the giving behaviours of this Diaspora are rare, and in Australia they are all but non-existent. Indeed, Sidel argues that there is a serious lack of research into and understanding of the giving behaviours of emerging diasporas in Australia given the important role they playin redistributive giving for "charitable, social, economic and other"

purposes amongst others(2008: 3).The paucity of scholarly research is compounded by the lack of reliable data on giving in Australia capable of shedding any light on diaspora giving.

Chinese in Australia

The history of Chinese in Australia dates back to the very foundations of New South Wales as a colony of the British. While early records are incomplete, and early immigration was overwhelmingly from the British Isles, there were exceptions. To satisfy labour shortages in the colony small numbers of Chinese came to Australia from the 1820s onwards. With the end of convict transportation in the 1840s, the inflow of Chinese resumed and was boosted further by the gold rush of the 1850s which resulted in thousands of Chinese, mostly from Canton and Hong Kong, making their way to Australia. By 1861 the number of Chinese in Australia had reached over 38,000(Choi, 1975: 22). At 3.3 per cent of the Australian population at the time, this was the highest concentration of Chinese in Australian history.
The introduction of the "White Australia" legislation in 1901 saw the number of Chinese gradually reduce to some 9,000 by 1947 (Choi, 1975). The White Australia policy began to be moderated after World War II by a number of incremental changes over the following decades though it was not until 1973 that the policy was finally abolished (Jupp, 1995). The real impact came in 1975 with the admission of Indo-Chinese refugees, "boat people", fleeing from the War in Vietnam. A new generation of Chinese immigrants to Australia saw significant numbers of non-Cantonese speakers arriving in the 1970s and early 1980s. Following the Tiananmen Square protests of June 1989, Prime Minister Hawke granted permanent residency to many of the Chinese students in Australia. Since that time there has been a steady flow of immigrants from mainland China and Taiwan. The contemporary Chinese Diaspora in Australia is in practice as diverse as it is dynamic. The Chinese Diaspora is a description which applies broadly to ethnic Chinese (Ho & Coughlan, 1997), and in the case of Australia includes people who have come from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Cambodia) who in turn come from a diverse array of regional, religious and social class backgrounds (Collins, 2002).

Chinese giving traditions and developments

In the Census of 2006, 61 per cent of China-bornresidents selected: "No religion" (relative to 24 per cent of the Australia-born). The Census did not provide Confucianism as one of the listed options. The small proportions of the China-born who identified as having a religion is in part a reflection on the relatively recent history of China and in part a reflection of alternative approaches to spirituality and guiding philosophies in China. Prior to the collapse of the imperial system in 1911, the institutions of giving in China were predominately clan-based lineage organizations which cared for the disadvantaged and took the lead role in responding to natural disasters. From the formation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921 and particularly following the ascendency of Mao to its leadership in 1935, the role of the Party was all pervasive.While the Open Door Reforms of 1997 saw the re-emergence of community serving organisations in China, it was indeed a re-emergence. A considerable array of civil society organisations has long existed in traditional society in China, from charitable halls and associations participating in poverty alleviation, through to multiple forms of cooperative associations involved in rural and communal economies, and neighbourhood mutual aid (Wang and Liu, 2009). Wealthy citizens have been active in Chinese history in responding to famine (Handlin Smith, 1998) and in the establishment of

‘benevolent societies’ the sixteenth century to help the poor in their communities (Handlin Smith, 1987).
The societal norms at play were largely based on the Five Cardinal Relationships which form the central organising principle of Confucian society: affection between parent and child; righteousness between ruler and subject; distinction between husband and wife; order between older and younger brothers; and sincerity between friends (Lo and Otis, 2003). Hsu (2008) argues that in order to understand how giving institutions functioned in pre-modern China, it is critical to understand the role played by material gifts and by favours. While in the West notions of giving with (self-serving) instrumentality in mind is deemed an inferior, tainted form of donor behaviour, in traditional Chinese society instrumentality is the point of the gift process and serves to strengthen rather than diminish relationships. According to Confucian philosophy, relationships between an individual and others come in three categories. First and foremost is family or kin; then pseudo-kin or friends; and strangers.
While Confucianism has been important to Chinese society, the ways in which this has shaped associated philanthropic institutions and practices remain a function of the particular social, cultural, economic and regulatory demands of the time (Handlin Smith, 1998; 1987). It would also be a mistake to think “the cultural toolkit of the average [contemporary] Chinese citizen … is made up solely of practices and concepts from Chinese Confucianism” (Hsu, 2008: 86).

Nevertheless, at its essence the tenets of Confucianism that inform Chinese approaches to giving and those of the Judeo-Christian approach do not in the first instance present as fundamentally similar. Whereas the Western tradition views philanthropy as essentially voluntary, altruistic and independent of the state, the traditional Chinese framework “idealizes giving to kin” (Hsu, 2008: 84) and is understood to be more obligatory, reciprocal and entirely consistent with the Confucian principle of righteousness between ruler and subject. Another and related influence on Chinese giving is that of *guanxi*. While the concept and practice of *guanxi* is increasingly familiar beyond the Chinese Diaspora, it was after more than a decade of ethnographic research in rural China that Yang framed the particularly incisive definition of the art of relationships, *guanxixue,*(1994: 6) as "the exchange of gifts, favors, and banquets; the cultivation of personal relationships and networks of mutual dependence; and the manufacturing of obligation and indebtedness".

Menkhoffand Chang-Yau(2010)argue that the values and associated practices that underpin Chinese society with its emphasis on family, clan and community are essentially communal in nature and consistent with the values of reciprocity in Western conceptions of philanthropy. Nevertheless, while the traditions and institutions of charitable giving are as ancient and honoured in Chinese society as they are in the West, westerners have historically failed to properly identify and acknowledge Chinese charitable traditions because of our own narrowly defined and simplistic notions about philanthropy (Handlin Smith, 1998) and the mono-cultural lens employed.

In contemporary China the changing nature of fundamentally redistributive giving was thrust into the public limelight and on to the policy agenda by the reaction of the many to theWenchuan Earthquake of May 2008. This massive earthquake hada devastating impact on Sichuan and neighbouring provinces, resulting in nearly 70,000 deaths, the destruction of nearly 8 million homes, and the evacuation of more than 15 million people. The tragedy resulted in an overwhelming response from the people of China “from every level of the social strata” (Zheng, 2009: 248) as well as from around the world. The speed and scale of the reaction, in terms of funds donated, volunteering and in terms of increased blood

donations (Liu et al., 2010), took the nation by surprise and the response to this catastrophic event proved to be a major spur for the subsequent strengthening of China's non-profit and philanthropic sectors (Wang and Liu, 2009; Wang and Xu, 2010). The Chinese Diaspora also responded significantly to this natural disaster and community need in their ancestral home.

The strong response of the Chinese Diaspora in Australia (Baker et al., forthcoming)is indicative of the philanthropic networks and practices that largely fly below the radar of mainstream philanthropic institutions in this country. Nevertheless, the attention of all in the philanthropic arena in Australia was secured in June 2010 when Dr Chau Chak Wing donated a total of $25 million the University of Technology in Sydney (UTS). In an exemplification of the importance of kin, Dr Chau's son was studying architecture at UTS at the time that this donation of unprecedented scale was made. The actuality and potential of Chinese Diaspora philanthropy was not missed by the sector and its significance was reiteratedwhen the development manager at UTS at the time (Melissa Smith) was awarded "Australian Fundraiser of the Year" and subsequently "Global Fundraiser of the Year" in 2011 (Johnson, 2011). In 2012 the first Chinese-born member of Parliament in Australia, Helen Sham-Ho (OAM) was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australian in recognition of her service to the parliament of New South Wales and in recognition of for her effectiveness is raising funds from the Chinese community for causes - in both China and Australia. Sham-Ho's effectiveness emphasises the importance of connectedness and community (pseudo-kin) to encouraging giving by members of the Chinese Diaspora. In her practice Sham-Ho also draws upon and is indicative of the advancement of Chinese Australians who are increasingly in positions of power and influence and numbering amongst the most economically successful of Australian entrepreneurs, as has so long been the case.

Chinese Australian Diaspora Philanthropy

As outlined above, along with much in contemporary China, the nature of private giving for public good is undergoing rapid change in that country. Whereas the Confucian hierarchy of kin, pseudo-kinand strangers would suggest a greater emphasis on the construction of bonding rather than bridging social capital and a corresponding cultural constraint on the extent to which giving might address social inequities beyond family and immediate community, the response of the Chinese to the 2008 earthquake is fundamentally of a similar nature to that of the Australian populace to fire and flood disasters in this country. The level of giving, the beneficiaries, the institutional forms and the normative values that underpin Chinese philanthropic giving are all in a state of dynamic transformation. To what extent is this relevant to the philanthropic giving attitudes and practices of the Chinese Diaspora in Australia? The answer in part may lie in the increasingly connected nature of contemporary Diaspora. As Hugo has identified, the nature of access to home communities has been transformed in recent years: "One of the differences between modern Diaspora and those of history is the revolution in information and communication on the one hand, and the cheapening and speeding up of international travel on the other" (2006: 118).

The extent to which new Australian residents are able to maintain and indeed to strengthen relationships and ties with their community of origin is unprecedented. While European immigrants to Australia in the post-War era were often only able to make one or two trips back to their country of origin throughout their working lives, in the contemporary transnational world, new entrants to Australia (and other countries) are able to maintain and build upon intimate ties with family, community, business partners and others by social

media, on-line news sources and indeed relatively regular exchange of visits.In addition, the re-emergence of China as a powerful political, economic and cultural force and the associated rise in the pride that comes with being Chinese has in itself provided a basis for maintaining and strengthening ties from family and community, to institutions and business enterprises.What is not as apparent is the extent to which this new transnationalism and the associated strengthening of ties with communities of origin will impact on how this significant diaspora located in Australia go about their giving.

This paper has sought to establish the importance of understanding the philanthropic influences, attitudes and practices of the nation's fastest growing Diaspora, Chinese Australians. The exploration involved gives rise to a further series of inter-related questions that warrant rigorous investigation. Two areas for further investigation are: 1) the nature and extent of Chinse Australian philanthropy; and 2) the influence of cultural interplay on giving practices. Both areas for further research would need to be informed by recognition of the diverse nature of this diaspora and of the wider Australian community. The former would serve to shed light on *where* and to *what*Chinese Australians direct their philanthropic attention and resources. The latter would illuminate the *how* and *why* of giving by the diaspora. Key questions that could be addressed under the theme of cultural interplay include the following. Do the different cultural traditions of the application of private funds for public good manifest themselves in different forms of philanthropic giving? Does time and the development of allegiances to one's community of origin and one's country of residence manifest in changing giving practices over time and is this evident in different approaches to giving by Australian born Chinese (ABCs) and theChina-born? To what extent does the giving culture in Australia influence Diaspora giving practices, and to what extent does the reverse apply? Looking beyond the particular of the Australian context, a wider question to be addressed is the extent to which the giving culture and related cultural norms in any one country of residence results in giving practices by the Chinese Diaspora that are identifiably different from those of the Chinese Diaspora elsewhere.

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Sponsorship, Support and the Academic Gender Gap

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Abstract

This paper focuses on qualifications, mentoring, role models, and collegial/institutional support as contributors to the academic gender gap, while acknowledging the impact of gendered families and new institutional priorities. Based on previous research and my qualitative interviews with university-based academics in Canada and New Zealand, the paper argues that effective mentoring and career support are related to 'insider knowledge', higher research productivity, promotional success and career satisfaction. Despite few gender differences in new doctoral degrees, young men plan more ambitious careers, express stronger expectations of achieving promotion, and report more positive institutional experiences. The paper argues that men's apparent career commitment attracts sponsorship and collegial support, which broadens professional networks, strengthens confidence, and augments the academic gender gap.

Key words: academic gender gap, universities, mentoring, academic careers

Introduction

Nearly half of new doctorates are now earned by women in English-speaking countries but women occupy only a third of permanent university-based academics and a fifth of senior positions (Baker 2012). As more women enter academia, inter-generational change is apparent but a gender gap persists which is influenced by institutional practices and personal/family circumstances (Baker 2010; Sax 2008). This paper focuses on the contribution of mentoring, role models and institutional/collegial support to the gender gap. Based on previous research and my qualitative interviews in two countries and eras, the paper demonstrates that more women now develop academic careers but gendered sponsorship and support continue to impede their progression through the ranks, along with new institutional priorities and gendered family life.

Previous Research

Effective mentoring enhances 'insider knowledge', research productivity, promotion and salaries, and career satisfaction but studies find that male academics receive more inside information about workplace practices, providing greater opportunities for career planning and skills development (Gibson 2006). More males also report positive doctoral experiences, joint-authorship with supervisors, ambitious career plans and promotional expectations (Baker 2010; Probert 2005).

Universities have developed initiatives to address the gender gap, including work/life balance programs, equity committees and campus childcare. Gender-based mentoring also matches junior with senior women, while female networking encourages colleagues to discuss collective challenges/strategies. Evaluating program effectiveness is difficult but participants say that female networking makes them feel more professionally integrated (Gibson 2006). However, these initiatives are seldom well resourced or viewed as integral

components of the university's mission. Although managers express concern about gender equity, structures to implement systemic changes are often absent (Bird, Litt & Wang 2004.

Universities have also established procedures to investigate harassment allegations but particularly separated/divorced women, who are over-represented in academia, report incidences of sexual harassment. Senior men sometimes avoid female mentoring because it can be misperceived as sexual (Fletcher et al 2007). Research also reports backlashes against 'family-friendly' programs and employees avoiding them to maintain professional credibility (Thomas & Davies 2002). Particularly young mothers express concern about heightened productivity requirements in the 'managerial university' but women clearly struggle more than men for work/life balance and professional acceptance (Gill et al. 2008).

Qualitative Interviews

My studies in Canada in 1973 and New Zealand in 2008 investigated the impact of gender and parenthood on academic careers, with academic participants discussing their career development and family circumstances. The 2008 interviews further noted the influence of university type on career development, as universities are often divided into 'teaching' versus 'research' institutions (CAUT 2011). Both studies relied on political economy theories which assume that 'choices' are shaped by circumstances/opportunities, and interpretive perspectives which argue that meanings of actions are socially constructed and shape the ways we present ourselves and how others reinforce our actions. I also relied on 'performance' theories of gender (Kelan 2009), acknowledging that even when women behave like men, their actions can be viewed, evaluated and legitimated differently (Acker 2010).

These two projects revealed changes in gender relations in countries with comparable university workplaces. Both countries share similar increases in women's doctorates and

representation in academia, comparable hiring/promotion criteria in universities, high percentages of foreign-born academics, and the 'corporatisation' of universities (Baker 2012).

The 1973 study was situated in a Canadian 'research' university, involving 39 interviews with women academics when women formed 13.5 percent of permanent staff. The sample was mainly full-time academics at all ranks but included several temporary staff and doctoral students. The project focused on inconsistencies between discourse about academic merit and participant experiences, exploring their career trajectories and family lives.

The 2008 study involved 30 interviews with male and female academics in a 'research' and a 'teaching' university in New Zealand. The sample was selected by gender and rank, including academics with doctorates and permanent positions. The interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed and analysis compared perceptions (by sex, rank, university type and personal circumstances) and typical verbatim comments. Both studies' findings expanded on wider research and illustrated gendered careers.

Gaining Qualifications

In 1973, most doctorates were earned by men and gendered assumptions about men's greater need for funding impeded women's pursuit of a doctorate. In my interviews, a contractual assistant professor had been told by her doctoral supervisor that he would have recommended her for a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship if she were male. However, he assumed that she would not get it because of her gender and didn't bother writing the letter of recommendation (Baker 1975: 172).

Other participants had been encouraged by parents and teachers to pursue doctorates but not a lifetime career. Several made idiosyncratic career choices, such as the student who applied for a PhD just "to shut up" her friends and professors who urged her to continue studying (Baker 1975: 172). An education lecturer reported that she and her husband had

been studying law but they decided that one of them should be earning money: "So I went to teachers' college and became a teacher" (ibid: 174). Later, she found work in the education faculty despite her legal interests. Another woman indicated that her parents were from middle-class backgrounds in which "girls became nurses and got married" but she had a "burning ambition" to become a lawyer. After studying home economics, switching to education and teaching for four years, she began studying law (ibid: 158). Most participants began their career in female-dominated professions, with one-third starting as school teachers.

In 2008, participant qualifications differed less by gender than university because only permanent academics with doctorates were interviewed although many women have temporary positions. More participants at the research university achieved doctorates from prestigious overseas universities, won international scholarships, and previously taught overseas. However, the women sometimes mentioned negative experiences such as the associate professor who discussed her 1970s doctorate from Australia when many supervisors were British. When asked if she ever joint-authored papers with supervisors, she replied: "Gosh no! My supervisors were fairly remote…When I gave my main supervisor draft chapters to read he would say 'Carry on old chap'… I didn't really have any effective supervision for that PhD at all."

Most participants from the teaching university acquired local qualifications and experience, and more completed doctorates later in life. More also reported working class backgrounds, lower career expectations and support, and more were women. Previous research shows that students from well-off families with educated parents still enjoy greater opportunities to graduate from prestigious universities (Rothstein 2004).

Mentoring/Role Models

Many 1973 participants assumed that they would seek 'female' professions until a teacher/professor encouraged them to raise their aspirations. A temporary lecturer said:

> "I had always planned on being a nurse or a teacher, as I thought that these were my only alternatives … At the end of my sophomore year, a senior professor …convinced me that I should go instead for a BA … I was then thinking in terms of teaching in a liberal arts college – but didn't consider a PhD. I don't know why." (Baker 1975: 158)

After working in an American college, she decided to pursue a doctorate.

Few women initially decided to become an academic and their stories seemed rather gendered. For example, a doctoral student had not planned to attend university but her headmistress "… dared me to apply for Oxford and Cambridge, because she knew I would not refuse such a challenge" (ibid, 171). After graduating from Cambridge, she continued her education "because my advisor felt that one of her students should go on to graduate school. I was the choice, as the other girl was getting married" (ibid: 171). Several others talked about drifting into academia after professors shoulder-tapped and mentored them.

Although absence of role models has been used to explain the gender gap, females do not always view academic women as positive models. A former doctoral student in science implied that she had been discouraged by her supervisor:

> "She always came in very early in the morning and worked late hours. She took work home every single night, despite the fact that she had two small children. But she was promoted at a slower rate than her male colleagues and received less pay. I could see myself being overburdened as my supervisor was." (ibid: 163)

With few role models, many females saw themselves as 'deviant' but wanted more rewarding occupations than their housewife mothers.

Research suggested that attrition is higher for early-career women because they receive less mentoring and support, dependency training from parents/partners, more pressure to concentrate on family responsibilities, and fewer female role models (Bracken, Allen and Dean, 2006). All these factors were apparent in my 1973 study. As one doctoral student: "It is easier for women graduate students to quit… People say they've come back to normal" (Baker 1975: 236).

In 2008, participants reporting the strongest mentoring had high-achieving parents, were scholarship winners, and working at the research university. A male lecturer with a privileged background spoke of his mentors: "I got two really good scholarships. My parents also encouraged me to do a doctorate. They're both academics… I had a number of mentors … lots of people expecting me to do a PhD." A female lecturer and scholarship winner spoke of her male mentor: "He was really the one who was responsible for saying: You can do a PhD, which I hadn't even really thought about, and this is how you do it."

Participants who reported no mentor tended to work at the teaching university, to have working class backgrounds, to mention disputes with supervisors or suggest that their doctorate took "too long". A female lecturer who took twelve years to complete her doctorate, said:

> "I lost my way a little - I mean I just went off on a tangent … I was a fairly shy student and I wonder if I could have been more forthcoming about my needs as a student to the supervisor… Financially, I don't come from a wealthy family and was always working."

Research suggests that doctoral students who are mothers or become pregnant are less often mentored into academia (Lynch 2008). This was reinforced by a lecturer recalling her doctoral experiences: "I certainly ran into conflict with my supervisor, especially towards the end, which I know that he wrote off as me being pregnant and hormonal."

Few 2008 participants reported female role models. A young mother at the research university expressed a typical female concern: "One of the things I have been looking for is role models of women who've had families and been successful in academia. I've been trying to seek some of those people out but sometimes have been discouraged by their experiences." Research suggests that early-career females see few married mothers in senior positions and are often uninspired by single or childless women. Therefore, lack of role models remains a contributor to the gender gap.

Collegial Support

In 1973, many women spoke of marginality and discrimination. An assistant professor from education mentioned that women academics are "given less respect and authority" and that students sometimes made "inappropriate sexual comments that aren't made about male professors" (Baker 1975: 128). An assistant professor of physical education commented: "Women have difficulty moving into a male domain … There is an unconscious camaraderie, involving informal decision-making, and it's hard for women to break into this (ibid: 157)." A temporary lecturer in science talked about the "strong built-in prejudices" against women especially by male students and argued that any "high voice or slight hesitancy on the part of a female lecturer encourages anti-woman feelings" (ibid).

The 1973 participants felt that some colleagues perceived women as 'unprofessional' if they left early to supervise children and assumed that wives didn't need to work. An assistant professor reported that she was continually fighting the image of the "doctor's wife" who is working "to amuse myself or to make a point" (ibid: 135). A social science lecturer overheard colleagues making disparaging comments about "ladies dabbling in academia" (ibid: 156). A professor in the humanities said: "It is rare that a woman would be promoted without having better qualifications than a man" (ibid: 214).

In the 2008 interviews, fewer academic women reported overt discrimination but they reported more experiences than men that made them feel angry, marginalized or disrespected. As one senior woman said:

> "It's a bit of an old adage that women have to work twice as hard with a quarter of the support, and you just know that if you take on a senior role like head of school or head of department that you are going to have far more trouble from people than you would if you were a bloke."

Previous research also suggests that women managers experience more challenges to their authority (Acker 2010). Monroe et al. (2008) argued that over the years, gender discrimination has become more subtle but continues through gender devaluation, where the power and status of an authoritative position is downplayed if held by a woman.

Institutional Support

The 1973 participants were denied scholarships and permanent jobs because they were married women, and reported little institutional support for maternity or childcare. Since then, academia has become more gender balanced and new equity programs have been developed. However, employed mothers are still 'penalised' for maternity and care work in terms of salary and promotion (Correll et al. 2007).

In the 2008 study, the mothers told disheartening stories of juggling parental leave with teaching and organising breastfeeding between classes. They talked about squiring children to and from day care and organising emergency childcare during sickness, conferences and research leave. Most reported little institutional support even though family-related leave was in the collective agreement. A sole mother spoke about returning from parental leave: "When I first came back, I was scheduled to teach from 5-6 p.m. three days a week and the crèche closes at five. And so there were just kinds of simple practical things

like that I had to say 'Look, this isn't workable…I can't do this!'" Both sexes acknowledged that motherhood impedes women's careers but only female participants said that combining parenthood and academic careers was too challenging.

Conclusions

Gaining family support for higher education, locating mentors and role models, finding permanent university positions, focusing on research/publications and working without interruptions are all important to successful academic careers. However, these aspects of academic capital are influenced by gender, support and material circumstances. Since the 1970s, more women have gained doctorates and permanent academic positions but more women than men continue to "leak out of the pipeline" before attaining job security (Mason et al. 2006, CAUT 2011). Mentoring and role models continue to influence academic careers while promotion decisions prioritize research outputs and other entrepreneurial activities.

In recent decades, more women have gained doctorates and universities have taken gender equity more seriously but challenges continue to face women academics. Universities have been unable to create a gender-neutral work environment because collegial networks are often gender-based and new institutional pressures prioritise the 'long-hours culture' along with funded research, but women are still expected to take responsibility for caring activities at home. These factors help perpetuate the gender gap.

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Invention or transformation?
Tradition in the contemporary world.

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Abstract:

Interest in the fate of tradition in modernity has emerged as a central concern in recent social theory. Prominent analyses have pointed to contemporary processes of detraditionalisation, and in some cases retraditionalisation, particularly in the realm of personal relationships, and of 'the invention of tradition', especially in connection with nationalist and ethnic movements. The ongoing presence and influence of tradition in modernity is also a central theme within the emerging paradigm of 'multiple modernities'. For this increasingly influential perspective, however, the significance accorded to the presence of tradition in modernity has a markedly different basis. The traditions it is concerned with are those which define civilisations, and its central claim is that diverse civilisational traditions shape modern constellations and co-constitute multiple forms of modernity. In this paper, I suggest that the multiple modernities perspective's broader frame of reference and distinctive conceptual framework provide important background to all debates around the operation of tradition in modernity. In the limited space available, I make this case in relation to the idea of the invention of tradition. An analysis of the underlying premises of the two approaches suggests that the multiple modernities perspective can shed new light the phenomena referred to as the invention of tradition, and bring to the fore aspects of the influence of tradition that it tends to obscure.

Keywords: tradition, invention, multiple modernities, Hobsbawm

Introduction

The fate of 'tradition' in the modern world has been an unexpectedly persistent issue in sociological analyses of contemporary social life. Seemingly sidelined by classical modernisation theory, 'where modern society' was *defined* as a break with tradition, interest in the nature and role of tradition in modernity has returned as a central concern in a number of influential analyses. While ultimately also tracing its decline, the thesis of ´detraditionalisation´ accords tradition a not yet exhausted presence in modernity (Giddens 1991; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Tradition has also re-entered key debates with the notion of the 'invention of tradition', coined by the British historian Eric Hobsbawm and widely adopted in sociological analyses of nationalism and ethnic movements. Hobsbawm argues, in explicit opposition to modernisation theory, that traditions are not confined to 'traditional' societies, but also have their place in modern ones. As he sees it, the most important feature of traditionality in modernity is the deliberate creation of traditions in the service of new social and political powers. The social dislocation associated with the emergence of modernity created a situation in which the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed were weakened, and new – most

importantly nationalist – traditions were consciously created by emerging social powers to fill the void (Hobsbawm 1992: 4-5).

The presence and influence of tradition in modernity is also a central theme in the emerging paradigm of 'multiple modernities'. This increasingly influential approach is also explicitly opposed to classical modernisation theory's view of modernity as a break with tradition, but the significance it accords to its persistence has a markedly different basis to that suggested by Hobsbawm. The traditions it is most centrally concerned with are those which define – and differentiate – civilisations. It argues, against the idea that modernity is a culture-neutral, 'universal' social constellation, that diverse civilisational traditions shape modern constellations and co-constitute multiple forms of modernity.

These divergent evaluations of the character and role of traditions in the modern world stem in part from their divergent usages of the term; the particular phenomena that are the focus of each perspective differ in some important respects. This opens up the possibility that the seemingly contradictory conclusions about the role of tradition in modern societies may be reconciled. Such reconciliation would, however, require a framework comprehensive enough to account for the range of phenomena covered by the three perspectives. It is my contention that the multiple modernities perspective is best placed to do this. In the limited space available here, I attempt to make this case in relation to the idea of the invention of tradition. To begin, I sketch the main claims of the two perspectives about traditions in the modern world, and clarify the particular phenomena with which each is concerned. I then explore the conception of tradition which underlies each line of argument. On the basis of this comparative analysis, I argue that the multiple modernities perspective can account for the 'invention of traditions' by relativising some its claims, while exclusive emphasis on the idea of the invention of tradition tends to obscure the more fundamental influence of traditions on modern forms of social life.

Claims and clarifications

Hobsbawm's interest is not traditions in general, but the subcategory of traditions which are invented'. Invented traditions are sets of practices governed by rules of a symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate values and norms of behaviour by repetition (Hobsbawm 1992: 1), and for Hobsbawm, their most significant characteristics are their recent and conscious construction, and their factitious reference to the past. Despite their claims to long historical precedent, the invented traditions Hobsbawm is concerned with are modern developments, and far from being linked organically to inherited 'ways of doing things', they 'rest on exercises in social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative'. While the invention of traditions is probably ubiquitous, his main interest is in the proliferation of invented traditions in the period of rapid social transformation occasioned by the advent of modernity, and in particular with those associated with the emergence of the nation and nationalism. It is in relation to debates around nationalism that the thesis of the invention of tradition has its primary application. In this context, he argues that invented traditions were pivotal in the emergence of nations and nationalism in the early modern era, and continue to characterise many nationalist and ethnic movements. The national phenomenon therefore 'cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm 1992: 14), and in the debate between

primordialists and modernists, he insists that nationalist traditions are strictly modern phenomenon (Babadzan 2000: 134).

Where Hobsbawm is concerned centrally with the sub category of traditions which are invented in modernity, the multiple modernities perspective's main theme is the influence of the traditions of diverse civilisations on modern social constellations. And where Hobsbawm's thesis addressed debates over nationalism, the multiple modernities perspective addressed a series of theoretical issues encountered in social theory in general, and modernisation theory in particular, in the 1970s. Elaborated within the framework of 'civilisational analysis' associated with Shmuel Eisenstadt (2000; 2002) and Johann Arnason (2002; 2003), the perspective´s emphasis on the enduring influence of traditions in modernity emerged as part the 'cultural turn' which sought to rectify a longstanding neglect of the role of meaning in social life, and set itself in explicit opposition to functionalist assumptions which left little room for cultural creativity, as well as its unilinear and evolutionist conception of modernisation as a universal process with a single outcome. (Arnason 2007: 5). Breaking with definitions couched exclusively in terms of structural differentiation, it accorded a central place to cultural orientations in the constitution of modernity. Its analyses of western modernity - both the first and to date most globally influential model - identified the key development in this regard as the emergence of new conceptions of human autonomy and agency, and underlined the bifurcation of these novel cultural orientations into conceptions of 'rational mastery' on the one hand, and expressivity and self-questioning on the other. The perspective also argues that these cultural orientations structure the institutional spheres which become differentiated in modernity.

'Traditions' figure in this framework in fundamental ways. The cultural orientations which animate modernity are understood as embedded in specific, concrete traditions, most notably in those associates with the Enlightenment and Romanticism. And both the broad orientations and their more concrete embodiments are seen as rooted in traditions with deep roots in the premodern world. Modern conceptions of human autonomy are seen as a radicalisation of cultural premises first introduced by the then novel and historically highly consequential distinction between transcendental and mundane worlds in the Axial period (Eisenstadt, 2002: 7). At the same time, diverse civilisational traditions exert a formative influence on modern social configurations; western traditions are a component of all forms of modernity, but their influence around the globe has been conditioned in significant ways by their interactions with other civilisational legacies.

Underlying premises

Underlying these different interests in tradition are divergent sets of assumptions about what traditions are. For both approaches, traditions are practices with symbolic import which have long histories and variable degrees of influence in different societies, but beyond this shared starting point, three important differences can be discerned.

An initial difference is found in the greater differentiation of the multiple modernities concept. For Hobsbawm, traditions are unified; they are discreet sets of practices with specific symbolic functions, which are for the most part mobilised in delimited domains. The multiple modernities

perspective, in contrast, from the outset distinguishes two dimensions of tradition, evident in Eisenstadt's early definition of tradition as

> the routinised symbolisation of the models of social order and of the constellation of the codes, the guidelines, which delineate the limits of the binding cultural order, of membership in it, and of its boundaries, which prescribe the 'proper' choices of goals and patterns of behaviour; it can also be seen as the modes of evaluation as well as of the sanctioning and legitimation of the 'totality' of the cultural and social order, or of any of its parts' (Eisenstadt, 1973: 139).

This distinction between the two components is highly consequential, as it allows the multiple modernities perspective to differentiate between the use of traditions for the legitimation of social and cultural orders and the role traditions play in shaping the fundamental cultural orientations of social configurations. As Eisenstadt points out, from this point of view, what is usually taken to be the essence of 'traditonality' - the upholding of criteria of sacredness, pastness and origin - is only one component of tradition (Eisenstadt 1973: 139).

A second difference concerns the relative weight and conceptual ordering of the symbolic and practical components; for Hobsbawm, traditions are practices which have a `ritual or symbolic function' (1992: 3), while for the multiple modernities perspective they are, in Eisenstadt's terms, 'routinised symbolisations'. Underlying this reversal in emphasis, however, is a distinctive understanding of culture and its role in the patterning of social life, and a brief account of it will help to clarify the multiple modernities perspective's understanding of tradition.

The key here is a hermeneutical approach to the patterns of meaning which orient social life, made most explicit by Arnason, that leads to an understanding of formative cultural orientations themselves as 'traditions', conceived as loosely defined patterns of meaning open to routinisation in multiple and diverse practices. Crucially, Arnason's deployment of hermeneutical themes stresses not only the formative influence of cultural frameworks, but also their plasticity He draws on Hans-Georg Gadamer's notion of 'effective history' to argue that cultural orientations are embedded in, and partly constitutive of, social practices and institutions, but equally that they are always open to ongoing reinterpretation in new historical circumstances (Arnason 2002: 151). At the same time, he takes up a second hermeneutical theme to underline the malleability of cultural orientations; in this case, he adopts Paul Ricoeur´s notion of the 'conflict of interpretations' to stress the inbuilt multivocity of all symbolic patterns, and to highlight their permanent openness not only to new, but also conflicting interpretations.

The hermeneutical cast of the multiple modernities framework also comes into play in relation to a third difference between the two approaches, which concerns the historical plasticity of traditions in particular. On this point there are a number of ambiguities in Hobsbawm´s conceptualisation. On the one hand, Hobsbawm's traditions are by definition characterised by rigidity; 'the object and characteristic of traditions is invariance' (Hobsbawm 1992: 2). He underlines this point by contrasting traditions with 'custom'. Customs, which are dominant in traditional societies, are both stable and malleable; they do not preclude innovation, but give desired change the sanction of precedent. When he is distinguishing non-invented traditions from

invented ones, however, he underlines the strength and adaptability of genuine traditions (1992: 8), as well as their organic continuity with the past, that stands in contrast to the factitious continuity with the past characteristic of invented traditions (1992: 2). As even his defenders have argued, Hobsbawm's dichotomising framework of genuine and invented traditions does not do justice to the spectrum of traditions and, importantly, obscures precisely those which most evidence plasticity; as Babadzan sees it, ´adapted´ and ´syncretic´ traditions are important 'borderline' cases that do not sit well in the dualistic frame (Babadzan: 141).

In contrast, the transformation of traditions is central to the multiple modernities perspective's understanding of their enduring influence in modernity. Far from arguing that they persist unchanged, it stresses that modernity radically transforms traditions, without, however, eliminating them. What is at issue is continuity not of particular beliefs, values, norms or rituals, but rather of identifiable, albeit polymorphous, patterns of meaning operating across time.

While not explicitly drawing on the multiple modernities perspective, but as I have argued elsewhere (Ballantyne 2001; 2010) in line with its key premises, Alain Touraine´s *Critique of Modernity* offers a useful illustration of this understanding of tradition in modernity. He too sees modernity as characterised by a new sense of human agency which is interpreted both in terms of rational mastery, and expressivity and questioning; as he sees it, modernity is constituted by the tension between 'rationalisation' and 'subjectivation' understood as broad cultural orientations which are embodied in diverse social practices and processes. Most relevant here, he sees these cultural orientations as transformations of cultural premises built into the Christian worldview. In contrast to traditions which saw the world as at the mercy of favourable or unfavourable intentions or hidden forces, the Christian world was both created by a divine subject and organised in accordance with rational laws; in the breakup *this* world, occasioned by the upheavals of modernity, the idea of rational construction of the world was transformed into science, and the breaking of the link between the divine subject and human subject set free self-expression (Touraine 1995: 205).

Conclusion

The idea of multiple modernities has not yet gained exposure in Anglophone debates comparable to that of the idea of the invention of tradition. Yet even this preliminary analysis suggests that its broader concern with and more differentiated understanding of tradition provide an important context for the idea of invention, and suggest that without it, the emphasis on the invention of tradition has the potential to misconstrue its operation in modernity in several ways. Firstly, in focusing exclusively on what from the multiple modernities perspective is only one part of tradition, it runs the danger of deflecting attention from enduring, albeit shifting, aspects of tradition. This risk has been accentuated by the very success of the idea of invention of traditions; as Babadzan has noted, invoking the notion has become *de rigueur* in work addressing questions of ethnicity or cultural change, where virtually any 'innovation-becoming-custom' - even the wines of Bordeaux - qualifies as invented tradition.

Secondly, the idea of invention also in part misconstrues the particular processes it has been invoked to explain. From the multiple modernities perspective, the creation of 'new' traditions in

modernity would be better understood as a process of *transformation*. Eisenstadt, like Hobsbawm, sees the crystalisation of new traditions of the kind that are at the centre of Hobsbawm's analysis as responses to problems created by the breakdown of traditional legitimation of sociopolitical and cultural orders (Eisenstadt 1973: 210). Importantly, however, he stresses that the processes which weakened one aspect of traditionality - the legitimation of the social, political and cultural orders - gave rise to a continuous process of reconstruction of other aspects of tradition (Eisenstadt 1973: 210). And importantly, reconstruction is not the same thing as invention. In this regard, Arnason has argued that the idea of the invention of tradition misses a crucial point by failing to recognise that while concrete contents maybe 'invented', the historical horizon of tradition as such is not (Arnason 2007: 23). His point is that while particular traditions may be invented, they are always created within particular cultural ´worlds´ at specific historical points. These broader socio-cultural contexts provide the parameters of what is invented. Put another way, invented traditions are constructed from culturally and historically located components, and recognising the specificity and influence of these broader contexts is important.

Finally, from the point of view of multiple modernities, the modernist cast of the notion of the invention of traditions obscures the complexities of nationalism. By arguing that nationalism is of exclusively modern origin, it obscures the non-modern elements of the phenomenon. The multiple modernities perspective does not oppose the modernist thesis along exclusively 'primordialist' or 'perennialist' lines, but insists on both the modernity of nationalism and nations, and the origins of nations in pre-existing traditions and collective identities.

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Friendships Between Men Across Sexual Orientation: Intimacy and the Uses of Social Inequality Within Friendship

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Friendships Between Men Across Sexual Orientation: Intimacy and the Uses of Social Inequality Within Friendship

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Abstract

Research was conducted examining friendships between gay and straight men using qualitative interviews in an attempt to examine the gendered and sexual opportunities and tensions that these relationships encounter. This article specifically discusses these relationships using the paradigm of intimacy. While the friends under study, in many ways, did not replicate the often-valorised ideal of the self-disclosing, emotionally supportive relationship, they nevertheless reported that their friendships were close and characterised by deep affection. In opposition to conceptualisations of gay-straight male friendship that emphasise the role competing sexual orientations play in establishing interpersonal distance, I document how heterosexual interviewees experienced their co-participants as offering respite from the patterns of competitiveness and gendered surveillance characteristic of their friendships with other straight men.

Keywords: friendships between men across sexual orientation, intimacy, dyadic interviewing

Introduction

Friendships between men across sexual orientation have rarely been the object of academic enquiry. Theorisations of both sexual identity and normative gender roles have tended to prioritise examinations of conflict between these two groups. The consideration of these friendships, however, allows us to explore the mediation of socially-structured inequalities within interpersonal contexts. This article examines seemingly contradictory findings surrounding the concept of "intimacy" within friendships between gay and straight men. While the friendships under study, in many ways, did not replicate the often-valorised ideal of the self-disclosing, emotionally supportive relationship, they nevertheless reported that their friendships were close and characterised by deep affection. In opposition to conceptualisations of gay-straight male friendship that emphasise the role that competing sexual orientations play in establishing interpersonal distance, I document how heterosexual interviewees experienced their co-participants as offering respite from the patterns of competitiveness and gendered surveillance characteristic of their friendships with other straight men

Intimacy, Gender, and Friendship

Within contemporary Western societies, the concept of "intimacy" has become a central metric used to measure the depth and quality of friendship, familial and romantic relations. This concept, as it is applied within quotidian contexts, potentially refers to a number of distinct, if related, relational virtues, with Jamieson (1998: 7-8) relating intimacy to close and regular contact between individuals, detailed knowledge of another's life, understanding, empathy for another's experiences and values, and a generalised disposition towards loving, caring and sharing. These attributes are a historically specific reflection of Western modernity, and are open to change. In particular, recent years have witnessed the prioritisation of a specific type of intimacy, what Jamieson (1998: 75) terms a "disclosing" intimacy. This claim demonstrates an affinity with what Silverman and

Atkinson (1997) term the "interview society", within which individuals are continually implored to reveal the depths of their "authentic" selves through dialogue. The most highly valued relationships, with this particular social context, become ones in which the risks associated with self-revelation, such as rejection, humiliation or abuse, are transcended by a depth of trust, and the desire to provide emotional support (Hacker 1981, 385-6).

A substantial empirical literature has examined the intersection betweenintimacy, gender and friendship. Within this body of work, the central questions have become whether same-sexmale and female friendships involve meaningful revelations of an authentic self,the mutual expression of affect, and the exchange of tangible and intangible resources. The literature broadly offers the following conclusions: women are more likely to describe their same-sex friendships as highly important, to spend more time engaging in dialogue, to be more self-disclosing, to orient interactions towards the revelation of personal experience, to offer and seek guidance and support, and to express verbal and physical affection (Nardi 1999: 32-47; Hall 2011). Same-sexmale friendships, alternatively, are understood to involve large, impersonal social networks, to discourage expressions of affection, to orient dialogue towards external activity, to be characterised by an ethic of competitiveness, and to involve a preference for dealing with problems individually, rather than seeking support (Bank and Hansford 2000; Migliaccio 2009).These narratives surrounding male-male and female-female friendship dyads generally do not overtly consider sexual identification. For instance, a distinct trajectory has arguably existed within gay male subcultures, where strong and intimate interpersonal relationships have often flourished in response to patterns of social exclusion, and particularly the HIV/AIDS epidemic of the 1980s (e.g. Hayes et al. 1990).

Several critiques of these depictions of male and female same-sex friendship have been posed. Firstly, some have suggested the existence of a "masculine" style of intimacy, achieved through instrumental activity or a jocular form of humour,that is neglected due to the "feminine" definition of intimacy prioritised by friendship researchers (Cancian 1986; Kaplan, 2005). Secondly, some recent research suggests that these gender differences have become less substantial within recent decades. Karina Butera (2008), for instance, in a comparative qualitative study based on interviews with different generational cohorts of Australian men, contends that younger males may be increasingly willing to reveal vulnerability and engage in open dialogue with male friends. Finally, differences between male and female same-sex friendships have often been exaggerated. As Paul Wright (1988) argues, the construction of these relationships as opposites is rarely justified, with researchers identifying relatively small empirical disparities between male and female friendship patterns, and proceeding to offer categorical conclusions about absolute gender difference. Further, the construction of male and female same-sex friendships as opposites renderspatterns of internal differentiation invisible. Subsequently, the question of how differing sexual orientations may inflect the intimacy of same-sex male friendships remains largely unexplored.

Methodology

This study sought to gain an understanding of the gendered and sexual tensions and opportunities encountered by participants within friendships between men across sexual orientation using qualitative interview methods. Informants were recruited using publications from Monash University, online social forums, and GLBTQ newsletters, and were asked to engage in the study as gay male/straight male friendship pairs. Twelve individual participants engaged in two semi-structured interviews each; both a one-on-one interview, and an interview in which both friends were present. Research participants all possessed an undergraduate degree, all identified as middle class, and all but one (Heath) described himself as ethnically "white". Participants broadly fell into two age groups. Six of the twelve participants were aged in their mid-twenties; the remaining six

were aged between forty-five and sixty-four. The technique of interviewing two subjects simultaneously, termed "dyadic interviewing" (Sohier 1995), can be productively employed whenever the unit of analysis under study is a relationship, rather than an individual. Interviewing friends together offered several opportunities, allowing the researcher to see how they interacted, giving interviewees the ability to qualify or challenge claims made by their co-participant, and generally creating a more convivial atmosphere than in one-on-one interviews (Sohier 1995). Particular attention was paid to how being interviewed by an openly gay male researcher may influence dialogues, and how research participants framed responses in light of their co-participant's presence or absence (Hollander 2004: 620-2). All interviews were analysed both as separate textual events to capture the broad contexts from which individual quotations or narratives emerged, as well as using more traditional approaches to coding that group interviewee responses into specific thematic categories (Boeije 2002).Respondents are referred to as gay (G) or straight (S) throughout.

Judging From Above: Not Doing Intimacy?

How did research participants position themselves in terms of emotional support provision and self-disclosure? Interviewees generally suggested, at an abstract level, that a defining characteristic of a "good friend" was the willingness to offer unconditional support in times of need. Further, all interviewees suggested that they would be comfortable requesting support from their co-participant, and that the unconditional willingness to provide assistance was an informally assumed component of the relationship. However, generalisations about the importance of support provision were coupled with the persistent difficulty research participants experienced when being asked to offer accounts of specific episodes involving help seeking and receiving. In an interview with Simon (G)and Jeff (S), for instance:

> Interviewer: So can you think of any specific times when you've engaged in providing assistance to one another?
> Simon: Oh, just, giving advice, and being a sounding board.

Heath (S) and Ben (G) respond to a similar question:

> Heath: I know that the help from him is available if I wanted it...
> Ben: I think basically we help each out by giving each other company when we're stressed out.

This inability to recall specific instances of help provision may reflect problems associated with memory. However, the responses generally tended to lend the impression that particular moments of help provision were not remembered as being central to the way these friendships were valued. Further, when the issue was pursued, interviewees commonly resorted to offering instances of incidental practical assistance, rather than emotional support or guidance:

> Zach (G): Can it just be, like, providing each other lifts to places?
> Interviewer: Yeah, it can be whatever comes to mind.
> Zach: Giving lifts...giving each other beer money *(laughs).*

This prioritisation of instrumental help givingis in accordance with previous studies ofmen in relationships (eg. Cancian 1986; Duncombe and Marsden 1993). However, whereas previous research has constructedmale-male friendship dyads as orientated towards external activities, research participants tended to prioritise the importance of interpersonal dialogue within their relationships. Jeff (S), for instance, when asked about how he engages with his friends, states: "It's

social. Activities are just the excuse we use to get together".However, the importance ascribed to the act of talking is not particularly insightful with regards to the question of intimacy. Dialogue is not synonymous with revelatory self-disclosure. Lynne Davidson and Lucille Duberman's (1982: 809-13) contention that same-sex male friends primarily engage in dialogue at the *topical* level, focusing on subject matter external to the friendship, rather than a discussion of the relationship itself or the personal experiences of its constituent members, was broadly supported by this research. Robert (G), talking about his friendship with Michael (S), states:

> Robert: There are not many people that I can talk about architecture with actually, and we talk about architecture, we talk a lot about it.

Boris (S) and David (G) also reflect the tendency for the majority of dialogue within their relationship to remain at the level of what they regard as "bullshit":

> Interviewer: So when you get together, what would be…the primary topics that you'd talk about?
> Boris: Oh.I think that could be lumped under the heading of "total bullshit". We just talk bullshit.

Attempts to examine the friendships between men across sexual orientation under study using the metrics of self-disclosure and emotional support provision proved relatively unfruitful in determining howthe relationships were valued. Although not without a degree of ambivalence, research participantsseemed to reproducetheinterpersonal ethics associated with "masculine" patterns of sociality in this regard.

Judging From Below: Closeness Without Intimacy?

Interviewees nevertheless experienced and represented their friendships as high in both importance and quality. Two heterosexual participants invoked the concept of the "best friend" to describe their co-participant; two homosexual participants described their friend in terms of family; while one talked about theirrelationship as involving a type of love. Interestingly, these terms tended to be deployed within the context of one-on-one interviews, which perhaps reflects the taboos surrounding male-male "intimacy" discussed above. At a less easily verifiable level, research participants within dyadic interviews appeared to interact with relative spontaneity and ease. Dyadic interviews tended to involve more joking, extended story-telling, and participant-directed patterns of discussion than one-on-one interviews.

Interviewees commonly referenced substantial levels of comfort and mutual understanding. Both Tarquin (S) and Craig (G), for instance, offered similar comments about being able to read the other's mind. The friendships were generally understood to be easy and comfortable social ties that were valued precisely because they were lacking in overt drama. Several of the friendship pairs had experienced periods within which a shared institutional context (such at the school, the university or the workplace) was not facilitating regular interaction, a friendship phase that researchers have identified as commonly instigating the demise of relationships(Rose and Serafica 1986). However, the friendships under study were sustained by the shared willingness of both participants to voluntarily ensure regular interaction.

The data subsequently implied a conceptual distinction between intimacy and closeness. Acts of self-disclosure and support provisiondo not inherently require or engender feelings of trust or affinity. Providing too much information, within a context or time frame that is regarded as inappropriate, can have precisely the opposite effect (Fehr 1996). Sociological understandings of

"intimacy" that foreground support-provision and self-disclosureprimarily emphasise a particular set of*behavioural mechanisms* through which the *subjective feeling* of closeness may be established(Camarena et al. 1990). Within the context of these friendships, however, it seemed that the subjective feeling of closeness was readily apparent, without being acquired through behaviours conventionally associated with "intimacy".

Sexualising Closeness

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985: 1-27) argues that homophobia is central to the creation of interpersonal and physical boundaries between men, as these relationships are required to counter the possibility that their content will be misinterpreted as "too close", or homosexual rather than homosocial. Was the apparent absence of self-disclosure and emotional support encountered during interviews the consequence of concerns that overly emotive forms of engagement might obscure the boundary between friendship and romantic/sexual relationships? In terms of how research participants consciously articulated the nature of their relationships, precisely the opposite seemed to be the case. Heterosexual participants suggested the existence of a greater level of comfort with their same-sex desiring male friends. Jeff (S), for instance, states:

> I feel comfortable around gay guys…I like the company of gay men. I feel very comfortable, like I do with women as well. More than I do with straight guys.

While Tarquin (S), along similar lines, suggests:

> I find gay men and women to be much more accepting than straight men…I think that, because most gay people are viewed as being different from the norm, they more readily accept people who are a bit different.

Boris (S), relatedly, contends that gay men largelyavoid the components of hegemonic masculinity that create boundaries within friendships between men, such as physical violence, social reticence and competitiveness; while Michael (S)believes that gay men have more license to express emotion in public than heterosexual men,and expresses a degree of jealousy about these opportunities.

Associations between gay men and femininity are a familiar trope, positioning same-sex desiring males as the harbingers of a thoroughly modern interpersonal ethic characterised by openness, emotion and co-operation. Gay men, within these discourses, were understood to be less invested in the competitive world of patriarchal manhood, and subsequently were experienced as offering their co-participants respite from the patterns of surveillance and control associated with heterosexual male friendship (Price 1999: 5-6). While gay male research participants tended to believe that, in general, straight men wereless sensitive, tolerant and open to dialogue than gay men, they understood their particular heterosexual male friends as a "distinctive breed", less beholden to orthodox masculinities.

Conclusion

Given the data examined earlier, we should remain wary of the way the friendships between men across sexual orientation participating in this research positioned themselves as external to the norms of masculine sociality. Yet, simultaneously, this positioning was central to the representation and valorisation of these relationships. I would like to conclude this article by considering some of the ambiguities this data raises with regards to the question of equality/inequality within friendship relations more broadly.

The experiences of openness and comfort described by heterosexual research participants when interacting with gay male friends revolved around discourses that contribute to the marginalisation of gay men withinthe gender order. Michael Kimmel (2003) has described the performance of masculinity asthe paranoid management of the possibility that the male self will be identified as less then a "real man" by other men. As a consequence of associations between male homosexuality and femininity, gay men were experienced as "safe" audiences for gender non-conformity. At one level, we might subsequently regard this discourse as complicit in the reproduction of intra-male hierarchies. Yet, while these experiences arguably reproduced structural inequalities between hetero- and homo-sexualities, it is important to be clear that heterosexual interviewees did not appear to employ this distinction to define themselvesas "better than" their gay male friends, but rather identified with, and sought to participate in,the open and non-competitive relationships that gay men were associated with.

This article subsequently demonstrates some of the complexities involved in notions of equality/inequality within the context of dyadic friendship relations. Within both social theory and philosophy, the friendship relation has been described as one that is either empirically or ideally characterised by equality (Epstein 2006). The data collected for this research suggests that a more complex understanding is needed. While equality certainly has a strong normative relationship with ideals of friendship, concrete interpersonal interactions will almost invariably transgress this ideal within particular contextually defined moments.More strongly than this, however, I have attempted to demonstrate the extent to which discourses that contribute to structurally defined social inequalities between hetero- and homosexualities can be positively valued within friendship relations between men across sexual orientation, rather than only being a source of tension.

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A Failure to Engage?: Trade Unions and Industrial Regeneration on the North West Coast of Tasmania

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Abstract

Trade unions often have a long history in industrial regions, in Australian-based energy production, mining, forestry and other related resource based industries.They organise and represent their members often in relatively economically effective ways, developing locally-based union confederations as Trades and Labour Councils. However, with the embrace of neo-liberal political agenda, governments have begun to deal and in some cases promote a deindustrialisation of these regions. Multinationals corporations have begun to withdraw from these regions, and state bodies have often been privatised. In addition, contentious environmental politics have developed in the forestry and timber resource areas. One danger for labour and their unions in this process is that they become objects of policy, victims of policies, in which they have little part. The purpose of this paper is to explore how labour becomes a victim in such processes and concurrently the ways that unions struggle to develop their capacities and focus their purpose to address these changes in active and engaged ways. These themes are brought out with a study of the North West Tasmanian region.

Keywords: Regional development, trade unions, deindustrialisation, industrial regeneration, the state

Introduction

Over the past twenty years there has been a significant amount of debate over the purpose, role and future of trade unions. These debates refer to global restructuring, changing

managerial practices, declining trade union membership and an apparent shift in the balance of power between labour and capital. In this context, unions have experimented with new approaches to realise union capacities, involvingsuch developmentsas the 'organising' approach, community unionism and partnerships (Lévesque and Murray, 2010).

One of the central debates around unionrenewal is the presupposition that the recomposition of the economy, managerial devolution and decentralisation has opened up prospects for union renewal centred on workplace activism and participative practices (Fairbrother, 1996: 112 and 2000: 48). Such developments have enabled unionsto move beyond narrow economistic remits and re-evaluate and reorganise their practices(Lévesque and Murray, 2010; see also Fairbrother, 1994: 351; Fairbrother, 2000: 63); itinvolves a distinct move from a centralised to more locally involved forms of unionism (Fairbrother, 1996: 134-6). But, the question is what are the conditions for such renewal?

Regional Policy Development, Industrial Regeneration and Trade Unions

Over the last thirty years, the Australian economy has restructured and deindustrialised with the closure of many manufacturing establishments with moves towards a service-based economy (Lucarelli, 2003). The question is how do unions renew themselves when their geographic sphere of influence is declining. Leading on from this, how do they influence the types and numbers of jobs that are created in deindustrialised areas in ways that benefit their membership. The proposition is that this step will require a form of renewal that involves locality organisation and engagement.

One possibility is that unions begin to address and shape regional development policy, involving forms of community engagement of which unions are one part (e.g., Symon and Crawshaw, 2009). Because of their engagement and representativeness, local union activists may provide transformational leadership in such situations. However governments at all levels have often been reluctant to engage with trade unions, preferring to work with local business interests (O'Brien et al., 2004).Unions often face intrinsic difficulties in promoting such involvement(O'Brien et al., 2004). They are often poorly resourced at the regional level and trends in union organisation may be at odds with the increasing political and policy reference to regions (O'Brien et al., 2004; Pike et al., 2002). Unions' internal structures may not fit a regional agenda, officials may not recognise the opportunities afforded by participating and honorary officials usually cannot get time off work(Heselden, 2001).

There are examples where the decentralisation of public policy, with its emphasis on partnership, provides unions with an avenue to participate in debates over regional industrial regeneration (for example, in the Illawarra, New South Wales – Donaldson, 2009 and in the Latrobe Valley, Victoria – Snell and Fairbrother, 2010), However, in North West Tasmania the reality is very different. Here, unions are outside the process with government's effectively hindering their ability to participate. It is this process of exclusion that is addressed in this paper.

Methods

The analysis is informed by three periods of extensive field research, tracing out the history of deindustrialisation and redevelopment of the region, the involvement of unions in this process, and the political economy of unions and the State confederation in relation to

economic regeneration. The research focuses on union organisation, capacity, and purpose in these circumstances. Thirty-six interviews were conducted with employers and managers, union officials and officers, local politicians, local agencies and other key informants. This data is complemented by documentary research, and historical analysis, using archives and related materials.

Deindustrialisation and Disadvantage in North West Tasmania

The recent de-industrialisation of the North West Coast of Tasmania has impacted unevenly across the region. The region's industrial activity was largely based on major resource sectors. Associated Pulp and Paper Mills (APPM), for example, whichbegan operating at Burnie in 1938, transformed the town from a small service town of 8,000 people to an industrial city of 20,000 people. In the 1960s another smaller site was established at Wesley Vale near Devonport and at their peak the two sites employed 3,500 people. In 2010, after a prolonged struggle, the sites closed down. In 2011two other large unionised sites in different sectors closed down. Such developments have been a feature of the region for the last decade or more.

The North West Coast is significantly disadvantaged. In the March 2012 quarter it had an unemployment rate of 9.8 per cent in comparison to the Australian average of 5.6 per cent (DEEWR, 2012). Only between 29% and 40% of persons aged between 25 and 34 had completed year 12 education in comparison to the Australian average of 69% (DEEWR, 2011). Like many regional areas, it now sits in the periphery of the Australian economy and the margins of the global economy.

Unions

Tasmanian unions have a long history (Quinlan, 1986) and the State has the highest union membership with 24% of eligible workers members of their trade union (ABS, 2010).These unions have often tended to be conservative and oriented to place. As small union bodies, they have often been subject to intervention and control from mainland branches (Barton, 2011: Hess, 2011). There has often been bitter rivalry between State branches in Tasmania, usually based in Hobart and sub-branches located in the north of the State (Hess, 2011). These tensions have been beset by the traditional left-right ideological divide that marks Australian unions (Dowling, 2011).

Nonetheless, Tasmanian unions, as elsewhere, created regionally based confederations to voice these concerns. In the 1940s, Trades and Labour Councils were set up in both Burnie and Devonport (The Advocate, 1940 and 1945). They were active until the 1990s. Subsequently they all disappeared, leaving the Hobart-based Unions-Tasmania as the sole union confederationin the State (Parliament@Work, 2008; Jamieson, 1994; see also Ellem, 2003).This then begs the question of how do unions involve themselves in regions that are deindustrialising, particularly when unions themselves are contracting in terms of geographic reach and membership.

Trade Unions and Industrial Regeneration on the North West Coast

Over the last two decades, public policy formation in industrial regeneration has devolved from the State level to the regional level, with the local Councils taking a prominent role in this process. In 2000, the Cradle Coast Authority was established when the nine local

councils decided they needed a ’stronger voice in the region … we need an economic driver’ (Burnie Council official, 19 October 2011). The authority is tasked to ‘facilitate the sustainable development of the region, resolve regional issues and coordinate regional-scale activity’ (Cradle Coast Authority, 2012a). This Authority has been successful in securing development funding and promoting industrial redevelopment in the region. It is governed through a two tier structure comprising representatives from each Council and industry (Cradle Coast Authority, 2012b). What is significant is that there is no union involvement with the Authority.

At the Council level, there is an equal absence of a union presence. The Burnie Council, for example, has established Advance Burnie as a special committee of council. Its members were drawn from the local industries with the aim to “identify, evaluate and advise on opportunities and issues of strategic economic and community importance to Burnie (Advance Burnie, 2012). It is noticeable that trade unions are not involved in this process.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of involvement. Some councils appeared to have had little contact or knowledge of trade unions apart from their dealings with them as employers of labour (SK, 22 February 2012). Unions are seen as sectional, as lacking coherence with narrow concerns as ‘individual unions in individual workplaces dealing with individual problems’ (Politician, 17 October 2011). They were regarded as part of an historic past: ‘I think we are probably moving away from the big industrial unionised workforce workplace here’ and the‘good and bad old days of Burnie and the coast’; their activity is confined to facilitating new employment for retrenched mill workers (CEO, regional authority, 19 October 2011). Thus the unions were largely invisible and seen as part of an old industrialised past.

Unions Adrift

With the closure of larger sites, such as APPM, the North West Coast industrial landscape was dominated by smaller sites of 40 to 80 people and 'without members on the ground, the unions have no capacity to do anything' (Former union official, 9 December 2011). Thesesmaller sites were less likely to be unionised and this made it difficult to be a member or activist (Two unionists, 21 February 2012;Former union delegate, 8 August 2011). Thus economic restructuring had directly impacted on union membership and power and consequently the unions' abilities to engage in industrial regeneration activities.

However there did remain a wellspring of union activity and sentiment. Some former union activists remained members of their union and at times assisted former colleagues. They remained interested in the union's activities and would attend events advertised by the union, such as the State Premier's visit to the region and were keen to continue their union involvement (Former union activist, 12 August 2011). Thus the unions do have people to draw upon to participate in industrial regeneration activities.

The Tasmanian union movement appears to be riven by internal divisions which play out in a number of ways. While unions acknowledged that industries were closing this was couched in terms of that being of concern only to the union whose members were affected. In larger sites there was at times intense rivalry over coverage issues that left sites unorganised (Union official, 11 February 2011; Former union official, 9 December 2011).There was also a division between the North and South of the state where many unions had their state office with attempts by at least one union official to have some events of the Hobart based Unions

Tasmania held on the North-West Coast were rebuffed by the other unions on the grounds of the travelling distance from Hobart (Former union official, 10 February 2011).

The Union Confederation

One mechanism for union involvement in such processes is via union confederations (Dean and Reynolds, 2010). There was some involvement by unions in economic development but it was sporadic and uncoordinated. Unions Tasmania was consulted by the state government for its Economic DevelopmentPlan and the AMWU was involved in representing manufacturing in a national policy sense (Former union official, 9 December 2011). Some unions had been invited to participate with State and Federal politicians on a joint State/Federal body put in place to assess skills and regeneration on the North West coast but at least one major union declined to participate (Union official, 11 February 2011).

However Unions Tasmania has not become involved in any dialogue about regeneration on the North West Coast. The reasons for this is, first, that the body's governing council did not set it as a priority; second, that the unions most impacted by change, namely the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union (AMWU) and the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy union (CFMEU), did not approach Unions Tasmania in the case of the AMWU or were not affiliated in the case of the CFMEU; third, Unions Tasmania is focused principally on State policy activity and major industrial sectors, not regions as such (Former union official, 9 December 2011).

Unions Tasmania had, through the Your Rights at Work campaign, established a network of community activists but after the campaign it had withered away. Unions Tasmania did not

have the resources to sustain the network. Member unions had returned to their traditional, and in their eyes neglected, activities of recruiting and bargaining (Former union official, 9 December 2011).

Conclusion

Unions are facing significant challenges from deindustrialisationand appear to be excluded from attempts to revitalise the region. Nonetheless, there are examples elsewhere where this is not the case. In Britain, in contrast, the devolution of regional policy development provided the manufacturing based trade unions with opportunities to participate in debates on industrial regeneration and economic development although they found it difficult to embrace these opportunities. Certainly as Heselden (2001) suggests, unions' structures were unsupportive but this sidesteps the issue of the impact of declining memberships, with increasingly limited capacities. The devolution of regional governance does offer unions the opportunity to participate in public policy debates over industrial regeneration and in this way argue over the types of jobs that are to be created in the region (evident in Illawarra, New South Wales – Donaldson et al., 2009; on the Latrobe Valley, Snell and Fairbrother, 2010).

In the North West Coast, unions appear unable to grasp these opportunities. First, the process of reindustrialisation and regeneration formally excluded unions, apart from facilitating worker displacement. Unions, at whatever level lacked the capacity to engage. They remained economically focused and were unable to engage as development actors (Snell and Fairbrother, 2010). Second, individual unions became reactive and defensive in the face of the changes taking place in the region. Their concern was with securing adequate conditions in relation to worker displacement and industrial decline. They did not have the capacity to

address the next step, the regeneration and rebuilding of the region with unions and their members at centre stage. Unions no longer had the capacities to follow through on these issues (Lévesque and Murray, 2010). Third, the union confederation was absent from the region. In this respect the unions neither had a State voice in the area, nor did they have their own form of confederation to speak on their collective behalf (cf. Snell and Fairbrother, 2010; Donaldson et al., 2009). This lack of organisational capacity was telling and left the unions exposed to the on-going depredations of deindustrialisation and regeneration.

But, opportunitiesremain. Unions have the resource of active members, who have previously participated in union campaigns. They provide unions with the ability to participate in a form of community unionism and with this is the potential to engage with the community and demonstrate their relevance to governments. However it remains to be seen if these unions can revitalise themselves and renew themselves (as collective organisations, as renewed confederate structures) with the capacity to play a part in economic regeneration. In the absence of this step these unions and more importantly their members face a bleak future. They will not become economic development actors, and will remain as beleaguered defensive actors.

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Contextualising self-transformation: Unmasking inequalities within youth development orthodoxy

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Abstract

Youth development orthodoxy advocates the safe passage of young people to adulthood via structured educational programs. However, the 'transformation of self', as it is presented in the youth development literature, is problematic. It assumes a set of characteristics in the individual that can be changed, and this transformation is achieved through a linear pathway of predetermined time and circumstances. By applying a sociological lens to the key concepts found in the youth development literature, this article seeks to challenge some of the taken-for-granted assumptions and views of the self embedded in youth programs. It critically examines the central idea of a 'transformation of the self', and suggests that the ideological underpinnings of youth development discourse, in reproducing normative views of an actualised self, homogenise young people and social experience in ways that conceal the inequalities and structural barriers to their full social participation.

Key words

Youth development, educational programs, self, transformation, biological determinism

Introduction

The historical emergence of youth development as an industry offers particular understandings of the self and self-actualisation, and the role of youth development programs as agents of change in society. This refers to a process generally viewed as a normal and healthy part of 'growing up' in a western democratic society, whereby it is considered important for young people to enter into educational programs so that they might 'mature' and develop into capable and productive adults. This process is seen to build capacities and characteristics such as self-esteem and self-confidence. In other words, educational programs are considered essential mechanisms in the re-construction or transformation of 'the self'. This process of self-transformation is both a taken-for-granted facet of society, and a mysterious, under-explored phenomenon.

Youth development discourse occupies a considerable space in the public sphere, framing policy decisions and practices that affect the lives of young people. However, through persistent homogenising notions that pervade public imaginaries of youth and social experience, these discourses serve to disguise the existence of structural exclusion and inequalities through the promotion of agency and optimistic narratives of self-transformation. By applying a sociological lens to the key concepts found in the youth development literature, this article seeks to challenge some of the taken-for-granted assumptions and views of the self embedded in the design of youth programs. It examines the key premises and goals

of these programs, problematises the central idea of a 'transformation of the self', and suggests that youth development orthodoxy serves to perpetuate inequalities by obscuring individual and structural differences through the dominant imperative of a 'transformation of the self'.

Sociologists have problematised the psychosocial conceptualisations of youth and the implied notion of a linear process of development through the lens of a social model of youth and youth development (Wyn and White 1997; White and Wyn 2008; Dwyer and Wyn 2001). Such a model challenges the notion of 'transition to adulthood' that assumes a stable concept of self throughout the adolescence life stages and beyond. The discipline of youth studies, or youth sociology, includes an analysis of how young peoples' identities are shaped by their interaction with social structures and social institutions such as the family, schools and social participation more broadly (Black 2011; Furlong 2009; Kelly 2006; Wyn 2011). However, the dominant discourse of the transformation of self as presented in the youth development literature remains problematic. It assumes a set of characteristics in the individual that can be changed, and this transformation is achieved through a linear pathway of predetermined time and circumstances. Rather, there is a need to move beyond the existing accounts of youth development programs that view the self through a unitary positivist lens and, in doing so, ignore sociological perspectives on how the self is shaped and re-shaped.

Youth development orthodoxy: Six key assumptions

Youth development programs are routinely offered as a means to develop interpersonal, leadership and social skills in the individual. However, an analysis of the philosophical and ideological underpinnings of the youth development literature reveals several problematic assumptions about young people, the self, and the role of youth development programs in the transformation of the self. These assumptions range from a biologically determinist conception of youth; a representation of youth as a category of persons at risk; a view of youth as a period of crisis or instability; an overly linear idea of development and maturation; and a notion of youth development programs as a solution to manage or treat this problem.

Biological determinism and reductionism

The first problem with the youth development literature is the perpetuation of a biologically determinist view of young people. Youth is commonly used as a proxy for a large, undifferentiated group of persons, and age restrictions are imposed in all youth development programs. The dominant view of youth implies that young people exist as a category prior to adult maturity, somehow 'pre-social'. Such imaginings routinely define young people by their lack of adult properties and thus imply a need to strive to overcome deficiencies that presumably do not exist in adulthood.

This determinist view is rooted in the early 20th century scientific study of adolescence. Such approaches were predicated on biologically reductionist models that viewed adolescents as being ruled by their hormones and subject to identity crises and, thus, likely to display uncivilised or disruptive behaviour (Lerner 2005, 4). Contemporary neuroscience knowledge has resurrected these tropes with regard to adolescent brain development whereby particularly powerful scientific artefacts are increasingly penetrating contemporary policy and academic realms (Kelly 2011).

Sociologically, infancy, childhood, adolescence, youth and adulthood are socially constructed categories in which biology is implicated but not determinant. Instead the ways in which the development and maturation of individuals is given meaning and socially institutionalised has been shown to be a fact of culture, not biology (e.g., Mead 1928).

Youth as a risk category

A second feature of the youth development literature is a portrayal of young people as a category of persons at risk to themselves and of some danger to the social whole. This notion of 'youth at risk' pervading contemporary youth program narratives began to appear in policy debates after the Second World War where, particularly in the US, a view of the young person as a potential 'delinquent' emerged (Gilding 2000; Blatterer 2009, 70). However, at this time sociological approaches began to offer an alternative, acknowledging the complexity of the environment in which adolescent transitions occur, and demonstrating the role of social factors in constructions of youth delinquency (e.g., Horton and Leslie 1965; Shaw 1966; Merton [1961] 1971).

The 1990s saw a reframing of youth development which distanced itself from old delinquent models and focused on more liberal ideas embodied in positive youth development (PYD) whereby youth development programs recognise that the development of young people does not occur in a social, historical or political vacuum (Gilding 2001). Increasingly, neo-liberal ideals are penetrating youth policy and program domains whereby young people are seen as resources for society. In particular, an emerging 'positivity imperative' (Sukarieh and Tannock 2011) can be evidenced in the rise of social entrepreneurship programs such as the international Youth Action Net which seeks to develop young leaders who can respond to challenges presented by a post-global world (http://www.youthactionnet.org/). Such programs emphasise individual agency yet downplay the broader social, political, and economic landscape within which young people's participation occurs. This reframing of youth development discourse consistent with neo-liberal ideals privileges a set of competencies and characteristics that equip young people to not only overcome their circumstances, but to make a positive contribution to it. However, this serves to homogenise young people and social experience in ways that conceal the inequalities and structural barriers to their full social participation.

Youth as a period of 'crisis'

A third shortcoming of the youth development literature is that it tends to offer a view of youth as a period of crisis or instability situated between childhood and adulthood. Often described as 'turbulent', the period captured by youth involves biological, psychological and social transitions lasting a few tumultuous years. The 'dangers' of this period refer to the 'threat to others' or social cohesion that youth pose on their journey towards adulthood. Such beliefs presume a view of adulthood as the end of crisis, and the entering of a period of 'completion' and 'stability'. Not only is adulthood perceived to be having achieved a 'state of mind that has settled down, come to terms with the status quo, given up the wilder dreams of adventure and fulfilment' (Berger 1969, 66), by contrast, to be an adolescent is to be incomplete; an unfinished project.

However, these discussions throw up analytical blind spots linking conceptualisations of youth (both 'at risk', and a 'risk to') and notions of self. Both categories configure the individual as not yet fully formed and vulnerable to the 'contaminative' effects of society, or, conversely, their own biological, psychological and social dispositions. This necessitates the

protection of individuals (the self) from society, while at the same time society needs protection from them.

Linearity

A fourth characteristic of the youth development literature is that it presents an overly linear and normative process of development and maturation of the individual. This perspective is a survivor from the 1950s: a period in which the model of the youth program first began to flourish. Post-war theorists such as Parsons (1942) and Erikson (1950) combined psychological and sociological perspectives to produce theories of socialisation in which the life cycle 'unfolds' through a series of stages (Blatterer 2009, 72).

This linear view of the life cycle is problematic as it does not accurately reflect the lived realities of young people in post-industrialised societies, and assumes all individuals will pass through a series of stages, progressing 'from dependence to independence, from school to work, from young people's status as adolescents to their eventual achievement of a stable and secure adulthood' (Dwyer and Wyn 2001, 78). By contrast, continuous learning and re-training is now an expected feature of western industrial societies (Keating and Walsh 2009). The orthodox view of the life cycle also assumes that the lives of all young people are homogenous: all share similar opportunities, including a well-resourced and stable family context, and all have equal access to both education and the labour market (Wyn 2009).

Youth programs as a solution

The fifth assumption embedded within youth development programs is that, given the precariousness of youth, the dire consequences for the individual and the society which will result from inaction, and the subsequent necessity of ensuring the formation of an adult set of values, behaviours and morals: the appropriate societal response is to allow the youth development industry to manage (and thus treat) this problem. Youth development programs aim to promote social connectedness and cohesiveness through participation. International programs such as 4-H (http://www.4-h.org/) and Project Adventure (http://www.pa.org/) in America, and the Duke of Edinburgh Awards (http://dofe.org/) and Outward Bound (http://www.outwardbound.net/#) in the UK (both of which have Australian Branches) are some of the more widely known enterprises capturing these values. Sociologically, it can be seen that much of the rhetoric surrounding youth development obscures its basic function of producing civic subjects and, in promoting the safe passage of young people to adulthood, serves as a means for achieving social control and social change.

This highlights a key assumption that the problem of youth can be managed effectively and strategically through an educational program. While such programs are on the whole promoted as value-neutral, they also seek to fulfil various missions, which raise questions about how the goals of the organisation, the sponsors, and the designers of the programs affect the participants and shape program outcomes. Loynes (2002, 116) argues that a military paradigm continues to underpin outdoor education in the UK, and even can be found in organisations such as Project Adventure.

This corresponds with Rose's (1999) analysis of the 'therapeutic industry' that reveals a network of institutions such as welfare, educational, and military bodies, which operate together in the constitution of subjectivities and raises questions around whose interests are being served in the promotion of programs that seek to increase self-governance. For instance, the Young Endeavour Youth Scheme (http://www.youngendeavour.gov.au/site/) is operated by the Royal Australian Navy, ostensibly accompanied by its own set of institutional

goals in the regulation of social behaviour. Yet despite this evidence of multiple (and possibly competing) interests there is little research on how these ideological tensions are resolved in programs and what impact these might have on the creation of a particular type of self.

The self can be transformed

The sixth and final assumption relates to the notion of subjective change via developmental programs. The role of youth development historically has been one of integrating the individual into the political, social and economic structures of society. Organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, concerned with youth development, define it as a process or set of practices that assist in the preparation for, and transition of, an adolescent to adulthood. On a practical level this involves engagement with a set of activities giving rise to social, emotional, physical and cognitive 'competencies', which are considered necessary ingredients for civic participation. Youth development, particular outdoor education, programs apply a particular methodology that seeks to 'transform' individuals through a series of steps or stages towards a 'developed' self, according the precepts of developmental psychology. Guided by the belief that an undeveloped (not fully actualised) self enters a program and is transformed through participation, positive youth development approaches rely on assumptions around certain inevitability in the behaviour of young people: an inherent predisposition, lying dormant, ready to be expressed when the right circumstances are presented. A key assumption within these programs refers to a deterministic view of the self and change: that change can occur over a pre-determined time period and in a location which is distinctly different from the individual's normal social environment.

Conclusion

The youth development literature is founded on problematic and uncontested assumptions about the role of youth programs in assisting young people to become mature, capable adults who are no longer a risk to themselves or the social order, and that this occurs in a benign and linear manner imitating the natural maturation process. This is an overly positive perspective on the youth development industry and overlooks much of its social control function. Through a critical approach to youth development, this paper has argued that there are several assumptions embedded in youth development discourse which serve to reproduce prevailing normative views of an actualised self. This is consistent with youth development orthodoxy that promotes an unproblematic 'social good' attribute, linked with the social desirability of youth programs. Yet, contemporary explanations for the existence of youth programs, and for the willing participation of young people, are less transparent when it comes to the many, unstated, social goals.

This has several implications for young people, citizenship and equality. Programs not only serve to induce a transformation of self, but in the process create subjects for the market place through core neo-liberal beliefs about social participation. There is a necessity for an examining of youth development programs using a critical, sociological lens. Such a program of research may investigate the social relevance of such programs for young people and seek to explain why they have persisted over time.

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Mediating Trust in Complementary and Alternative Medicine Treatment Decision Making

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ABSTRACT

Complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) comprises of a number of clinically and theoretically distinct therapies and practices, many becoming increasingly incorporated into the health care regimens of Australians. This paper explores the accounts of 16 regular CAM users to explore trust in CAM treatment decision-making. Self-reliant in their health information seeking and experimental in their use of health treatment, the CAM users in this study exemplify the self-reflexive health consumer of late modernity. This paper shows that trust derives from confidence in the CAM practitioner, and also relates to culturally inscribed beliefs around pain and pleasure. Utilising the sociological theories of Giddens and Luhmann, the argument in this paper is that different boundaries and thresholds of trust are enacted in relation to the use of CAM and biomedical treatments.

INTRODUCTION

Several cross-sectional population health surveys show a significant increase globally in CAM use since the early 1990s and in Australia, between 52 percent (MacLennan, Myers et al., 2006)[i] and 69 percent (Xue, Zhang et al., 2007) of the Australian adult population have used CAM in the last 12 months. There is also a corresponding increase in the use of CAM practitioners (also termed 'therapists'), and CAM has clearly become a significant component of the health care regime of many Australians. Why do Australians engage with treatments which have no scientific evidence base? What underlies the trust in CAM treatment?

Medical anthropologists (Bakx, 1991:33; Cant & Sharma, 1999:25) have theorised that biomedicine has culturally distanced itself from its patients, and that the public has generally lost trust in biomedical treatments, furthermore there is increased publicity over the adverse effects of compound pharmaceutical medicines and invasive surgical treatment, and this produces generalised public anxiety over the use of biomedical treatments. While social science literature (see Baarts & Kyrger Pedersen, 2009:720; Lupton, 1997) points to dissatisfaction with the medical encounter and the health outcomes of orthodox biomedicine, there is also evidence that CAM is not necessarily a rejection of biomedicine, rather it is used as part of a suite of health treatments (Adams & Sibbritt et al., 2009). From a sociological

perspective, the interest is in how CAM users work with these tensions between CAM and biomedicine, and the mediation of trust in expert and lay knowledge. The mediation of trust in these contexts is not well understood, and there are very few studies exploring trust in CAM from a sociological perspective. Through exploring how CAM users mediate trust between the expert knowledge claims of biomedical and CAM practitioners this paper makes an important contribution to the sociology of CAM.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Health social science literature has tended to treat trust as a variable, rather than a theoretical construct. Among health sociologists there is a body of work emerging which engages with trust theoretically, and draws on theories of trust to explain how trust in the health system is reproduced in social and environmental contexts (see Brownlie & Howson, 2005; Meyer & Ward et al., 2008). The prominent trust theorists cited in these studies are Giddens (1991; 1995) and Luhmann (1979; 2000) both theorising trust as mediated between institutional and interpersonal contexts. Both theorists see trust as conceptually related to faith and confidence. For Giddens (1995:34) it is confidence which provides the link between trust and faith, trust being: 'confidence in the reliability of a person or system, regarding a given set of outcomes or events, where that confidence expresses a faith in the probity or love of another, or in the correctness of abstract principle (technical knowledge)'. For Giddens, trust is seen to emerge in interaction with the representatives or 'access points' to expert systems (Brownlie & Howson, 2005:222). Accordingly when dealing with expert systems such as CAM, trusting in practitioners who are representatives of CAM systems means exercising a 'leap of faith' in their institutional knowledge.

Luhmann (2000:95-96) argues that trust develops not just in interaction, but in familiar contexts, and argues that changes to these contexts will impact on the development of trust. For example, the media represents the familiar, and a means of entering an unfamiliar world through the familiar (Brownlie & Howson, 2005). At the same time we introduce into the unfamiliar *symbols* from the familiar lifeworld, which become forms of self-reference, and serve the basis of our meaning making of knowledge. Luhmann (1979, p.73) also argues that experience is important to the expression of trust: 'for the distribution over time of the various attitudes (familiarity, trust, and distrust) the existence of *thresholds* [original italics] is important'. For Luhmann the thresholds are a form of artificial discontinuity which depends on the setting of boundaries, and these boundaries simplify the complexity of trust. Through exercising these boundaries, trust can readily become distrust, which in itself is reinforced and endorsed in social interaction.

The present study explores trust in CAM use through the exploring the enactment of boundaries around acceptable CAM treatment and practices, also in assessing how familiarity and faith in a practitioner contribute to trust in CAM. The interest in exploring trust in CAM is that CAM largely represents systems and practices with little or no scientific evidence base, as such trust is expected to be premised on different contexts to trust in biomedical approaches.

METHODOLOGY

This paper draws on the accounts of 16 regular CAM users (13 females and three males, aged from late twenties to early sixties) who were interviewed in-depth, with 'regular' defined as using CAM for longer than five years, and/or using two or more CAM therapies over three years and at least three times a year. Based on these interviews a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) methodology was used to produce an interpretative, social constructionist account of trust in CAM, and support a full exploration of the boundaries supporting trusting relations with both CAM and biomedical providers. CAM users were recruited through CAM practitioners in the Sydney metropolitan, Hunter, North Coast and Central Coast regions of New South Wales (NSW). The interviewees are also seen to be representative of other CAM users (see Adams, Sibbritt et al., 2003; MacLennan, Myers et al., 2006) in that the majority are aged between 30 and 55 years, are female, well educated and professionally employed.

FINDINGS

CAM is found to be used regularly for its derivative benefits such as increased energy and vitality, feelings of relaxation and calm. As supported in other social science studies of CAM use (Baarts & Kryger Pedersen, 2009; Cartwright & Torr, 2005) derivative benefits including an experience of flow and other sensory pleasures are motivations for continuing CAM treatment, even when a treatment is not curative. To this end, at least three female CAM users had used natural fertility treatments for reproductive health and pregnancy. Now a mother of two, Lucy initially fell pregnancy *after* having natural fertility treatment noting 'it [naturopathy] didn't help me to get pregnant and stay pregnant, but it helped me get a lot healthier'. Annie also continued with natural fertility treatment for its intrinsic rewards, even though she also failed to fall pregnant from natural fertility treatment:

> It was important to me that the experience of trying to conceive was positive. When I went through the conventional channels I felt vulnerable, very teary, I felt out of control ... With CAM, the people were supportive, no question was too stupid. They were very positive, very honest. They included my partner in all of the treatment. The whole experience, even though it took 14 months, I felt good about it. Even if I didn't conceive I was more reconciled. (Annie, 43 years)

CAM users like Annie and Lucy are actively engaged in constructing boundaries around health care treatment. In this account Annie resists the disembodied, reductionist approach of assisted reproductive medicine (Howson, 2004:46) and simultaneously embraces natural fertility treatment. Elsewhere in Annie's account are evident tensions between her faith in natural fertility based on anecdotal reports of other women's success, and trust in the ART 'success rates':

> I didn't necessarily grow up in that sort of environment where everything needed to be explained. And when you have that sort of …black and white personality actions and words and all that sort of stuff is important to me, it's the whole mystery of life I think. I think that's why, and I still don't necessarily need to have things proved to me. (Annie, 43 years)

Here, Annie explains how her Christian beliefs support faith in CAM treatment, and she is simultaneously sceptical of scientific evidence. Although biomedical practices privilege scientific evidence, some forms of CAM are seen to privilege anecdotal forms of evidence, and this is reflected in accounts from CAM users such as Annie who see intuition and experience as constituting a legitimate evidence base for CAM. Despite the scepticism over scientific 'evidence' the CAM users do not reject biomedical practice, and their episodic use of multiple treatments is congruent with Bauman's (2007) theory of liquid modernity, in which time is pointillist, and marked by discontinuities, rather than a series of linear treatment approaches. For CAM users in the study, the discontinuity is reflected in an experimental approach to treatment use. Such ad hoc use of treatment reflects Giddens (1995) proposition that modern consumers engage in complex assessments of the relevance of multiple knowledge claims including those of expert systems, and apply these to their individual contexts.

Although CAM users oscillate between CAM and biomedical treatment, there are differing thresholds for developing trust in CAM and biomedical treatments, and these partly reflect the differing notions of 'evidence'. Another area of boundary construction is around the toleration of pain and physical discomfort in treatment. CAM user accounts show preparedness to tolerate pain if a biomedical treatment is seen as necessary to health. In describing a dental visit to remove an abscess, Amy (47 years) notes 'Oh, there were times of pain, sure. But I'd prefer to handle the pain than have that stuff [anaesthetic] put in my body. I feel sick after that, I react to that, often I don't want it, I just don't want it'. Despite an overall resistance to biomedical intervention, Amy still found the treatment necessary for health. By contrast, CAM users not only resist pain in CAM treatment, but cease treatment when pain is experienced, and particularly in acupuncture and musculo-skeletal treatments. For example Bella recalls the 'torture' of acupuncture needles, and of having a 'machine on me and they made me black out with needles'. Jan similarly found acupuncture pain unacceptable, noting 'I don't care how good it is, I don't want this pain'. Jan's TCM practitioner integrates into acupuncture practice expert knowledge claims which support the centrality of pain to healing. For Jan the interaction creates tension between her

culturally inscribed belief in pain avoidance, accompanied by a belief that the practitioner minimise pain and her trust in the expertise of the practitioner. This sentiment is echoed by CAM users such as Ben, who describes as 'incompetent' a practitioner who inflicts pain. Inflicting pain in treatment is also seen as incongruent with the concept of a 'healer':

> I've been to a physio, osteopath in [location], he was awful OK. And he twisted my leg and back and hurt me quite a bit and trying to get it rid, he never did but in the attempt, you know, he just unsettled me so much that halfway home I just burst out in tears…I never went back to him, he didn't have what is needed. He wasn't a healer. You see, to be a healer you have to have the connection with the person because you've got to help me get well, that's your job. If you don't want that then you shouldn't be in the job, you know. (Fifi, 47 years)

What these accounts reveal are pain beliefs (Bendelow, 1993:273) inscribed within a social-cultural narrative of pain avoidance (Illich, 1995/1975). These beliefs underlie the establishment of a personal boundary around acceptable CAM treatment. Boundaries developed from pain beliefs suggest there are differing thresholds of trust between CAM and biomedical practices, biomedical treatment a health care necessity and CAM as a non-essential health care choice.

CAM users rely heavily on their practitioners for expertise and advice, as expert knowledge claims for CAM systems are not prominent in public health discourse. This makes CAM practices less familiar to the user than biomedical treatments, and when an unfamiliar practice such as osteopathy or acupuncture is painful, no reference point exists for understanding the pain. This enforces a boundary in which experiences like pain are not tolerated in unfamiliar contexts (see Luhmann, 1979; 2000). The only reference point to mediate trust in CAM practice is a practitioner, whose represents the access point (Giddens, 1995) for the expert knowledge of CAM. CAM user accounts also show if a practitioner is not relatable, then trust in the CAM system more readily turns to distrust. Consider the following dialogue with Corinne, in which the basis for trust in the Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) is about the practitioner interaction:

> Corinne: I was taking those before, and that was a similar thing, I had too much chi or something. Maybe it was a language thing or it wasn't like a thorough consultation, I just trusted he knew what he was doing with these disgusting herbs. I guess I needed something more than that...I didn't really know that he understood me, and I didn't really understand him.
>
> Interviewer: Because of the language?
>
> Corinne: I think so. ….. He was like real old traditional Chinese medicine which I wanted to give a go at, but you know, it was just a bit difficult for me because I didn't really know that he understood what I was saying...so I didn't feel that confident with it all. (Corinne, 35 years)

Corinne's account reveals a multiplicity of meanings around CAM use, notwithstanding the exoticisation of herbs and the TCM practice. Corinne's account suggests she requires rapport with the practitioner to

maintain CAM use, and that it is this confidence in the practitioner which actually stimulates trust in the treatment. Similarly for Fifi, the healer is relatable, and their very presence can produce derivative benefits. In this sense CAM therapists occupy the position of 'miracle worker' that doctors once held (Illich, 1995:159), and this is supported in Barnum's (1999:221) study which found healing is concerned with the whole person, bringing a person into a relationship with themselves emotionally, spiritually and physically, and encompasses both being cured and not being cured of illness. Trust develops when the 'healer' produces a familiar state of wellness, and restores the user to a familiar, pain-free existence (Frank, 2004:21). This aligns with Giddens (1995) notion that trust involves confidence in someone's knowledge.

CONCLUSION

Using health services in a pluralistic fashion, being discerning in their choice of health service and having high levels of health literacy, and the participants typify the late modern, reflexive health consumer (Giddens, 1991). Despite real concerns over health risk the regular CAM users in this study continue using biomedical treatments for curing specific health conditions. In this pluralistic health context, the CAM users need to mediate between differing forms of evidence for CAM therapies, and this paper has shown how they develop and exercise boundaries around acceptable healthcare practice, and these boundaries form thresholds of trust in CAM. CAM users cease treatment when pain is experienced, and question their trust in a CAM treatment when the practitioner is not relatable.

If CAM users are so able to embrace leap of faith in CAM treatments from which they expect no clinical outcome, yet so willing to reject a treatment when pain is involved, or when the practitioner is not relatable, then what does this ultimately suggest? CAM practices in literature are generally conceptualised as a health related experience. However this paper shows that when examined in a broader context for some CAM practices, there are conceptual and empirical connections not only with health, but also with spirituality and healing, leisure, and a generalised sense of well-being. What emerges is the possibility that some forms of CAM are used in a more choice-driven, and leisure oriented fashion than are biomedical treatments, and that this is reinforced by differing thresholds of trust between CAM and biomedical approaches. How this relates to trust in CAM is an issue well worth exploring in future studies.

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[i] MacLennan's definition includes over the counter medicines such as vitamins, mineral supplements, soy products, aromatherapy oils, and others, as well as herbal, Chinese and homeopathic medicines. Excluded were calcium, iron or vitamins prescribed by a medical practitioner. Although MacLennan's surveys were conducted in South Australia only, the findings were largely used as a proxy for national prevalence estimates until more recent surveys were published.

The production of evidence for social policy and the disempowerment of respondents – A case study

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Abstract

Social policy's credibility relies on its evidence base secured by large standardised surveys. They provide authority when the knowledge source is considered objective, neutral and scientific. However, this paper will argue that there is no such thing as neutral and objective 'data collection' but a production of knowledge in an interactive process which produces and reproduces societal (power) structures.

Using the *Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia* survey (HILDA) for a case study in a disadvantaged area on the fringe of Melbourne, the article argues that research is embedded in long standing social relationships which disempower respondents by preventing them to formulate alternative and critical knowledge about their situation. Imposing a specific understanding, surveys draw on dispositions internalised by respondents: resignation, token disapprobation and silence. It calls on an administrative stock of representation associated by respondents to their social position as low income inhabitants of a disadvantaged area.

Key words: Social policy, knowledge generation, survey research, social inequality

Introduction

Since the early studies on poverty, the generation of systematic knowledge is central tojustifying, challenging, and changing social policy. Detailed documentation of the effects of poverty in London or York (Rowntree 1902, Booth 1895/1897) has been influential for the introduction of social policy measures at the end of the 19th and early 20th century in the UK. Since then the balance of knowledge generation shifted from detailed analysis torepresentative surveys, demographic data and economic analysis. From the New Labour initiative on 'evidence based approaches', and 'what works'policies in the UK to the recent Social ExclusionMonitor in Australia (Brotherhood of St Laurence/Melbourne Institute, Horn et al. 2011);on the basis of the HILDAsurveyor the policy vision *Australia 2050* of the Productivity Commission, evidence has increasingly supposeda formalised, standardised and de-contextualized knowledge.With the emergence of evidence based policies, information and evaluation has turned into constraining elements of policy design, while in the literature it has been contested that objective evidence even exists (Davies, Nutley and Smith, 2000). Though policy agendasare underpinned by systematic literature review and research results (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2011), the use of 'objective' knowledge is nevertheless screened ideologically (Stevens, 2011).

It is hardly contested that a good knowledge base is essential for social policy;however what counts as knowledge is. Scholars such as Beck (1992) andGiddens(2001) have claimed that knowledge has become increasingly contested in recent decades, since the public has become more critical towards expertise and political decision making, exerting pressure on governments to provide evidence for the success of their policies. Foucault (1991) emphasised how the generation of knowledge has become a central resource in governing societies and there is good evidence for how statistic-probabilistic knowledge not only identifies social problems but contributes to the mechanisms which perpetuate them. Bourdieu (1999) has famously argued that the instruments developed and used to generate specific knowledgeare also a meansto assert the supremacy of dominant social discourses. Policy instruments and the technical systems of knowledge production systematically combine when informing and legitimizing a specific social policy(Lascoumes and Le Gales 2004), and statistics have become a new source of power to govern societies (Hacking 1991).

Whereas the study of policy instruments often unravels the assumptions embedded in a policy discourse or categorisation (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2004), analysing how knowledge is produced to inform policy, deals with the creation of understandings and the reification of social problems, and is linked to assumptions about optimal and fair ways to investigate them. Despite the development of a critical approach to policy instruments, instruments of knowledge, such as survey and evidence based research, are still legitimatised by the scientific certainty they convey (Bourdieu, 1982). It is the scientific value of knowledge instruments that perpetuate their social authority (Desrosieres, 2010; 2008; 1988).

Using data from a small explorative study, we will argue that, although the methodology of knowledge production is supposed to be neutral, it detaches knowledge from the complexities of social life and the specific conditions of social contexts. The survey content is often formal, marked with an administrative character which serves the need for comparable and representative data. Yet, it is important to recognise that the survey is embedded in a social context that supposes a longstanding administrative relationship and this is likely to influence the ability, disposition and goodwill of respondents.

Furthermore, we will show how statistical surveys reinforce the disempowerment of the most disadvantaged by imposing a predefinition of a social problem and the reasons accounting for it. Surveys convey assumptions about respondents' social worlds. They inhibittheir ability to showalternative critical understandings. Additionally, knowledge instruments frustrate respondents' expectations of political participation.Disadvantaged respondents who have experienced a long history of unsuccessful consultation through surveys are taught thattheir understanding is meaningless and to be discounted.

Methodology

The study 'Qualitative exploration of the perception and behaviours of the HILDA survey respondents' (Boehm 2012)was set up to explore the sense-making processes in survey research. It focused on housing policy and used the housing related questions from the HILDA survey wave 10. Broadmeadows was selected because the intervention of the Housing Commission has been a determinant for the development of this disadvantaged area. The trajectories of long term inhabitants were associated with the practices of local housing administrations. Targeting individuals who were renters since the 70s or who accessed homeownership when the Housing Commission privatised its public housing stock, the

sampling strategy was aimed at assessing the consequences for respondents' disposition and ability to answer survey questionnaire.

Six individuals (3 men; 3 women) were recruited.Half of them were renting and the other half owning house/flat; they were all retired and had lived in the area for at least 15 years.Initially, key informants from community organisations and the City Council were interviewed to gather information about the policy context,data generation and use. Despite some methodological disagreements as to the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, the Council relied mainly on quantitative data drawn from the Census and different departments of the state of Victoria. The datawas concerned mainly with population projections to apply for funding. In term of housing, the Council developed little policy except in the context of the urban plan. Information about housing came from the administrative statistics of the Broadmeadows Office of Housing.The use of standardised statistics, as those collected through surveys, prevailed.

After participants had been shown the questions of the survey, open-ended biographical questions were used to explore the housing trajectories of the interviewees and the information which had been missed by the questionnaire. Participants were also asked to express their feelings and understanding of the questions. Subsequently, a focus group discussion was conducted with four respondents from the original sample. The data analysis was carried out reflexively and included the interview situation and the data construction. This allowed a consideration ofthe respondents' understanding of research, the history of consultation and the resources available to them to formulate critique.

Detachment of knowledge generation from social life

The research explored the respondents' attitudes to and perceptions of the survey and how they might be linked to their social positioning and past experience with similar surveys.Their attitudes and perceptions were difficult to interpret, as they showed disconcerting reactions: silence, resignation, cooperation and sometimes irony. Only one participant was openly critical ofthe survey.

A common pattern was the unavailability of information. Questions that were assumed obvious, needed participants to refer to sourcesother than their knowledge or memories. For example, in the case of the value of the land, renters were informed every six months of its value by a letter from the Broadmeadows Housing Office. Renters said they would need this paper to answer to the questions and that at the moment, the information was unavailable. It seems that filling in the questionnaire was inconvenient because of the practical disturbance caused by the need to find information (for one participant, contacting a solicitorwas necessary). However this inconvenience seemed also to have a moral dimension when participants were confronted with the impossibilityof providing information:

> Respondent: The government here it is the authority. *(Reads mutely).* I am not sure… *(Reads)* I am not sure.
>
> Interviewer: Could you explain why you are not sure?
>
> Respondent: It comes directly out of the pension, I can't think of how much it is, at the moment.

He could not answer becausehis rent is directly taken from his pension. This situation contradicts the questionnaire's assumptions that information about rent is obvious in a social policy context where public housing is marginalised and residual. His abruptness and speed in processing this part of the questionnaire maybe linked to the stigma attached to renters and their so-called irresponsibility. Unable to answer and thus indulging in a negative common representation his evasiveness or pragmatic approach to the questionnaire completionmight result from animplicit defence against the assumption he read in the questionnaire (renters as economically irresponsible). Thus, the situation of the survey completion reactivates the social context in which ittakes place.

The wave 10 of the HILDA survey focused on housing and its financial determinants. A participant criticised the focus on economic information:

> `It's all about lands. That doesn't apply to me. If your household does not own this home, does not rent it. *(Silence).* I am public housing. *(Silence).* Well, I don't have property.'

Other participants implied that information was missing. What they consider as relevant economic information were often administrative requirementsto qualify for public housing. To be under a certain income or to have more than a certain number of children influenced their trajectories showing the interdependence between administration requirements, laws and one's economic situation. This is reflected in contradictoryappraisal of the questionnaire:

> Interviewer: What do you think about the questionnaire? In general?
>
> Respondent: In general? Not too bad, considering that it's mainly for people owning their house. Or buying. Yeah. Very good!
>
> Interviewer: Do think it addresses your personal situation?
>
> Respondent: Couple of them do but not many. No.Yeah and that's not addressing people renting very well but, um, but all in all it is quite good.

This extract shows the ambiguous attitude of the respondents. In his first assessment he seems to be openly sarcastic.However his use of euphemism and the fact that he negates what he says (`couple of them do but not many. **No.**'), gives the idea that apart froma mock irony, he does not have dispositions or representations allowing him to claim that omitting renters is epistemologically and ideologically biased.

Disempowerment by predefining social problems

A reflexive methodology wasused to make sense of the respondents' attitudes, considering that thesituation of the interviewsencompassedsymbolic violence. Respondents were excluded from the private housing market andwere either public tenants or public buyers benefiting from government assistance. They were asked to complete a survey where renting was neglected and only related to income variables. This explained participants' reactions and revealed the mechanisms operating during a survey completion.

TheHILDA survey promoted a socialperspective against which they were critically impoverished (Bourdieu, 1999). Their criticisms were not linked to a comprehensive conceptualisation of housing policies. The Housing Commission (now the Broadmeadows

Office of Housing) embodied nearly all aspects of the fragmented housing policies delivered by the Council, the State and Commonwealth Governments. The understanding of housing policies and surveys took place in the course of a long-standing negative administrative relationship between inhabitants and the public authorities. A stock of representation was commonly available to describe the housing commission, whosebad practices were notorious in the 70s. Many participants used the same sentences: `they talked to you as if you were absolute rubbish'. They described the exacting and demeaning attitudes of the Housing Commission workers and expressed many grievances against them.

For participants, the criticism of the Housing Commission was a substitute fora critical conceptualisation of housing policy. It seemed to operate as a screen filtering structural criticisms. The representation of the Housing Commission was ambiguous: it raised criticism and militant attitudes but at the same time it operated as a common reference, negotiated, and relativised individually. A few participants explained that they hadaltercations at a personal level:

> `I had a couple of arguments with them too but it was only arguments in a personal level. I didn't like their attitude. Some of them, their attitude was everybody was rubbish and they spoke to you the same way if you let them get away with it. And I straightened a couple of them out, I just said everybody isn't as bloody good are you are mate. That's it. But anyway.'

In this case the respondent expresses the stigma that he perceived in the inspectors, he neutralised it and turned it against the inspector. The last words, `but anyway' is an evasive conclusion, as if he was referring to something without remedy.

This administrative structure of power prevented participants to formulate a structural and critical conceptualisation of housing policies. The survey questionnaire was embedded in this disempowering or socially forbidden conceptualisation of housing policies. It prevented participants fromspontaneously asserting information they judged significant and important, andprevented them fromconsidering this as a right.

Continuation of frustrated expectations of political participation

This administrative relationship was the basis of dispositions of defiancetoward the public authorities. When confronted in the focus group with the questions of how to design a better wayto collect significant information for policy makers, participants would focus instead on the impossibility of political representation. They were asserting implicitly that transmitting information does not depend on the medium as much as on the power relationship with public authorities. They kept on enumerating occasions where political consultations or surveys did not provide the expected outcomes. The completion of surveys took place in a context wheretheir lifelongexperienceindicated that their opinion would not be taken into account and their expectationsdisappointed.The occurrence of the expression `they don't listen' and of the narrative of experiences of frustrating political consultation caused a mistrust of their opinion being ever taken into account. It also raised a status consciousness of the inequalities between suburbs and of their position as inhabitants of a disadvantaged area, as a female homeowner put it:

> `the sad thing is, and I don't want to sound like I am putting myself and other people down, but in a working area such as Broadmeadows , we are very short on the

> ground of people that feel confident enough to stand up and speak their opinion whereas in the other side of town you have got all the professionals'

The awareness of the social inequalities and material conditions determining political participation was expressed many times and underlined their claim that they were not listened to. This historical and social learning might explain the attitudes of respondents toward the survey; their anticipation of its inconclusive character to support their claim, the knowledge that it is meaningless indescribing their situation.

Conclusions

Using the HILDA housing survey as a case study, this paper showed that the understanding of the questionnaire was related to attitudes raised by an impoverished conceptualisation of housing policies. This was related to a social context where the symbolic violence of the public authorities in charge of housing prevented the formulation of structural criticisms. Longstanding administrative relationships taught inhabitants that their opinions would not be taken into account and werenot worthconsideration. This reflectedtheir belief about political participation, participative urban planning and place based policies (Department of the Premier Minister and Cabinet, 2011). The research revealed the existence of administrative histories, where bad administrative practices were integrated in a comprehensive representation of public authority and shared as a common stock of representations. The research also gauged participants' consciousness about these administrative histories, finding that critical conceptualisations were overwhelmed by the resigned acknowledgement that these administrative practices originated in social positioning and belonging to a disadvantaged working class area. Reasserting the social order and its value of worth (Thévenot, 2011), the survey re-established the limit of what could be possibly thought and claimed (Bourdieu, 1999). It fed an understanding of participants' social position according to the ideological assumptions embedded in the questionnaire. Thus the instruments of knowledge further the disempowerment of participants; they reproduce the societal power structures and the social inequalities it raises. This results in the increased disempowerment of participants whoare prevented by their social position and social capital to formulate criticism that will be socially meaningful, that is to say, causing a policy change or reform.

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Employers of migrants and refugees in regional Australia: profit-minded, ethical, ethnicizing, or all of the above?

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Abstract:

Employers play a key role in the current Australian immigration system by shaping the demand for specific skills and the actual immigration of large amounts of overseas migrants. They also influence the internal migration process of humanitarian entrants by facilitating relocation from metropolitan locations to work in regional locations. Beyond paid employment, some employers also provide informal settlement assistance to their recently arrived employees from overseas. This article explores the rationales that underpin these additional roles played by employers of new migrants in some regional locations. Based on recently completed, ARC-funded research on regional settlement in Australia, it highlights the complexity of employers' motivations, which are characterised by business rationales, moral and ethical considerations with some ethnic bias in the mix. Drawing on the perspectives of migrants and employers, the article shows how these seemingly contrasting considerations comfortably co-exist in a regulatory vacuum.

Keywords: Employers, migrants, refugees, employment, settlement

Introduction

With the shift from a supply to a demand-driven immigration policy regime in Australia, employers have become key actors as sponsors of both permanent and temporary migrants (Hugo 2010). Much research on labour migration and migrant employment has however focused on the experiences of migrants while the actions, roles and influences of their employers have remained relatively underexplored. A better understanding of the role of business alongside other actors is therefore pertinent to understand the ways in which multiple factors at micro, meso and macro level interact to shape labour migration and the settlement of new entrants (Castles 2007).

In this paper I seek to further such an understanding by focusing on the perspectives of employers while also considering those of migrants and refugees in the context of regional migration, by drawing on recent scholarship from migration sociology and beyond, as well as recently completed empirical research. Building on the debate about the tensions between moral and utilitarian arguments in a business context, the paper challenges the simplistic dichotomy between 'good' and 'bad' or ethical and un-ethical employers which often features in discussions of migrant employment.

> *Some (employers) I could see were exploiting them because they didn't know any better that is the migrants didn't know better, but the support groups that*

> *were here, the paid ones and the volunteers ones, they tried to enlighten their migrants as to which were the good employers and which were the not so good employers.*
> *(Settlement worker in regional Victoria)*

Rationales and racializations in the recruitment of migrant labour

Employer demand is increasingly portrayed as the driving force of labour migration. Some scholars have suggested that it is in turn migration that shapes and regulates the labour markets in migrants' destination countries (Bauder 2006), or that labour demand and supply are mutually conditioning (Ruhs and Anderson 2011). Current Australian skilled immigration policies generally require the presence of skills shortages as a precondition of employer sponsorship of overseas workers (DIAC 2012). Beyond labour and skills shortages, other factors also shape employer demands for migrant labour. As Ruhs and Anderson (2010: 6) have put it succinctly, 'What employers want can be critically influenced by what employers think they can get from the various pools of available labour, while at the same time, labour supply often adapts to the requirements of demand'.

The missing 'skills' in demand are often poorly defined, which leads to an identification of skills gaps where local workers may be reluctant to accept adverse working conditions amongst local workers (Ruhs and Anderson 2010). Employers' assumptions about the 'work ethic' or productivity of different groups of workers critically influence labour demands and recruitment patterns (Waldinger and Lichter 2003; Dench et al. 2006; MacKenzie and Forde 2009). As has been discussed in relation to migrant workers in different countries, these ascriptions are often gendered and racialized (McDowell 2009; Ruhs and Anderson 2010). Stereotypical figures such as the caring female Filipina nursing assistant (McDowell 2009), the Latino worker with the right attitude to work (Waldinger and Lichter 2003) or the reliable and integer Sikh (Bauder 2005) contribute to ideas about different nationals' 'appropriateness for different types of work' (McDowell 2009). A related factor is employers' awareness of the vulnerability of migrants based on lower levels of familiarity with workplace rights or their - de facto or assumed - limited access to protection from exploitation (Waldinger and Lichter 2003; MacKenzie and Forde 2009). This vulnerability usually translates into higher levels of compliance, which makes these workers attractive to employers and leads in turn to a demand for certain nationals (Ruhs and Anderson 2010; Waldinger and Lichter 2003).

A solid body of research on migrant and refugee employment in Australia and overseas has highlighted experiences of discrimination (Piore 1979; Fugazza 2003; Ho and Alcorso 2004; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; 2007; Chiswick and Miller 2008; HREOC 2008). One of the ways in which employers deflect responsibility for discrimination is by transferring responsibility to the market (Tilbury and Colic Peisker 2006). The previously noted employer preference for migrant workers based on their assumed compliance can be interpreted as a paradoxical case of positive discrimination in recruitment that can go hand in hand with discriminatory and exploitative practices in the workplace.

It is useful to look beyond the sociological literature (Castles 2007) to analyses of employer rationales from a human resource management perspective. Forde and McKenzie (2011) have identified three approaches towards ethics and migrant workers, namely 'business case', 'minimal compliance' and 'social justice'. A basic principle of the 'business case' for diversity is the recognition and valuing of differences, which is said to contribute to organizational renewal and innovation as well as the ability of the business to attract a wider spectrum of customers (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010: 103). Arguments that are underpinned by a strong 'business case' logic may lead however to reinforcing existing class and race divisions and inequalities in the labour market (Forde and McKenzie 2011; Noon 2007). Others have highlighted that 'business arguments can coexist with social justice arguments to produce a case for diversity that is capable of achieving greater social equality' (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, 102). The fundamental flaw of grounding arguments for diversity and equality in business benefits is its vulnerability to short term economic challenges (Barmes and Ashtiany 2003). With the absence of business benefit the case for diversity and equality disappears (Noon 2007).

Migrant and refugee workers in the regions: the research and methodology

The research under discussion in this paper has emerged from an ARC- funded Linkage Project on the regional and rural settlement of recently arrived visible migrants and refugees.[1] The research has investigated the social, political and economic factors that impact on the settlement experience of these recent entrants.[2]

The methodology included a web survey addressed to respondents who work in the area of settlement; focus groups with 90 stakeholders involved locally in regional settlement; 85 semi-structured interviews with migrants and refugees from African, Middle Eastern, East and South East Asian countries; and 37 expert interviews with government and business representatives.

This paper draws primarily on the analysis of interview data collected from five employers in small to medium-sized enterprises in the agricultural and food processing sector, in addition to data from interviews with migrants and refugees.

Migrants' and refugees' experiences of their employers

Many migrants and refugees who participated in this research, portrayed their employer as an important figure in their settlement process and a port of call for any settlement-related matter, exceeding by far the immediate realm of employment and the traditionally expected role of employer. Employers were often described as knowledgeable and helpful in life situations that the migrant or refugee found challenging. These included financial decisions such as the purchase of a new car as well as assistance in such adverse situations as a police arrest after drink driving.

A: And every week, if we have some problem or we need something we go to Bruce
B: Yeah and he knows about everything, he's like Google.com
C: If anything bad happened we call Bruce, anything could happen, we call him.
D: Car breaks down, he comes and picks it up. (Group interview)

Employers also emerged as critical actors in attracting the interviewed humanitarian entrants as well as skilled migrants to the regional location by offering employment and in some cases also facilitating the move of humanitarian entrants from Melbourne. They also organized accommodation and other settlement-specific services in the absence of statutory or community sector support. It is significant that the supportive and pastoral role described by many interview participants was not limited to humanitarian entrants who tend to be viewed as 'needy' in the public. It extended to recently arrived skilled migrants who are often constructed as self-sufficient in comparison (Boese 2009) and are indeed not targeted by any governmental settlement support or related assistance (DIAC 2011). In our interview sample however both humanitarian entrants and skilled migrants found themselves in situations where they required assistance in the settlement process which some employers were able and ready to meet.

In the case of humanitarian entrants whose stay has exceeded the period of federally funded settlement support, the regional employer often emerged as the only port of call. In the case of skilled migrants on temporary visas, the employer is furthermore critical in granting sponsorship for a permanent visa. This creates a dependency symptomatic of a power imbalance that is easily concealed by the described supportiveness of some employers.

Employers: profit-minded, ethical, ethnicizing, or all of the above?

Employers interviewed for this research were generally keen to recruit workers, both skilled and unskilled, who were committed to stay in the regional location due to prior recruitment difficulties. The range of assistance mentioned by migrant *and* refugee workers was also reflected in the employer descriptions of their relationship with the migrant workforce. To achieve a closer understanding of the rationales that underpin such employer behaviours, I will now turn to extracts from two employer interviews. While I do not claim this data is generalizable based on the small sample, I am suggesting that it assists in identifying the complex motivations at issue here.

The first quote is from an interview with an employer whose workforce consists to fifty percent of skilled migrant workers, some on s457 Business (Long Stay) visas (temporary), some on s119/857 Regional Skilled Migration Scheme (permanent) visas.

> *When they [ie the migrant workers] first came here I took care of all their accommodation, I found accommodation for them and I put them up and then I found another house but they all wanted to live together but I said it's too crowded. So I bought a caravan and stuck a caravan at the back that's what they wanted. And I took them to church and did all these sorts of things, took them to where to buy food and then bought vehicles for them and lent them money and do whatever else you have to do to make it work. And at the end of it all I think they have the respect.*

Leaving aside the overall tone of this statement, it certainly describes a relationship that exceeds the efforts an average employer would invest in providing for her

employees' needs. A significant conclusion drawn by this employer is that the additional assistance he provides to his migrant employees gains him their respect. Beyond that, he considers these extra services as a necessity 'to make it work'. This evaluation of his own efforts and their outcome suggests that this employer's predominant motivation is a business interest in committed workers who respect him. Being well settled appears as a mere precondition of this ultimate objective.

The same employer however expressed explicit empathy with the workers in their position as strangers without social connections in Australia.

> *You can image being in a country where you know no one and the only people that you rely on is your employer. I think it's human nature if you don't look after them it's just not right.*

What the employer describes here as 'human nature' can be interpreted as an ethical position distinguishable from the earlier 'business case'-argument. That a lacking concern for newcomers who have no access to other assistance, is 'just not right' is a moral value statement unrelated to his interest in a 'functional' workforce.

The second quote is from an interview with an employer whose workforce consists exclusively of overseas workers on skilled visas. This employer explained that part of his recruitment research aims to ensure that the prospective worker does not abandon his family in his country of origin through migration. What might firstly appear as an ethical concern with the wellbeing of the worker's family overseas, can also be interpreted as a business-centred concern with securing a sustainable workforce, undisturbed by the experience of family fragmentation or the prospect of returning home to be reunited as a family.

> *At the end of the day it's in our own interest because if you haven't got, like, because if you haven't got, like a settled workforce and a settled people then it's not good, you know ..*

The same employer was also keen to prevent his migrant workers from working overtime. In explaining his rationale to the workers he appealed both, to their sense of wellbeing and their consideration for his business interest.

> *I said well, I don't want over time and it's not about money. I said I want, I don't want to put an emphasis on over time for the simple reason is that you guys came here to have a different lifestyle, you didn't, you were working 12 hours a day where you were and I said did you like that? And they said no. And I said well let's not start heading that way, you know. And I said I don't believe we get the best out of people once we get over certain many hours a week.*

Both interview extracts show an inextricable connection between the employer's astute awareness of the migrants' personal background and wellbeing on the one hand, and a clear interest in protecting business interests in the equation on the other hand. This co-existence of business and ethical concerns was apparent throughout the interview. While the data discussed in more detail here pertains to businesses which employ only skilled migrants, the identified constellation of interests also emerged

from interviews with employers who employ both skilled and humanitarian visa holders. These employers' perception of their employees' needs for assistance puts indeed into question the earlier mentioned popular juxtaposition of self-sufficient skilled and needy humanitarian migrants.

The employers in these examples as well as other employers who participated in this research not only held positive views on their employees of migrant or refugee backgrounds but they tended to compare them favourably with Australian workers. The common measure for this comparison was the 'work ethic' and attitude towards their job, which these employers ascribed to specific ethnic backgrounds. Ethical and business concerns for their migrant workforce went hence along with ethnic stereotypes.

Conclusion

This article aims to further our understanding of the rationales underpinning employers' recruitment and employment practices in relation to their migrant workforce. Rather than conceiving these employers as 'good' or 'bad', a closer analysis suggests that their influence on migrants' and refugees' settlement experience is complex and manifold. The regionally based employers that have been discussed in this article have chosen to assist their migrant workers in their settlement beyond their responsibilities as employers. The underlying rationales and motivations have their basis in interpretations of the migrants' characteristics and needs and the latter's impact on their business, combined with ethical imperatives.

Viewed through an economistic lens, the different reasons for assisting migrant workers can all be related to economic interests. In the current political context economically framed arguments for ethical employer behaviour tend to have more clout than those that are morally or ethically framed. However, for analytical purposes we still need to address the challenge of dissecting the economic, moral and ethical rationales when trying to understand the relations between employers and migrant workers. As long as businesses act as default settlement assistants for many new entrants in a regulatory vacuum, such an endeavour is relevant in understanding the present and future of migrant and refugee settlement in a multicultural Australia.

Footnotes

1. By 'recently arrived' we mean within the last five to seven years. Visibility is understood as a relative category, which only ever carries meaning in relation to a particular place and time.

2. The research was led by Prof Brian Galligan and Dr Millsom Henry-Waring at the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne and carried out in partnership with the Municipal Association of Victoria (MAV) and the Office for Multicultural Affairs (OMA).

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Skin cancer advertising and the sun exposure paradox

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Abstract

In the last 10 - 15 years, skin cancer campaigns have become increasingly distressing and visually powerful in the way they are communicated. We are strongly advised to take precautions and limit exposure to direct sunlight, as we are told skin cancer is a preventable disease and one that we should fear. A paradox becomes apparent however, when we learn that skin cancer is not a high-ranking killer and evidence suggests that limiting exposure to the sun increases the likelihood of developing more debilitating and aggressive conditions. As the incidence of health anxiety and "cancer phobia" (Crile Jr, 1955) increase, and general levels of anxiety continue to rise, this Honours-level research considers whether these graphic advertising campaigns are justified, or disproportionate and unwarranted.

This paper argues that it is important to keep the risks to our health and wellbeing in perspective. When healthcare campaigns are employed to encourage behaviour change through the adoption of extreme measures, unexpected and dire consequences may result. After exploring some of the existing literature surrounding cancer, fear, risk and anxiety, the results of some preliminary interview data are presented. Gaining insight into an individual's personal experience with the sun, skin cancer and the associated advertising campaigns, helps to elucidate our understanding of this phenomenon.

Keywords: Skin cancer, advertising, fear, risk, anxiety

Introduction

The existence of potential threats to our health and safety increasingly pervade society. The Australian public are regularly bombarded with advice, warning them against the dangers of numerous and diverse risks. An example of this is the risk of skin cancer (Sun Smart Victoria, 2012). Caused by direct exposure to sunlight, skin cancer is depicted in the media as something that Australians are at high risk of developing. We are told that it is avoidable. We are told it is something that we should fear (Sun Smart Victoria, 2012). Cancer councils and institutes in Australia are committed to educating people about the dangers posed by the sun, developing visually powerful and distressing advertising campaigns in the process. While initially using 'Sid the Seagull' to advise people to 'Slip, Slop, Slap', advertisements have become increasingly graphic and intimidating with slogans such as 'Skin cells in trauma' and 'Skin cancer – it's killer body art' (Sun Smart Victoria, 2012).

These campaigns have been quite effective (Cancer Council Victoria, 2012), and perhaps have had unintended consequences. It is becoming increasingly evident that we are facing an epidemic of vitamin D deficiencies, with 30% of Australians reportedly lacking the required levels (Daly et al., 2012). Vitamin D is delivered via sunlight and is essential for healthy ageing. It is estimated that 30-50% of Australians – and Saudi Arabians, Emarati, Turks, Indians and Lebanese – are vitamin D deficient (Holick, 2007: 267). While inhabitants of these other countries cover-up for cultural and religious reasons, Australians presumably do so to protect themselves from the harsh dangers of the sun, having been subjected to compelling campaigns that encourage this behaviour for almost 30 years. Research into vitamin D deficiency suggests that the consequences are severe. Osteoporosis, congestive heart failure, multiple sclerosis (Holick, 2004), some cancers (Garland et al., 2009) and depression (Berk et al., 2008) have all been linked with vitamin D deficiencies. Holick (2008: 1548) argues that increasing sun exposure actually reduces the risk of contracting certain cancers.

A recent poll reveals that the possibility of contracting cancer is Australians' greatest fear (Worcester, 2010). This is despite a 20% reduction in cancer mortality in Australia in the past 25 years (Cancer Council Victoria, 2009). A publicly available research report developed by the Victorian Cancer Council states that in 2010, melanoma accounted for only 8% of all cancer cases in Victoria (Thursfield et al., 2011: 12). A general trend for all cancers has become evident – while diagnoses are increasing, the numbers of deaths from cancer are decreasing. Australia has the highest rate of melanoma diagnoses globally. However, melanoma claims the fewest lives of the five most commonly diagnosed cancers in Victoria (Thursfield et al., 2011: 2, 11). This represents something of a paradox. Are the graphic skin cancer awareness campaigns justified when skin cancer is not a high ranking killer? What are the consequences of public education programs that feed off an Australian fear of cancer? Where do the consequences of vitamin D deficiency sit in relation to these campaigns?

This paper is structured in the following way. First, we describe the literature that explores the use of fear in the media and its relationship with the 'risk society' (Beck, 2003) that we inhabit. We then discuss current levels of anxiety in Australia, as well as the link between cancer and stress, and its negative implications. After outlining similar research that has been conducted in this area, we explain the methodology that was used to conduct an interview with Sarah, a 26-year-old skin-conscious and sun-aware individual.

The media as a fear-spreading medium

Altheide (2002: 42) argues that the mass media and popular culture are responsible for generating the widespread "public perception that risk and danger are everywhere, that we are not safe, and the future is bleak". Australian skin cancer campaigns demonstrate this by graphically alerting the Australian public to the dangers associated with over-exposure to the sun. In the 'risk society', Beck (2003: 96) argues that nothing is certain but uncertainty, and risk is the challenge that threatens to overwhelm us all. Unable to predict and control the direction that life will take, "we

focus on things we can, or believe we can, or are assured that we can, influence: we try to calculate and minimise the risk" (Bauman, 2005: 69). The fear, or perhaps the dread (Kierkegaard, 1957), of an untimely death is part of everyday life. Some spend a great deal of time trying to delay death, searching for ways to spare themselves from this unavoidable outcome (see Turner, 2009). Those that seek to reduce their exposure to sunlight in order to lower their risk of developing skin cancer may be increasing their risk of developing other medical conditions as a result of vitamin D deficiency and may also suffer from "cancer phobia" (Crile Jr, 1955). Ropeik (2004) suggests that this fear may be, in many instances, more harmful than cancer itself. He outlines that fear leads to stress, which raises blood pressure, increases the risk of cardiovascular disease and weakens the immune system. As Sapolsky (2004) makes clear, a person in a prolonged state of stress is less able to fight off a host of illnesses including cancers.

Living in an anxious world

In a society where technological advancements enable us to anticipate, prevent and cure a great number of threats to our health and wellbeing, our obsession with safety and security is nurtured (Bauman, 2006). It is perhaps not surprising that anxiety related mental illnesses are on the rise. Clinically diagnosed anxiety disorders affect 14.4% of the Australian population in any given year (ABS, 2008). There is evidence to suggest that this is a developing and worsening situation (Jorm & Reavley, 2012: 353). For the period between 1997 and 2007, the National Survey of Mental Health and Wellbeing reported an overall increase in the risk of anxiety (Reavley et al., 2011: 780).

As Bauman (2006: 143) highlights "we seek substitute targets on which to unload the surplus existential fear… taking elaborate precautions against inhaling someone else's cigarette smoke, ingesting fatty foods or 'bad' bacteria". Lacking information regarding the adverse health consequences of gaining inadequate sun exposure, individuals are not easily able to question the credibility of the information they see in the media when it is provided by reliable organisations like government funded cancer research agencies. But as Beck (2003: 100) points out, "who, with what legal and intellectual resources, gets to decide what counts as a 'risk', what counts as a 'cause', and what counts as a 'cost'"? While attention is focused on reducing the risk of skin damage, individuals are perhaps not as aware of other consequences.

Researching how people perceive skin care advertisements

Previous research has been conducted that investigates the effectiveness of health campaign advertising. Wakefield et al. (2003) found that anti-smoking advertising has been successful in preventing some young people from taking up the habit. Elder et al. (2004) reported that media campaigns are effective in reducing alcohol-impaired driving and alcohol-related crashes. The use of fear in communicating health messages has also been the subject of previous quantitative research (Lee & Shin, 2011; Bennett 1996).

Staying out of the sun is likely to be an effective way of reducing the risk of developing skin cancer. Yet the Australian advertisements simplify the complexity of the problem. They lack information about the consequences of getting too little sun exposure. The graphic, visual aspects of these advertisements that show medical procedures and obituaries of young people who have perished because of their sun exposure has the potential to create excessive fear of a disease that one is not likely to ever contract.

Methodology

This dilemma will be explored through interviews with skin-aware Australians, to provide a picture of the consequences of skin cancer advertising in everyday life. Preliminary findings from interview research are reported here. The data is drawn from an in-depth interview conducted with a 26 year-old woman – "Sarah" – who is concerned with skin health and aesthetics.

The interview data was collected and interpreted through a combination of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and narrative analysis. IPA emerged from the 'phenomenology' philosophical movement (Husserl, 1962). It is an approach to behavioural research that is based on the premise that knowledge and understanding do not only become apparent from large amounts of data. IPA holds that an intense study of a limited number of experiences produces nuanced and information-rich accounts of human experience. IPA recognises that people perceive the world in very different ways depending on their background, life experiences and motivations. IPA also acknowledges the role of the researcher, as understanding cannot be gained through the representation of a particular experience "without interpretive work by the researcher who is trying to make sense of what the participant is saying" (Smith & Osborn, 2008: 230). As members of a population targeted by these skin cancer advertising campaigns, we are part of this picture. We are also vulnerable to skin cancer, vitamin D deficiency, fear and anxiety. Our co-experience of these advertising campaigns becomes an important theme in the interview with Sarah.

This research is also informed by Catherine Kohler Reissman's (1993: 1) conception of 'narrative' analysis. We understand Sarah's personal experiences, her story, as the object of investigation. It is an interpretive approach to social research that recognises individuals as creative actors who construct their world as they experience it. Riessman (1993: 11) contends that each stage of the research process is "incomplete, partial and selective", whether it be attending, telling, transcribing, analysing or reading. It is the role of the researcher to interpret the narratives expressed by the respondents in relation to, and in order to understand the concept under investigation.

As such, the interpretation of this interview is a "partial, alternative truth" (Riessman, 1993: 22) that aims for "believability, not certitude, for enlargement of understanding rather than control" (Stivers, 1993: 424).

Sarah's story

After conducting the first interview with Sarah, a 26-year-old social worker, it was apparent that the skin cancer message has become central to her experiences and

behaviours in relation to the sun. She is conscious of her skin health as she perceives that it is fair and burns easily. Sarah is aware of the effects of over-exposure to the sun and believes there is a high chance that she will develop skin cancer due to her skin type and family history – her mother and grandmother have both had numerous skin cancers cut out of their hands and foreheads.

> To look at my mum's hand, there's no skin left, like she can't get anything else cut out of the backs of her hand… She has definitely told me stories of baking where she had to end up in hospital because the backs of her legs were burnt so badly.
>
> (Sarah, interviewed on 29th June 2012)

Despite this, she is aware of the benefits of gaining some sun exposure and believes she is not too extreme in her avoidance behaviours, stating, "you can't shelter yourself completely". Sarah has also noted the rising media representations of the prevalence of vitamin D deficiency in society, making reference to her friends and colleagues whom she knows take vitamin D supplements.

Having grown up with the 'Slip, Slop, Slap' campaign (Sun Smart Victoria, 2012), Sarah thinks that this message has been ingrained in her mind, and she is certain that it has had an influence on her understanding of the dangers associated with the sun. She has noticed that television campaigns have become more intense; particularly the 'Protect yourself in five ways' campaign that was released in 2007 and featured a surgeon removing a cancerous mole (Sun Smart Victoria, 2012). While these advertisements have not, in her view, altered her opinions about her own skin, she believes that she has become concerned about her partner's moles, repeatedly encouraging him to see a skin specialist.

> That's scary. The scalpel, it looks pretty sharp. It's quite a big area that's being removed, also the surgical gloves…yeah that's quite scary… and like I said about my partner, I just want him to get them checked.
>
> (Sarah, interviewed on 29th June 2012)

Even though skin cancer awareness campaigns have had a strong emotional impact on Sarah, she remains adamant that it is an 'extreme' way to communicate the 'SunSmart' message, perhaps even a little over-the-top:

> If the 'Slip, Slop, Slap' message is instilled in you from a young age, you don't need the other two… I mean yes, [the seagull is] extremely covered up and that kind of thing, but that's definitely better than being so scared to not go out at all.
>
> (Sarah, interviewed on 29th June 2012)

As a social worker, Sarah deals with mental health issues in her day-to-day life. She is aware of the consequences that can result from fear and anxiety. Skin cancer is notably a personal issue for Sarah, rather than one that she identifies as facing society

in general. She mentions the prevalence of anxiety around cancer, but is more conscious of it amongst friends and family rather than her clients at work:

> Cancer seems to be everywhere these days and skin cancer is another form and that kind of is emphasising the fact that it can be deadly and scary and horrible… People will do anything to try and not get it.
>
> (Sarah, interviewed on 29th June 2012)

Conclusion

Although data collection has just commenced, the interview with Sarah suggests that cancer, and particularly skin cancer, is an issue that is entrenched in our cultural understandings of the sun and its threat to our health. Despite her family history and experiences with relatives who have skin cancer, Sarah's attitude towards skin cancer encourages an approach to awareness campaigns that do not play on Australia's fear of contracting cancer. While the importance of educating the public about risks associated with sun exposure is perhaps difficult to deny, it remains important to keep the risks to our health and wellbeing in perspective. Diligently avoiding skin cancer may lead to more significant health concerns now and in the future.

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Body Dirt to Liquid Gold: The transformative journey of donor breast milk for use in neonatal intensive care

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Abstract

Breast milk is the ideal food for preterm infants. In fact, it is so beneficial that when mothers of preterm infants are unable to produce sufficient volumes of breast milk, neonatologists are prescribing pasteurized donor breast milk (DHM) instead of infant formula. However, breast milk, as a pharmakon, has a paradoxical presence in the neonatal intensive care unit (NICU); it is at once a body fluid with therapeutic properties and one that potentially harbours pathogens. Based on ethnographic research, this paper reveals the practices that transform donor breast milk from what could be seen as a potentially contaminating substance to a precious commodity with a legitimate place in the NICU. Insights garnered from Mary Douglas's work on body fluids and Hausman's theorizing of breast milk as pharmakonare used in this paper to examine the transformation of DHM from 'body dirt' to 'liquid gold'.

Keywords: breast milk, donor human milk, neonatal intensive care, tissue donation, ethnography

Introduction

The body, including rituals enacted on and through it, provides a view of the broader ordering and structuring of society at large (Douglas, 1966). In her book *Purity and Danger* (1966) Mary Douglas examines body fluids and the notion of purity, pollution, and taboo as basic classifications which designate and underlie social order and relations. Body fluids are symbolically potent in this regard; they symbolize strength and virtue, but they also threaten to pollute physical and social bodies (Douglas 1966). Semen, eggs, and breast milk as reproductive body fluids are particularly symbolic markers of social order (Douglas 1966). Breast milk, for example, is a marker of the mother-infant relationship and is symbolic of 'good' mothering (Wolf 2011). It is also a superior food for preterm infants yet breast milk is simultaneously constructed as risky (Hausman 2011) as it may harbor viruses that the mother carries herself, such as HIV, hepatitis, and cytomegalovirus. It is in situating breast milk as a pharmakon that the current paper examines extracorporeal breast milk in the context of the neonatal intensive care unit (NICU).

Extracorporeal breast milk (EBM) is not a neutral substance, nor is it free from the social context within which is used. Whether fed fresh to a preterm infant, stored and frozen for later use, or donated to a human milk bank, EBM in the NICU is embedded within a web of social relationships involving the infant, mother, NICU clinicians, milk bank staff, and providers of donor human milk. Rather than determining the cleanliness of EBM using a purely physiologic standpoint (such as microbial counts or viral presence), this paper draws on the logic of Douglas's thesis; that the 'dirtiness' of bodily secretions is also defined relationally, and thus, they are situated within, and constructive of social order.

According to Douglas, when something is classified as 'dirty' it results from a transgression of classificatory and symbolic social order. To use EBM as an example, it is only upon feeding EBM to infants who are unrelated to the mother that concern is commonly raised about the cleanliness of milk. Using Douglas's approach, this could be as much due to the transgression of milk across biological kinship lines as it is about physiologic definitions of cleanliness. Yet transgressions can, at times, be repositioned in such a way that social order is not threatened (Douglas 1966). It is from this premise that this paper contrasts the work practices surrounding different classifications of EBM in the NICU and their role in designating it as 'body dirt' or 'liquid gold'.

The Biosocial Potency of Breast Milk in the NICU

Mother's Milk

NICU is a space in which nurses and doctors rescue and support the new and vulnerable lives of preterm infants and, in doing so, mediate the new mother-infant relationship. Clinicians are encouraged as a part of 'best practice' to assist mothers to provide their own breast milk to their infants (Meier et al. 2010). Breast milk is the ideal food for preterm infants; it is the most easily digested food and it offers superior immunological protection. Preterm infants are also prone to a potentially fatal infection of the intestines condition called 'necrotisingenterocolitis' (NEC) which breast milk feedings have shown to reduce (Sullivan et al. 2010). Breast milk, as a vital and highly symbolic substance, is often central to the discourse and practices of NICU practitioners.

In the NICU, newborn preterm infants can be so fragile that even the regular care activities of changing a diaper, cuddling, and feeding can predispose the infant to physiological stress. This

renders the everyday care acts that would normally define early motherhood very difficult to perform without the oversight, facilitation, and intervention of a neonatal nurse (Cockcroft 2012). Therefore in the NICU context, a mother expressing her breast milk is more than a means of enabling the 'gold-standard' of nutrition to be fed to her infant. It is also a fundamental mothering task that only she can do. Thus EBM harbours heightened symbolism in the NICU as it acts as a signifier of care, motherhood and biological kinship.

Donor Milk

The task of expressing breast milk can be a difficult one for the NICU mother. The mother must mimic a 'normal' term newborn's suckling pattern by using an electric breast pump to stimulate the breast to produce milk, every three hours, day and night, for weeks or even months. A preterm delivery will often lead to a delay in maternal breast milk production and the mother's physical separation from her infant also acts to reduce her milk supply (Schanleret al. 1999). Thus even for those mothers who adhere to the regime of expressing milk regularly, it is common to struggle to supply the sufficient volumes of breast milk required by the growing infant (Schanler et al. 1999).

If a mother's own milk is unavailable or is of low supply, peak health professional bodies recommend that donor human milk (DHM) from a human milk bank (HMB) be used for preterm infants in preference to infant formula (American Academy of Pediatrics 2012; World Health Organisation UNICEF 2003). In cases where a lactating woman has an over supply of breast milk, she may choose to donate it to a HMB. A HMB is responsible for recruiting and screening milk donors in addition to pasteurizing and testing all donated breast milk to ensure infectious agents are

deactivated (Kennaugh& Lockhart-Borman 2011). The HMB will then provide DHM to the NICU upon receipt of a physician's prescription where it will be used, with parental consent, for the most fragile and small preterm infants (Kennaugh& Lockhart-Borman 2011). However, the use of mother's milk to feed an infant other than her own is not always so actively encouraged by NICU clinicians or parents.

Breast Milk Misappropriation

"Milk sharing', that is, breast milk that is obtained informally from an unscreened known or unknown donor is considered risky (Geraghtyet al. 2011), particularly for preterm infants. Such concern is symbolic of wider societal governance and concerns about breast milk (Boyer 2010) and in the NICU many investments are made to prevent breast milk accidentally crossing kinship lines (Gabrielski& Lessen 2011; Rinkeet al. 2011; Warner &Sapsford 2004; Zeilhoferet al. 2009). When EBM is 'misappropriated' (the wrong breast milk is fed to the wrong baby), it is considered a threat to patient safety and can be stressful for parents and staff (Rinke, et al. 2011) and both the mother of the affected infant, and the mother whose milk was accidentally administered need to be tested for viruses that are transmissible by breast milk, including HIV, Hepatitis B and C, Human T-Lymphotropic Virus I/II and cytomegalovirus (Rinke, et al. 2011). The majority of viral tests are negative and misappropriation generally causes no harm to the baby (Gabrielski& Lessen 2011; Rinke, et al. 2011; Zeilhofer, et al. 2009). Still, misappropriation produces staff stress, a loss of families' trust and confidence (Gabrielski& Lessen 2011; Rinkeet al. 2011; Warner &Sapsford 2004), and 'enormous psychic stress to the mother whose baby received the milk of another

woman' (Zeilhofer, et al. 2009). It is clear that the different classifications of EBM hold different statuses as body fluids. These range from a mother's own being akin to 'liquid gold', to misappropriated EBM being classified as a potentially dangerous substance involved in hospital error and threats to patient safety.

Each classification of EBM detailed above has distinct policies and practices for handling and feeding. Moreover each type of EBM determines how it will be communication with parents. However it is only DHM and misappropriated breast milk which hold contrasting positions when they are fed to preterm infants who are not biologically related to the woman who provided the milk. Therefore this paper asks, 'what are the practices in NICU that render DHM medically sanctioned to feed to an unrelated infant?' To answer this question this paper will briefly address the material changes to breast milk that occur in the HMB and then examine the common work practices in the NICU that legitimate the feeding of DHM to preterm infants.

Methods

Over a period of 6 months in 2011 and 2012 I conducted ethnographies in three NICUs and two HMBs located in Australia and the United States of America[i]. I conducted daily observations of a wide range of work practices and communications between clinicians and between clinicians and parents. I wrote fieldnotes during and after my observations, and where consent was obtained I audio and video-recorded approximately 12 hours of work practices. In the HMB I recordedfieldnotes as I observed the recruitment and screening of donors; the handling, testing and pasteurization of donated breast milk; and the distribution of breast milk to hospitals. I also

conducted 30 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with NICU clinicians and parents. During the interviews I asked about infant feeding in the NICU, the rationale of DHM use, and how DHM differed from formula or mothers' own milk. All interviews were audio recorded, transcribed by a professional transcriber, and checked by the researcher.

Transforming Donor Milk: the HMB and NICU

The work practices that occur in the HMB and NICU are critically involved in the transformation of potentially pathogenic EBM into a medically sanctioned product. These transformative practices not only act on the material aspects of breast milk itself, but also create legitimacy through influencing how DHM is prescribed, communicated and documented in the NICU. Modeled on blood banking, the HMB screens donors, pasteurizes and tests the milk, and ensures appropriate documentation to ensure that milk is traceable from donor through to recipient. It will then only release DHM on receipt of a physician's prescription (Kennaugh& Lockhart-Borman 2011). Collectively, the HMB acts to create a known status of the donor and her milk, provides an audit trail to ensure accountability, and through physician prescription ensures that the release of DHM is medically endorsed. Ultimately the HMB constructs a greater sense of security among NICU clinicians who largely feel they are delivering a safe product to infants:

> 'DHM is controlled and checked and you know it is safe' (Nurse, Australia).

However it isn't only acting on the milk itself that assists in legitimating the feeding of EBM across kinship lines in the NICU. Given that feeding DHM without parental

consent would be considered an error in hospital practice, it is clear that the following communication processes involved in preparing DHM for use in the NICU are equally critical.

The daily NICU ward round is a time where neonatologists make infant feeding decisions and action the use of DHM through a written prescription order. Through this process, the feeding of EBM across milk kinship lines is rendered a deliberate, beneficent, and intended feeding practice. Moreover, during parental informed consent, a neonatologist will provide information about the screening and processing of DHM in addition to the medical reasons for recommending DHM. For parents, this process transforms what may be perceived as a potentially risky and unknown substance into a relative known and safe one.

> 'The doctor - that's his job, or his or her job - so I feel like they know what they're doing so their recommendation to me is... pretty good, it's good enough for me!' (Parent, USA).

Neonatologists' communication about DHM builds upon the transformative work previously done at the HMB:

> '… the donor has been screened and the milk has been heat-treated and kept in sterile containers that have been analysed for safety prior to use, and then it is recorded and treated like any other medicine. In that sense it becomes like the right medication, right does, right patient, assuming they do everything correctly. There is also a

> mental transformation of the substance as a consequence of the process' (Neonatologist, USA).

The material work of the HMB and the legitimizing and medicalising work of the neonatology profession are not separate. Collectively, these practices enable EBM to cross kinship ties in a known, safe, planned, medically endorsed, and parentally-consented way.

Concluding Discussion

Despite the ubiquitous discourse of 'breast is best', where mother's own milk is prioritized and donor milk 'fills in the gaps', breast milk and breastfeeding hold contradictory positions in the NICU:

> A paradoxical situation appears to exist in some neonatal intensive care environments. The evidence-based, extensively researched literature about the life-saving properties of breastmilk sits uncomfortably alongside the concerns about a potentially infected female body fluid (Bartle 2010: 126).

Douglas explains that in the Western context 'our idea of dirt is dominated by the knowledge of pathogenic organisms. … it is difficult to think of dirt except in the context of pathogenicity' (Douglas 1966: 44). Indeed, breast milk, as a health-giving bodily fluid, is portrayed as indeterminate, uncontrolled and 'invested with cultural meanings as dangers, pollutants, dirt, or contaminants' (Benn &Phibbs 2007: 105). However, Douglas (1966: 44) goes to on say that when

this pathogenic notion of dirt is put aside we are left with dirt as merely being 'matter out of place', that is, dirt is present where there is a 'contravention' of existing order. Nowhere is this clearer than in the accidental use of DHM to feed a preterm infant without parental consent. Even when the fear of disease and pathology is made absent through the screening of donors and pastuerising of milk, what is remnant is the contravention of social relations, namely that in the NICU context a bodily fluid of another mother has been fed to an unrelated infant.

This paper has explored how the culture of the NICU has developed a system that allows donated breast milk to cut across biological kinship relations in a sanctioned fashion, with minimal disruption to fragile mother-infant relations. Boyer (2010) argues that the presence of a HMB legitimates breast milk as a 'risky biosubstance'. Yet in contemporary Western NICUs, DHM in the NICU requires a system of processing and administration to construct a legitimate place for it in the hospital environment. This paper has shown that neonatologists and the HMB medicalise, legitimate, and stabilise the crossing of EBM across kinship lines by endorsing it as a safe product for use with preterm infants. To draw on Douglas's (1966) theory, misappropriated EBM first needs to be recognized as 'matter out of place'. From here the transformative work of the HMB precedes the eminently powerful endorsement of DHM by neonatologists, the AAP and the WHO. Collectively these third parties work with the paradoxical position of breast milk as pharmakon.

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Emotional Constellations and Emotional Inequality in Northern Ireland

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ABSTRACT:

With the conference theme of "emerging and enduring inequalities" in mind, this paper takes Northern Ireland as a case-study through which to explore the emotional implications of living in a divided society marked by a long history of civil conflict and violence. It examines how common emotional states are conditioned and distributed in such a society and, finally, considers whether the recent "peace dividend" includes, perversely, a newly emerging inequality in the emotional life of Northern Ireland. It characterizes two distinct emotional constellations - the friend-enemy as against the adversary-neighbour constellation – and argues that Northern Ireland is experiencing an *uneven* opening up of access to an expanded adversary-neighbour emotional constellation for the performance of social and political identities. Some citizens continue to inhabit a world of practices and significations animated by a restricted emotional constellation organised by the friend-enemy distinction while other citizens escape this traumatising world.

Key Terms: emotional constellation,emotional inequality; friend-enemy; adversary-neighbour, ambivalent; ethno-political, performing an identity.

Withthe conference theme of "emerging and enduring inequalities" in mind, this paper takes Northern Ireland as a case-study through which to explore the emotional implications of living in a society divided along political, class-fractional and ethno-religious lines and marked by a long history of civil conflict and violence. It examines how common emotional states are conditioned and distributed in such a society and, finally, considers whether the recent "peace dividend" includes, perversely, a newly emerging inequality in the emotional life of Northern Ireland. It argues that Northern Ireland is experiencing an *uneven* opening up of access to an expanded emotional constellation for the performance of social and political identities. This approach resonates with some reflections made by Eduardo Crespo (1986: 216-7), twenty-six years ago, that emotions are socially distributed and that this "distribution is neither necessary nor static, but constitutes an element of changing social order and disorder".

Introduction

Social and political inequalities have been an enduring feature of social relations in Northern Ireland since the creation of the State in 1921, inherited as they were from the prior colonisation of Ireland by Britain (Buckland 1981; Cash 2009). In particular, class-based and ethno-national identities intersected to generate a working class that was deeply divided. While sections of the Protestant-Unionist working class constituted a labour-aristocracy, Catholic-Nationalists were systematically discriminated against in employment and in access to welfare-state provisions administered by the Northern Ireland government (Bew et al. 2002; Birrell & Murie 1980). Indeed it was such systematic discrimination in virtually all aspects of social

and political life that gave rise to the Civil Rights protests and marches of 1968-69 and the emergence of "the troubles" as an on-going civil conflict (Purdie 1990; Cash 1996).

Northern Ireland's history can be usefully characterised as one in which social and political inequality between the two main communities was consolidated and, for the dominant Protestant-Unionist community, legitimated by the zero-sum logic and the restricted emotional constellation of the friend-enemy distinction,Carl Schmitt's (1996) criterion of the political in its fundamental form. It is this distinction and its capacity to organise identities according to its logic of antithesis and exclusion that has disfigured the history of Northern Ireland and the lives of its citizens since 1920-21. That is to say, the friend-enemy distinction and its restricted emotional repertoire has been predominant throughout the history of Northern Ireland.

This is evident in such emotionally-charged statements as Sir Basil Brooke's ruminations on the dangers of employing Catholics as they "had got too many appointments for men who were really out to cut their throats if opportunity arose".[1] It is evident in the very institution of a six county Ulster as "Northern Ireland" (thereby guaranteeing a Protestant-Unionist electoral majority); in the creation of gerrymanders, such as that in Derry; and in the administration of welfare state provisions, such as council housing (Farrell, 1980). None of this was novel. Rather its background lay in the long history of British colonisation of Ireland and the efforts of Irish Republicanism to free Ireland from imperial domination. However, partition gave the friend-enemy distinction new intensity as it established and facilitated the emergence of a contrived majority of Unionists for so long as that identity could maintain its power to interpellate or summon the majority Protestant population to a core identification with Unionism.

Changes since the Good Friday Agreement

In recent times, however, the hegemony of the friend-enemy distinction has been challenged on several fronts, including a peace settlement and new political institutions and various initiatives towards reconciliation (Taylor, 2009). A significant effect of these challenges and changes has been an opening-up, although unevenly, of the culturally available emotional repertoire through which identities and social relations may be performed. The friend-enemy as master signifier and as dominant affective constellation has been unevenly displaced by an alternative master signifier of the other as political adversary and neighbour; a displacement that includes an expanded affective constellation and a qualitatively distinct construction of the other. This other, now construed and related to as an adversary-neighbour, is one with whom one can negotiate and deal and is recognised as equally entitled to participation in democratic dialogue and decision-making and related social and legal processes. This adversary-neighbour, just like the self, is positioned to perform and transact emotions that escape the restrictions of the friend-enemy constellation.[2]Both these constellations are discussed in more detail below.

In the period since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 there has seen a significant expansion of the affects and representations that are now regarded as proper ways of thinking and feeling about, and relating to, Northern Ireland's long history of conflict and violence. In particular, reparative impulses and feelings, along with an open-ness to feelings of guilt and loss and responsibility for the past, are now performed as part of the new forms of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity that can be transacted within the public domain (Ganiel, 2012). Fault-lines remain, however, and some sections of the population are threatened rather than

liberated by this newly emergent affective constellation, as they can find no satisfactory place within the new dispensation (Cash, 2009; Ganiel, 2012).Instead, they find themselves subject to an emergent emotional inequality as theirroutine access to a broader range of emotions regarding their social and political identities remains restricted.

Perhaps the most striking physical marker of this emergent inequality is the increase in the number of peace walls dividing communities that have been constructed in the period subsequent to the peace settlement. These indicate, as brute physical and social facts, that in some communities sectarianism and the emotions it involves have intensified, counter-intuitively, as it were, as the peace process has unfolded (Shirlow & Murtagh 2006). As a consequence Northern Ireland is experiencing an*uneven* opening up of access to the newly available and expanded emotional constellation for the performance of social and political identities.

Competing Emotional Constellations: from friend-enemy to adversary-neighbour

Instituted social imaginaries (or cultural repertoires) establish the proper way of performing an identity and thinking about, feeling towards, and relating to others. They establish the proper form and range of feeling-states that can be socially transacted. Of course, within a friend-enemy constellation many citizens will still experience dissonant affects, such as guilt and remorse. However, if the character of social relations, both intra-group and inter-group, provides no space for these feelings to be validated and performed, if instead they are entirely privatized or confined to families or small circles, then the potential for compromise, cooperation and reconciliation is excommunicated. Compromise, cooperation and reconciliation only

become possible when an alternative mode of thinking, feeling and relating achieves some legitimacy and undoes the prior repression, or excommunication, of complex feeling-states that involve responsibility, care and concern for the other. I characterise thisas an ambivalence-containing emotional constellation; that is, a constellation of emotions that is sufficiently complex and expansive to contain ambivalence rather than splitting it into the restricted schema of an idealized good part or aspect and a despised bad part or aspect.

It is clear that affective states – as a shared cultural repertoire – have been central to both the long persistence of the troubles and to their more recent displacement. I now want to characterise those affective states – briefly drawing on some earlier research (Cash 1996) and with reference to other research that validates my argument.

The Friend-Enemy Emotional Constellation

The dominant emotional constellation regarding social and political relations throughout the history of Northern Ireland can be characterised as persecutoryin form and as marked by paranoid-schizoid processes – to use Kleinian terminology (Klein 1986, Cash 1996, Burack 2004). This persecutory form, in which one's own community is viewed as relentlessly threatened by the other community, irrespective of actual circumstances, constructs the political and social order through a series of splits and projections in which the friend-enemy distinction acts as master signifier and dominant emotional constellation. Allegiance to group norms and adherence to a shared set of affects becomes the measure by which the proper position of subjects within this split world is determined. Significantly, the affects involved constitute a restricted set with anxiety, insecurity, hatred, aggressiveness and envyprominent. In extreme cases, as with the "Belfast Butchers" (Feldman, 59-65),sadistic emotions and

feelings of omnipotence are also evident. These affects are deployed to combat anxieties about the integrity or integration of both the self and the group with which the political subject identifies and in order to defend against insecurity and to maintain control. They constitute habitual and legitimated responses to challenges that are felt and experienced from within a construction of the political and social order dominated by the master signifier of friend-enemy. In Kleinian terms, this is a world of part-objects in which the affects cluster around the two poles of the hated and the loved – the other and the self (Klein, 1986). So, there is a similarly restricted set of positive affects that figure in the emotional construction of one's own political or communal identity. The nation, community or group is idealised and feelings of love, devotion and commitment prevail; exhibiting a one-dimensional and unqualified set of positive feelings towards the "friend" pole of the friend-enemy distinction.

Evidence for the predominance of such a restricted emotional constellation is readily available in the research on Northern Ireland, even when those research projects did not focus explicitly on the sociology of emotions. In his account of "telling",or deciphering whether people encountered outside the home territory are Protestant/Unionist or Catholic/Nationalist,Burton (1978) explains that distinguishing probable friend from potential foe figured as a routine feature of everyday life. For example, when travelling by bus in Belfast most people preferred to embark and disembark at "neutral" stops that, due to their location on boundaries or in shared space (such as the city centre), did not immediately reveal one's ethno-political identity. Burtonreports his own experience when he alighted at a politically coded bus-stop. A group of Protestant lads stared menacingly at him and shouted: 'Let's see who the fenians are, get a good look at them', and then directly to Burton they shouted, 'You Fenian bastard!' Such everyday instances provide indicators of a

broader social process through which a restricted set of emotions were routinely experienced and performed in order to negotiate the hazards of life in such a divided society. Fear, anxiety, aggressivity and feelings of insecurity are prominent features of what I have termed the friend-enemy emotional constellation. The routine reiteration of these emotions across time and space established their provenance as the proper way to perform identities and to emotionally construct self and other. Similar examples of the prevalence of this restricted emotional constellation litter the anthropological and other literature on Northern Ireland, even when a focus on emotional life is incidental to the research concerns(Farrell 1980; Feldman 1991; Dixon 2001).

Recently, the social geographers, Peter Shirlow and Brendan Murtagh (2006) have addressed the effects of segregation and violence on patterns of living in Belfast. Their analysis is very telling for my own argument as, beginning with a focus on patterns of residential segregation they quickly move to highlighting the emotional effects of living in segregated communities; often, also, in close proximity to the other community. In North Belfast this very proximity has promoted the construction of peace walls and interfaces that "are not merely boundaries between communities but important instruments in the definition of discursively marked space" (Shirlow & Murtagh: 57). In turn this discursively marked space generates emotional states as central aspects of conflicting identities. Shirlow and Murtagh (58) comment that the "spatialisation of fear, violent resistance and the desire to promote discourses of internal unity while under threat has redefined, rebuilt and delivered more impassioned forms of space-based identity". Fear, anxiety, hatred and aggressiveness figure large in their account of life in Belfast. Beginning with an interest in patterns of residential segregation, their research, like Burton's and others, supports my own

argument about the restricted set of emotions that were, and, for many, remain, proper to intra-group and intergroup relations in Northern Ireland.Highlighting this, as recently as 2010 Garrigan, in her study of liturgical or worship practices, has advocated that "the churches in Northern Ireland could change their liturgies and everyday practices so that they communicate to the people attending them that the people from the 'other' tradition are also in fact *Christians,* and not enemies" (Ganiel, 2012).

Containing emotional ambivalence; the adversary-neighbour constellation

Recently, however, an alternative, previously eclipsed, emotional constellation has found a new propriety and legitimacy in Northern Ireland. This expanded constellation is organised by depressive position processes – to use Kleinian terminology again(Klein 1986). The adversary-neighbour emotional constellation is one where complex feeling states and ambivalence can be contained rather than split and dispelled. Anxiety and concern shifts from a focus on the preservation of an integrated self and an integrated group identity onto anxiety and concern for the self in relation to the other. We are now in a world of whole objects that are understood as having both positive and negative aspects, as complex and multi-faceted. In this mentality it is possible to learn from experience rather than remain subject to a repetition compulsion. There is an expansion of the available affective repertoire along with a qualitative change in the ways in which the social and political field is constructed and identities are performed. Significantly, feelings of guilt are now possible as are desires for reparation. Idealisation is replaced by a recognition of the limitations as well as the virtues of one's own community. It is in this affective state that reconciliatory initiatives have the potential to be transformative.

An Emerging Emotional Inequality

Now that the adversary-neighbour affective constellation has achieved a significant presence within Northern Ireland, some emergent potentialities may be realised over time. The capacity of the friend-enemy constellation to trump and curtail the new freedoms to think, feel and relate differently are reduced and the slow process of working through the past by living and relating differently in the present may proceed. Central, here, is the expanded range of choice about how to be, think, feel and relate to self and other, and to the traumas and conflicted histories of the past. The emergence of the adversary-neighbour constellation has promoted, for some, a release from the haunting insecurity and hostility that remain central features of the friend-enemy constellation, a constellation that remains pertinent, however, to the lived experience of many others. The dilemma is that this very pertinence to such lived experience involves and reiterates a vicious cycle in which the friend-enemy constellation creates an inertia; a dwelling in and repetition of a constellation that resists any transformation in the character of inter-group and intra-group relations. This follows from the fact that the political and social transformation in Northern Ireland has been piece-meal and that the adversary-neighbour constellation is unevenly distributed.

"Unevenly distributed" returns us to Crespo's argument, mentioned at the outset, that emotions are socially distributed and that this "distribution is neither necessary nor static, but constitutes an element of changing social order and disorder". The downside of the peace settlement in Northern Ireland is a newly emergent emotional inequality involving uneven access to the expanded emotional repertoire that has become available for the performance of social and political identities. While many citizens have begun, to varying degrees, to think, feel and

relate by drawing upon this expanded repertoire, for many others it remains foreign territory, as it offers no purchase on their past, present or future. Drawing on survey research from 2004 in interface communities displaying "an emotional landscape of fear, prejudice, loathing, the experience of violence and the more obvious marking of space through hostile imagery and graffiti", Shirlow and Murtagh (84) provide evidence that the history of segregation, violence and the accompanying emotions of fear, hatred and aggression continued to haunt Northern Ireland, after the cease-fires were implemented and a political settlement was negotiated and agreed. This explains that otherwise counter-intuitive fact, mentioned earlier, that the number of peace walls has increased in recent years, since the cease-fires and the agreed political settlement.

Conclusion

This paper has distinguished between two principal emotional constellations, the friend-enemy and the adversary-neighbour, that compete to organise the performance of social and political identities in Northern Ireland. It has argued that with the emergence into prominence of the adversary-neighbour constellation in the period since 1998, a broader emotional repertoire has become available for the performance of these identities.In particular, reparative impulses and feelings along with an open-ness to feelings of guilt and loss and responsibility for the past – perhaps through personal involvement or else through identification with communities and political projects -may now be performed and communicated as proper or legitimate aspects of social and political identities. However, this positive change has generated a perverse consequence for those left trapped in the old identities organised by the friend-enemy emotional constellation. Just as social and political inequalities generated the civil conflict and the hegemony of the friend-enemy imaginary and emotional constellation, so uneven displacement of this imaginary and its emotional

constellation has produced an emerging emotional inequality. To inhabit a world of practices and significations animated by a restricted emotional constellation organised by the friend-enemy distinction as a splitting of complexity, both cognitive and affective, while other citizens escape this traumatising world, is to experience an emergent inequality and political and emotional inertia that risks becoming entrenched.

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[1]*Fermanagh Times,* July 13, 1933.

[2] Murray Edelman makes a similar distinction between enemies and adversaries in "The Construction and Uses of Political Enemies" in Edelman, 1988.

Do Women have souls? Feminine identity and the Western project of Self

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Abstract

In the Western philosophical tradition, the project of the Self is a central issue. From the days of Aristotle, the conceptualisation of a Self has always had political and sociological significance, shaping in nuanced and subtle ways the social agendas and even had policy implications. This paper addresses one of the significant issues that arise from exploring the path of the development of the Self: did women acquire selves? During the middle ages and even later, serious debates were held on whether women had souls. Aristotle believed that women could have no souls, later philosophers began to explore the possibility. What is particularly interesting is the parallel between the development of a distinct female identity- a Self- and changes in policy.

Keywords: feminism, self, policy, identity, soul

Table 1: THE FEMININE SELF: THE MALE SELF AND WOMEN

DATES	*AUTHOR*	*SELF*	*ERA*	*WOMEN*	*LIVES*
427 – 347 BC	PLATO	SEPARATE BODY AND SOUL	CLASSICISM	SOULS	POTENTIAL POWER
384 – 322 BC	ARISTOTLE	RATIONAL SELF	HELLENISM	NO SOULS/ NO MINDS	NO POWER
4 BC – 1500 AD	CHRISTENDOM	SPIRIT	MYSTICISM	DANGEROUS SOULS	PROPERTY OF MEN
354 – 430 AD	AUGUSTINE	DISEMBODIED SOUL	MONASTICISM	SOULS	SUBJECT TO MEN
1225 –1274 AD	AQUINAS	MIND & SOUL	SCHOLASTICISM	NO REASON= NO SOUL	NO AUTONOMY
1390 – 1500 AD	RENAISSANCE	MORTAL SOUL	HUMANISM	HUMAN	POSSIBILITIES
1521 – 1650 AD	REFORMATION	PERSON	INDIVIDUALISM	DANGEROUS TO MEN	RESTRAINED
1596 – 1650 AD	DESCARTES	SELF AS OBJECT	SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION	NO REASON	NO AUTONOMY
1632 – 1704 AD	LOCKE	MECHANICAL OBJECT	CAPITALISM	NOT RATIONAL	NO AUTONOMY
1724 – 1804 AD	KANT	SECULAR MORAL AGENT	POLITICAL REVOLUTION	NOT RATIONAL	NO AUTONOMY
1760 – 1830 AD	ROMANTICS	AFFECTIVE SELF	IDEALISM	AFFECTIVE	POSSIBILITIES
1809 – 1882 AD	DARWIN	CONSCIOUSNESS PRODUCT OF BIOLOGY	MATERIALISM	BIOLOGICAL IMPERATIVES	PRIVATE DOMAIN
1842 – 1910 AD	JAMES	SELF-REFLEXIVE INWARDNESS	PRAGMATISM	POTENTIAL FOR REASON	EDUCATION OF WOMEN
1870 – 1945 AD	EXPRESSIVISTS	EXPRESSION OF AFFECT	EXISTENTIALISM	RATIONAL	WOMENS'RIGHTS MOV
_____	_____	_____ LIVED SELF	_____	_____	_____ ACCEPTANCE
1980'S	NARRATIVE		POSTMODERNISM	LIVING SELF	

In this paper I am concerned with the political, social and cultural implications of the metadigms of the Self, particularly as they apply to the status of women. This is a story that it is easier to map than to tell. The map (see Table 1) is a superficial glance at the ways in which women's lives have been affected by the concepts of the Self that largely excluded women. This paper explores how those different overarching perspectives have had very real impacts on the lives lived by women. The paper largely focuses upon the Object Self as being key to understanding the links between the Self and social process.

The Traditional Project of the Self is the term used by philosophers to describe the historical process in which Western society has developed a particular view of what a Self might be. I have come to consider that what has been created over time is an Object Self, an object available to study empirically and which has certain key characteristics, such as internal components (cf. Taylor 1994, Schneewind 1998, Schmidt 1994). The Object Self has dominated Western philosophical and theological discourse for two and a half millennia, and it continues to serve as one of several competing metadigms of identity even today.

In the map, I have linked a philosopher with an era, that era with the view of women, and with a specific view of the Self. The final column indicates the implications for women's lives as a result of the dominant ideology of the Self at a given time. The map is, as all maps are, a simplification. The hegemony of Plato was replaced by that of Aristotle for hundreds of years, but the ideas never entirely disappeared, and resurfaced in the Renaissance; Christianity swung between the Augustinian view that women had souls only to have Aquinas take up Aristotle's position that women were incapable of reason and therefore had no souls. The vacillation between the mortal and the immortal soul had the effect of making the likelihood of feminine inclusion in the dominant hegemony of the Self almost impossible. The process of developing an Object Self was not a continuous smooth evolution (cf. Taylor 1994, Schmidt 1994), but rather a reflexive/recursive spiral of changes.

Where women were considered to have no souls, no capacity for rational thought, they were not considered to have Selves and their lives were, consequently, often difficult. As women were considered to be incapable of reason, they were not allowed to be self-determining; they could not be permitted to make decisions for themselves, to be citizens, or own property. The traditional project of the Self is shown quite clearly in the map. The Self as an Object in Western philosophy is quite clearly a Male Self- women barely had identities, let alone a claim on an independent and egoistic existence.

The woman who showed herself to be a brilliant student and/or thinker (for example, Elizabeth I of England [1533-1603], Elisabeth of Bohemia [1596-1662], Hildegarde of Bingen [1098-1179], Beatrice d'Este [1475-97]) was assumed to be a man in woman's clothing or set apart from the rest of her sex by sanctity, royalty or some other special mark of God's favour. There are few names of women who wrote, particularly women who wrote on philosophical or political ideas, and even fewer whose names were familiar

to scholars prior to the late twentieth century. Some who have come to light were rulers (Empress Matilda [1102-67], Elizabeth of England [1533-1603], Eleanor of Aquitaine [1122-1204]), more have been categorised as 'Saints' or holy women (Julian of Norwich [c1342-1413], Catherine of Sienna [1347-80], St Brigid of Ireland [453-523], Hildegarde [1098-1179], Margery Kempe [1364-c1440], the unfortunate Heloise [1098-1164]). Not one of these rates much more than a passing mention in the monoliths of European philosophy.

For most women, until the Reformation and often long after, there was only a life of the body, and that body as the property of father, husband, son, and bishop. The question of women having Souls was only resolved for the Church in 1950 with the promulgation of 'The Assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven' and the Papal Bull (*De munificentissimus Deus 1950*) which accompanied the creation of a special feast to commemorate this event.

It was not until women began to be educated in the eighteenth century that the question of women being possessed of Selves could even begin to be raised. Apart from the political writing of Mary Wollstonecraft (1985/1792), which was not widely promulgated in her own time, little in the way of formal texts from women entered the canon of academic works until the 20th Century.

In the early 19th Century, women turned to fiction in trying to assert the reality of women as Selves: Mary Shelley [1797-1851], Jane Austen [1775-1817], George Eliot (a pseudonym for Mary Ann Evans)[1819-80], Georges Sand (Amandine Dupin [1804-76] and the Bronte sisters who all published under male pen-names (Anne 1820-49; Charlotte 1816-55; Emily 1818-48).

The older belief that women had no souls continued in the form of a belief that women had no minds. This belief prevented women from being permitted to enter universities, take up citizenship duties through voting, own property, enter white-collar workplaces, control money or make decisions concerning their own bodies – all practices that have been challenged during the last century.

For women, the acquisition of a self has not been noted as one of the major aims of the women's movements of the Twentieth Century; however, feminist writers have noted the phallologocentricism of Western philosophy. Irigaray (1985) challenged Lacan's psychological theories on the basis that the representations of women were as cyphers which served the development of the male but had no fundamental existence in and of themselves. Friedan (1963) argued that women in Western society had no individual identity, only that bestowed by relationship to a male; Greer (1970, 1984) has pursued a similar line of argument, as have a number of feminist theorists (Daly [1979], Rich [1979], Steinem [1994], Millett [1971]).

In recent years there has been a mounting interest in restoring women philosophers to the canon of Western philosophy (Bordo 1999; Dykeman(ed) 1999; Grimshaw 1986a, 1986b; Jagar & Young 1998; Lopez 1996; McNay 2000; Nicholson 1990; Probyn 1993;

Tollefson 1999; Waithe 1991,1992;) and a consequent concern with recognising the distortions of the philosophical discourse towards phallologocentricity. The discourse of gender analysis has its sources in the later nineteenth century movement for female emancipation and franchise. The precipitating issue was the demand for birth control techniques, led by such reformers as Marie Stopes [1880-1958] and Annie Besant [1847-1933]. The control of women's' bodies, in Europe and the British Empire, had traditionally rested with males, fathers, husbands, brothers. This system had originated in the Roman gens (Roberts 1996; Fisher 1960) and been perpetuated through Church, law and custom.

Haraway, in commenting upon Judith Butler's (1989) book *Gender Trouble***,** has pointed out that:

> a concept of a coherent inner self, achieved (cultural) or innate (biological), is a regulatory fiction that is unnecessary- indeed, inhibitory- for feminist projects of producing and affirming complex agency and responsibility. (1991:135)

In saying this, feminist writers are demonstrating awareness, if not stating explicitly, that the Self of the traditional project was: a) intrinsically assumed to be male, b) achieving a 'Self' or taking *'Care of a Self'* (Foucault 1986) is a project which has political underpinnings, c) to be restricted to discovering or creating a 'coherent inner self' could lead women away from the practice and embodiment of agency.

Current feminist writers speak of three waves of feminism, each of which has made some inroads into the patriarchy (Greer 1970, 1984; Rich 1979; Threadgold & Cranny-Francis 1990). Amongst the vast discourse of feminism, there has been a range of diversified positionings from the separatist lesbian stance to the liberal/humanist/feminisms from the politically absorbed to the socially concerned, from the cultural relativists to the hegemonic white crusaders who see womanhood as a universal insuperable condition. What these have in common is an analysis of the significance of gender. All feminist discourse is predicated upon noting the social, economic, political status of women and comparing this status to that of the male (Andolsen, Gudorf & Pellauer 1985; Bacchi 1990; Bordo 1989,1999; Bottomley, de Lepervanche & Martin 1991; Burton 1985; Butler 1990, 1993; Cameron 1985; Daly, 1979; Davis, 1971; de Beauvoir 1953/60; French 1992; Friedan 1963; Greer 1970, 1984; Grosz 1989, 1990, 1994; Haraway 1991; hooks 1981; Irigaray 1985; Luke 1996; McNay 1992; Millett 1971; Moore 1988; Nicholson 1990; O'Brien 1981; Oakley 1984; Poynton 1985; Rich 1979; Steinem 1994; Stone 1976; Threadgold & Cranny-Francis 1990; Tomm, W. 1995; Walker 1983; Wollstonecraft 1792/1985).

Feminism itself has also diverged dramatically into a range of competing and complementary discourses, with the emergence of separatist feminism (Dworkin 1987,1990; Hall, Kitzinger, Lawlan & Perkins 1992; Kitzinger 1987), and cyberfeminism (Haraway 1991; Hawthorne & Klein 1999; Plant 1995; Spender 1995; Wajcman 1991), to mention just two of these new directions. There has also been an increasing critique of Western feminism for being both the voice of privilege and being ethnocentric in its concerns (e.g. Angelou 1986, 1989; hooks1981, 1989; Moreton-Robinson 2000; Te

Awekotuku 1991). For women of colour, or non-European backgrounds, issues of gender and race take on a complexity that is not necessarily reflected in the feminist discourse which initially unreflexively assumed a uniformity in women's experience. Another critique of seeing gender issues only from feminist perspectives has come from the 'men's movement' (Bly 1991; Brod & Kaufman (eds.) 1994; Connell 1995; Corneau 1991; Llewellyn Jones 1981; Pease1997, 2002) which has sought to bring attention to issues for men concerning gender.

The ways in which gender practices pervade the lives of women are under scrutiny, both in the academic discourses and in the legal arenas, as a result of a century of active feminism. What has not been so clearly apparent is the examination of the issues of identity, or the emergence of a Self which Western women can claim as their own. While some commentators (like Irigaray 1985; Haraway 1991; Butler 1990, 1993; Flax 1990) have explored the distinctions between those characteristics that have been assumed to be masculine or feminine, and examined the interpretations placed upon those distinctions; others have seen issues such as agency (Archer 2000) to be gender–blind.

Not even Descartes truly believed that the Mind was totally separated from the body, however his '*cogito ergo sum*' spurred a discourse into being in which the body has been treated as both separate and less significant than Mind, Consciousness or Self. These three terms seem to have become almost interchangeable in the literature, Consciousness and Mind directly, and Self by inference appearing to be seated exclusively in the disembodied Mind/Consciousness.

The twentieth century has seen a steady procession of philosophers and, latterly, neuroscientists, who have challenged the discontinuity or disjunction of Body and Mind. Both Sartre (1957) and Merleau- Ponty (1962/2000) wrote of the 'lived body'; Foucault (1979,1980,1984,1985,1986 and in Rabinow 1984) explored the discourses of power which were 'inscribed upon the body'; feminists like de Beauvoir (1953/600, Irigaray (1985), Greer (1970) and Grosz (1990, 1994) have all explored the positioning of women's bodies within their analyses of patriarchy; neurologists and neuroscientists like Oliver Sacks (1973,1985,1989,1995), Damasio (1994), Edelman (1992), and Mark Turner (1996) have turned their attention to the embodied nature of human consciousness; and other writers across a range of disciplines have struggled with attempting to reconcile the lived experience of humans with scientistic objectification of a Self.

Some feminist writers have begun to explore the embodiment of women, not only as this is engaged in medical and psychological practices (Oakley1984; Rich 1979; O'Brien 1981; Steinem 1994; Friedan 1963) but also in terms of the symbolic significance of embodiment per se (Grosz 1989, 1990, 1994; de Beauvoir 1953; Irigaray 1985).

In an article which I found particularly illuminating, S.Kay Toombs (1995) explores the phenomenological approach of Merleau –Ponty (1962) and Sartre (1957) in relation to the lived experience of disability. She writes:

> As an embodied subject, I do not experience my body primarily as an object among other objects of the world. Rather than being an object for me-as-subject, my body as I live it represents my particular point of view on the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p.70), I am embodied not in the sense that I have a body- as I have an automobile, a house, or a pet- but in the sense that I exist or live my body. (1995:10)

Toombs is concerned, however, with the theoretical implications as well as the representation of the embodied person. She notes:

> the lived body is not the objective, physiological body that can be seen by others (or examined by means of various medical technologies) but, rather, the body that is the vehicle for seeing.
>
> Furthermore, the lived body is the basic scheme of orientation, the centre of one's system of co-ordinates. I experience myself as here over against which everything else is there….Additionally, the lived body is the locus of my intentions, I actively engage the world through the medium of my body. (1995: 10-11)

What Toombs is saying here encompasses several elements: she is emphasizing the centrality to one's life of embodiment, both as the means to recognize one's orientation in the world through one's senses, and as the site of agency. She is also reflecting on how one is positioned in the world and how the world positions the person ‘in accord with my bodily placement and actions’ (ibid.11). Here she is drawing upon the phenomenological approach of Husserl, Schutz and Merleau- Ponty, to examine the theoretical implications of the experience of living the body.

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of books and articles written by and about the lived experience of mental illness, intellectual disability, blindness, deafness and neurological disorders (Sacks 1973, 1985, 1989, 1994, 1995; Williams 1992; Wood 1994; Taussig 1992; Schreiber 1973; Hastings 1997). In this literature, the story is told, re-told and told once more, of the lived experience of embodied persons whose interactions with the world around them is fundamentally based upon the particularities of their embodiment.

This brings me to reflect upon concepts of power and the discourses of power which, according to Foucault (1954, 1970,1972,1973,1979, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988), have been inscribed upon the body. The overarching theme of Foucault's corpus was the exploration of the uses of power upon the body. He was particularly interested in examining the practices by which the body was constrained as a means of illuminating both the existence of structures of power and the mechanisms by which power was imposed, maintained and internalized. In his investigations into the institutions that purveyed the extremities of imposed power, the clinic, prison and asylum, Foucault paid particular attention to the practices that constrain the bodies of persons. In his later work, *The History of Sexuality*, the structures of power which were the focus of his archaeology of ideas were those of the social order.

The final volume, *The Care of the Self* (1986), specifically explored the ways in which the monopolisation of perception imposed upon persons to direct attention to the Self has

been a politically motivated process of Western structures of power. By turning the person's gaze constantly inwards, dominant hegemonies can be both maintained and expand control. Whether this inward looking gaze has been exercised by the Church (searching one's soul for salvation) or by a political hierarchy (seeking the good citizen), the effect over time has been the individualization of the Self. A concomitant of individualization has been the separation of body and mind, the disembodiment of the person. Other writers, in particular feminist writers, have also explored the discourses 'inscribed upon the body'. For Greer (1970), Grosz (1990, 1994) Oakley (1984) and Rich (1979), women's bodies have long been seen the site of discourses of dominance. To be embodied as a woman is to be subject to both the normalizing gazes which constrain her presentation of her person and the discourses of dominant social orders such as patriarchy.

Grosz, in particular, has taken up the notion of woman as 'corporeal' (1990, 1989, 1994), arguing that the constraints visited upon women's bodies in terms of having to conform to idealized and unattainable shapes and sizes are simultaneously constraints upon both behaviours and capacity for agency. I would argue, following Grosz, that the lived body, or the lived experience of being an embodied person, of a woman, is circumscribed within a gendered domain of identity.

In terms of gender as a domain of identity, there can be little argument that the gender of a person is both constitutive of and contributive to identity, both from the subjective locus of the 'I' and from the social response.

The map that I present here is concerned with demonstrating, even minimally, the effects of Western philosophy, of dominant discourses, upon cultural understandings and practices. While women were considered to have no souls, unless they happened to be saints or aristocrats, all women could be treated as persons without rights. If the Object Self applied only to men, and women were somehow 'Self-less', then the role that women had to fulfil was to be self-less in that word's other meaning, i.e. to be utterly sacrificing of their own needs in service of those with a Self. While women were considered incapable of reason, there was no point in providing education, and even more significantly, without recognition of the capacity to reason (a fundamental element of the Object Self) they could not be permitted to be citizens, an idea as ancient as Aristotle (o*p cit pp.95-101).*

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Socio-economic status and participation in higher education: An investigation into entry pathway, course and retention.

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Abstract

Despite the expansion of the higher education sector, students from low socio-economic backgrounds are under-represented in Australian universities. Although, disadvantage in secondary school educational attainment can, in part, be overcome by accessing university through alternative pathways, little research has examined the outcomes of these non-traditional students. Drawing on administrative data relating to an entire cohort of domestic students commencing undergraduate studies at one Australian university in 2007, this paper explores the relationship between pathway into university, course selection and retention. We find that there is a clear association between socio-economic background and pathway into university, between pathway into university and type of degree studied, and between pathway into university and attrition.

Key words:socio-economic status (SES), pathway, field of study, retention

Introduction

Given the substantial benefits conferred by higher education to individuals and society more generally, the Australian Government's policy of increasing the proportion of university students from low-SES backgrounds makes sense on both economic and social justice terms. After several decades ofexpansion, the higher education sector now provides individuals, regardless of their previous educational attainment, the opportunity to undertake university study. There are now numerous pathways, apart from the completion of Year 12 at a secondary school, into university. In this paper, we use data from one metropolitan university to examine the relationships between entry pathway, course selection and retention.

Context

The higher education system in Australia has experienced several decades of expansion resulting in the number of domestic undergraduate students increasing from around 200,000 in 1974 to 605,000 in 2010 (DEETYA 1996; DEEWR 2011).Around 24 per cent of domestic undergraduate students are aged 25 years or more (DEEWR 2011), suggesting that, although the predominant means of accessing university study is through the completion of secondary school, a sizeable minority of students take advantage of alternative pathways into university. Nationally, around 10

per cent of students enroll in Bachelor degrees after undertaking some study in the Vocational Education and Training (VET) sector. Some VET to higher education pathways are clearly articulated but others are haphazard (Watson et al. 2012). In some cases, students may complete a diploma in the field of their choice and then apply for credit towards their university degree. Other students undertake enabling courses, specifically designed to prepare them for university study. Mature-age entry students may complete the Special Tertiary Admissions Test (STAT) to gain entry into university. Not all universities accept students from alternative pathways and even within universities which do there are some degree programs that are restricted to Year 12 graduates.

Decades of expansion of the higher education sector has not increasedthe proportion of people from the bottom socio-economic quartile who participate in higher education: this has hovered around 15 per cent since 1989 (Australian Government 2009; James et al 2008)despite a strong policy focus on equity (James 2012: 91; Gale and Tranter 2012: 151). The lower rates of university participation among young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds have been attributed to several factors including a lack of financial resources to undertake university study; lower educational aspirations; lower levels of educational attainment and a lack of awareness of the possibilities and benefits of tertiary education (Bradley et al. 2008). Seller and Gale (2011: 129) argue that student equity is more than removing barriers, it is also about changing institutions so that participation is more accessible and desirable to a wider variety of groups of individuals.

Two key issues exist in relation to socio-economic status and participation in higher education: retention and field of study. In relation to retention, although there is a perception that low-SES students perform as well as their counterparts from other SES groups once enrolled (see Gale 2009: 8), there is a growing body of evidence suggesting significantly higher levels of attrition by low SES students and links between social class and students' decisions to leave university without completing (Crozier et al. 2008; Pearce and Down 2011; Reay 2012; Basit 2012). Research also shows that students from low SES and working class backgrounds have typically been excluded from the more elite and highly selective courses and institutions, that is, those with the most competitive entry and who confer the greatest benefits (Reay et al 2001: 858; James 2002: 7; Gale 2009: 5; James 2012: 85).

This paper seeks to answer three research questions: Is there any association between socio-economic status and pathway into university?; Is there any association between pathway into university and type of degree studied?; and Is there any association between pathway into university, type of degree studied and discontinuation of study?

Method

We use administrative data from one metropolitan university with campuses in regional areas. Data include information on the entire cohort of domestic students

who began their first Bachelor degree program in first semester 2007. We examine data for semesters 1and 2 in 2007 and semester 1 in 2008.The variables of interest are age in 2007, sex, socio-economic status,pathway into universityand discontinued study in 2008. The pathway into university variable divides students into groups on the basis of their admission to university, their previous highest level of education and their previous educational institution.The socio-economic status variable is based on the SEIFA (ABS 2006) index for 2006and is derived from the postcode of their home address at the time of their enrolment[low= deciles 1, 2 and 3; mid =deciles 4, 5, 6 and 7; and high = deciles 8, 9 and 10].

It is important to note that,despite its capacity to indicate trends at the aggregate level, using postcode-based measures of socio-economic status do not distinguishbetween individual socio-economic status and disadvantage in socially diverse geographical locations, which isof particular concern when examining mature-age students (James et al 2008: 6). These limitations should be taken into account when interpreting the results presented here.

Results

Table 1 reports the characteristics of the sample. The data relate to 1915 undergraduate students enrolled in their first bachelor degree in semester 1, 2007. Females account for 63 per cent of the cohort. Almost three-quarters of the students were born after 1984. Almost half of the students had completed Year 12 at secondary school and a further eight percent had completed Year 12 at another institution before entering university. Science, Arts and Education degree programs were the most popular courses undertaken by the students.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of the sample

	n=1915	Percent
Male	709	37
Female	1,206	63
Birth cohort		
<1965	90	5
1965-1974	144	8
1975-1984	328	17
1985-1990	1353	71
SES		
Low	79	4
Mid	780	41
High	1023	53
missing	33	2
ATAR	938	49
Pathway		
Yr12 at school	889	46
Yr12 other institution	156	8
VET	145	8
Incomplete higher education	444	23
Completed higher ed sub-degree	157	8
Mature age/ other	124	6
Course		
Arts	287	15
Commerce	181	9
Education	245	13
Engineering	67	4
Law	162	8
Legal studies	44	2
Media/communication	167	9
Nursing	126	7
Psychology	97	5
Science	403	21
Biomedical science	78	4
Veterinary medicine and surgery	58	3

Given the discrepancy in Year 12 completions between high and low SES groups,two variables of particular interest to this study are the student's socio-economic status and their pathway into university. Table 2 shows the association between socio-economic status and pathway into university. Low and mid SES students were less likely to enroll at university after completing Year 12 at school than high-SES students. Low-SES students were more likely to enroll in their degree after partially completing another university course than mid or high-SES students.

Table 2 Pathway into university by socio-economic status based on postcode

SES	n= 1882	Low	Mid	High
		Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Yr12 at school	880	44	43	50
Yr12 other	152	6	7	9
VET	142	5	8	7
Incomplete higher ed	439	30	24	22
Complete higher ed	150	10	9	7
Mature age/ other	119	4	8	5

To determine the association between socio-economic status and course studied we conducteda series of logistic regressions. Table 3 reports the odds ratio for studying an education degree and for studying a law degree, the only two courses for which there were statistically significant associations. The reference categories are male and low SES. Female students were four times more likely to be studying education than male students and high SES students were less than half as likely to be studying education as low SES students.Although there is no difference in the odds of studying law for male and female students, high SES students were almost 5 times more likely than low SES students to be studying law.

Table 3 Effect of SES on likelihood of enrolling in Education and Law

	Education		Law	
	odds	Std err	odds	Std err
Male (ref.)				
Female	3.97***	0.75	1.31	0.23
Low SES (ref.)				
Mid SES	0.72	0.21	2.32	1.70
High SES	0.41**	0.12	4.79*	3.46
Constant	0.10***	0.03	0.02***	0.01
n=	1882		1882	
Pseudo R2	0.0614		0.0214	

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

To determine the association between pathway into university and course studied we conducted a series of logistic regressions.Table 4 reports the odds ratio for studying an education degree, a law degree, an arts degree, a nursing degree and a science degree,the only courses for which there were statistically significant associations. The reference categories are male and completion of Year 12 at school. Compared to students who completed Year 12 at school, students who enrolled via the VET sector were almost three times more likely, students who had undertaken but not completed a higher education course were almost twice as likely and students who had completed a lower level higher education course were twice as likely to undertake an education degree. Compared to students who had completed Year 12 at school, students who had completed Year 12 at another institution, students who enrolled via the VET sector, those who had undertaken but not completed a higher education course and those who had completed a lower level higher education course were less

likely to undertake a law degree. Students who entered university via any of the alternative pathways were more likely to undertake an arts degree than students who had completed Year 12 at school. Students who had undertaken but not completed a higher education course and mature-age/other students were more likely to undertake a nursing degreethan students who had completed Year 12 at school.Students who had completed Year 12 at another institution and mature-age/other students were less likely to undertake a science degreethan students who had completed Year 12 at school.

Table 4 Effect of pathway into higher education on likelihood of enrolling in selected courses

	Education	Law	Arts	Nursing	Science
	odds	odds	odds	odds	odds
Male (ref.)					
Female	4.12***	1.31	0.62***	8.36***	0.44***
	(0.79)	(0.23)	(0.08)	(2.93)	(0.05)
Yr 12 @ school (ref.)					
Yr 12 other	1.09	0.51*	1.73*	0.74	0.63*
	(0.34)	(0.17)	(0.40)	(0.36)	(0.15)
VET	2.92***	0.16**	1.92**	1.11	0.78
	(0.71)	(0.09)	(0.45)	(0.47)	(0.18)
Incomplete higher ed course	1.98***	0.45***	1.50*	2.32***	0.86
	(0.36)	(0.10)	(0.25)	(0.54)	(0.12)
Complete higher ed sub-degree	2.05**	0.44*	1.91**	1.46	1.10
	(0.52)	(0.16)	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.22)
Mature age/other	3.38***	0.43*	1.89*	4.34***	0.36***
	(0.83)	(0.17)	(0.48)	(1.29)	(0.11)
Constant	0.03***	0.12***	0.17***	0.01***	0.49***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.003)	(0.05)
n=	1915	1915	1915	1915	1915
Pseudo R2	0.0760	0.0311	0.0194	0.1039	0.0351

Note:Standard errors in parentheses
***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Finally, we conducted logistic regression analyses to examine the association between the discontinuation of studies, sex, course and pathway into university. Table 5 reports the odds ratios. The reference categories are male, arts degree and completion of Year 12 at school.Only statistically significant results are discussed here. Students undertaking law orveterinary medicine and surgery degrees were less likely to discontinue their studies than students studying arts degrees, net of the effects of sex and pathway into university. On the other hand, nursing students were more likely to discontinue their studies than students studying arts degrees. Students who enrolled via VET, those who had undertaken but not completed a higher education course and those who had completed a lower level university coursewere more likely to drop out than students who had completed Year 12 at school, net of the effects of sex and course studied.

Table 5 Odds of discontinuing study by course controlling for sex and pathway into university

	odds	Std err
Male (ref.)		
Female	0.93	0.11
Arts (ref.)		
Commerce	1.26	0.26
Education	1.08	0.21
Engineer	1.19	0.35
Law	0.56*	0.14
Legal studies	1.74	0.59
Media/communication	0.81	0.18
Nurse	1.63*	0.38
Psychology	1.12	0.29
Science	0.80	0.14
Biomedical science	0.96	0.28
Veterinary medicine and surgery	0.21**	0.11
Yr 12 @ school (ref.)		
Yr 12 other	0.85	0.18
VET	1.96***	0.37
Incomplete higher ed course	1.43**	0.19
Complete higher ed sub-degree	1.73**	0.32
Mature age/other	1.75	0.36
Constant	0.34***	0.06
n=	1912	
Pseudo R2	0.0341	

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Discussion and Conclusion

This investigation found a clear association between SES, pathway into university and field of study. Students from high SES backgrounds were more likely to enter university via the traditional Year 12 pathway than low SES students. Students entering university through non-traditional pathwayswere more likely to be enrolled in education, arts or nursing and less likely to be studying law or science. According to the AUSIE06 Index of occupational prestige (McMillan et al 2009), legal professionals are ranked at 90.7, science professionals are ranked at 85.6, nurses are ranked at 80.7 andteachers are ranked between 75.8 and 87.6. From an occupational status perspective, although professional occupations score between 70 and 100 on the AUSIE06 Index, students entering university via non-traditional pathways are more likely to find employment in the lower ranked professions than in the higher ranked professions. Pathway into university is also a predictor of attrition, with those entering via non-traditional pathways more likely to discontinue their studies than those with a Year 12 certificate.

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The effect of the GFC on the distribution of wealth in Australia

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Abstract

The recent Global Financial Crisis has renewed interest in levels of social inequality on both a global and a national level. Social inequality is generally conceptualised in terms of economic inequality related to income, ignoring the effects that wealth inequality has on well-being. This paper examines levels of wealth inequality in households with at least one person aged 50 years or more using the 2006 and 2010 waves of the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia data. The results show that although there was a general decline in wealth holdings, wealth inequality at the household level increased dramatically between 2006 and 2010.

Key Words: Wealth inequality; Global Financial Crisis; aging population; retirement.

Introduction

The recent Global Financial Crisis (GFC) has renewed interest in levels of social inequality related to both income and wealth.Sociologists tend to examine social inequality from either a Marxist perspective or Weberian perspective. From a Marxist perspective those with the least wealth are exploited by those with the most wealth. As Wright (2001: 21) points out, the level of wealth and power enjoyed by the wealthy is dependent on the level of deprivation experienced by the poor. From a Weberian perspective, the life chances of individuals are shaped by their ability to control productive assets because within the market, 'control over resources affects bargaining capacity within processes of exchange' (Wright 2001: 23). Thus, in capitalist economies, the more wealth one has relative to others, the more one is able to exploit others.

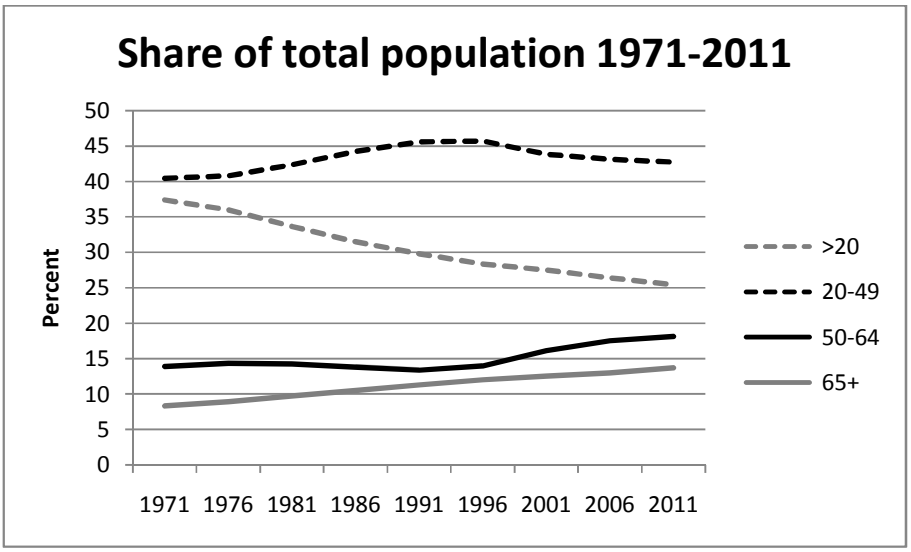
Researchers examining levels of social inequality have generally focussed on inequality with regards to income, however, given that the correlation between income and wealth is low, the role of wealth in economic well-being should also be considered (Keister, 2000; Skopek et al. 2011; Wolff 2010). According to Wolff (2010) wealth in the form of owner-occupied housing means that the owner need not pay rent; assets can be converted into cash and used for consumption during times of economic stress caused by unemployment, sickness or family break-up; and wealth generated income does not affect leisure time in the same way as earned income, therefore, wealth is a more important indicator of economic well-being than income. Other considerations include: that having a low level of wealth tends to be a long term condition whereas having a low level of income may be either long term or short term; wealth defines social status and prestige more precisely than income; wealth can secure the economic well-being of future generations (Skopek et al. 2011). Furthermore, having the ability to convert their economic power into political power allows the wealthy to influence governments to pursue policies which allow them to maintain their wealth (Keister 2000).

Research examining trends in the distribution of wealth in Australia have thus far been constrained by a lack of data, however, data collected by the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) project now provides information of the wealth holdings of Australian households for three time points between 2002 and 2010. Using the wealth data for 2006 and 2010, this paper examines the effect of the GFC on the wealth holdings of retiree households and those approaching retirement.

Aging population

Decades of declining birth rates in Australia have resulted in an aging of the population. As the baby boom cohort ages and the smaller post boom cohorts replace them in the labour market, an increasing proportion of the population is aged 65 years or older. In 1971, 8 per cent of the Australian population were at least 65 years of age and 14per cent were aged between 50 and 64 years. In 2011, 14per centwere aged 65 years or more and 18per cent were aged between 50 and 64 years (ABS 2012). The graph in Figure 1charts the dramatic decline in the proportion of the population aged less than 20 years and the increasing proportions of those aged between 50 and 64 years and those aged 65 years or more between 1971 and 2011.

Figure 1 Total population by age cohort 1971 to 2011



Source: ABS 2012

In liberal welfare states, like Australia, individuals are encouraged to save part of their income during their working lives to ensure they are economically independent after their retirement. Welfare provisions are designed to provide a safety net, therefore, government pensions are means-tested and paid at a low but universal rate to all eligible claimants. The full pension is set at 25per cent of average weekly earnings. To be eligible for a full pension, men must be aged at least 65 years with assets, excluding the family home, of less than $187,000 and an income of less than $150 per fortnight.Pensioners who do not own their own home may have up to $322,000 in assets and qualify for a full pension (Centrelink 2012). Those with assets and incomes above these thresholds are paid a part-pension with the

amount paid determined by their income and assets. Women aged 60 years are currently eligible for a pension on the same basis.

Global Financial Crisis

Due to the ageing of the population, the negative consequences of economic downturns, such as the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), on retirement incomes will affect an increasing proportion of the Australian population.Due to the effects of the GFC, the Australian economy slowed dramatically in 2008-09 after 15 years of continuous economic growth. Prior to the GFC, wealth per capita increased from $79,000 to $245,000 between 1990 and 2008 (ABS 2010a) largely due to increasing property prices. According to the ABS (2009b), property prices for the September quarter increased by 10.1 per cent between 2005 and 2006, 11.4 per cent between 2006 and 2007 and 8 per cent between 2007 and 2008.

With the onset of the GFC, the Australian dollar crashed from $US0.98 in July 2008 to $US0.60 in October 2008 (Pomfret, 2009: 256) affecting the value of shares on the stock market, increasing the price of capital sourced from overseas, increasing the price of imports and lowering the price of exports. Household assets declined by around 14 percent due to falling share prices and property values andsuperannuation accounts lost around 20 per cent of their value in 2008 (Quiggin 2009) affecting the wealth of all Australian households. The declining values of shares, property and superannuation were of particular concern to the retirees and those about to retire.

With universal but meagre pensions and an increasing reliance on personal savings and investments, Australian retirees and those considering retirement were the most at risk of the effects of the GFC. This paper seeks to answer two research questions: How is wealth distributed amongst older Australians?; Did the GFC have any impact on the distribution of wealth amongst older Australians?

Method

Data

The HILDA survey has been collecting data from a nationally representative sample of Australian households on an annual basis since 2001 (Summerfield et al. 2011). The same households are surveyed each year allowing for an examination of the effect of changes in social, political and economic conditions on households. The HILDA survey includes questions on household wealth every four years. Using the2006 and 2010 waves, I select a subsample which includes all couple households with at least one respondent being at least 50 years of age. Wealth is defined as the net difference between household assets and debts.

Variables

The net worth variable is derived by deducting total household debts from total household assets.HILDA includes two broad categories of assets: property and financial. Financial assets includefunds held in bank accounts; funds held in superannuation accounts; cash on hand; equity investments; trust investments; and life insurance. Property assets include: the family home; other property; businesses; collectables and vehicles. Debts include: credit card debt; higher education debts; other personal debts; business debt; family home mortgage and mortgages on other properties and overdue household bills.Negative wealth values are assigned a value of zero and values over $12,722,292 are top coded at that value in 2006 andvalues over $8,830,457 are top coded at that value in 2010 . To make comparisons

between net worth in 2006 and 2010, I convert the 2006 values into 2010 dollars by multiplying the 2006 value by the consumer price index for 2010 and then dividing that figure by the consumer price index for the year 2006 (ABS 2010b).

Age refers to the oldest person in the household in 2006. Households are divided into age cohorts: 50-54 years; 55-59 years; 60-64 years; 65-69 years; 70-74 years; 75-79 years and 80 years or more.

Analyses

The analyses provide an overview of the distribution of wealth in 2006 and 2010. By ranking the households from poorest to wealthiest and dividing the distribution into deciles, I am able to compare the P90/P10 ratios at the two time points. The households in the lowest decile (P10) are the 10 per cent with the least wealth and those in the highest decile (P90) are the 10 per cent with the most wealth.The P90/P10 ratio summarizes the relative distance between the two most extreme points in the distribution comparing the wealth of the bottom household in top decile and the wealth of the top household in the lowest decile (ABS 2011). Larger P90/P10 ratios indicate greater levels of inequality and changes in the distribution of wealth can be measured by comparing the P90/P10 ratio at different points in time. I will also report the P90/P50 ratio and the P50/P10 ratio at each time point to examine whether change in the distribution has occurred evenly across the distribution or is concentrated in the top half or the bottom half of the distribution.

Results

Distribution of wealth

Inequality in the distribution of wealth increased between 2006 and 2010. At the lower end of the distribution, less than one per cent of households held no wealth in 2006, whereas in 2010, 1.6 per cent of households held no wealth. The P90/P10 ratio increased from 15 in 2006 and 21 in 2010 indicating that the least wealthy household in the wealthiest 10 per cent of households held 15 times as much wealth in 2006 and 21 times as much wealth in 2010 as the wealthiest household in the poorest 10 per cent of households. The P90/P50 ratio comparing the least wealthy in the top decile with the most wealthy in the fifth decile was 2.7 in 2006 and 2.6 in 2010 indicating there was little change in the distribution between the top of the distribution and the middle. On the other hand, the P50/P10 ratio increased from 4.6 in 2006 to 6.7 in 2010, providing evidence of increasing inequality between the middle and the poorest households.

Table 1 Measures of wealth inequality

	2006	2010
% with zero wealth	0.9%	1.6%
P90/P10	15	21
P90/P50	2.7	2.6
P50/P10	4.6	6.7

Table 2 lists the average wealth of households in each decile for both 2006 and 2010 in 2010 dollar values. After adjusting for inflation, average wealth in each decile, apart from decile 8, declined between 2006 and 2010. The average wealth of households located in the lowest wealth decile declined by 41.3 per cent from $53437 to $31351. Households in decile 8 reported a marginal increase of 0.06 per cent and average wealth holdings of households in deciles6 and 9 declined by less than one per cent.

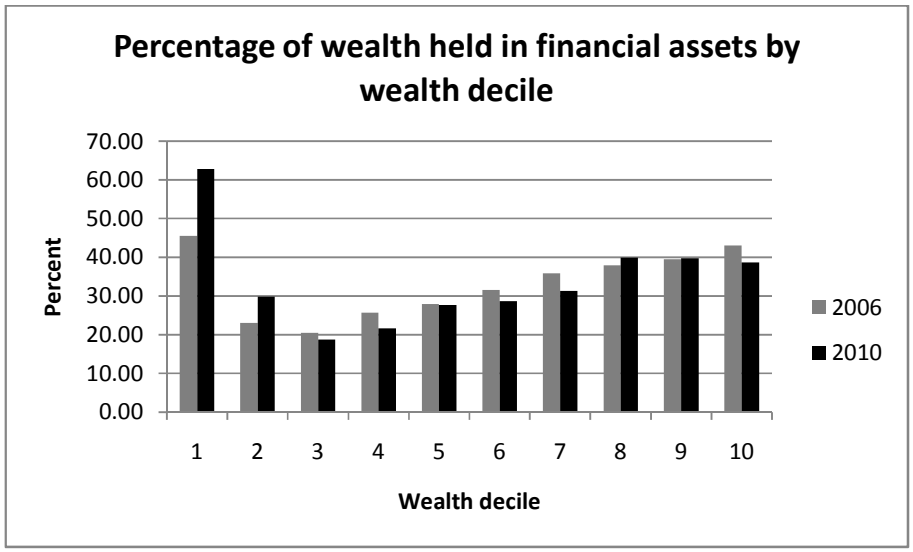
Table 2 Average wealth in each decile 2006 and 2010 in $2010

Decile	2006	2010	Difference
	$2010	$2010	%
1	53437	31351	-41.33
2	252748	221488	-12.37
3	404564	381338	-5.74
4	534874	513099	-4.07
5	671436	660654	-1.61
6	838968	831428	-0.90
7	1053813	1037876	-1.51
8	1385542	1386341	0.06
9	1967118	1964107	-0.15
10	5238119	4389806	-16.19

Note: 2006 values converted to $2010 using CPI indexes

The type of assets held varies somewhat by wealth decile. The graph in Figure 2shows the proportion of total assets held in financial assets such as funds deposited in banks and superannuation. Financial assets accounted for 46 per cent of total assets of the poorest 10 per cent of households in 2006 and 58 per cent of total assets in 2010. In 2006, households in the second to sixth deciles held less than 30 per cent of their assets in financial assets. From deciles 5 to 10, the percentage of total assets held in financial assets is higher in each decile. The pattern is similar in 2010.

Figure 2 Percentage of financial assets by wealth decile 2006 and 2010



Equity in the family home accounts for the bulk of property assets, therefore changes in the level of home ownership will affect the proportion of total assets held in financial assets. Overall, the percentage of households who were owner-occupiers declined from 88 per cent in 2006 to 84 per cent in 2010. Of those in the lowest wealth decile, the percentage of households who were owner-occupiers declined from 23 per cent in 2006 to 5 per centin 2010. Of those in the second wealth decile, the percentage of households who were owner-occupiers declined from 84 per cent in 2006 to 71 per centin 2010 (see Table A1 in the Appendix). The households in these two deciles were not necessarily the same households suggesting that due to substantial declines in the value of financial assets and only marginal declines in the value of property assets,non-home-owners weremore likely to be located in the lowest two deciles in 2010.

Changes at the household level

Table 3 shows that the average wealth of households varies according to the age of the oldest person and the year.

Table 3 Average wealth by 2006 age cohort

Age in 2006	2006	2010	% change
	$2010	$2010	%
50-54	948,550	1,004,994	5.95
55-59	1,296,259	1,278,301	-1.39
60-64	1,743,536	1,493,334	-14.35
65-69	1,478,587	1,217,614	-17.65
70-74	1,361,096	1,045,380	-23.20
75-79	912,744	720,844	-21.02
80+	848,531	754,691	-11.06

Note: 2006 values converted to $2010 using CPI indexes

Although households in the 60 to 64 year cohort had the highest wealth, on average, in both 2006 and 2010, wealth holdings declined in 2010. Only households in the youngest age

cohort, those in which the oldest person was aged between 50 and 54 years in 2006, increased their wealth holdings between 2006 and 2010. Households in this age cohort increased their wealth, on average, by six per cent from $948,550 to $1,004,994. The average net worth of households in the 70-74 years cohort declined by 23 per cent, from $1,361,096 to $1,045,380.

Discussion and Conclusion

Given the ageing of the population, the distribution of wealth amongst retiree households and those about to retire is an important topic for research. The findings presented here show that levels of wealth inequality between households with at least one person aged 50 years or more were high in 2006 and increased in 2010. In 2006 the P90/P10 ratio shows that the least wealthy household in the wealthiest decile held 15 times as much wealth as the wealthiest household in the poorest decile. The P90/P10 ratio increased to 21 in 2010. This increase in inequality was concentrated in the bottom half of the distribution with the P50/P10 ratio increasing from 4.6 to 6.7. The average wealth of households in the poorest decile in 2010 was 40 per cent lower than the average wealth of households in the poorest decile in 2006. This decline in wealth may be linked to the declining values of financial assets due to the GFC as the examination of the types of assets held by households in each decile showed that non-home owner households were concentrated in the lowest wealth decile.

The results also show that households in the 50 to 54 years age cohort, on average, experienced an increase in wealth of six per cent, however, the average wealth of households in all of the other age cohorts declined. This pattern is not unexpected given the impact of the GFC on superannuation funds and share prices more generally. For retirees, the opportunities to accumulate more wealth or to regain their lost wealth are dependent upon increases in property values and share prices. They are unable to generate new wealth from savings derived from unspent earnings, therefore, they are unlikely to recover their wealth unlessthe values of their property and shares are restored to pre-GFC levels.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Table A1 Percentage of home owners in each wealth decile

Wealth decile	2006	2010
1	23	5
2	84	71
3	93	95
4	96	93
5	96	98
6	97	96
7	97	97
8	97	97
9	97	96
10	97	94
total	88	84

Tradition and identity: a case study of multigenerational Calabrian families living in Adelaide, South Australia

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Abstract

The present paper derives from a larger study of Calabrian-Australian families using ethno anthropological research methodologies (De Martino, 1977; Ricci, 1996). Specifically, it investigates the strategies used to overcome migrant disadvantage by preserving traditional cultural practices and structures in the settler country. The study showed this may be achieved through cultural strategies, in particular the establishment of social networking, family alliances and religious practices. The paper demonstrates how the study group reports a strong identification with Calabrian cultural values in the Adelaide milieu, where a tangible and metaphorical presence of the *alter ego* Calabrian village, is still able to connect people, affirm their sense of we-ness and keep alive traditional cultural values.

Key words: Calabrian-Australians, identity construction, social networking, family alliances, traditional values

Introduction

The settlement and social incorporation of Italian migrants in Australia has been reasonably well researched over an extended period. The research which peaked in the 1980s and 1990s referred in the main to the first generation[1] of Italian migrants and covered among other things demography (Bertelli 1986, 1987; Ware 1981, 1988; Hugo 1990, 1993; Parimal and Hamilton, 2000), history (Cresciani 1986, 2003; Pascoe 1987, 1992); sociology (Storer 1979; Kelly 1983, 1985; Castles 1991, 1992; Collins 1988; Vasta 1993; Chiro and Smolicz 1997; Chiro 2003, 2008; Smans and Glenn, 2011), sociology of religion (Pittarello 1980; Bertelli and Pascoe 1988, O'Connor and Paganoni 1999) and linguistics (Bettoni 1981, 1986, 1991; Bettoni and Rubino 1996; Kinder 1990; Rubino 1989, 1990, 1991, 2006; Leoni 1995; Tosi 1991)[2]. Notable research on the second generation and in particular second generation Italian-Australian women focussing on cultural practices and identity construction was conducted by Pallotta-Chiarolli (1989), Vasta (1992), and Baldassar (1999).

The motivation for the present paper emerged from the desire to revisit previous research on Italian-Australian identity and cultural practices after a twenty year absence. It was further decided to carry out the empirical research with a focus on one particular Italian regional

group: the Calabrians. The choice was determined in part by the problematic nature of considering Italians in Australia as an homogenous ethnic group with a common language, customs and lifestyles. As Castles (1991: 56) noted twenty years ago, the great regional and social differences in their country of origin is a feature that Italians transferred to Australia. It was decided to study Calabrian-Italians, in particular, because they have not figured greatly in previous studies even though they represent the second largest region of origin of Italian migrants in Australia and South Australia. Recently Rose (2005) and O'Connor and Rose (2008) have examined the historical settlement of migrants from the Calabrian town of Caulonia. In an older study of social and linguistic aspects of Calabrian migration to Australia, Misiti (1994) had predicted the imminent demise or dispersal of Calabrian culture. This provided a further motivation to examine current cultural practices and identity construction among a group of multigenerational Calabrian families living in Adelaide, South Australia.

Theoretical considerations and methodology

Previous studies affirm that individuals can fluctuate from one identity to another (Baynham and De Fina, 2005) or that new forms of collective consciousness permit migrants to develop new cultural strategies and integration practices (Vasta, 1993). Others suggest that identity is continuously negotiable through social interaction (Goffman, 1983), and that there are no limits to negotiability as a result of the fluidity of culture (Bauman, 2007). However, the level of negotiation and integration can be fairly variable, subjective and involve different aspects of human behaviour. In other words, individuals in ethno minority groups can appear to have an elevate level of integration into the public sphere of the host society, whereas their private life might reveal different results. Furthermore, it is important to consider that cultural transformations as processes are not necessarily homogenous and continuous, rather they may be characterized by discontinuities, resistances and shifts (Cirese, 2005).

Historically, Calabrian people, before migrating, belonged to the rural subaltern class. Many Calabrians had managed to overcome their position of disadvantage by adopting ethno-specific cultural and religious strategies, such as social networking, family alliances and religious practices. There is a long tradition of Italian anthropological studies which focus on folklore as a cultural response to exploitation. Some of the key researchers are Gramsci (1950), Lombardi Satriani and Meligrana (1982), De Martino (1977), Cirese (2005, 2010) and Teti (2004). According to Gramsci (1950) 'popular' and 'folkloric' are to be considered in opposition to the 'world interpretation and understanding' of the hegemonic class. Folkloric Calabrian culture is composed of ancestral strategies that are used to confront meta-historical crises of homesickness, famine, migration or inequality (Lombardi Satriani and Meligrana, 1982). Through such cultural strategies, migrants are also able to affirm their archetypical identity. De Martino (1977) refers to this as the *ethos of transcendence*, a cultural solution enacted to avoid their metaphorical annihilation generated by historical events. As a response to such conditions, Calabrian migrants around the world have recreated their "alter ego" villages, as one of the strategies used to preserve their cultural traditions and identity in the host society.

Participants of seven Australian-Calabrian families spanning three generations were recruited by introduction between family groups. Data was gathered through a questionnaire in the first phase and, subsequently, open interviews during follow-up visits by the

researcher, who was also of the same regional background of the study group. The fieldwork in the Calabrian community of Adelaide covered a 12-month period from September 2011 to September 2012 using participant observation and ethnographic methods. The decision to use a qualitative approach was based on the desire to undertake an empirical study which was not limited by the lack of statistical data of ethnic sub-groups, such as the Calabrians of the present study. The study group consisted of forty-one individuals, twenty-two males and nineteen females, including 20 first generation, 11 second generation and 10 third generation participants. The median age of the first generation was 70.8 years. These participants migrated to Adelaide in a period between 1950 and 1972, consequently their age is relatively younger than the national average for Italian Australians (Chiro, 2003). The median ages of the second and third generations are 44.4 and 26.6 years respectively.

Results and discussion

Interviews and participant observation with the three generations of participants across the seven family groups indicated strong support for the maintenance and transmission of traditional Calabrian cultural values and social practices. In particular, it was evident that tradition and identity are strongly linked in the life-worlds of the participating family members. The three key factors supporting the maintenance of Calabrian identity in the family groups who participated in the study were:

- Social networking
- Family alliances (and partner choice)
- Religious practices

Social networking

In order to maintain Calabrian cultural values particpants reported on the importance of maintaining social networks. The purpose appears to be to re-establish *ex novo* Calabrian identity, maintaining and transmitting traditional cultural values. During the 1950's and 1960's chain migration was one of the main factors that influenced the social structure of Italian-Australian communities which are marked by a strong regional character. According to Signorelli (2006), migrants' identity is strengthened by social networking which bonds people together. At the centre of the social network are the 'us' in terms of 'the people of my village'. This is in contraposition with the circle of acquaintances comprised by the 'other from us', the outsiders (cfr also; Marino, 2012). The first generation participants of the present study also reported that a system of networking practiced among members from the same village (the *paisani*) connected and assisted migrants from departure to settlement, creating bonds among different families. This cultural strategy promoted high levels of we-ness and Calabrian cultural values, which included the choice of area of residence, the choice of the *compare* (godfather) and choice of marriage partners. Today this mutual support continues to be transmitted to the second and third generation at different levels in order to preserve Calabrian identity.

The Calabrian community of Adelaide resides mainly in the northern Adelaide suburb of Salisbury and in the western suburbs: West Lakes, Royal Park, Flinders Park, Kidman Park and Seaton. 90% of the first, 80% of the second and 60% of the third generation participants of the study group reported residing in these areas. First generation participants reported having their closer friends and family living within a 5 km radius of their residence, and in frequenting the same churches: Henley Church and Mater Christi (90%) and in participating

in Calabrian feasts, in particular Sant'Ilarione, San Giuseppe of Salisbury and Maria Santissima di Crochi (95%).

As a first generation female participant of the study group reported:

> We bought this house in Seaton because there is the church around the corner and there are plenty of Calabrians. We feel safer. On Sunday's the church bell reminds us of our village. [Interview, December 2011].

The woman stated that she explicitly sought to buy a house close to other *paisani* and near the church. This confirms the importance of the community network as sustained by Signorelli (2006). This well-organized system, legitimated by kinship and neighbourhood, is still able to represent, protect and support migrants and their respective families. The same group (first generation) shows a weak interest in other regional Italian clubs (only 40% reported attending such clubs at most twice a year). With regard to their descendants, they generally attend the same churches and feasts: 80% of the second and third generation participants declare they regularly frequent the same church feasts associated with Calabrian religious practices: *Mater Christi*, *Sant'Ilarione*, *San Giuseppe* and *Maria Santissima di Crochi*. A mere 10% declare they attend other regional or inter-regional Italian clubs no more than once a year.

Family alliances and partner choice

Calabrian family alliances are legitimated *via* christenings (called *comparato* or *San Giovanni*), confirmations and weddings (Minicuci, 1989). In the Catholic sphere the *compare* is the person who promises to share the responsibility of the child's education with the parents. The *comparato* is sanctioned by a religious rite and creates a strong relation that involves not merely the people directly concerned, but also each member of the two families, leading to a multiple alliance. Usually parents choose a *compare* who is one generation older than the child. For this reason, in the study group, *compari* are mainly first and second generation migrants. Of the participants 80% reported having a Calabrian person as a *compare* with the remaining 20% having an Italian *compare* but not of Calabrian background.

In the Calabrian community of Adelaide the choice of marriage partner also plays a pivotal role in reaffirming and transmitting cultural identity. The marriage itself can lead to a solid multi family alliance. Historically, in Calabria, the marriage system was not the result of individual choice, but the consequence of economic and political strategies in regulating reproduction as well as governing and managing social and economic issues, as a result of the strong poverty those people used to experience(Minicuci, 1989). According to Bourdieu (1972) biologic reproduction, social and cultural issues are part of the same structure. The traditional model, which had played a pivotal role in studies of traditional Calabrian practices (Lombardi Satriani and Meligrana, 1982; Minicuci, 1981,1989; Ricci 1996; Teti, 2004) and in folkloric songs (Gatto, 2007) required that marriage must be contracted, insofar as possible, inside the same community and not infrequently among first cousins (Minicuci 1981, 1989). For example, a male participant who had migrated during the 1950's reported singing a traditional Calabrian song:

> I came from far only to meet you, I overcame mountains and rivers because I wanted to reach you. I am your lover and your cousin, please open the door, our parents organized the wedding.
> [Oral source].

This example does not mean that traditional norms are mechanically applied by all Calabrian-Australians in the Australian context, however they are embodied in their Calabrian *habitus* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 2000; Minicuci 1989; Signorelli 2006). Indeed, 94% of the first generation of the present study is married to a person of Calabrian background while 6% is married to an Italian with a non-Calabrian background. Similarly, 83% of the second generation also reported having a partner with Calabrian background, while 7% are married an Anglo-Australian person. In regard to the third generation, 43% is single, 14% is married or engaged to a person of Calabrian background, another 14% to a person of Italian background and 23% has a partner with non Anglo-Celtic origin. The 43% of single persons also expressed a preference in potentially having a Calabrian partner or, at most, a partner with Italian background. It appears therefore that the participants of the present study express a preference in adopting their traditional cultural models.

As a first generation male participant reported:

> The best wedding is between people from the same village or region! Wedding among Calabrians! Wedding of the same road, elders used to say. Rocco (the interviewed's son) is married to Pina who is originally from Calabria, and I am happy.
> [Seaton February, 2012].

The latter statement, in appearance predictable for the generation of the participant, could influence younger members of the family and serve as a normative function by the intergenerational socialization process (Bourdieu, 1972; Minicuci, 1989).

As a second generation male participant reported:

> Marry a Calabrese woman! She shares the same values as family care, mutual collaboration in the household and the education of the kids
> [Interview. Seaton (SA), December, 2012].

A similar attitude is evident among third generation participants, as in the following quote:

> INTERVIEWER: 'Sam, do you have a girlfriend?'
> S. Well, actually I have not found the right girl! She must be serious, virgin and from Calabria. [Interview. Seaton (SA), December, 2011].

The young participant clearly showed some resonance with the traditional values sharing the same cultural space within the family domain, as suggested by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992).

Religious practices and feasts

Religious celebrations play an important role in connecting Calabrian *paisani* and affirming their sense of belonging. Each year, in Adelaide, the Calabrian Community organizes seven religious *feste* celebrating the patron saints of the villages from where the first generation migrated. These feasts represent 25% of all Italian religious festivities celebrated by Italian communities in Adelaide (O'Connor and Paganoni, 1999).

The feasts are celebrated in the same suburbs where Calabrian migrants reside (Western suburbs and Salisbury). Usually the religious celebration is preceded by a *triduum* or a *novena*, the mass is sang or celebrated in Italian and precedes or follows a procession with the saint's statue. The afternoon and the evening are dedicated to food and entertainment. 80% of the second and third generation participants of the study group reported they attend

Calabrian *feste* whereas only 10% frequent other regional or inter-regional Italian festivities. These data are relevant in order to understand the importance of the intergenerational transmission of traditional Calabrian identity. The *festa* represents a significant occasion for the community by re-affirm ethnic identity and reproducing the archetypical imagined Calabrian village in Australia. Studies have reported that such performances contain a number of anachronistic practices due to the lengthy space-time separation (Cirese, 1971). The fossilization of ethnic identity is characteristic of overseas migrant communities (Carsaniga 1994; Ciliberti 2007; Tsitsipis 1992). In previous studies of traditional Calabrian practices, the feast represents a fundamental cultural institute able to liberate, alter and suspend the everyday norms, in creating a imagined structure that, temporarily, involves every participant and eliminates structural inequalities (Lombardi Satriani and Meligrana 1982; Teti 2004).

Conclusions

In spite of previous research among Italian Australians which affirms that the descendants of first generation migrants are well incorporated into Australian society (Parimal and Hamilton 2000; Price 1993), the Calabrian Australian participants of the present study demonstrate, in various ways, that they have maintained a strong Calabrian identity based on traditional cultural values. Through social networking, multiple family alliances and religious rites, the participants and their compatriots were able to reconstruct *ex novo* an archetypical Calabrian social space in the host society and reaffirmed their ethno-specific cultural identity. Similarly, and as a consequence of the intergenerational influence transmitted by elder members of the family, younger members of the study group have also incorporated traditional Calabrian cultural values into their *habitus*. Consequently, participants of the second, and, to some extent, third generation, continue to show some preference in choosing a Calabrian and/or Calabrian Australian partners. In the Adelaide milieu, especially on religious occasions, the reconstruction of an *alter ego* Calabrian village, contributes to the maintenance of homeland cultural values helping to resist the exogenous influences of the dominant society and reaffirming Calabrian cultural identity.

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Footnotes

[1] With regard to the generations, the authors have adopted Cirese's (2010) definitions: the first generation includes people born in Italy but Australian residents; the second generation defines those born in Australia with at least one immigrant parent; the third generation consists of Australian born people with two Australian born parents who have at least one grandparent was born in Italy.

[2] This is not intended as an exhaustive list of the research undertaken on the Italian Australians nor does it cover all the works of the named researchers. It is meant merely to provide a representative sample of some the key works at the time.

Exploring Body Work Practices: Bodies, Affect and Becoming

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Abstract

This paper is drawn from a PhD research project exploring the body and contemporary body work practices. Understandings of gender and health are crucial to practices of body work and the broader experience of the 'self'. Through a Deleuzian approach to bodies, this research focuses on how body work and bodies are understood and lived using concepts of affect and becoming. Through 22 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with men and women aged 18-33 in Melbourne, I explore the affective relations and embodiment of body work, and the ways that health discourses and gender influence their bodies and intersect with emerging and enduring inequalities. I argue that a Deleuzian approach to bodies may enable new, more complex explorations of the relations between bodies and society.

Introduction

The body and body 'image' of young people is a central concern in mainstream discourse. The increase in health, beauty and fitness industries is aligned with an increase in attention to the body, and 'body image' for both women and men. 'Body work' is defined as practices performed on one's own body that connects to aesthetic modifications or maintenance of the body (Gimlin 2007). Body work practices in this study include all forms of exercise such as running, walking or yoga, dieting, lifting weights and extend to cosmetic surgery procedures. Even though men are now argued to be moving towards the 'dubious equality' as consumers of health, fitness and cosmetic products (Featherstone 1982), the idealised physical dimensions of the body are gendered in hegemonic ways (Connell 1995) which in turn 'gender' body work practices and link with traditional (unequal) gender structures. The idealised woman's body in this context remains slender, whilst the idealised man's body is toned and muscular (Dworkin & Wachs 2009). The gendered physicalities of these 'ideal' bodies relate to a range of underlying assumptions around men's 'natural' physical strength and prowess, and women's 'natural daintiness', as one participant in this project put it.

The relationship between the body and society has long been a key tension in sociology and feminist theory. Because 'the body' is central to this study, I argue that it is particularly crucial to look for ways to negotiate and move beyond the core dualism that frames the body; the mind/body dualism (see Grosz 1994). The mind/body dualism is often present in studies of the body. For example, body work practices have been conceptualised in sociology (Giddens 1991; Shilling 2003) as part of the 'body project' associated with the modern, Western individual's 'project' of self-identity. Turner (1994)

and Budgeon (2003) however have argued that such conceptualisations of the body are disembodied. Further, approaches to the body which enact a separation between bodies as 'subjects' and 'objects' (Coleman 2009) or between the 'materiality' of bodies and their 'representation' (Bray & Colebrook 1998) often unwittingly reinstate a dualistic approach to bodies (see for example studies by Crossley 2006, Grogan 2006). Consequently, I conceptualise body work practices as 'processes', rather than a 'project' because of the poststructural ontological understanding of bodies as processes that underpins this research. Through the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) the body can be rethought through as a process of connections, rather than an 'object' caught in dualisms (see Coleman 2009). The use of Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical approach contributes to the emerging use of their concepts in empirical sociological work (see Potts 2004). In using these concepts to explore bodies and body work practices, I aim to contribute to developing non-dualistic, embodied approaches to address the material body in feminist sociological work.

Aims, theory and methodology

The challenge or aim of this research has been to find non-dualist, embodied approaches to studying the body empirically, whilst understanding and critiquing the social conditions which frame the bodies of the participants. Because binaries have haunted the body, much feminist work has sought alternative ways of understanding the body, and to highlight the ways that bodies are situated in culture rather than determined by it (Budgeon 2003, Davis 1995, Grosz 1994). Deleuzian theories of the body propose that the connections between bodies, images and the world take place in a series of flows, in which subject and object can no longer be understood as discrete elements or entities (Grosz 1994). This ongoing process is termed by Deleuze as *becoming*; bodies and body work practices can be understood as 'nothing more or less' than the relations between them (Fraser, Kemby & Lury 2005: 3).

Affect can be understood as 'embodied sensations'; as simply the capacity to affect and be affected. Affects mediate action, or becomings (Deleuze 1988: 256). For this reason affect can be likened to agency, but avoids the problematic aspects inherent in the term, such as its oppositional usage and does not presume the human body as prior to subjectivity (Barad 2007). Using Deleuzian concepts is a way of understanding bodies as never passive or determined, focusing on the ways that relations between bodies and the world produce particular affects which influence what the body can do, and its possibilities for living. Exploring the social context of bodies with this approach enables an understanding of the current circumstances which condition or limit the range of possibilities available for living.

Through 22 in-depth semi-structured interviews with men and women aged 18 - 33 in Melbourne, Australia, I explored participants' experiences of body work and broader understandings of health and gender. I recruited through asking personal contacts to forward electronic advertisements to their friends (not known to me) through Facebook and email, which enabled participants to self-select to be involved in this research.

I approached the interviews and analysis as an embodied, co-created process (see Sandelowski 2000). Other empirical work has shown that interviewing can be used as method for exploring affect, and in engaging with Deleuzian ontology (see St. Pierre 1997, Fox & Ward 2008). In analysis, the embodied complexities of my own experience in the interview were examined as much as possible. Rather than reflexively 'capturing' research subjects, analysis was approached as an exploration of the intra-active processes of the interview encounter, through which the participant and I both produced the 'data'.

The bodily ideals prevalent in 'healthism' and consumer culture idealise white, middle class bodies (Dworkin & Wachs 2009); and many of the participants in this study could be considered part of this privileged, dominant classed and raced group. The sample in this study relates to the epistemology underpinning this thesis, and I use the data to illustrate theoretical arguments. I will now discuss participants' understandings and experiences of body work practices using Deleuzian concepts of 'affect' and becoming to explore two key themes: gender and health.

Gender, body work and becoming

Body work practices of participants were largely shaped around what can be termed 'hegemonic gender ideals' (cf. Connell 1995) related to gendered physicalities. However, the meanings and experiences of gender and bodies were described in very complex ways. Most participants explained that 'ideal' male bodies are muscular, requiring body work practices of lifting weights; and 'ideal' 'female bodies are 'skinny' or slender, requiring body work practices of dietary control and exercise (Dworkin & Wachs 2009). Although many participants did not endorse these 'ideal' figures, or do the sorts of body work required to 'achieve' these bodies, all identified them as the mainstream ideal. Women were understood as subject to more body 'pressure'. Interestingly however, most of the men in this study also described feeling body 'pressure', but did not connect this broadly to the experience of men and masculinity (Coffey 2012). Kate and Jason used same phrasing to describe how others' bodies affect them:

There are such a lot of expectations on women nowadays, in all the magazines that come out or fashion television…I get caught up in 'this is how I'm supposed to look, this is what I'm supposed to be'. (Kate, 25, administrative assistant / nanny)

When we see those [football] players running around it puts, kind of, an image in your mind, like 'oh that's what I need to look like, that's how I need to be', and so you go to the gym… (Jason, 22, accountant and amateur footballer)

Gender ideals affect Kate's and Jason's bodies and body work practices. They can be understood as experiencing particularly intensive affects in their relations with the 'gendered ideal' bodies they see, in magazines and on television for Kate, and on the football field for Jason. The term 'becoming' can be used even when participants do not 'transcend' dominant discourses or structures. Kate's and Jason's encounters with 'ideal'

men's and women's bodies involve a 'repetition' of gender structures, in wanting to possess the physical differences of these bodies. Becoming does not mean people can voluntarily 'become' whatever they want, and certain becomings are repeated through the relations and affects that produce them (Coleman 2009). Becomings can often involve the ordinary and dominant conditions being repeated and remaining the same. Repetition is not the same as *reproduction* however. Becoming is immanent – 'there is nothing other than the flow of becoming' (Colebrook 2002: 125); even when dominant (binary) conditions of gender, for example, are repeated. What bodies *do*, and the relations and affects with which they are engaged, is most important from this standpoint (see Braidotti 2011).

The complexities and ambiguities in Jason's language in particular extend the traditionally gendered understanding of men as unconcerned about their appearance. Featherstone (2010) argues that the intensified focus on men in advertising and consumer culture is altering this aspect of masculinity (see also Bell & McNaughton 2006 and Coffey 2011, 2012). Working on the appearance of his body is something Jason says he 'admits' doing, suggesting tension between how he experiences his body and how he understands gendered bodies more broadly. The relations and affects between bodies, images and gender are complex (see Coffey 2012), and these concepts can provide new tools to understand these ambivalent, less coherent experiences of the embodied self (Coleman 2009: 214).

Health, body work and affect

Discourses of health which link health to appearance were prevalent in participants' understandings of bodies. The advertising slogan 'look good, feel good' and other neoliberal understandings of the self in consumer culture inform this (Featherstone 2010, Crawford 2006). Health is discussed by participants in varying ways: as a set of ideas, linked to morals and individual responsibility (when Kate says 'I don't feel as healthy as I should'); as a feeling (related to affect and the embodied sensations linked to exercise); as related to identity and the experience of the self ('I just want to feel healthy so that I feel happy' as Paul says) and as linked to image and appearance (Victoria's exercise helps her to maintain a 'healthy shape').

The embodied experiences associated with health can be understood through the concept of affect. According to Deleuze (1988), what we are capable of is directly related to embodied sensation (affect), and it is the relations of affect that produce a body's capacities (Coleman 2009). To affect and be affected is, for Deleuze, becoming. The following examples illustrate how affect and embodied sensations are involved in participants' experiences of body work.

After a yoga class I walk out feeling more limber, and just healthier, generally happier, because blood and oxygen has gone to all parts of my body, my muscles are all warmed up, I'm walking straighter, I have less sore joints and whatever it is…I sleep better. It's a

general psychological and physical improvement, all over. (Paul, 31, sound and film editor)

Paul's body 'feels better' after yoga because of the kinesthetic elements of the blood oxygenating his organs and warming his muscles, making him feel healthier and thus 'happier'. Feeling 'better' is directly related to the bodily sensations associated with the specific practices of stretching and breathing involved in yoga. These 'health' sensations are crucial not only in how the body feels related to those practices, but more broadly affect participants' sense of self.

Similar to Paul, Steph imagines that if she was fitter, she would be happier.

I wouldn't get fit so that I could show off my body, I'd get fit so that I could be happy. (Steph, 21, waitress)

Gillian too describes that body work (through exercise) 'liberates' her from 'feeling bad' about herself.

When I'm doing yoga or jogging, it's my way of liberating myself, instead of feeling sad about myself because…I feel attractive if I'm in a fit state… I guess that's my way of liberating myself from that constant battle in my head, where you feel bad about yourself. Because as long as I'm fit and at a healthy weight, a decent weight… I don't feel that. (Gillian, 31, waitress and make-up artist)

This situation is precarious however, as Gillian's positive sense of self and identity hinge on her body work practices. Gillian's body work practices, including a strict regulation of what she eats after work, doing yoga and jogging affect her body and what she can (or cannot) do. Whilst these practices make her 'feel better', the affects related to these body work practices are limited. Where body work practices such as these are framed as her only way of freeing herself from 'feeling bad', other possibilities for experiencing and living her body are not immediately available.

Body work, image and affect

Paul and Steph imagine that doing body work to be 'fitter' will make them 'happier'. Gillian, however, shows that this process is fraught. The affective experience of the body, involving the connections between (gendered) 'appearance' and feelings of 'health' can be understood as a complex process involving the affects and relations between bodies and other assemblages as impacting how they feel and what they can do. Others, like Gillian, who classify themselves as 'fit', emphasise the importance of their body work for their experience of the self. The significant work involved in maintaining an appearance that makes them 'feel good' about their bodies, however, perpetuates their body work, and closes down possibilities for living their bodies in other less regulated ways.

I can't bring myself to go for more than 2 days without going to the gym. I've sort of built up a reputation for being a big strong guy, and even if I get on the scales and weigh myself and I'll still be the same weight, I feel if I don't go for a few days, I feel not as strong, not as confident. I have to keep going and doing it. I'm 32 and I wonder how long I can keep that up for. (Ben, 32, sales representative)

I might think I look the same but then I weigh myself and look at myself again in the mirror I'm like 'oh no I look really big', if I'm heavier. It's like your mind is playing tricks on you a little bit. (Isabelle, 24, beauty therapist)

Like Ben and Isabelle, Adam and Jason similarly describe 'looking different' in the mirror if they have not trained for 2 or 3 days – 'it's like your mind is playing tricks on you'. Featherstone (2010: 197) argues that in consumer culture, which is obsessed with bodies, 'images do complex work', such as Ben, Jason and Isabelle's mirror images of their own bodies. Featherstone insists that images are not merely visual, and are *felt* as a sense of energy, force or intensity: they are *affective* (2010: 199). The affective intensities associated with the body in the mirror for women and men in these examples are similar, despite being moderated by gendered dimensions of physicality.
The intensity of the affects associated with the practices of body work connect the experiences of Isabelle, Ben, Jason and Gillian particularly. Like Gillian's slimming body work practices, the affects related to Ben's weights training limit the range of possibilities for living his body. In these examples, physically hegemonic gender ideals frame their body work and bodies. Because gendered ideals of men's and women's bodies are narrow, their possibilities for their bodies and body work are restricted.

Expanding possibilities for becoming requires 'opening up to the many rather than the few' (Fox 2002). For Gillian and Ben however, the affective relations associated with their bodies and body work practices are intensified, rather than multiplied. This perspective enables an understanding of body work practices as not intrinsically good or bad; rather it depends on whether life is restricted or maximised through their relations. The more a body is opened to difference and multiple possibilities for affect, the more force it has; the more it can do (Fox 2002). Gender, in these examples, can be understood as limiting how Ben's and Gillian's bodies may be lived, since their body work practices must be continually repeated. However, a Deleuzian perspective understands that this process is not foreclosed; the relations between bodies and the world are ongoing, as is the possibility of 'becoming otherwise' as relations and affects modulate. As Fox argues, this may seem a difficult conclusion to draw, since 'opening up to difference' may not be something that can be achieved independently: 'we may need all the help we can get' (2002: 359). Deleuze's work is thus inherently political, and the implications extend beyond the academy to social policy and the politics of welfare (Fox 2002).

Conclusion

Through a Deleuzian approach which entails examining the relations and affects between bodies and the world, a concern for what bodies can (and cannot) do – rather than what

bodies are – is central. This approach can be aligned with advancing feminist methodological commitments to embodying theory and creating a 'less comfortable social science' that tries to be accountable to complexity (St. Pierre & Pillow 2000: 6). Deleuze's concepts can be used in response to a range of problems in sociological and feminist empirical work; including the negotiation of dualisms such as mind/body (Grosz 1994), representation/materiality (see Bray & Colebrook 1998) and structure/agency (see Barad 2007).

The broader study from which these examples are drawn focuses primarily on gender as an embodied categorisation of bodies and the context of consumer culture and 'health' discourses. Gender and health can also be understood through the concept of affect; as having affective consequences. The particularly intensive body work regimes, such as in Isabelle, Ben, Jason and Gillian's examples, connect them. This could be seen as complicating understandings of the embodied experience of gender; enabling a more complex analysis of the embodied, affective experience of bodies. Race, class, sexuality, ability and other forces which structure inequality are also crucial components that bodies connect with through affective relations, and future research could address these areas. To study becoming and affect is to be concerned with the multitude of connections (psychological, emotional and physical) that a body has (Fox 2002). A Deleuzian approach to bodies in context enables new, complex understandings of the relations between bodies and society, and how bodies may be lived differently, and more equally.

Key words: Bodies, body work, gender, Deleuze, health.

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Mobility and its discontents in (sub)urban Australia

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Abstract

Australians are one of the most mobile nations on Earth: their spatial, residential and employment mobility is among the highest in the world. In an economically dynamic and successful nation, mobility and 'flexibility' are seen to be 'good for the (capitalist) economy', especially employment mobility, which is closely related to residential mobility. In terms of spatial mobility—travel, internal and international, as well as long stays overseas—Australians successfully beat the 'tyranny of distance'. On the individual level, intense mobility is usually seen as an advantage, privilege and a mark of success—a status symbol, although younger age groups and lower socio-economic groups can be involuntarily mobile due to casualisation of work and unstable housing. Also in more general terms, there are dark sides to intense mobility that rarely get a mention: economic dynamism driving mobility is in turn driven by a culture of excessive individualism and consumerism. Apart from well-known environmental woes associated with a hypermobile consumer society, this also leads to the erosion of community connectedness and social capital, and an increase in social inequality. This short paper looks at some root causes of Australian hypermobility and its social effects.

Key words: Mobility, Australia, individualism, consumerism, community, social capital

Introduction

This paper explores social causes and effects of Western late-capitalist hypermobility, using the case study of Australia, one of the most dynamic nations on Earth in terms of spatial, residential and employment mobility. Western capitalism of the last wave of globalisation[1] rewards the 'virtues' of flexibility and mobility, especially in regards to the labour force. Capitalist economy needs an urban-concentrated but flexible workforce focused on economic rewards and consumption. Flexible labour force implies residential and employment mobility, which in turn depends on the willingness of people to move residence, change jobs and travel for the purpose of work. The rewards of mobility, in money and status, are linked with the firmly established social value of competitive individualism. The latter is said to be indispensable for economic success, individual and collective, based on work ethic, productivity, entrepreneurship and innovation.

By seemingly offering limitless opportunities, globalisation is a context that intensifies people's desire for unrestrained mobility. Among the Australian middle classes, mobility has become a sign of success and a marker of social status. Successful people regularly travel overseas for business and pleasure. Australians traverse their vast country-continent by road and air, and willingly expose themselves to the high cost and inconvenience of long flights when travelling overseas. Overseas travel is a prominent middle-class social talking point and it secures career and social status rewards. Longer journeys and stays overseas, often for study, work and tourism combined, have been a rite of passage for young (middle-class) Australians in recent decades, and they remain a considerable career boost for Australian professionals.

Apparently, spatial mobility is associated with residential, employment and social mobility that are also high compared with other developed countries. It should be mentioned that social mobility—the advance in one's social status usually measured by education, income and job status—is considerably more difficult to measure than the other types of mobility.[2] All types of mobility are generally seen as positive; mobility is a privilege, while staying put is often seen as predicament. Living at the same location or working in the same job for many years may make one suspect of inertia and lack of entrepreneurship and success. Intense mobility—Australians perhaps deserve the attribute of hypermobility—is often seen as an aspect of life of 'cosmopolitans', the privileged people able to move spatially and across cultures, as opposed to 'locals' who are in many ways stuck and left behind. Since the time Merton (1968) wrote about 'cosmopolitans and locals', intense mobility in all its forms have acquired an even more significant role in the Western, and especially English-speaking societies.

Movement and dynamism, requiring considerable and sustained effort, are seen as imperative in global capitalism which relies on competitive individualism to provide motivation and impetus for mobility. This ideological set-up is more pronounced in English-speaking societies than in continental Europe where people seem more attached to place and place-based histories, traditions, communities and identities. For example, Andreotti and Le Galès (2008) argue that European cities have historically been characterised by greater social integration than found in the US. Hobsbawm (1994:342) described the USA and Britain as the 'ultra-free-market states', implying high mobility. Clearly, this remark can be applied to Australia. Bauman (2007:1) conceptualised hypermobile dynamic capitalist societies as 'liquid modernity' where 'a pool of choices' at the same time represents a 'hotbed of uncertainties'. In this context, according to Bauman (2007:2), 'community' [...] sounds increasingly hollow because inter-human bonds that require a 'large and continuous investment of time and effort', and are worth the sacrifice of immediate individual interest, are increasingly frail and temporary. Sennett (1998:24) expressed the same sentiment when he talked about deeper 'social bonds [that] take time to develop, slowly rooting into the cracks and crevices of institutions'—for which there is little time in the 21st century capitalism. The latter, according to Bauman (2007:3), leaves no room for long durée projects: political histories, as well as individual lives, are a series of short term projects and episodes. Sennett, (1998:10) asked 'how can long-term goals be pursued in an economy devoted to the short term' and 'how can mutual loyalties and commitments be sustained in institutions which are constantly breaking apart or continually being redesigned'? The well known victims of mobility and 'short-termism' are environmental protection and community bonds. A recent Australian report by Kelly et al. (2012:3) diagnoses diminishing of 'people's friendships and neighbourhood connections over the past two decades'.

There are population categories, such as young people and lower socio-economic groups, for who residential and employment mobility may not be signs of worldly success—getting better jobs and moving up on the residential property ladder—but instead signify the involuntary mobility of renters in unstable or precarious housing circumstances and unwanted employment mobility from one to the other temporary and insecure casual jobs. There are other dark sides to mobility and its interconnected aspects—spatial, residential, employment and social: hypermobility inevitably weakens place-based social cohesion and capital of neighbourhoods and local communities. High levels of mobility inevitably imply detachment (spatial, social and emotional) from other people, which can be damaging to an individual's quality of life and lead to psychological disturbances. Such disturbances have consistently risen over the past decades and are often attributed to a lack of human connectedness, anxieties and insecurities brought about by the competitive society, stressful work requirements and anonymous urban living (Davies 2012). Large social surveys have shown that social connectedness is the most important aspect of life satisfaction—more important that economic success, work satisfaction and even health (Cummins 1996). In the rest of the paper the contemporary modes of hypermobility are investigated through residential and employment mobility as manifestations of more abstract and general notions of spatial and social mobility. While the concept of spatial mobility is self-explanatory and briefly addressed above, residential

mobility (changing one's 'permanent address') and employment mobility (changing jobs and places of paid work in general) are addressed in separate sections below.

Residential mobility

Australian move houses on average every five years, thus being one of the residentially most mobile nations (Long 1991; ABS 2008). In the working-age population, residential mobility often follows from employment mobility (ABS 2008). In macro-terms, in developed economies, residential mobility is associated with economic growth and development (Long 1991). Residential mobility creates a dynamic housing market, which is a significant section of the Australian national economy and its continual prosperity. A dynamic housing market means rising housing prices and this is advantageous for close to 70 per cent of Australians who are owner-occupiers. Rising housing prices are also shown to encourage consumer spending by homeowners (the so-called 'wealth effects', see Case, Quigley and Schiller 2005) and therefore directly beneficial for the capitalist economy. However, this is not beneficial for everyone: for example, rising housing prices make housing unaffordable for first-time buyers, thus disadvantaging younger people. By choosing to be residentially mobile, homeowners normally increase their housing wealth and may also improve their social status by moving to more prestigious locations. Such locations usually have advantages: of being safer and closer to jobs and services, which may positively impact on the movers' quality of life. A dynamic housing market—moving, buying and selling residential and other properties—is also beneficial for specific industries such as building and construction, real estate agents, removalists, trades involved in renovations and banks that finance real-estate purchases and renovations. It should be noted that high residential mobility defies high transaction costs, especially for home owners; an influential economist described stamp duty as 'essentially a tax on moving' that should be scaled down (The Australian 2011).

In Australia, a country often described as a 'homeownership society', moving up on the housing market ladder symbolises one's socio-economic success and social mobility. The concept of housing career, fully accepted in Anglo-Saxon housing studies, makes much less sense in continental Europe where people, in spite of relative affluence, are less residentially mobile and more attached to their cities and regions (Andreotti and Le Galès 2008).

There is another side to residential mobility, however. There are people who move houses involuntarily, either forced by high housing cost or by their landlords. The involuntary mobility affects private and public renters and other people in unstable or precarious housing circumstances—young people, those on low incomes, the elderly and those who fit into a broad definition of 'homeless' (Colic-Peisker and Johnson 2010). People in precarious housing circumstances may move down on the residential housing ladder, or move because they are exposed to the inconvenience of the short lease (6-12 months) typical for the Australian rental market (Colic-Peisker and Johnson 2010). Residential mobility generally generally decreases by age (ABS 2008).

Even for the housing wealth-building homeowners, mobility is not just advantageous. Moving house every five years means little chance of developing deeper local roots or a lasting connection to one's local community. A sense of place is shown to be related to people's health outcomes, to their wellbeing and the quality of life—even to weight gain, according to Wilkinson and Picket (2010) who quote research done in areas of health geography, environmental health, environmental psychology and life satisfaction studies. Hypermobility therefore jeopardises the cohesion and depletes the social capital of local communities. High residential turnover and the feeling of detachment especially hurt those who may be in need of local solidarity and support: the unemployed, people on welfare and low incomes, single parents and the rising number of elderly citizens, as well as a rising number of single-person households.

Employment mobility

Politicians and policymakers in Australia and elsewhere often emphasise that 'competitive pressures', impacting on local and national economies in the era of globalisation, make a 'flexible labour force' and high employment mobility great contemporary economic imperatives. That flexible and mobile labour force is 'good for the economy' primarily means beneficial for employers' and shareholders' profits and for economic growth, the main conventional indicator of economic prosperity. Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012) defines labour mobility as 'people aged 15 years and over who, within the 12 months to February 2012, either had a change of employer /business in their main job, or had some change in work with their current employer/business, for whom they had worked for one year or more.. The statistics on labour mobility are compiled from the Labour Mobility Survey, conducted as a supplement to the ABS's monthly Labour Force Survey (LFS). The survey found that 20% (2.3 million) Australians employed at the time of the survey had been with their current employer/business for less than 12 months. Among those who changed employer, there were more men than women, except in the youngest (15-19) and oldest (over 60) age group. Professionals (as per ABS classification of occupations) were the single most mobile group, but overall there was higher mobility in lower-skilled groups, especially community and personal services and retail. Among those who changed jobs during the preceding year, 37 per cent left their last job involuntarily, while 63 per cent left their last job voluntarily, mainly to 'obtain a better job or conditions or [they] wanted a change' (ABS 2012).

A recent article in the national newspaper claims that 'labour mobility is "key to the resources boom"', which, in turn, is the key to the prosperity of the Australian economy (The Australian 2011). The mining boom also introduced some extreme forms of employment-driven spatial mobility, such as fly-in-fly-out (FIFO) arrangements, now widespread in the booming mining sector. FIFO has been criticised as detrimental to local communities, not only socially, but also economically, as it pushes rental prices up to the levels unaffordable to the local population outside the mining sector (ABC 2012).

Being generally good for the economy, employment mobility may be less beneficial for individuals and communities. For those people who advance their careers through employment mobility, it means challenge and excitement. For many others, it is a curse rather than a blessing, especially for those who are victims of involuntary employment mobility. The latter primarily affects an increasing number of people who find themselves in the casual job market, where job mobility is very high, creating a sense of insecure and uncertain future. Casualisation of jobs makes businesses more flexible and competitive but it is disadvantageous for young employees and those less qualified who find themselves at the 'wrong end' of the labour market and who may be moving from one short-term and often also part-time and poorly paid job to another.

Even for those in relatively secure employment and building careers, lifelong employment is largely a thing of the past. In the 21st century, staying in a job for too long is rarely a sign of loyalty or being good at something—it rather often signals a lack of ambition and entrepreneurial spirit. Interestingly, research shows that academics are one of the most mobile sections of the population.

Is mobility a drain on social capital?

Influential sociologists of the early 20th century were intrigued by massive urbanisation in Western Europe and developed overseas countries and its effects on people. Simmel (1903) argued that modernity and the urban life were potentially damaging to people. In large cities, people not only lose touch with the natural environment and are exposed to crowding, noise and pollution, but also live anonymously, among strangers, competing with them for housing, jobs and other scarce

resources. Of course, such a view may lead to rural and small-town life being romanticised. There is a community control side to every cohesive face-to-face group. A respondent in her mid-20s recently explained how moving from a small town in New Zealand to metropolitan Melbourne was primarily for the privilege of not being observed and judged in a community where 'everyone knew everyone'. She said that moving to an inner-city flat initially seemed a mistake: 'There were people everywhere, in the flat above... But now I got used to it, it's okay'. In spite of the spatial closeness, this was the anonymous society she was looking for.

Whether people prefer a large city or a small town/village as a setting of their lives, it is hard to deny that mobility and community are closely intersected concepts. However, community is an overly complex notion that this short paper cannot engage with. In the simplest sense, community is taken to mean a cohesive group of people connected by multiple ties: similar values, interests and lifestyles. The mobility associated with modern Western individualism is purported to be dismantling the spatially defined communities and strong social connections that are, according to a considerable number of authors, crucial for a 'healthy' society and wellbeing of individuals (Kelly et al. 2012:5; Eyles and Williams 2008). Mobility has potential to give rise to transient, mobile, pluri-local or even ex-territorial (e.g. virtual) communities, and dynamic and flexible networks indifferent to national boundaries. Intense transnational mobility, often associated with an 'expatriate lifestyle', according to Piexoto (2001:1039), leads to 'easier dissolution of local ties and an increased commitment to the international organisational channels'. It may thus be creating 'professional diasporas' and profoundly changing, and challenging, the role of 'communities of place' and nations in determining values and defining people's identity and belonging. However, is it conceivable that mobility transforms rather than endangers the community (Gille and Riain 2002)?

In spite of negative aspects that contemporary moderns, entitled to individualism and associated freedoms, attribute to close-knit communities, research has shown that the community connectedness is crucial to people's wellbeing (Kelly et al. 2012). People's sense of security, belonging, ease and peace is dependent on a feeling of connectedness with other people: neighbours, friends, acquaintances, work colleagues, and even strangers we encounter on a daily basis. As mentioned, social connectedness is the main ingredient of life satisfaction. On the other hand, weakening of community life and the growth of competitive consumerism are interconnected, and both are related to a rise in inequality (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). Inequality in turn weakens the cohesiveness of communities.

Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) have argued that community life has weakened under the impact of growing geographical and social mobility. Australian local communities are certainly not tightly knit anymore, if they ever were. We do not know our neighbours because they move in and out fast. In contemporary urban Australia people are more likely to find a 'nucleus of friendships' at work, and the workplace is where they can feel valued and supported—although they can also feel insecure, bullied and under heavy competitive pressure to perform and outperform others. Even if one is lucky to be able to rely on work mates for emotional support, these work friendships are doomed by high job mobility.

In (sub)urban Australia, most people are spatially and also emotionally detached from their neighbours, but highly connected and 'networked' on the internet. Bauman (2005:78) diagnosed a 'disintegration of locally grounded, shared community living' (Bauman 2005:78) and argued that community has been largely replaced by 'network: a matrix of random connections and disconnections'. On the one hand, the individual is liberated from the constraints imposed by community control and community obligations that mark the contexts of dense social bonds; on the other hand, s/he lives in a fragmented and atomised social world (p.14) where self-responsibility increasingly substitutes for social solidarity. The latter is epitomised not only in informal communities but also in the welfare state, whose care has been reduced over the past decades

(Bauman 2005; 2007; Sennett 1998). In the highly mobile, competitive and individualist context, community care, civic responsibility and common good become secondary considerations (Kelly et al. 2012). Best (2010) argues that altruistic actions are perceived to be irrational, outrageous and repellent in a modern society sustained by consumer interests that promise instantaneous gratification and happiness. It is symptomatic that more and more often academic and political jargons resort to the concept of 'social capital', with its capitalistic and economic undertones of calculability and precision, rather than to the more complex and 'softer' concept of community when refereeing to everyday forms of human connectedness.

Conclusion

In Australia and other English-speaking developed nations the processes of community erosion—often conceptualised as diminishing of 'social capital'— have been detected (Kelly et al. 2012). The loss of social capital and the rise in social inequality with all its negative side-effects belong to the dark side of the intense mobility marking contemporary global capitalism. These processes have a potential to erode life satisfaction and people's mental health. In a society where community connectedness and the welfare state have been on a long-term wane, the individual has a primary duty of self-interest, self-care and self-help, and hence little time and energy left for solidarity with others and the 'common good'. It is often argued that 'virtual' connectedness, enjoyed in solitary sessions in front of one's computer, are a new manifestation of community, but it is yet to be seen whether this new internet-mediated connectedness, social media and instrumental networking can replace deep personal and face-to-face community bonds which require time and therefore a certain level of sedentarism, as opposed to intense mobility, in order to develop and endure. It is also questionable whether 'global consciousness' and a rather abstract cosmopolitanism can compensate for the gradual transformation of long-term friendships, cohesive extended families, transparent urban neighbourhoods, community-mindedness and care for the common good into quaint relics of the past.

Rather than regretting the disappearance of some dubious 'golden age' of community and deploring the dwindling social connectedness and its gradual replacement by taken-for-granted individualism, consumerism and status-seeking, one may ask whether this process is unstoppable and irreversible. This is a difficult question, of course, and its answer depends on how one interprets the root causes of the processes analysed in this paper. To address this issue, we need to understand the temporal (fast change and fragmentation) and spatial (mobility) aspects of the community crisis. This short paper provides some pointers for such an analysis but further research is needed to analyse these processes in their wider cultural, socio-economic and political contexts and stipulate whether alternative processes are possible and under what conditions. The forces that may counter hypermobility and erosion of social bonds may be found in the need to face global environmental challenges and a global rise and increased visibility of non-Western cultures that may contribute different ways of relating to nature, society and the self.

Footnotes

1. In this paper meaning the past 3-4 decades—the era of increasingly cheaper long-distance travel and internet communication.

2. The concept of social mobility also pertains to inter-generational changes in social status, which are still harder to measure; this paper is not concerned with this aspect of social mobility but rather with social mobility of an individual through her/his life course.

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Doping the Digger: Public Attitudes towards Performance Enhancing Substance use in the ADF

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Abstract

Performance enhancing substances (PES) have been part of sport and warfare since the origins of both. While the banning of PES in sport has been constructed relative to 'winning', war is about life and death. Despite use in allied militaries the Australian Defence Force (ADF) has a strict zero tolerance policy towards PES. Using a Haraway inspired mind-body approach overlaid with a moral panic framework and doping in sport literature, we explore the opinions of the Australian public regarding ADF PES use. Analysis of focus groups identified four key themes: unknown long-term impacts on health; lack of knowledge about the substances; self-body split; and, reliance on medical sanctioning. Of note is the importance of 'bodily incorporation' versus traditional enhancement strategies (such as training and equipment), framed by participants within the moral panic discourse of drug use. The ADF has and will face foes using PES; the question for policy makers and the ADF is how to incorporate PES use that exceptionalises the military experience against sporting and general public use of PES.

Key words: performance enhancement, military, doping, cyborg, moral panic.

Introduction

War and military operations put people in harm's way and are inherently dangerous (McKenzie, 2010). The Australian Defence Force (ADF) mitigates risks with various enhancement technologies to optimise performance (e.g. training, strategy, equipment, and weapons systems). One technology barred by the ADF strict 'zero tolerance' drug policy (Department of Defence, 2011) is the suite of performance enhancing substances (PES). Given PES have a role in other militaries (Gore et al. 2010) and acceptance of pharmaceutical enhancement in other social contexts (Møldrup et al, 2003) it is unclear why this is the case. We explore the social construction of ADF PES use drawing on focus group data involving the Australian general public and retired ADF veterans. We investigate the responses utilizing a Haraway inspired 'mind-body' approach, overlaid with a moral panic framework.

Background

Military and sporting use of PES is ubiquitous in history. Rexton Kan (2009: 48) notes Australian pharmacists were ordered to distribute cocaine during the 1915 Gallipoli campaign. Amphetamines were used to improve endurance, and perhaps aggression, in the Second World War (Gahlinger, 2001). In the 1940s and 1950s, US studies established that amphetamines improved military performance, with sanctioned use under certain circumstances in the 1960s (Cornum et al, 1997). Current US Defence policy permits dextroamphetamine and modafinil use to counter fatigue (Russo et al, 2008), with all three US services endorsing dextroamphetamine to reduce combat fatigue in pilots (Caldwell, 2008). Australian history and contemporary US policy demonstrates that the ADF position may leave Australian soldiers with a casualty increasing performance deficit. Put simply, un-doped soldiers are potentially at greater risk than doped soldiers; enemies using PES (e.g. amphetamines for alertness) could alter the relative combat risk.

Exploring the self-body split

Human enhancement is vexed with some seeing 'it as a way to fulfil or even transcend our potential; others see it as a darker path towards becoming Frankenstein's monster' (Fukuyama, 2002). The recent fusing of technology with humans, such as pacemakers, challenges our assumptions about what it is to be 'human' (Verbeek, 2008). This essentialist debate about 'human-ness' obscures the fundamental role technology has played in defining 'humanness'. Haraway's (1987: 2) exploration of human dependence on technology claimed that people are cyborgs - 'fabricated hybrids of machine and organism'. The original distinction between human and machine has become redundant because of the 'ubiquity and invisibility' of cyborgs (e.g. pacemakers). Haraway's argument is a forceful one for reconsidering how existing and encroaching technological enhancements are part of humanness, and that the fusion of human and technology has become commonplace and accepted (Møldrup et al, 2003). Drug based technologies are a component of this.

Drugs, the great moral panic?

A key factor influencing perception of PES use is the moral panic about drugs, and drugs in sport specifically. The debate around PES use in sport has shaped the 'doping' discourse (Connor, 2009; Calfee and Fadale, 2004; Percy, 1980), whose foundations lie in Cold War era 'war on drugs' demonising of drug use for economic, moral and public health interests (Mazanov, 2011a). The moral panic arising from the doping discourse has been fuelled through media and political hyperbole (Rogers, 2011). As Ungar (2001: 277) notes, moral panic 'devolves around notions of social regulation, manipulation by the powerful, and [for] deviance amplification'. The rhetoric of the moral panic (e.g. 'the stoned age') was a result of misinformation and hyperbole constraining how drugs were

discussed and controlled (Kuzmarov, 2009). Drug enhancement is easily associated with similar images. Teachers labelling 'cognitive enhancing' drugs *Ritalin* and *Adderall* 'brain steroids' (Laurance, 2003) represents a vested interest attempt to evoke a moral deterrent to promote reliance on teaching skills and teachers themselves, despite both drugs being reported as well tolerated with few side effects (Outram, 2011). Those opposing pharmaceutical enhancement equate enhancing drug use with stereotypical drug taking – unemployed, criminal and socially dysfunctional (Hoberman, 2006) – with even legitimate users typecast as incompetent and deviant (Hoberman, 2005). Thus, those seeking enhancement are 'bad'.

The image and purpose of a social group is integral to how we view PES use. The medicalisation of society means medically sanctioned drug use inspires little if any moral panic (Fox, 1977). However, Hoberman's (2006) distinction of societal threat from steroid use by police officers or athletes demonstrates a classic moral panic framework from the uproar around drug use in sport diminishing the institutional integrity of sport relative to enhancement to protect institutional integrity by 'keeping society safe'.

The ADF values guiding behaviour and actions of members and operations are intended to reflect the aspirations of Australian society (Commonwealth of Australia, 2011). With normalisation of enhancement technology it is unclear whether the ADF ban of PES accords with the discourse of panic around enhancement in sport, or the enhancement for safety for police. If society perceives *drug* use as bad, the ADF policy accords with the concept of a 'good' military (Weising, 2011). If the ADF policy is based on societal norms of enhancement, the ADF needs to redevelop its policy around PES technology.

Method

Focus group interviews were conducted at UNSW, Canberra (ethics approval A-12-02). Four semi-structured focus groups were conducted with 17 participants drawn from the researcher's extended social and professional networks (a non-representative convenience sample). Invitations were extended through e-mail, word of mouth and social media. The focus group discussions were approximately 90 minutes and were audio recorded.

Analysis

Most participants opposed PES use by the ADF. Thematic analysis of the findings identified four key themes: the unknown long-term impacts on health; lack of knowledge about the actual substances; self-body split; and, the reliance on medical sanctioning.

Anxiety around unknown long-term health impacts reflected similar discourse on drugs in sport (Mazanov and Connor, 2010). Most participants regarded ambiguous, unknowable, long-term problems as more important than short-term gain. Statements such as '*give me something now and I'll do the job, but what's going to happen tomorrow?*' and '*the long-term effects on a person almost outweigh the short-term effects*

you get from these [substances]' infer the problematic nature inherent in evaluating the risks and benefits of PES. This is indicative of the heuristic and emotions based understanding and estimation of risk in the absence of reliable information (Beck, 1992).

Concerns regarding addiction and legality were linked to confusion about the distinction between substance use, misuse and abuse. Participants constructed addiction and dysfunction as inevitable outcomes of use, evoking Hoberman's (2006) incompetent and deviant stereotype; for example, '*it needs to be well policed, and I don't think that it can be...there's no way that we can police it*'. Participants still used moral panic inspired drug use schemas from illicit drug use even when presented with a medicalised PES use model (physician supervised small dose regimen): '*what do these drugs do to people? Does that encourage them, because they are on these drugs and get that high, to cause more risks to themselves?*'

Participant's responses reflected ignorance about PES and a preference for training and practice efficacy.

> *...if I'm going to get shot, I'm going to get shot, and any 'miracle pill' which might reduce the chance down to 30%, it's still a risk you're taking by being there in the first place... your training and your fitness is going to get you through it.*

The 'miracle pill' view highlights, that regardless of benefits, anchoring beliefs flowing from the moral panic and the threat to 'human-ness' mean rejection. As Mezirow (1997: 5) notes, 'we have a strong tendency to reject ideas that fail to fit our preconceptions'. This lack of understanding about substances and their administration was the second theme.

Some participants were unable to accept PES could reduce battlefield causalities.

> *Under any circumstances, I don't care how many drugs we give anybody. I don't care if those drugs are going to make our skin impervious to puncture, by a Howitzer at 15 feet, no guarantee… I would rather see [a] well trained, well equipped military go into action with the clearest mind[s] possible… than to take a gamble on giving a medication that is not necessary, and cannot be shown to improve the chances of success or return.*

However, this view represented those without war-like experience. Those with war-like experience took a different view. One veteran noted:

> *If it meant that me and my mates were coming home at the end of the six months, then I would take it. If it meant that there was that little extra chance that we're going to live if we get shot, then, yep no worries I'm going to take it. I don't care what the final effects are when I come home at the end of that six months... I'll deal with that then.*

This is consistent with Elder and Clipp's (1989) work showing military personnel with combat experience value human life more highly than those who have not. This illustrates how participant experience changes the construction and evaluation of short- and long-term risks.

The third theme was the self-body split. The notion of being unable to take drugs 'off the body' because of their incorporation within proved problematic for most participants:

> *You need to be active 24/7 with your thoughts, not with some stimulant to say this is your thoughts.*

The ability to stop being enhanced on-demand with no side-effects appeared as a common thread. When juxtaposed against next generation liquid body armour (Gill, 2010), the focus groups were in favour if it meant preventing casualties. This was typically justified as '*it's the least that the government can do because these people are risking their lives for their country*'. PES use was still rejected even when constructed in liquid body armour terms.

> *If you are concerned about the negative affects of some of these drugs then that it something else that you need to resolve, but with the body armour, what you see is what you get. You put it on, it protects you, you take it off there's no side effects; it's really that simple.*

Concerns regarding individual reaction to the drugs, and the ability to stop the effects at will emerged:

> *You can stop with a drink, but not with a pill*
> *When you take the armour off it is off. But when you finish taking the drug, the effect of that drug may not be [finished].*

The final theme was a reliance on medical validation of PES use. All participants, perhaps because of concern over long-term effects, expressed their need for medical supervision.

> *At the end of the day, it's up to the medical officer to determine the use of that individual because they know what the person's background is and tolerances, where we don't have that medical expertise as a [Subject Matter Expert] to comment. You have to accept that. You have no choice but to accept that.*

This is consistent with the medicalisation of society (Fox, 1977); participants were willing to consider allowing the use of PES if medically supervised. Regardless of how much actual testing has been done, or whether there are any negative aspects identified, the recommendations of a medical professional were fundamental to acceptance of PES use.

Extending this line of inquiry, Anthrax vaccination was discussed in relation to combat personnel risking exposure in terms of prevention and possible side effects. The US department of Defence was ordered to stop compulsory vaccination due to side effect concerns (Dyer, 2004). ADF personnel were offered voluntary Anthrax vaccine for the 2003 Gulf-War 2 (Iraq) deployment; those refusing were not deployed (Ackermann et al, 2004). Even with established risks to long-term health, focus group participants viewed vaccination as acceptable. When juxtaposed with Erythropoietin (EPO) micro-doping to reduce blood loss driven oxygen deprivation morbidity, the consensus was that it was inappropriate. Participants distinguished 'immunisation' as preventative therapy (returning someone to original/'natural' state) from enhancement.

> *I see this different to treating medical conditions... giving someone a vaccination is different to giving someone a drug to improve their performance.*

Conclusion

The endorsement of PES in the ADF is a contentious issue. Although similar comparisons can be raised between elite sportspersons and operationally deployed military personnel, the main difference is that PES use for military personnel can be reconstructed in life or death terms (Mazanov, 2011b). It is the potential for PES to reduce casualties that stands in stark contrast to the comparatively trivial 'winning' of elite sport. Civilian participants had little concept of the life and death terms, instead framing ADF PES use with illicit drug discourses. Participants regarded PES use as unacceptable due to the unknown long-term risks and the effects on the body.

By comparison, the two combat veterans explored and justified PES use in terms of short and long-term risk. Additional inquiry is needed to determine how combat experience shapes responses to ADF PES use, perhaps by assessing ADF personnel responses to PES use pre and post-deployment. After all, if those who are actually in such environments deem them worthy, necessary and acceptable then perhaps introducing PES may bring more diggers home.

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The stars and widgets of the National Rugby League: exploring inconsistencies in club management of player indiscretions

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Introduction

Commercialisation of professional sport has seen media interest reconstruct scandal as a central part of sporting spectacle (Kellner 2003; Rowe & Stevenson 1995). As commercial entities, many sports are now reliant on direct or indirect (e.g. brand exposure via jersey sponsorships due to broadcast rights) media sponsorship for their survival (Phillips & Hutchins 2003). The reconstruction of sporting spectacle by the media to include scandal means both on- and off-field achievements are reported and scrutinised in the mediascape, more so if it is sensational, controversial or salacious (Kellner 2003; Thompson 2000). The sports industry is simultaneously reliant on the media for its survival and vulnerable to it through the publishing of scandalous material. This vulnerability extends from the threats to both the legitimacy and integrity of sporting codes, and the commercial relationships upon which sporting codes depend.

~~Connor and Mazanov (2010) argue that scandal can be good for the commercial viability of a sport, suggesting the integrity of the sport needs to be controlled to the extent there is no compromise in commercial relationships. That is, maintaining a good public image while providing enough scandal to whet the media's appetite.~~ The challenge of maintaining a good public image has been particularly significant for Rugby League in Australia. Professional Rugby League players have become notorious for poor off-field behaviour, particularly issues of alcohol invoked violence, and physical and sexual abuse towards women (Masters 2006). Despite concerted efforts by Rugby League administrators to improve the public image,

scandal continues to plague the code (Phillips and Hutchins 2003). It is apparent that the structure and organisation of Rugby League makes scandal hard to manage, with a weak governing body, beholden to commercial owners and a particular masculine culture reproducing the conditions for scandal.

It becomes pertinent to see how scandal is managed by the administrators of Rugby League and if they act to protect the integrity of the sport or the commercial relationships. Connor's (2009) "athlete as widget" exploitation framework suggests that commercial considerations and star power matter most. Connor contends athletes are widgets in the commercial machine of sport – easily replaceable by other equally talented athletes waiting their turn. That is, the players making up the NRL are disposable if they threaten the commercial machine. While widget players and athletes have differential importance with some marketed as 'stars', such status does not make them irreplaceable, only less replaceable than other players in the short term.

This paper reports part of a broader research project exploring the management strategies employed by Australian Rugby League clubs and the governing body, the National Rugby League (NRL). In it we explore the types of scandal that have occurred and the institutional responses to those scandals to assess the consistency and 'fairness' in the management of different players by clubs and the NRL. We show that athletes are treated very differently based on their economic value to a club irrespective of the scandal they create. Our findings suggest and exploitation model best explains the current treatment of players in the NRL.

Methodology

Given our focus on the management of scandal, print was used as the form of media where sports gossip has expanded most (Rowe and Stevenson 1995). We undertook a textual-analysis of Australian print media, drawing primarily on material from the major papers in NSW and Queensland. This was complimented with national publications via Australian Associated Press and multiple search engines to identify relevant sources (including Factiva, Google and the web-pages of specific print media outlets, NRL Clubs, the NRL and club fan pages/forums).

The process of media reporting is a subjective one (Prior 2008). In our analysis, we are not concerned with finding 'truths' surrounding an event, rather given the NRL's focus on maintaining its public image, the fact that 'something' happened is sufficient. We are interested in the process of the reporting, reaction and actions that occur as a result of the incident. This approach is supported by the observation that there is no absolute correct interpretation of any text (McKee 2001) and that tabloid press typically involves significant speculation (Rowe and Stevenson 1995).

Connor, Huybers and Mazanov (2011) provided a starting point for identifying and classifying scandals in sport via their sports harms taxonomy. This list was expanded to include as diverse a range of scandals as possible based on a review of literature, media reporting and conversation between the authors (see Table 1). The process of defining what did and did not constitute categorisation as a scandal was a subjective one, with an incident identified as a scandal if it gained mainstream media attention, with relevant details regarding

the incident and management available. Each incident was tagged under as many categories of scandal as was relevant.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Our study of scandal in the NRL is confined to the period from 2001-2012 for pragmatic reasons. This was done, because of the stability of the NRL management structure and personnel (David Gallop Chief Executive Officer 2002-2012), the availability of print media to the research team, and the changes in the volume and nature of scandal reporting over longer periods. We identified over 100 different incidents, across 20 categories of scandal involving over 150 players. To respond to the general aim of the paper, we identify how incidents from two specific categories of scandal were managed and draw on two case studies to explore the consistency in how different players in similar incidents are treated. In this context, examples have been selected for their usefulness in comparing different types of response and what the responses say about the management of scandals in Rugby League.

Results and Discussion

The following section outlines how two categories of scandal (drink-driving and physical assault) have been managed by Rugby League clubs and the NRL. Themes drawn out from this analysis are grounded in the broader literature and two additional case study examples.

An important part of the interpretation was the NRL management context. The NRL rarely used its power to punish both clubs and individuals players, deeming it impractical to manage every issue that occurs at a club level. Rather, clubs took responsibility for maintaining player discipline on a case-by-case basis. While the NRL reviewed club decisions (Honeysett, 2008), for the purposes of this analysis NRL acceptance of a club decision (no further action) was assumed to be a proxy for it condoning the action taken.

i) Drink-driving

Drink-driving is an easily identifiable incident, with blood alcohol levels an objective measure of the seriousness of the offence (although also influenced by licence type, previous driving record and any other driving offences). Table 2 highlights the range of management approaches employed in response to drink-driving.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

A variety of punishments were handed down in response to drink-driving offences, ranging from no reported club action (Shillington 2009) to a player being fined and sacked (Costigan 2006). There is no clear correlation between the severity of club versus court punishment. This is highlighted by comparing three examples from 2006: Maitua, Costigan and Carney. Court sentences clearly indicate Maitua and Carney's offences were more serious, yet Costigan received a more severe club punishment. These inconsistencies are also evident across years. In 2011, Carney (again) and White, both convicted of serious drink-driving offences, experienced significantly different punishments. The NRL condoned the club

management decisions on all bar two occasions, intervening in 2009 to suspend Friend for two weeks and in 2011 to work with the Roosters in Carney's rehabilitation plan.

ii) Physical assault

Significant inconsistencies in management emerge with physical assaults (see Table 3). Despite similar severity with the judicial punishments of Manu (2005), Latu (2006) and Cherrington (2009), club punishments diverged. Punishments handed down by clubs failed to reflect the severity of court sentences. Croker (2005) was fined $700 by the court after being convicted of affray, and fined $10,000 by his club. This was disproportionate to the fines Manu and Cherrington received, and Inglis (2009) being stood down for two weeks for assaulting his girlfriend (avoiding conviction through a diversion order). These inconsistencies are given starker contrast when considering that Seymour (2006), Waqa (2009) and Watts (2011) were all sacked without going to court. By comparison, New Zealand captain and NRL star Marshall (2011) was not stood down at all through the court process that found him not guilty of assault. The NRL condoned all these management decisions.

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

It is apparent inconsistent management of scandal occurs within the NRL and on the basis of player status. In particular, Costigan and Seu Seu were sacked because of their drink driving charges being the final straw for their clubs, while notorious repeat offender Carney was not.

Further, when the judicial end point was the same Seymour, Waqa and Watts were sacked and Marshall retained.

Connor's (2009) "athlete as widget" exploitation framework helps explain the apparent variation in management decisions. For example, when they were sacked neither Costigan nor Seu Seu were representative players, or even star players for their club teams. In contrast, even though Carney (2011) had a well-publicised history of off-field indiscretions and was on his 'last chance' (The Sunday Telegraph 2011), he was also the league's reigning Best and Fairest and received a relatively small penalty. Similarly, where Seymour, Waqa and Watts were fringe players for their clubs when they were sacked, players treated softly such as Marshall and Inglis where stars and Cherrington was considered one of the Roosters up and coming stars (ABC 2009). This points to a trend where by the 'big name players' are looked after and lesser players left to the way side. This is not to say that big named players are not punished or sacked – however that it takes more for them to get sacked. This can be further explicated via two cases; one involving the Canberra Raiders and a second the Brisbane Broncos.

Case Study 1 – Canberra Raiders 2007-2008

The police attempted to pull over NRL star and Raiders player, Todd Carney, for doing burn outs (Wilson 2007a). Carney sped away and then fled the scene on foot, while passenger and car owner Steve Irwin (a Raiders reserves player), stayed and gave a statement to police (Wilson 2007a). When Carney turned himself in he was charged with failing to stop when directed by police, negligent driving and driving while disqualified (Wilson 2007a). While

Irwin was cleared of any wrongdoing (Wilson 2007a), Carney was fined $500, suspended from driving for an additional 12 months, placed on a good behaviour bond (12 months), ordered to do 200 hours community service and warned that another offence would put him in gaol (Corbett, 2007).

The club response to the players was markedly different. While Carney was stood down for six weeks, Irwin was released from his contract less than two weeks after the incident (Wilson, 2007b). The club cited repeated disciplinary issues as the reason for Irwin's release and stated he had refused the rehabilitation plan they offered him (Wilson, 2007b). In 2008, Irwin accused the Raiders of a cover up regarding the incident, alleging they asked him to lie to police to save Carney from going to gaol in return for Irwin only being docked one day's pay for drinking while injured (Richie and AAP 2008).

Clear inconsistencies emerged in the management of the star player (Carney), and 'widget' player Irwin. Irwin was on the Raiders playing roster, however had not broken into the first grade side due to injury (Wilson 2007b). In contrast, Carney was already a heavily marketed player and had long been marked for future representative honours (AAP 2006a). Although Irwin's release was based on repeated disciplinary issues, none of his previous indiscretions had drawn media attention and given his lowly status probably had no impact on the Raiders brand (especially given he did nothing wrong). In contrast, Carney had been involved in a well-publicised previous drink-driving offence (AAP 2006a). The double standards employed here were acknowledged by the Raider's General Manager, Don Furner, when he stated:

> Sometimes there are double standards and sometimes there are different qualities of player. Sometimes exceptions are made for better players or players that have been at a club longer. That's a fact of life. (in Wilson, 2007b)

Case Study 2 – Brisbane Broncos

The Brisbane Broncos' management of indiscretions between 2006 and 2009 also highlights inconsistent treatment of different players. In 2006, Brett Seymour was sacked for a night club assault for which there was insufficient evidence to charge, while Neville Costigan was sacked for drink-driving before a conviction was recorded (AAP 2006b). In 2007, John Re Teo and Ian Lacey were both sacked over an assault within days of the incident, after only Lacey had been charged and before either had entered a plea (Ironside & de Kroo 2007).

However, the club's management of an alleged sexual assault by several star players in 2008 differs markedly. One week before a semi-final game (and during a day long drinking session) three star players (Sam Thaiday, Karmichael Hunt and Darius Boyd) were alleged to have been sexually involved with a female in a toilet cubicle, with one accused of recording the incident on a mobile phone (Pandaram and Walter 2008). Unlike previous years the Broncos did not take swift action. In an extraordinary occurrence the police commissioner went public in encouraging the Broncos management to follow the assumption of innocence before guilt (Pandaram and Walter 2008). The players were never stood down and allowed to play in crucial high profile matches. After the season, despite the charges being dropped each player was fined $20,000, a comparatively severe punishment (Richie 2008).

Conclusion

Modern, mediatised sport is a spectacle of entertainment where any threat to the 'brand' is carefully managed and controlled. Connor and Mazanovs (2010) observed that the scandal prone 2009 season broke revenue records for the NRL, suggesting that the NRL understands and actively manages the scandal-media-revenue nexus for its benefit. Instead of managing poor behaviour, this inconsistent approach that allows stars to 'get away with it' leading to more poor behaviour. Of course, some poor behaviour can be useful for a sporting code whose marketers are seeking to define a brand and image that includes the 'bad boy' (Connor and Mazanov 2010).

The management of the scandal-media-revenue nexus is based on the value of the player in terms of their sporting prowess and marketability, or on the stage of the season and importance of the game. The stark inconsistencies and admitted difference in treatment depending on the player show what is of value in commercial sport. Widgets receive different treatment based on their relative status so the sport can claim to be taking a tough stance on poor player behaviour, but only when it has no or limited negative impact on commercial interests. That is, the NRL is managing the perceived integrity of their sport relative to commercial interests. This raises the uncomfortable question of where players' interests fall in this context, with exploitation as a disposable widget the most plausible explanation.

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Table 1: Categories of scandal

Verbal misdemeanour	Driving without a license
Sexual misdemeanour	Other driving offence
Physical misdemeanour	Team code of conduct breach
Urinating in public	NRL code of conduct breach
General Misconduct	Legal betting
Indecent exposure	Match fixing
Illicit Drugs	Corruption
Performance Enhancing Drugs	Salary Cap breach
Alcohol	Scandal Cover up
Drink Driving	Political comment

Table 2: Drink-driving offences

Player (club)	Year	Blood Alcohol Level	Court Action	Club Action
Sonny Bill Williams (Bulldogs)	2005	0.075	F: $700 DS: 5 months	F: $10,000 ($5,000 suspended)
Neville Costigan (Broncos)	2006	0.13	F: $900 DS: 7 months	F: $5,000 Sacked
Reni Maitua (Bulldogs)	2006	0.165**	F: $2,800 DS: 18 months	F: $15,000 ($7,500 suspended) SD: 1 week
Todd Carney* (Raiders)	2006	0.145	F: $2,000 DS: 24 months GBB: 3 years	F: Undisclosed
Terence Seu Seu* (Newcastle)	2008	0.145**	F: $800 DS: 6 months	Sacked
David Shillington* (Raiders)	2009	0.115	F: $500 DS: 12 months GBG: 12 months	No action reported
Trevor Thurling (Raiders)	2009	0.1	F: $1,200 DS: 6 months	SD: 4 weeks
Jake Friend (Roosters)	2009	0.162**	F: $850 DS: 16 months	F: $10,000
Matt White (Titans)	2011	0.154	F: $1,700 DS: 6 months	F: $25,000 CS: 100 hours Driving and alcohol education program
Todd Carney* (Roosters)	2011	0.52**	F: $1,000 fine DS: 12 months GBB: 6 months Gaol: 6 month (suspended)	F: $10,000 Volunteer work

Key: Community Service (CS); Driving Suspension (DS); Fine (F); Good Behaviour Bond (GBB); Stood Down (SD).

Notes:

* Incidents included other driving offences: Carney (2006) reckless driving and previous drink driving charge; Seu Seu (2008) using a mobile while driving; Shillington (2009) previous drink-driving charge; Carney (2011) previous drink-driving charge.

** P-Plate drive with legal Blood Alcohol Level of 0 (except Friend where it was 0.02)

Table 3: Physical altercations

Player (club)	Year	Charge	Court Action	Club Action
Willie Manu	2005	Maliciously inflicting grievous bodily harm, Affray	CS: 200 hours	F: $5,000 SD: 2 weeks
Michael Croker	2005	Affray	F: $700	F: $10,000
Tevita Latu	2006	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	CS: 200 hours	Sacked
Brett Seymour (Broncos)	2006	Assault	Charges dropped	Sacked
Bronx Goodwin (Raiders)	2008	Assault (two counts)	F: $1,300 GBB: 12 months	Sacked
Anthony Cherrington (Roosters)	2009	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	GBB: 18 month CS: 150 hours Apprehended violence order	F:$3000 (compensation) CS: Undisclosed Anger management courses
Setaimata Sa (Roosters)	2009	Assault, malicious damage, Failure to leave a licensed premises, Resisting arrest	F: $1,500 + $900 damages GBB: 12 month	SD: Indefinitely (traded to Catalan Dragons)
Greg Inglis (Storm)	2009	Recklessly causing injury, Assault	Diversion order (ordered to pay $3,000 to a women's health service)	SD: 2 weeks
Stanley Waqa (Roosters)	2009	Recklessly causing injury	Charges dismissed	Sacked
Anthony Watts	2011	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	Charges dropped	Sacked
Benji Marshall (West Tigers)	2011	Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	Not guilty	No action

Key: Community Service (CS); Fine (F); Good Behaviour Bond (GBB); Stood Down (SD).

Gendered inequalities in policy processes: An illustration of women on the periphery in environmental design and public health policy

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Abstract

Gender inequalities manifest in a number of ways including through policymaking processes. Drawing on critical feminist perspectives, we investigate a recent Victorian Inquiry into environmental design and public health in order to illustrate how policymaking processes serve to reinforce gendered divisions within society. In our analysis, we highlight the ways in which the scope and methods of the Inquiry process, and the outcomes produced, reinforced gendered divisions and confined women's voices to the periphery. In our critique we make four key points: 1) professional or 'expert' knowledge was given privilege over 'non-expert' voices; 2) the gender-neutral nature of the report consequently obscures the needs of women which are folded into those of 'populations' and 'families'; 3) the focus on individual behaviour and responsibility for health outcomes ignores social relations and processes and the dynamic between structure and agency and; 4) where specific issues relating to women are highlighted, they are not translated into recommendations. We conclude that the Inquiry report focused on chronic disease prevention and recommended the reorganisation of urban space to further shift the responsibility for population health outcomes onto individuals. This obscured the needs of women and perpetuated a social order referenced to masculine interests. Ultimately, policy processes of this ilk disempower women and legitimise their marginalisation and exclusion from public health discourses in general.

Keywords: urban planning, public health, policymaking, gender, discourse

Introduction

In this paper we examine how the lives and concerns of women were (un)represented within a recent Victorian inquiry into environmental design and public health (Environment and Planning References Committee (EPRC), 2012). Specifically, we critique how the Inquiry recommended urban space be reorganised to further promote individual responsibility for health and prioritised the role of expert knowledge over the voices and experiences of private citizens in general, and women in particular. The emphasis on individual behaviour and responsibility is characteristic of contemporary neoliberal policy approaches: our main concern with the Inquiry is that the gendered neutrality of the investigation reinforced gender

divisions through such policymaking processes. More specifically, we argue that the Inquiry illustrated the operationalisation of masculine discourse in policy that placed women's issues at the periphery. At the same time, we highlight how the focus on personal responsibility for chronic disease prevention removed women's health interests from the frame and thus from the policymaking process.

In light of public health's new focus on 'environments for health' (Department of Human Services, 2001), planning policies provide a unique opportunity to examine the way in which individual health problems are framed within policymaking discourses. As critics suggest, "the new public health is, if nothing else, a set of discourses focusing on bodies, and on the regulation of the ways in which those bodies interact with particular arrangements of time and space" (Peterson and Lupton, 1996: 11).

Drawing on the problem representation work of Bacchi (2009), Freidenvall and Krook (2011: 49) note that

> the goals of the problem-representation approach, however, go beyond simply documenting the structure of policy discourses. They also entail focusing on the ways in which power operates through discourse to fix certain constructions of gender relations as dominant and to marginalize or exclude counter-discourses. In other words, issues of gender and power are central to the articulation and effects of discourse.

As such, here we examine the Inquiry Report in light of what Monk and Hanson (2008) have identified as key sites for sexism in geographic research, and we contend applies equally to policymaking. Following the classic work of Westkott (1979), in discussing research practice, Monk and Hanson identify how the purpose, methods and content of research may focus attention on issues that reflect the status quo that is created by and sustains a social order referenced to masculine interests. In this analysis, we examine the ways in which the scope and methods of the Inquiry process and the outcomes produced reinforce gendered divisions in public health. In doing so, we identify how the Inquiry process served to 'write out' women's concerns that did not fit within the health focus framed around chronic disease. Women's concerns were instead 'folded in' with those of 'the population' and 'families' (Jenson, 2008), an elision that served the interests of the masculine discourse in dominance.

Environmental Design and Public Health in Victoria

Following the rhetoric of 'healthy public policy' (World Health Organization, 1986) embedded within the environmental logic of the Healthy Cities movement (Tsouros, 1990), in 2011 the Parliament of Victoria provided terms of reference for an inquiry into "the contribution of environmental design to prevention and public health in Victoria" (EPRC, 2012: 5). This inquiry sought to "improve the quality and design of the built environment in ways that promote and encourage positive health outcomes for all" (EPRC, 2012: 4). After reviewing 63 public submissions, hearing evidence from 31 organisations and individuals, and conducting site visits to five municipal areas, the Reference Committee produced a report that examined "best practice models in terms of modifying aspects of the built environment in ways that lead to better health outcomes" (EPRC, 2012: 8).

The resultant Inquiry Report was organised into eight chapters. After an introductory chapter outlining the scope and structure of the report, three further chapters reviewed evidence on the links between the built environment and public health, particularly in relation to chronic disease. Chapter 5 then explored "opportunities to promote considerations of planning for health and wellbeing in Victorian legislation, guidelines and policy approaches" (EPRC, 2012: 8). Chapters 6 and 7 focused specifically on best practice models of parks and open public spaces, and active transport, respectively. Finally, chapter 8 described four case studies including three new residential developments and a green wedge preserve.

Analysis and findings

While researchers have drawn on Foucault to critique the regulatory power of new public health discourses (Peterson and Lupton, 1996), we heed the call of Butler (2005) and Moore (2010) who seek to disaggregate gender from Foucault's web of regulatory power. Like Moore (2010), we acknowledge the deeply gendered nature of 'new public health' discourse whereby the operation of power upon individual bodies relies on conventional ideas of women's roles and their responsibility for family health.

To conduct our critique, we employed Jäger's (2001) method of critical discourse analysis, as this provided a way of uncovering how practices contained within texts "systematically constitute the subjects and objects of which they speak" (Schwandt, 2001: 58). In the current study, we employed Jäger's method of examining how language shapes social relations to examine the purpose and method of the Committee's work, the gender neutrality and specificity of the Inquiry's terms of reference and data sources in order to identify the construction of gender roles and identities that reflected extant social relations at the expense of women's 'public health'. We also examined the content of the submissions to the Inquiry and the Final Report (EPRC, 2012) to make a case for our argument, based on the following four interrelated points.

First, the Inquiry's Terms of Reference directed the Committee to: evaluate and report on the evidence regarding environmental design and public health; review existing policy frameworks and legislation regarding environmental design and public health; and examine the experience of the international Healthy Cities initiative. In doing so, expert and bureaucratic understandings of the problem were privileged over private citizen and community group interests, and the submissions were therefore primarily from academic, government and service sources. The absence of broader public views and concerns was reflected in the Chair's foreword, where she noted: "importantly, the committee has heard that there is a strong consensus between the planning and the public health professions on how to approach the problems" (EPRC, 2012: v). We contend that the effect was the marginalisation of issues outside this focus, including those relating to gender.

We argue that this expert focus played out in recommendations calling for "public health specialists" (EPRC, 2012: xii) to inform Precinct Structure Planning processes; and for further research on planning projects to generate "quantifiable evidence" (EPRC, 2012: xvii) regarding health and wellbeing. In these cases, problems were framed by and will continue to inform the existing social order, a consequence of which is the legitimation of the status quo as 'non-expert' voices will continue to be confined to the periphery.

It is acknowledged that the construction of knowledge embedded within the Inquiry process is not limited to gender, and reflects other social divisions including those of socio-economic status, race and class. From a feminist perspective, however, what is of relevance is the ways in which 'professionalised' accounts of social problems and their solutions necessarily lie within a social order that buttresses male interest and the role of the professions therein (Davies, 1996; Kuhlmann and Bourgeault, 2008).

A second issue is the use of secondary data and the focus on population-level indicators of public health. As the report indicates, the scope of the inquiry was limited to "populations, not individuals" (EPRC, 2012: 7). While older people, the disabled, adults and children were identified as populations warranting specific attention, the report's findings and recommendations were not disaggregated by population or gender and research demonstrating gendered factors that contribute to chronic disease were identified, but not addressed (a point we return to below).

Third, there was a focus on individual behaviour and responsibility for health which ignored social relations and processes and the dynamic between structure and agency (Giddens, 1984). As is consistent with recent critiques of the Healthy Cities movement and the new public health (Peterson and Lupton, 1996), the Inquiry essentially failed to understand or act on the social organisation of health. As critics have suggested, "despite rhetoric about the need to develop a new 'holistic' framework of analysis and new modes of social organisation, [the Healthy Cities and new public health] philosophies, policies and practice reflect a conventional, modernist understanding of society and of reform" (Peterson and Lupton, 1996: 121); one that supports the existing social order and the marginalisation of women.

This position is evident in the Report's focus on chronic disease, despite the Inquiry's terms of reference providing no specific directive to do so. The main body of the Report is organised to address 'factors' contributing to chronic disease, such as obesity, physical activity, health eating, and alcohol consumption – all of which can be, and are often, attributed to the behaviour of individuals. The background chapters that set out the nature of chronic disease in Australia provide little justification as to why chronic disease is the focus of the report, other than to state that "chronic disease is the largest burden on Australian health services, yet unlike infectious disease, is often preventable and/or attributable to individual lifestyle and behavioural choices" (EPRC, 2012: 9). We argue this emphasis on individual behaviour diverts attention away from structural contributors to chronic disease and largely removes gender-specific concerns from the frame. For example, the relationships between neighbourhood characteristics and intimate partner violence (Pinchevsky and Wright, 2012), which is the leading preventable cause of death, disability and illness for Victorian women aged 15-44 (VicHealth, 2004), were not addressed.

Although on most occasions the Inquiry's recommendations ignored the complexity of women's lives, ironically women were implicitly referenced as those who control family health behaviours, such as food consumption, travelling to and from school, or playing in parks – all of which hint at the highly complex nature of everyday life. For example, the low number of children walking or riding to school was identified as of particular concern and a recommendation was made to "support initiatives to increase the number of children walking and cycling" (EPRC, 2012: 111). While safety concerns were highlighted as the primary reason parents choose to drive their children to school, this obscured the impact of time poverty, especially in outer suburban areas where men were reported as being unavailable for their families due to long work hours and commutes (EPRC, 2012: 44).

Further, the Committee noted that walking or cycling could replace many short trips taken by car, but that this would rely on "providing the necessary walking and cycling paths and networks" (EPRC, 2012: 52). Hence individual behaviour was depicted as dependent on physical infrastructure, rather than occurring within a social context. As we have argued, the removal of the social context disproportionately impacts on women, as "it actually prioritizes individual changes that leave gendered power inequities in place" (Zoller, 2005, p. 184).

Fourth, where specific issues relating to women's health and wellbeing were highlighted, such as in the case of women's safety concerns and physical activity, no reference was made to these issues in the Report's recommendations. For example, a section on 'The built environment and crime' noted that "women's perceived fear of violence can influence their behaviour more than actual rates of violence" (EPRC, 2012: 96) and that safety concerns limit women's ability to participate in society the same way as men do. Safety concerns regarding active transport use were also cited, with "women from lower socioeconomic groups and CALD [culturally and linguistically diverse] backgrounds who tend to live in higher crime neighbourhoods, work during non-business hours and typically have fewer transport options"(EPRC, 2012: 96) being identified as among those least likely to walk. However, despite such evidence, no recommendations were produced to address these concerns.

Another example that highlights the important omission of gender and lack of gender-specific recommendations, is that of lone parents, of whom 85% nationally are women (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Despite lone parents being identified in the report as having the highest percentage of risk factors for chronic heart disease or type II diabetes in Victoria, no gender-specific recommendations were produced. Instead, recommendations were made about healthy eating and physical activity; however these focused narrowly on the environment, such as the density of fast food and alcohol outlets and the provision of walking and cycling infrastructure, public transport and public open space. Overall, the gender-neutrality of the report obscured the needs of women as the availability of unhealthy products and lack of public infrastructure were constructed as the primary determinants of individual health behaviour. This is perhaps unsurprising given the 'professionalised construction' of the policy problem.

Conclusions

Gender inequalities manifest in a number of ways including through policymaking processes. In this short paper we have used a critical feminist perspective to investigate a recent Victorian Inquiry into Environmental Design and Public Health. We find that the Inquiry's emphasis on expert knowledge and moral individualism has silenced the input and concerns of women and instead entrenches extant gender relations. We make four key points to illustrate our argument. Firstly, professional or 'expert' knowledge was privileged over 'non-expert' voices which were confined to the periphery or unheard. Secondly, the report is gender-neutral and consequently obscures the lives and concerns of women which are folded into, and obscured, by those of 'populations' and 'families'. Thirdly, the focus on assigning responsibility for health outcomes solely to individuals ignores social relations and processes, and overlooks the dynamic between structure and agency. And fourthly, where specific issues or concerns relating to women are highlighted, they are not translated into any of the Inquiry's recommendations. Ultimately, policy processes of this ilk obscure the reality of women's

lives, disempowering them while simultaneously legitimising their marginalisation and exclusion from public health discourses in general.

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He said, she said: The gendered use of public testimony in the child support reform process

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Abstract

This paper examines the evidence used to support the claims made in the Child Support chapter of the 2003 Inquiry into Child Custody report. Of the 220 references cited in the chapter, 110 refer to individual witnesses or representatives from gendered advocacy groups. We examine these 110 references to community hearing testimony and written submissions, paying particular attention to the gender of the informant and whose interests they served. Confirming the work of feminist legal and policy scholars, we found that most references were made to men or served the interest of payers (who are mostly men). Further, of the 31 references to statements made by women, the majority of these served the interests of payers. Thus, what was presented as legitimate evidence was gendered. We conclude that the voices and interests of women were marginalized in this part of the reform process.

Keywords: child support, policy reform, gender, evidence

Introduction

In 2003, in response to government concerns regarding the 'fatherlessness' of children living in single-mother households (Fogarty and Augoustinos, 2008), the Australian government conducted an inquiry into child custody arrangements. The Inquiry received over 1700 written submissions, called 166 witnesses and heard from 181 individuals who made individual statements at public hearings across the country. Chapter Six of the Inquiry report was dedicated to child support issues. This chapter provided the impetus for a Ministerial Taskforce on Child Support, which produced recommendations that were taken up in policy in 2006-08, culminating in a major overhaul of the Australian Child Support Scheme (CSS). Economic analyses of the reforms indicate that they have had gendered outcomes1, with a small number of high income payers experiencing net gains under the new Scheme, and a larger number of low-income payees more likely to experiences losses (Smyth and Henman, 2010).

In this paper, we examine the evidence cited in the 'Child Support' chapter of the 2003 Inquiry into Child Custody report (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs (HRSCFCA), 2003) as a case example of the social construction of evidence in law reform processes. Our findings indicate that evidence was gendered, with men's experiences and payers' interests represented at disproportionately higher levels than those of payees. Our findings add to the limited body of work on the topic of evidence and law reform and in so doing, contribute to building a critical history of a reform process that has reflected and likely shaped gendered relations of power and identity in post-separation parenting.

Gender and evidence in family law reform

This paper is positioned within a small but growing number of accounts of the most recent changes to child support in the Australian context. Existing work in the area suggests that in Australia, as in other jurisdictions, non-resident fathers were particularly vocal in calling for reforms around the issues of post-separation parenting and child support (Boyd, 2004; Commonwealth of Australia, 2006). There are differing interpretations of the impact of gender in the Inquiry process and implemented reforms. Analyses of the framing and implications of the child support reform (Cook and Natalier, in press; Fehlberg and Maclean, 2009) and the discursive management of witnesses (Fogarty and Augoustinos, 2008) indicates a gendered process. However, members of the 2005 Ministerial Taskforce have sidelined questions of gender and power, pointing to the importance of evidence in the process and rejecting any direct influence of fathers' rights groups (Smyth and Henman, 2010: 7).

Socio-legal studies have emphasised the political power and legitimacy of masculinist framings and claims in the context of a social, legal and cultural contestation around masculinities, including fathering practices and identities (Collier, 2010; Kaye and Tolmie, 1998). Researchers have assessed specific examples of the gendered processes and evidence used in family law and policy reform and its implication in the oppression of women (Boyd, 2003; Kathlene, 1994; Rhoades and Boyd, 2004). For example, Kathlene's (1994) work revealed how women's voices were excluded from family policy-making processes in the United States and Robson's (2005: 93) analysis revealed how a focus on "opinions and experiences of legal actors" excluded women's interests from the review of Canadian child support guidelines. Melville and Hunter's (2001) analysis of 'common sense' claims found that family law review bodies endorsed second-hand, common sense or mythical claims made during the review process, despite a lack of empirical support (see also Boyd, 2003; Graycar, 2000). Social scientific evidence is sometimes incorporated into the review process (see Harding and Percival, 2007; Rhoades and Boyd, 2004; Smyth and Henman, 2010), but the literature as a whole suggests its impact is minimal.

Methods

To explore the gendered representation and valuing of personal testimony referred to in the Child Support chapter of the 2003 Inquiry report, all footnotes were entered into a SPSS database. Where multiple sources were referenced for a single footnote, each source was coded separately. The source of each reference (government department or agency, researcher(s), service agency, gendered interest group, or individual), the section of the report the reference appeared in, the interests served by the reference (payers', payees' or neutral), and whether it contributed to the recommendations made at the end of the chapter were coded for each reference.

In this analysis we focus primarily on the evidence provided by gendered interest groups and individuals. For these references, additional coding identified the nature of the evidence provided (personal experience, second-hand experience, collective experience, research) and the gender of the author/speaker. Where this information was not immediately apparent from the 2003 Report, the original transcript or submission was obtained.

Descriptive statistics were used to describe the distribution of references with respect to the gender of the author/speaker and the section of the report they supported. Chi square tests were used to identify differences in the proportion of references to men and women in general and for gender differences in the references to second-hand evidence and the interests this served.

Testimony from individuals and interest groups was just one source of evidence referred to. Our decision to report on such testimony is informed by existing conclusions that personal testimony is a particularly powerful form of evidence (Graycar, 2000; Melville and Hunter, 2001; Rhoades and Boyd, 2004). Indeed in this context, "popular acceptance" of and "public confidence in" the Scheme informed the justification of the CSS's redesign (Ministerial Taskforce on Child Support, 2005: 177; 175). Our analytic focus in this paper should be read as one element of a larger project of developing the public and private histories of child support reform in Australia.

Findings

In this section we highlight the marginalisation of women's voices and interests through their relative absence in the personal testimony presented as evidence.

Personal testimony as evidence

Of the 220 references to external data sources contained within the 174 footnotes included in the Child Support chapter of the 2003 Inquiry report, 110 referred to testimony provided by private individuals or representatives of gendered interest groups (Table 1). Collectively, these private individuals and representatives from gendered interest groups will be referred to as testimony from 'interested parties', to mark them out from the purportedly unbiased testimony provided by academics, service agencies and government departments. Within the chapter, personal accounts of lived experience were a legitimate form of evidence, constituting almost half of the references used to illustrate key points and recommendations.

Table 1: References by source

Type of reference	N	%
Government department or agency	91	41.4
Researcher	14	6.4
Service agency	5	2.3
Gendered interest group	16	7.3
Individual	94	42.7
Total	**220**	**100**

The 110 references to interested parties highlight the gendered legitimacy of personal experience. These references were comprised of testimony from 78 men, 31 women and one representative of unknown gender who was the parent of a payee (Table 2).

Table 2: Gender of 'interested party' sources

	Male		Female	
Type of reference	N	%	N	%
Gendered interest group	14	87.5	2	12.5
Individual	64	68.1	29	30.9
Total[2]	78	71.5	31	28.4

Personal testimony was used extensively to provide evidence of the experiences of payers. For example, references to these 110 interested parties were distributed throughout the various sections

of the chapter, particularly the sections that addressed payer concerns over child support and contact, fairness of the scheme, payment options, and to a lesser extent, payee concerns regarding collection from payer self-employment (Table 3).

Table 3: References to 'interested parties' by topic

Topic	N	%
Background issues		
The formula	5	4.5
Client experience and understanding of child support	5	4.5
Relationship between child support and social security	3	2.7
Background issues sub-total	13	11.8
Payer issues		
* Child support and contact – what are the links?	18	16.4
* Fairness to both parents – variations	13	11.8
* Options for payment of child support	12	10.9
Taxable or after tax income	11	10.0
Exempt income and disregarded income	5	4.5
* Overtime and second jobs	4	3.6
Cost of re-establishing a home after separation	3	2.7
* Maximum payment – the income 'cap'	3	2.7
Second families	2	1.8
Payer issues sub-total	71	64.5
Payee issues		
* Self-employed non-resident parents	11	10.0
Non-resident parents leaving employment	8	7.3
* Enforcement of child support obligations	6	5.5
* Minimum payment	1	0.9
Payee issues sub-total	26	36.6

Of the 13 payer and payee issues detailed in the report, eight of these included one or more recommendations for policy change (identified by an asterisks in Table 3). Excluding the 13 references that supported 'background issues', a Yates corrected chi square test revealed that these recommendations appeared significantly more likely to be supported by evidence from interested parties than government, service agency or academic research (χ^2 (1) = 25.15, p< .01) (Table 4).

Table 4: Types of evidence used to support recommendations

	Supported a recommendation		Did not support a recommendation	
Type of reference	N	%	N	%
Interested party evidence	46	41.8	64	58.2
Government, service agency and academic evidence	9	16.4	85	90.4
Total	55	27.0	149	73.0

In addition to being provided predominantly by 'interested parties', the evidence used to support a recommendation was significantly different in nature to the evidence that did not support a recommendation (χ^2 (5) = 34.3, p< .01). Recommendations appeared more likely to be supported by

personal and second-hand experiences, whereas topics that did not lead to recommendations most frequently cited a combination of policy documents, personal experience and research (Table 5).

Table 5: Forms of evidence that supported recommendations compared to evidence that did not

Type of evidence	Supported a recommendation		Did not support a recommendation	
	N	%	N	%
Personal experience	32	58.2	41	27.5
Second-hand experience	10	18.2	9	6.0
Collective experience	5	9.1	12	8.1
Policy documents (reports, inquiries, etc)	4	7.3	51	34.2
Legislation	-	-	10	6.7
Research	4	7.3	26	17.4
Total	55	27.0	149	73.0

These findings indicate that personal testimony is represented as a legitimate source of evidence within law reform. However that legitimacy is gendered: women's testimony was not used as extensively as men's, reflecting the findings of previous authors who have highlighted the often marginal position of research in law reform processes (Graycar, 2012) and the importance placed on men's accounts of post-separation parenting (Rhoades and Boyd, 2004).

Gender interests served

Focusing specifically on evidence from 'interested parties', chi square tests were used to assess gender differences in the interests this evidence served. The analysis revealed significant gender differences (χ^2 (2) = 29.29, p< .01), with men's evidence being used almost exclusively to support their own interests (92.3%), whereas women's evidence was distributed more evenly between their interests and the interests of others (Table 6).

Table 6: The interests served by references to men's and women's testimony

	Men		Women	
Interests served by evidence	N	%	N	%
Payers	72	92.3	17	54.8
Payees	3	3.8	14	45.2
Purportedly neutral	3	3.8	-	-
Total	78	71.5	31	28.4

These differences can be attributed to the use of second-hand evidence (i.e. reports of the experience of someone else) in the 2003 report. There was a significant difference in the nature of evidence referred to from men and women, with chi square tests (χ^2 (3) = 17.08, p< .01) indicating that second-hand evidence referred to in the report was more likely to be provided by women whereas personal experience, collective experience (i.e. reports of the experience of generic others) and research was more likely to be provided by men (Table 7).

Table 7: Types of evidence by gender

	Men		Women	
Type of evidence	N	%	N	%
Personal experience	56	71.8	17	54.8
Second-hand experience	6	7.7	12	38.7
Collective experience	10	12.8	2	6.5
Research	6	7.7	-	-
Total	78	71.5	31	28.4

Examples of the relationships underpinning second-hand evidence used in the report include partners of paying fathers, the parent of a child support payee, and "a witness speaking on behalf of several workmates who were separated fathers" (HRSCFCA, 2002: 155) whose evidence was referred to at three points in the chapter (see references to Witness 4, transcript, 5/9/03 on pages 134, 147, and 155 of the Inquiry report).

There also appeared to be a gender difference in the interests served by the second-hand information cited in the report, although the number of cases was too small to test the significance of this distribution. While women provided the majority (66.7%) of the 18 references to second-hand information, almost all (91.7%) of such testimony was used to justify claims that benefited payers. Conversely, all of the references to second-hand information provided by men were used in the report to serve male interests (Table 8).

Table 8: Interests served by second-hand information

	Men		Women	
Type of evidence	N	%	N	%
Benefited same gender	6	100	1	8.3
Benefited opposite gender	0	-	11	91.7
Total	6	33.3	12	66.6

Together, these findings indicate that public testimony was used to argue for men's interests more so than women's. This was true of sharing personal experience, and of speaking about the experiences of others.

Conclusions

Law reform extends over time and different processes and documents, which when taken as a whole, are likely to contain contradictory discourses and outcomes. However, throughout, 'evidence' is important in symbolising the legitimacy and logic of the final recommendations for reform. This study, like previous studies, highlights the marginal position of research in these processes. It also highlights the gendering of evidence. The number of references to personal experience indicates its legitimacy as a form of knowledge – but that legitimacy is gendered both in terms of who is quoted (mainly men) and for whose interests that testimony advocates (mainly those of payers).

Researchers have called for the voices of family law/policy consumers to be included in the reform process (Robson, 2005). Our analysis suggests that in this case, the voices of consumers that were 'heard' in the report reproduce the gendered inequalities that are a marked element of family law and its reform processes. This finding supports feminist scholars' ambivalence over the efficacy of reform processes (Graycar, 2012) and reminds us that debates over the political impact of men's

rights groups and the ultimate outcomes must be supplemented by analyses of gender in less spectacular but still powerful dimensions of reform.

Footnotes

1. 1. As 87% of payers are men (Child Support Agency, 2010) we argue that testimony or recommendations in payers' interests are gendered because they primarily further the interests of men.
2. Does not sum to 110 as the gender of one witness was unknown.

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Welfare Reform, Surveillance and New Paternalism

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Abstract

This paper discusses the situation of welfare claimants, often constructed as faulty citizens and flawed welfare subjects. Many are on the receiving end of complex, multi-layered forms of surveillance aimed at securing socially responsible and compliant behaviours. In Australia, as in other Western countries, neoliberal economic regimes with their harsh and often repressive treatment of welfare recipients operate in tandem with a burgeoning and costly arsenal of CCTV and other surveillance and governance assemblages. The Australian Government's Centrelink *BasicsCard* is but one example of welfare surveillance, whereby a percentage of a welfare claimant's allowances must be spent on 'approved' items. The BasicsCard which has perhaps slipped under the radar of public discussion and is expanding nationally, raises significant questions about whether it is possible to encourage people to take responsibility for themselves if they no longer have real control over the most important aspects of their lives. Resistance and critical feedback, particularly from Indigenous people, points to a loss of dignity around the imposition of income management, operational complexity and denial of individual agency in using the BasicsCard, alongside the contradiction of apparently becoming 'self-reliant' through being income managed by the welfare state.

This article highlights the lack of solid evidence for the implementation/imposition of the BasicsCard and points to the importance of developing critically based research to inform the enactment of evidence based policy, also acting as a touchstone for governmental accountability. In highlighting issues around the BasicsCard this paper makes a contribution to the largely under discussed area of income management and the growth of welfare surveillance in Australia.

Keywords: Income Management, Surveillance, Welfare, BasicsCard, Centrelink

Introduction

In Australia, reframing welfare governance systems and employment promotion appeals to a rejuvenated neoliberal and paternalistic understanding of welfare governance (Lantz and Marston 2012). At the core of this rationality is a focus on bureaucratic, instead of human

factors and measurable rational-technocratic procedures and interventions to ensure compliance and to move welfare recipients into job-search training and employment. Welfare surveillance technologies and investigation strategies are at the heart of this policy suite, expanding the ways the state creates 'deviants' out of those who fail to be 'good market citizens' (Monahan 2008, Maki 2011).

This paper considers some of the implications of the expansion of welfare surveillance in Australia. We begin by briefly outlining the backdrop to welfare-to-work policies including a discussion of recent welfare reforms in the context of 'activation' and surveillance. We then focus on The BasicsCard, implemented without clear evidence of benefit or even its ability to achieve stated welfare reform outcomes. In this context, the BasicsCard can thus be considered as yet another paternalistic monitoring and surveillance program, deployed to secure socially and morally responsible behaviours from some of the most disadvantaged individuals and communities in Australia.

Background: Governing welfare in Australia

Over the past decade, there have been substantial reforms to the social welfare system in Australia. Similar to other Anglophone countries, an income support system with limited obligations on the unemployed has been replaced by a system deeply entwined with the market centred philosophy of neoliberalism and the paternalism of social conservatism (Schram et al. 2010).

This system of governance is unequivocally focused on moving income support recipients from 'welfare *to work*' through government sanctioned job-search training and eventual employment. In line with the OECD's recommendations, measures are now in place to target and regulate new recipients, restrict eligibility to benefits and enforce 'work availability' requirements for receiving benefits, with sanctions for non-compliance (Lantz and Marston 2012). At the heart of this policy frame, the neoliberal workfare project takes an active stance, emphasising the need to instil specific work ready competencies and the adoption of productivist ideologies in order to assimilate individuals into market relations (Bessant et al. 2006). These strategies focus primarily on bureaucratic, rather than human factors with an emphasis on measurable technocratic procedures, compliance and managerial risk management, investigation strategies and surveillance practices.

The Australian Government made it clear in the 2011-12 Federal Budget that it seeks to end the 'corrosive' effects of welfare through 'requiring responsibility' noting the importance of the 'dignity and purpose of work' (Gillard 2011:5). Invariably, the policy paradigm requires individual responsibility, and enacts punitive responses to control those people who are perceived as failing to contribute economically. In an inversion of the much feared 'nanny state' a 'new paternalism' has emerged through income management in targeted areas of substantial economic and social disadvantage, underpinned by a costly bureaucratic surveillance, monitoring and sanctioning infrastructure (Buckmaster, 2011).

A central strategy emerging has been to 'support or induce the adoption of more responsible behaviours in particular communities by, for example, placing conditions on eligibility for welfare payments or on how welfare payments may be spent' (Buckmaster 2011:1).These measures are an indication of the Government's growing commitment to the role of personal behavioural change in overcoming disadvantage. It is notable that several of the measures involve interventions in identified disadvantaged communities. This reflects growing interest on the part of the Government in 'location based initiatives' or programs targeting cluster groups in particular geographical locations (Buckmaster 2011:3).

New Paternalism – surveillance processes and practices shaping compliance

A number of western democratic counties are 'surveillance societies' (Lyon 2001). The nature of the surveillance is complex and far-reaching and needs to be understood in the broadest context of everyday human acts, including shopping with loyalty cards, paying for goods with a swipe card (or BasicsCard), using a mobile phone, paying utility bills, interfacing with any level of government, logging on to computers or using the internet, etc.

Surveillance as information gathering and storage is not a feature only of modernity or post modernity. A 'simple and ancient' form of data compilation may be discerned in England in the 1500s, in taxation, census and early poor law administration. This inaugural moment in the creation of the information state, while delineating limited rights to private property and parish poor relief, also built an infrastructure for social control, for example, over religious orders and workers organising for better pay and conditions (Lyon 2002).

The use of surveillance by welfare authorities is not therefore a new phenomenon and have included Job Capacity Assessments for people with disabilities to establish their capacity to work and Activity Agreements which outline recipient's contractual obligations and possible sanctions if they fail to comply (Lantz and Marston 2012). The availability, sophistication and reach of surveillance tools have been widened and accelerated with the use of cameras, data capturing techniques, loyalty cards, and the BasicsCard a PIN-operated Eftpos card, amounting to 'dataveillance' (Maki 2011).

These growing surveillance techniques reflect a range of contradictions within neoliberal workfare policy. Henman and Marston (2008:194) note that '...the liberal principles of freedom of choice and individual liberties are suspended for populations receiving certain forms of welfare'. Mandatory workfare programs suggest that welfare recipients are not 'responsible' enough to become self-sufficient independent workers on their own instead they require constant supervision and surveillance from authorities.

While researchers argue that surveillance is not inherently designed to perpetuate inequality, they also note that in contemporary society, where everyone is subject to some forms of surveillance 'not everyone is monitored in the same way or for the same purposes' (Gilliom 2001; Henman 2004; Haggerty & Ericson, 2006). Welfare surveillance scholars argue that surveillance is more than just watching, it is 'a calculated practice for managing and manipulating human behaviour' (Henman 2004:176). Maki (2011:51) notes of welfare surveillance in the UK, '...surveillance is not benign and, in the service of the neoliberal state, acts as a direct assault on the poor'.

Different forms of surveillance affect different populations in that the affluent may choose to be involved in market research, while the poor, in accessing services, encounter 'invasive scrutiny of their purchases and discipline of their behaviour' (Monahan 2008:220).

The central core of neoliberalism can be found in the 'privatisation of public programs and services, the re-scripting of citizens as consumers and the corresponding increase in social control mechanisms, especially for those who do not neatly fit into the category of consumer-citizen' such as people on welfare payments (Monahan 2008:219). The exercise of surveillant authority (particularly through the Stronger Futures legislation) demonstrates the new paternalism of 'government as by a benign parent' or 'the notion that those in positions of power have, just as in the relationship between parents and children, the right and the obligation to overrule the preferences of those deemed incapable of knowing their true interests' (Thomas and Buckmaster 2010:2).

Institutionalising Welfare Surveillance - The BasicsCard

The BasicsCard is an example of a relatively new, geographically targeted and individualized surveillance program explicitly aimed at addressing behavioural change. First introduced under the then Howard Government in 2007 to many aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) it operates by quarantining a proportion of a person's welfare payments to a specialised account. Responsible behaviour is 'induced' with a Basics Shopping Card holding a large percentage of a welfare claimant's allowances to be spent on 'approved' items (Buckmaster 2011:2). This money can only be used to purchase 'essentials' such as food, clothing, and expenditure on housing, but as small businesses in Alice Springs discovered it can also be used to buy fireworks in one store but not schoolbags in another (Aikman 2012). The proportion 'managed' is generally 50%, but may be up to 70%. Generally, 100% of any lump sum payments (such as the Baby Bonus) are quarantined. A minimum spend of $5 in any transaction is required (ACCOS 2010).

With only specific shops licensed by Centrlink to accept the BasicsCard, many small retailers are not included in the scheme, which forces welfare recipients to shop at the larger retail chains such as Coles and Woolworths and their subsidiaries. Buckmaster (2011) notes that these are the very same organisations that have significant control over small businesses, local suppliers and producers.

Research has been limited as to the operations and impacts of the BasicsCard despite its continued expansion. One of the only reports specifically examining the experiences of more than 180 women on income management (or 'welfare quarantining') in the Northern Territory (NT) reveals a number of significant problems with the system. The majority of participants wanted to exit the BasicsCard system for a range of reasons including a lack of understanding as to the purpose of the program and why they are on it, a perception that both Centrelink and their community do not respect them and consider them to be incapable and incompetent in managing their money and family's lives, that they, and their children, were losing important money management skills while Centrelink took over the payment of their bills, that their children were being taught to rely on government welfare and also the perception that the BasicsCard was specifically intended for Aboriginal or African migrant families alone (Equality Rights Alliance, 2011).

Research participants also argued that the BasicsCard shaped their spending in negative ways, noting that the big supermarkets, rather than smaller shops, accepted the Basics Card. This was an issue for participants looking for Halal butchers or Asian grocers, buying clothes for school-aged children and accessing prescription medications. Some of the smaller shops had cheaper options, but the BasicsCard did not allow them to shop there. Participants also noted that they had no avenue to leave the scheme (Equality Rights Alliance, 2011).

Despite the lack of research and to date no evaluation of the BasicsCard the decision to extend income management into metropolitan areas has gone somewhat unnoticed. The first five 'Place Based Income Management' locations include from July 1 2012: Bankstown, (NSW), Logan, (Qld), Rockhampton, (Qld), Playford, (SA) and Shepparton (Vic). In addition, Kwinana in Western Australia, one of the other trial sites, has had Child Protection and Voluntary Income Management in place since April 2009 (Buckmaster and Ey 2012:3). The government has targeted these areas because of their 'entrenched disadvantage'. The BasicsCard scheme, which is supported by both the Federal Government and Opposition, comes at a significant cost. Estimates provided by the Government indicate the new trials will cost $117 million over 5 years. The Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) has noted, for example, that the NT scheme (total expenditure of $402 million over 5 years) and covering about 20,000 individuals, amounts to a cost of $4,100 per person. Put in perspective,

this is one third of the Newstart Allowance paid to unemployed people over a year ($11,600 per annum), or 8 times the amount provided to employment service providers to address barriers to work for long-term unemployed people ($500 per annum). ACOSS argues that this money would be better spent on increasing services and expanding employment opportunities (ACOSS, 2010).

While the Government is committed to expanding the policy of income management across Australia there is little evidence that income management meets their intended welfare-to - work outcomes, including 'better management of finances in the long term', moving people into employment, or reducing unemployment or long term reliance on welfare payments. Research on nutrition in Northern Territory communities by the Menzies School of Health Research found that in the 10 stores surveyed: 'Income management independent of the government stimulus payment appears to have had no beneficial effect on tobacco and cigarette sales, soft drink or fruit and vegetable sales' (Brimblecombe et al, 2010:549).

In response to the continuation of the income management scheme despite their research, the authors wrote:

> We are the co-authors of a study published today in the Medical Journal of Australia, which shows that the federal government's income management policy is not making an impact on tobacco and health food sales in remote community shops in the NT. Smoking and poor diet are responsible for much of the health gap between indigenous and other Australians. We are concerned that indigenous affairs minister Jenny Macklin has responded to our study by highlighting the results of the government's evaluation. She has just told journalists that the government intends to press ahead with plans to roll out income management more broadly, and has appeared to dismiss our findings (Brimblecombe & Thomas, 2010).

Researcher Jon Altman also made comment:

> The Australian government is clearly embarrassed by these research findings for three reasons. First, $82.8 million have just been committed in the 2010/11 Budget to create a new scheme for income management, an investment in a process to regulate the behaviour of welfare recipients in the NT. All up $410.5 million will be committed in six years to what might prove an entirely unproductive expenditure. Second, legislation is about to be tabled in the federal parliament predicated on an assumption that income management is good for Indigenous (and other) subjects in the NT, something this research seriously questions. Third, the Rudd government has remained firmly wedded to this intervention measure since its election in November 2007; saying sorry for others 'historical' errors is clearly politically easier than saying sorry for your own 'path dependant' acquiescence and possible mistakes. (Altman in Priest & Cox, 2010)

The Government's enthusiasm amounting to myopia for income management also runs counter to the recommendations of the independent Northern Territory Emergency Response review committee established by the Government, in particular, its recommendation that the compulsory income management scheme should cease and be replaced by a combination of voluntary and targeted trigger-based systems (for example, in cases of child neglect). The Committee's recommendations included:

- The current blanket application of compulsory income management in the Northern Territory cease;

- Income management to be available on a voluntary basis to community members who choose to have some of their income quarantined for specific purposes, as determined by them;
- Compulsory income management should only apply on the basis of child protection, school enrolment and attendance and other relevant behavioural triggers. These provisions should apply across the Northern Territory;
- All welfare recipients to have access to external merits review.' (Yu et al, 2010)

There are also a number of other reports and reviews which raise clear concerns about compulsory income management and question the positive benefits claimed by the Government (Priest & Cox, 2010; Buckmaster & Ey, 2012*)*. Data captured about welfare purchasing 'choices' made by BasicsCard holders may be substantial, but information about how and where this data is retained and how it may be accessed, requires further investigation.

Conclusion

This paper suggests that the ideological framework driving welfare-to-work has become punitive and deficit oriented, focusing on the shortcomings or 'flaws' of individuals and families. Systems of surveillance continue to be expanded and performance measurement and assessment strategies, investigation and surveillance practices reinforce a deficit-oriented framework focused on perceived individual or family failings (Maki 2011). It is clear that the intense shift to a more technological surveillance oriented system deserves closer attention.

The BasicsCard is an example of a system implemented with little adequate research related to its effectiveness or otherwise of income management despite the government consistently emphasising the importance of evidence-based policy making (Buckmaster & Ey, 2012). Administrative costs are also high and a question persists as to whether it is possible to encourage people to take responsibility for themselves if they do not have real control over important aspects of their lives, with possible negative mental health outcomes.

Moreover, targeting personal behaviour by withholding income payments is inconsistent with the rights-based approach to income support that has been a feature of welfare policy in Australia since World War II (Kennedy 1982).

Researchers and community organisations note that the current shift towards paternalistic income management system cannot fix complex social problems through vindictive social measures (Priest & Cox, 2010). A quote from Elliot's Submission to the Northern Territory Emergency Response Review is apt here:

> There are no mysteries why some things work in the bush and others do not. A sad fact of life is that not all communities are going to be 'saved', but what is clear is that community control is fundamental to any changes that will take place for better outcomes for the people, not one size fits all' (cited in Priest & Cox, 2010:87).

The Northern Territory Emergency Response has been deeply controversial since its inception and its recent extension by the Gillard Government for another ten years only exacerbates a growing sense of injustice, particularly about the limited and ambiguous evidence base supporting income management. Australia is the only country in the world to impose such a scheme on its poorest citizens, in this way (Buckmaster & Ey, 2012).

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When Cohabitants Wed

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When Cohabitants Wed

Abstract

What form do weddings take in an era of pre-marital cohabitation and delayed marriage? In this paper, we draw on interviews with ten marriage and civil union celebrants and forty individuals (some of whom were couples) to explore the rise of personalized weddings in recent times. Personalized weddings have been made possible by the trend towards secularization, which has seen many couples marrying outside of the church, but personalized weddings have been also engendered by the growth of a consumerist wedding industry. The tendency towards personalized weddings might be seen as supporting evidence for claims about detraditionalization – 'the decline of the belief in pre-given or natural order of things' (Heelas, 1996, 2). However, on closer examination personalized weddings typically incorporate a number of elements that individuals or couples view as 'traditional'. This suggests that, as Heelas (1996) argues, detraditionalization, tradition-maintenance and tradition-construction go hand in hand.

Keywords: cohabitants, weddings, marriage, detraditionalization, tradition, personalization

Introduction

In sociological discussions of detraditionalization and individualization, heterosexual cohabiting couples epitomize what is seen to be a contemporary trend towards the rejection of 'standardized models for intimate relationships' (Gross 2005: 290). Cohabiting couples, it is argued, have abandoned weakening social norms and traditions in favour of constructing their own 'biographies of love' (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995; Cherlin 2004). The pursuit of

their own 'biographies of love' is made possible for cohabiting heterosexual couples by the decline of what Gross (2005) calls the regulative traditions of marriage. These regulative traditions made marriage mandatory for heterosexual couples from the Victorian era right through to the immediate post-World War 2 era. During this period heterosexual couples who were discovered flouting the conjugal requirement for sexual relations met with opprobrium and, particularly when a pregnancy was involved, considerable pressure to marry.

Despite the decline of the regulative tradition of marriage, Gross (2005) argues the 'meaning-constitutive tradition' of marriage remains highly influential (see also Kirby 2008; Manning et al. 2007). A meaning-constitution tradition is defined by Gross (2005: 288) as a pattern of sense making that is passed down from one generation to the next. As a meaning-constitutive tradition, marriage orients individuals to the achievement of a marital state through the construction of marriage as a cultural ideal, the 'image of the good with respect to intimate and family life' (Gross 2005: 297). In other words, the meaning-constitutive tradition of marriage produces marriage as a desirable state. In this context, marriage might be delayed until it is possible to 'brag' about the quality of one's relationship (Cherlin 2004), but it nevertheless remains something that is part and parcel of most people's imagined futures (Kirby 2008).

Gross's analysis of the complex waxing and waning of the traditions associated with marriage is in keeping with theorists like Heelas (1996; see also Adams 1996; Luke 1996) who are critical of the assumptions underpinning detraditionalization theory. Both Heelas and Adams argue that detraditionalization theorists oversimplify the messy world within which we live by positing a simple binary between a 'comprehensively tradition-dominated past' and a 'post-traditional' present and future (Heelas 1996: 7). In contrast, Heelas, Adams and Luke offer co-existence: 'detraditionalization takes its place alongside, or together with, tradition-maintenance, re-traditionalization and the construction of new traditions' (Heelas 1996: 2). Furthermore, the co-existence of detraditionalization, tradition-maintenance etcetera is not

only a feature of the present moment but also of the past. In other words, co-existence theorists argue 'traditions are [and have been] always open to human agency' (Heelas 1996: 8).

In emphasizing human agency with respect to tradition, co-existence theorists reject an approach to tradition that understands it as unquestioned, habitual, and 'familiar actions that takes us out of time and into timelessness' (Young cited Adams 1996: 137). Instead they conceive of 'tradition as an active process, something that is created afresh each moment of renewal' (Adams 1996:137). As Timothy Luke (1996: 116) states: 'Traditions are no more than traces of practices, signs of belief, and images of continuity revealed in human thought and action, which are continuously sent and chaotically received throughout all generations. All members of any generation are not identical in either their reception or transmission of tradition'.

This emphasis on human agency with respect to tradition provides a useful point of departure for an examination of the wedding practices used by long-term cohabitants when they transition to marriage or civil unions. Like contemporary weddings in general, the weddings of cohabitants are often personalized affairs that depart from 'traditional' wedding conventions in a number of ways. Personalized weddings have been made possible by the trend towards secularization, the emergence of non-religious wedding celebrants that has seen many couples marrying outside of the church, and engendered by the growth of a consumerist wedding industry. Yet, as we show below, the detraditionalization that is characteristic of personalized weddings co-exists with the preservation of some traditions, enabling people to simultaneously describe their weddings as having a "personal stamp" but being "pretty traditional really".

Methodology

As part of our study into the transition from cohabitation to marriage, we interviewed ten celebrants, and forty individuals (some of whom were couples) who had been cohabiting for at least three years and had decided to legalize their relationship or had already done so. We chose to interview long-term cohabitants because previous research (Coast 2009; Manning & Smock 2002; Qu 2003) shows that this group is less likely to expect to marry and thus less likely to view cohabitation as part of an explicit pathway to marriage. This finding raises interesting questions about what prompts long-term cohabitants to legally formalise their unions. We interviewed both celebrants and cohabitants in their homes in Auckland for about one hour, digitally recording the interviews. The interviews were transcribed in full. In the analysis, we searched for key themes, patterns in answers relative to participants' circumstances, and illustrative verbatim comments.

The ten celebrants were seen as key informants about current trends in 'marriage' and were selected from celebrant and church websites. Although the celebrant sample seems small, they had actually performed over 1,500 marriages and hundreds of civil union ceremonies. In addition to questions about personal circumstances and training, we asked the celebrants about wedding trends, why long-term cohabiting couples proceeded to legalization, and the advantages and disadvantages of 'marriage'.

The sample of forty long-term cohabitants and 'married' former cohabitants was obtained from formal and informal advertising for volunteers but was also purposive because we tried to include men and women, cohabitants and former cohabitants in marriage and civil unions, and opposite-sex and same-sex couples. The final sample included 24 females and 16 males, ranging in age from 28 to 62 years. Thirteen were same-sex and 27 were opposite-sex, 23 in marriage (6 males/17 females), and 17 in civil unions (including 5 opposite-sex participants and 12 same-sex participants in civil unions). The questions focused on how and why they

came to be cohabiting, how they decided to legalize their relationship, and their planned or actual weddings. We also asked how their decisions to legalize were interpreted by friends and family, and whether they anticipated or perceived any relationship change after legalization.

In rest of this paper, we draw on the talk of celebrants and heterosexual cohabitants to examine the emphasis given to personalization and tradition when long-term cohabitants wed. We focus on the heterosexual participants in our study because the concept of same-sex weddings is in-and-of-itself non-traditional and, as Smart (2008) notes, the style chosen for same-sex weddings is invariably implicated in the political battles over same-sex marriage. Of course this doesn't mean that the weddings of same-sex couples don't raise questions about traditionalization and detraditionalization, but space constrictions prevent us from pursuing those here.

Marriage proposals and Wedding Ceremonies: New and unique, old and familiar

As detraditionalization theorists would predict, all of the celebrants and many of the cohabitants in our study spoke about the demise of standardized weddings, a claim they backed up with stories of unique marriage proposals and personalized wedding ceremonies that were characterized by reconfigured vows, unusual poems and music, non-traditional outfits, and receptions or parties in special places. One celebrant talked about these variations this way: 'Everyone is different and … some people want things like, you know, to have their dogs involved or to have their children involved... they maybe might want to have a bit of humour in their ceremony. … They want to make it a fun thing, not a rigid kind of structured thing that they have no say in.'

Variation was a theme in the stories told about marriage proposals by cohabitants in our study. There were stories of proposals slipped into conversations while driving or sitting on the couch, and stories of elaborately planned and memorable events. Not all of those who initiated romantic and memorable proposals were men. A woman, who had been living with her 'shy' partner for seven years, told us about how she engineered a proposal during a helicopter ride that was part of celebrations she had organized for his fortieth birthday:

> I was thinking how am I going to get (partner) to propose to me… I know how I'm going to do it, we're in the helicopter, I'm going to give him the cards with the words on it to read to me…So I wrote the cards out and I said please read these cards. The next one said I love you lots. The next one said will you marry me? And then I had one that said yes. Then I had one ready that said you've got ten seconds, if you don't propose to me I'll propose to you… I felt sick, I was so nervous, it was just like being the bloke, proposing… So he goes okay. I love you lots, will you marry me. And I went 'yes'. And we both went, 'shit'. I went 'oh I guess we're engaged then'.

Wedding ceremonies were seen as occasions ripe for personalization. A number of women spoke about choosing non-traditional wedding gowns. For instance, a woman who was married in a 'low-key' ceremony amongst friends and family in the backyard of their home said: 'I wore a bright vivid purple dress instead of the traditional white or cream or ivory. So I can wear it again which I did. I'm very happy about that.' Another woman spoke about her dress for her upcoming wedding in the following manner: 'Well I'm going to wear a dress and it's going to be a 40s/50s cut, a pretty simple [knee-length] dress in off white cream silk and I'm going to wear bright blue shoes… Yeah and I think [the dress] suits my body shape. I think it's such a nice feminine look and I don't want a gown. I'd just feel like a clown I think, a train and stuff it's just not me.'

Celebrants also told us stories about clients who openly flouted wedding traditions. One celebrant, for example, talked about a ceremony she had recently presided over where: 'They've got heaps of bridesmaids. He's got four groomsmen and she's got three bridesmaids and two brides-men because she's got two best friends who are blokes, and so five of those are going to walk ahead of her and they're all wearing black. The bride isn't but you find a lot of bridesmaids these days are wearing quite whacky colours, like black…'

Vows were another site of personalization, with many of the cohabitants writing their own vows, sometimes with the assistance of their celebrants. Despite the apparent effort put into the creation of their own vows, many found it difficult to recollect exactly what they had promised their partners. As one woman said, 'I think I promised to love him forever. ... I would have said a lot of nice things about how much I loved him, and all that sort of stuff yeah. I certainly didn't promise to obey him.' The rejection of 'obey' was echoed by other women in the study, even when they opted for more traditional wedding ceremonies and vows, as did this recently married woman: 'There was no honour and obey, that was definitely not in there. To love and cherish, I think there was respect and the standard richer and poorer, better and worse, things like that. I can't quite remember.'

Similarly, many wedding receptions contained personalized touches. For instance, a young woman talked about their wedding reception, which was held in a rustic lodge near the beach where they married: 'We had these funny little Mexican skeletons for on top of the wedding cake. My friend had been to Mexico and I've always loved skeletons, so she brought me the bride when we got engaged because she was over there… Also I really love vintage stuff so we hired Crown Lynn[1] swans for the tables, like little Crown Lynn swans that had flowers in them.'

[1] Crown Lynn is a type of dinnerware popular in New Zealand in the 1950s, now a collector's item.

In contrast to these stories of unique proposals and personalized weddings, others spoke about more conventional male proposals and traditional weddings. For a highly educated woman in her early forties, a conventional male proposal was unexpectedly important to her: '…for reasons that I still do not understand, I wanted the whole you know down on the knee with the ring proposal and for it to be a surprise.' And another woman spoke in rather bemused tones about the significance her partner attached to a conventional, romantic proposal: 'Like he really wanted to do like the traditional proposal that we'd already discussed, there wasn't much point for that but it was really important to him to do that… So it was our five year anniversary I think and we went to a hotel in town and then he did this big romantic proposal over dinner with a guitarist.'

Some of the cohabitants also described their wedding ceremonies in conventional terms. One woman's church wedding was a fulfilment of childhood dream: "We had the classic big white dress wedding, not too gigantic, about 70 guests, the ceremony was at [downtown church] and then the reception was at a [Auckland] restaurant. It was a pretty standard relatively expensive white wedding… I had always wanted to get married in a big stone church when I was little.' Another woman explicitly commented on the influence of tradition in her own wedding preparations: 'It's so funny how these traditions come back to you when you're planning something like this, even if you think in some ways you're not a traditional person….' She then went on to describe their decision to opt "for a simple traditional Christian ceremony.' However, it would be a mistake to think that this woman complied with the traditional Christian ceremony entirely. Rather, as she went on to reveal, her wedding was a blend of the traditional and the non-traditional: 'We were really happy with how the ceremony went because we met with [minister] a couple of times and talked about just the odd bit of wording here and there, and instead of a prayer could we have a song and you know just that sort of thing to give it more of our personality and less of the overly sort of Christian framing and so

yeah it was a really good balance for us of a basic Christian ceremony but with far more of our personality than what he perhaps would normally do.'

Interestingly, some of those who foregrounded the innovative and unique aspects of their weddings, nevertheless referred to their weddings as essentially traditional affairs. The following statement comes from a man in an opposite-sex relationship who had opted for a civil union, but still declared that their ceremony was a traditional one, a sentiment that was echoed by his partner: 'Essentially it's relatively traditional. It's in a deconsecrated church …So it's essentially … like a normal wedding. We've put our own touches on it. We're messing with the music and we're messing with the traditional vows….. I suppose the actual ceremony itself, I'm going to be standing up the front and [partner]'s going to walk down the aisle and she's probably going to be late, just like your traditional wedding you know. Everything's going to be relatively standard and boring.' Another man, who had a registry office wedding the day before their non-legally binding ceremony with friends and family in a basic bush camp, said of this ceremony: 'It was formal, very formal. It had traditional elements of a western wedding in terms of [partner] walking down the aisle with bridesmaids and I was waiting for her to come down the aisle. That's very traditional, with the guests seated. We incorporated an element from eastern weddings - to give each other food or sweet meats is a symbol or gesture of nourishing one another.'

Conclusion

The comments from celebrants and especially cohabitants about contemporary wedding practices are indicative of the co-existence of detraditionalization, tradition-maintenance and tradition-construction. In an era of personalization, the participants in our study spoke of wanting to incorporate personal touches in their weddings, thereby making them unique and

memorable events, whilst also drawing selectively on wedding traditions to frame the event in socially recognizable terms, both for themselves and for others, as a wedding. Indeed, what is clear is that traditions and the traditional figured strongly in our participants' wedding imaginary, sometimes as something to resist (personalization and/or detraditionalization), at other times as something to emulate (tradition-maintenance), albeit often only partially. What is also clear is that couples laid claim to traditions and the traditional as a source of validity: by casting even highly personalized wedding ceremonies as 'traditional' our participants defined their weddings as meaningful cultural events that were worthy of collective celebration and a place in the annals of their family histories. A similar complex relationship to the ' traditional' was found by John Walliss (2002) in his study of the secularisation of weddings in the United Kingdom. Wallis observed that wedding traditions retain their appeal because they are seen to be the 'proper' thing to do, are what one is expected to do and also what looks aesthetically pleasing. As Adams says, 'in an environment where social structures become increasingly fluid and optional, tradition acts as a metaphor for something that requires no justification: reliability, stability, order, predictability, familiarity, trustworthiness and controllability' (Adams 1996: 140).

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Figurational Sociology and Food Studies:

The case of beer drinking rituals in 20th century Germany

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Abstract

In this paper I argue that the figurational sociology of Norbert Elias should play a bigger role within food studies than it currently does. For example, this field has done very little with Stephen Mennell's *All Matters of Food* (1985), in which Elias's sociology is used to study culinary cultures. A greater awareness of Elias's figurational sociology, in particular its attention to the interconnectedness of the different disciplines, its historical perspective and the idea of 'figurations' would be helpful to food researchers. Elias could help them to better appreciate 'the webs of interdependence' between food and society, economy, culture, politics, medicine, and history.

Introduction

Why is Stephen Mennell's Eliasian text *All Manners of Food* (1985) so little used in food studies, despite being mentioned often? I suspect it is because the field has not yet fully explored the sociologist who drives Mennell's project, Norbert Elias. This is evident in a recent special issue of *The Journal of Sociology* on the Sociology of Food and Eating (2010), where the contributors explore a wide range of subjects such as emerging food risks, health concerns, identity formation, and the impact of globalisation on food and eating, but do not incorporate Elias's figurational approach at all. Elias's 'figurational sociology', if it were embraced, could help food researchers to better appreciate the 'webs of interdependence' between food and society, economy, culture, politics, medicine, and history. In other words, Elias's scepticism towards disciplinary boundaries – the source of his commitment to chains of interdependence between different forces – should suit food studies nicely.

Wilk (2012) notes that even though the number of scholars working on the broad topic of food has never been greater, the topic is spread over numerous disciplines and specialists who do not seem to communicate with each other.[1] He argues for interdisciplinary food studies, based on a more 'synthetic and empirical approach, grounded in the study of everyday life' (Wilk 2012: n.p.). Part of his plan for food studies includes acknowledging the importance of everyday practices, and he argues for an empirical and topical approach, which may include a commitment to "radical empiricism", a research method

that 'makes no assumptions about even the most basic categories of description or measurement' (Wilk 2012: n.p.). Wilk's argument is in tune with Elias's focus on the (changing) history of everyday practices in *The Civilizing Process* (2000) such as eating, washing, urinating, spitting and defecating, and linking these changes in personal behaviour to the long term structural development of societies.[2]

In the first section of this paper I will emphasize the importance of Elias's figurational sociology for food studies, while in the second section I will offer a special food example by discussing beer as a part of German culture. An example of this is Elias's study of beer drinking rituals amongst German students in 20th century Germany. This figurational approach to the ritual of beer drinking illustrates the interdependencies between these practices and a particular military ethos, as well as the political problems for the democratic ambitions of the founders of the Weimar Republic.

Figurational sociology and its importance to food studies

Process or figurational sociology is linked to the ideas of Norbert Elias (Baur and Ernst 2011; Goudsblom and Mennell 1998; Mennell 1989: 251-70) and encompasses a number of tenets, the most important for my purposes here are a historical perspective, a bridging of the micro/macro or individual/society divide, and a strong focus on chains of interdependence incorporating the primacy of process.

Elias's works on person formation, such as *The Civilizing Process* (2000 [1939]), *The Court Society* (1983 [1933]), and *The Germans* (1996) are examples of his historical sociology. In these texts Elias shows how analysing the history of mundane subjects and (food) practices reveal connections between these subjects and larger social processes. For Lasch, *The Civilising Process* 'contributes to an understanding of a wide span of subjects usually treated by specialists who miss the connections between them' (1985: 706). For instance, the histories in *The Civilizing Process*, such as the history of (table) manners and the eating of meat are not "stand-alone" histories; the essential idea of Elias is that there is a link between changes in people's social character, their personality makeup or habitus, and the long-term structural development of societies. In *The Court Society*, Elias traces the changes within the courtly world of early modern France, and discerns a shift in the balance of power from monarch to nobility, resulting in a new courtly lifestyle. For example, Elias's analysis of the '*bouche*' – everything to do with eating and drinking – reveals not only specific eating practices, but also the differentiation of services at the French court. One of the major themes in *The Germans* is the question of the historical formation of national identity, and how specific cultural practices, such as the beer drinking rituals amongst German students, interrelate with the development of this particular nation state and the habitus, or person formation, of its members.

Key to Elias's sociology is the idea of habitus, and figurations. Habitus underlines the significance of learned dispositions that presupposes the malleability of human behaviour. Elias argues that changes in social situations and relations have such a profound influence on the psychological organisation of human beings, who are interdependent with these situations and relations, that they become a fundamental element of human conduct. Habitus, according to Elias, refers to 'those levels of our personality make-up, which are not inherent or innate but are very deeply habituated in us by learning through social experience from birth onward' (1998: 15). Taste, according to Mennell, is part of our habitus, and although food preferences are deeply engrained in us, they do change over time (2005: 22-3). Habitus formation, seen in this way, is a social process that is always in flux.[3]

Equally, change is an important element within Elias's ideas on figurations, he specifically talks about figurations in terms of changing patterns and as 'a fluctuating, tensile equilibrium' (1978: 130). In contrast with concepts like "social system" or "social structure", figurations denote the more dynamic and relational character of social processes. Elias's concept of figuration takes into consideration the interweaving of social interdependencies; both individuals (micro-level) and their figurations (macro-level) are intertwined and changing all the time. Elias contends that '"the circumstances" which change are not something which comes upon men from "outside": they *are* the relationships between people themselves' (2000: 402, italics mine), that is, the reciprocal relationships, the dynamic figurations dependent on the formation of habitus which constitutes the collective basis of individual human conduct.

Baur and Ernst stress the centrality of process-orientation to figurational sociology, meaning that 'researchers have to analyse the sociogenesis of a figuration, a figuration's *becoming*, *change* and [possible] *ending*' (2011: 132).[4] This also underlines the importance of history within Elias's sociology. Mennell notes that 'history is not enough' and a figurational approach incorporates tracing the dynamic patterns in which people are interconnected in their 'groups, strata and societies' (1985: 15). He emphasizes that 'within a developing social figuration, modes of individual behaviour, cultural tastes, intellectual ideas, social stratification, political power and economic organisation are all entangled with each other in complex ways which themselves change over time in ways that need to be investigated' (1985: 15). However, as Mennell concedes, this is all quite abstract. The proof of the pudding is in the usefulness of this figurational approach when applied to, in this case, the study of foodways. Thus, in *All Manners of Food* he studies, amongst other issues, changes within the rise and fall of class differentiation in diet, the commercialisation and globalisation of food production/distribution, the emergence of body discipline, and the interconnections between these themes. Besides Mennell, there are a few other scholars who have used Elias's figurational sociology. Wicks (2008: 280), for example, views vegetarianism as a logical development in the civilising process, where over time the standards applied to bodily functions, table manners and eating

habits became gradually more sophisticated, with an increasing threshold of shame, embarrassment and repugnance.

A special food example: beer

'Food habits are not universal, natural, or inevitable' (Germov and Williams 2008: 4), therefore studying food habits reveals something about the particularities of a specific cultural context. Although our food habits are shared with many other people, they vary considerably between cultures. One could easily write the history of a particular nation through its food practices.[5] Germany is a country with a rich tradition of beer brewing, with beer being an important component of German identity (Schiefelhövel and MacBeth 2011). Nelson (2005) traces the rich culture of beer drinking in Germany through the writings of Tacitus (AD56 – AD117).[6] The history of what we now know as Germany is characterised by many breaks, until the formation of the nation state in 1871, Germany consisted of many different territories. This is reflected by its variety of culinary cultures. Meussdorffer stresses the importance of 'the federal, rather than the unified, history of Germany and how that has led to a regional diversity in beers' (2011: 63).

In *The Germans* Elias discusses the question of the historical formation of national identity in relation to Germany. After elaborating on the extraordinary process of Germany's state formation, Elias discusses several peculiarities within this process that have been particularly noteworthy for "German" habitus and person formation. One of those peculiarities is the influence of military attitudes and values on the German habitus (1996: 117). Beer drinking rituals within German fraternities can be seen as a reflection of this military ethos. These rituals were examples of 'constructive drinking' where its function is part of constructing an 'ideal world' (Douglas 1987), in which its members needed to be initiated. Elias traces 'one of the most peculiar formalities of the student associations' (1996: 98), the strictly ritualised bouts of drinking, to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. In the days when the German territories were the site of many a European conflict, a kind of drinking style developed throughout them. It was a group activity, popular within every level of the social order, in which boozing rituals of toasting and drinking for wagers were turned into a competitive game. This drinking code was taken on by the student fraternities, where it became 'both a formalized type of conviviality and a means of training' (Elias 1996: 98).

The drinking rules were formalised within the *Biercomment* (beer code of conduct), part of *Die Gesamtheit der studentischen Regeln für das Zusammenleben*, all the rules of the students' communal life, including *die Kneipe*, the students' drinking locations. The most famous quote from the *Biercomment* is undoubtedly paragraph 11: '*Es wird fortgesoffen*', one should continue drinking (Gmür 2007: 24). Indeed, the novice students were induced to drink and had to learn to keep up with their seniors. When a senior student raised his glass, saying '*ein Fuchs ist gehorsam*' (first-year students are obedient); the students,

whether they liked it or not, had to follow the example by raising their glass and scraping it three times on the table (the ritual of *den Salamander*/the Salamander), then emptying it and, after a brief drumming, putting it down with a bang as a mark of honour (Elias 1996: 453). Evidently, while drinking, the students became merrier and merrier, but 'it was a merriment ritualized in the highest degree, hemmed in by an edifice of constraints' (Elias 1996: 98); it was seen as an affront to lose control. In this respect, one could describe these beer drinking rituals as drinking duels, for the behaviour of the participants was always under scrutiny (Dammann 2011). Although one of the aims of drinking games was to see who could drink the most, the rituals ultimately served as a way to shape the novice student's conduct.

Consumption of excessive amounts of beer in this particular context served a specific social purpose, to instil certain manners and to proof worthiness of belonging to, in this case, a university fraternity. This particular military ethos was problematic for the democratic ambitions of the founders of the Weimar Republic. Elias suggests that in order to understand the deep antagonism of many Germans to the new Republic, 'one has to take into account the fact that, for a parliamentary regime to be able to function effectively, quite specific personality structures are a precondition and that these form only gradually in connection with the practice of parliamentary politics itself' (1996: 290).

Conclusion

Using figurational sociology involves an understanding of how 'broad social, political and economic changes shape the expression of emotion, manners, taste and lifestyle' (Mennell, Murcott and Van Otterloo 1992: 17). In this line, figurational sociology allows a particular way of studying changing attitudes and approaches to food stuffs. The most important contribution of a figurational approach is the emphasis on the interconnections between different social issues and domains. For example, Mennell (1985) links the growing elaboration and hierarchy of food in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the development of absolutism, and of political elites centred around the court, most particularly in France. Similarly, Elias's study of beer drinking rituals amongst German students in 20th century Germany illustrates the relationship between this particular military ethos and the problems for the democratic ambitions of the founders of the Weimar Republic. As Fischler (1988: 275) said, the human relationship to food is a complex one, by incorporating Elias's ideas on habitus, figuration and (historical) interdependencies, this will enable food research to find its way through this complex foodscape.

Keywords:

Figurational/process sociology, Norbert Elias, food studies, interdependencies, beer

Footnotes

[1] Food studies cross interdisciplinary boundaries, yet, as Mennell et al (1992), and Germov and Williams (2008) illustrate, various dominant themes within the sociology of food can be identified: food systems; food and nutrition politics; food and the body, and food and identity formation. These categories overlap, and are not static. These categories refer to an increasingly complex foodscape, and encapsulate the concerns about the pleasure and anxiety around foodways.
[2] Wilk is not the only one who has voiced the lack of (disciplinary) integration within food studies. Recently, Nestle (2010), and McIntosh (2010) have opened a discussion on what should count as core texts within food studies.
[3] Contrary to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, that according to Crotty and Germov (2004: 241) has a fixed quality, Elias stresses the importance of its changing ability.
[4] Elias's critique of sociological concepts and categories was based on the notion of 'process-reduction', meaning that he noted a strong tendency within sociology/the social sciences to reduce processes conceptually to states, for example, 'we say, "The wind is blowing", as if the wind were actually a thing at rest which, at a given point in time, begins to move and blow. We speak as if the wind were separate from its blowing, as if a wind could exist which did not blow' (1978: 112).
[5] For example, Mol (2010) investigates how (the Indonesian) bami goreng became a part of Dutch food culture, and how both the dish and the Dutch were transformed in the process.
[6] The first reference to "German" beer was made in Tacitus's writings (Nelson, 2005: 80).

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We Need to Talk about Community

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Abstract

For fire agencies and governments the idea of 'community' is an important feature of bushfire preparedness. While there has been a frequent use of the term 'community' in relation to bushfire in Australia, there have been few attempts to discuss the meaning of the concept. Usually 'community' is broadly understood in relation to geographic, interest and identity. Social scientific conceptualisations of 'community' are problematic because they are often underpinned by assumptions that mean weakened accounts of the social are produced. To address this aspect, a different way of approaching 'community' is suggested based on an assumption of inherent communality. Within this context, governments and agencies frame problems in ways that may perpetuate and create inequalities. The role of governments and agencies in building 'community' is thus questioned. It is suggested that it may be more productive to begin with the premise of 'community' as 'who' we are rather than 'what' we are.

Introduction

The concept of ‘community’ is used frequently by emergency agencies in relation to promoting bushfire safety. ‘Community’ is usually understood by commentators with reference to geography, interest and identity (Craig, 2007) (cf Phillips et al., 2012); a different way of thinking about ‘community’ is presented here. Drawing on an account that addresses why ‘community’ is problematic for the social sciences, it is suggested that the roots of modern sociology produce weakened formulations of ‘community’. These constructions privilege the individual and the state. Such modernist understandings constrain the capacity of social science accounts to consider ‘community’ in a meaningful and appropriate way. By viewing ‘community’ as the source of being-ness, rather than individualistic subjectivities, many of the previous conceptual difficulties fall away. What is suggested here is an approach that expects multiplicity, promotes cooperation rather than conflict and seeks to reframe our relationship with the state; a focus that is highly relevant for promoting bushfire safety in Australia.

‘Community’ and Bushfire

Community is understood here as underwriting the idea of shared understandings. Where our understanding of ‘community’ is disaggregated, in relation to place and policy, the concept draws attention to the possibilities of network and capacity building around ideas of neighbourliness (Gilchrist, 2009). In the context of disaster events, networks and network building often form the basis for effective ‘community’ development (Fairbrother et al., 2012 forthcoming). In this respect, sets of relationships with regard to place can be developed to promote shared understandings and a self-reported sense of community.

The idea of ‘community’ has been linked explicitly to bushfire safety. The Victorian Bushfires Royal Commission, for example, stressed a sharing of responsibility for bushfire safety between the ‘State, local government, individuals, household members and the broader community’ (Teague et al., 2010: 352). Further, a policy bushfire safety framework for Victoria referred to ‘community’ many times: ‘…agencies and the ‘community’ need to plan for a variety of situations’ and called for the provision of ‘timely advice to the community’ (Fire Services Commissioner, 2011). This inclusion of ‘community’ is influenced by ‘community’ safety approaches, as seen in public health and crime prevention (Elsworth et al., 2009). Consequently, it is assumed that communities can be engaged and empowered to examine their risk of bushfire and to devise solutions to manage this risk (Elsworth et al., 2009). Fire agencies, thus, have been trying to work more effectively through education, awareness and engagement programmes to promote network and capacity building within communities (Fairbrother et al., 2012 forthcoming). Nonetheless, despite the widespread use of the term ‘community’ in the context of bushfire safety and policy, there appears to be a paucity of theoretical work on this concept.

There have been some attempts to write about ‘community’ in relation to emergency management, natural hazards and bushfires in Australia. The first point to note is that ‘community’ is not confined to political or administrative boundaries (Buckle, 1999). Individuals may belong to different communities that may or may not be related to one another and it is suggested that mapping communities effectively would reveal the ‘complex relationships, networks, hierarchies and nested groups’ (Buckle, 1999: 23). Thus, a more appropriate approach to understanding ‘community’ would be to analyse the common interests or needs from which a sense of who forms a ‘community’ could be developed. A further dimension is the recognition of multiple co-existing communities, rather than a single ‘community’; within locality defined communities there may be groups competing for scarce

resources (Marsh and Buckle, 2001). Melucci (1996) also warned against assuming a homogenous collective group identity and suggested that fragmentation and conflict may be temporarily hidden for the sake of a common cause or interest. It could be argued that we should extend current analyses to reflect this diversity when devising engagement strategies for these multiple co-existing communities. One way of addressing this aspect is to consider the ways groups of people often interact 'within and between a number of sub-communities' Sullivan (2003: 20). However, as discussed below this strategy is also problematic and may inadvertently promote inequalities.

Cottrell (2007) attempts to move beyond just calling for adequate definitions of community, although she suggests that a broad understanding of 'community' is still relevant. Cottrell describes research conducted in the Bloomfield River region, Queensland and argues that geographical location was a relevant factor as it influenced the types of hazards people were exposed to and also noted the importance of networks. The somewhat underwhelming conclusion offered is for an acknowledgement that each 'community' is different and that service providers should understand this feature. But, this is only the first step in moving the debate about 'community' forward.

The place of government

Governments and their agencies are influential regarding disaster preparedness and they can be viewed as frame articulators (Boin et al., 2009). In the case of disaster events, the political status or expertise of such frame articulators, and/or the organisation they represent, legitimates the promotion of believable and resonant framings. These attempts, however, rely on a comprehensive understanding of the construction of relationships, and associated resources, that enable 'communities' to prepare adequately for disaster.

Other forms of ‘framing’ are worth noting. Bacchi (2009), for example, argues that how a policy ‘problem’ is conceived and by whom, is crucial in understanding how policies are developed and how we are governed. In addition, Hancock (2007: 68) referring to US social policy, is critical of the categorization of groups, which she argues promotes ‘Oppression Olympics’ where groups compete to be the ‘most needy’. Such an approach does nothing to challenge existing social stratifications.

In the context of bushfires, there are implications and consequences when governments and agencies frame the policy problem as a lack of shared responsibility or when certain people are identified as more ‘vulnerable’ to bushfire risk. While such risk and hazard exposure is variable among populations even in the same locality (Whittaker et al., 2012), it is important that disaster preparedness and responses do not simply perpetuate existing or create new social and economic inequalities.

On government actions, Bryson & Mowbray (1981) noted the increasing and uncritical use of the term ‘community’ in Australian social policy. Community, rather than just identifying a particular population, also serves as a positive marker that of organizations, policies or programmes. Applied in this way ‘community’ implies a decency and well-meaning in relation to motives and intentions. These authors argued that this appeal to ‘community’s’ positive attributes draws on a particular view of so called traditional communities that is in contrast to modern society. Consequently, the social problems found within modern society can be solved technically rather than politically thereby recreating the social relationships allegedly present in traditional communities. In this context, concerns about structural forces like class and economic configurations can be overlooked.

In addition, so called ‘bottom-up’ or ‘community’ led approaches are misleading labels as often centrally administered funding arrangements are an indication of state control and do

little to promote actual autonomy at a local level (Bryson and Mowbray, 1981). More recently, Mowbray (2005) considered a 'community' capacity building project in Victoria and was again critical of the rhetoric of 'community'. If governments want to empower residents then according to Mowbray they need to undertake significant socio-economic reform. Other specific recommendations include providing substantial resources for programmes rather than funding short-term pilot projects so that programmes are 'equitable and …transparent' (2005: 263-64).

As noted, bushfire agencies emphasise the need to work with communities to increase bushfire preparedness. Engaging with communities in a meaningful way is difficult and challenging work. It requires long-term commitment, adequate resourcing (funds and personnel) and willingness for critical reflection and change in response to ongoing dialogue with those at risk of bushfire. This in turn would begin to radically alter the militaristic and operationally focussed command and control structures that are common in emergency services and that also still permeate their dealings with the public.

The Limits and Possibilities of Conceptualisations of 'Community'

The difficulty of conceptualising 'community' lies in the roots of social sciences and leads ultimately to question the role of government in relation to 'community'. It is worth first considering how sociological interest in 'community' developed. Connell (2007) argues that the discipline of contemporary Western sociology developed out of the urban and cultural centres of dominant imperial powers; it 'embodied an intellectual response to the colonised world' (2007: 9). The emphasis was on a theory of progress that highlighted the differences between metropole (civilisation) and other cultures (so called primitive). However, WW1 saw a shift in the place and significance of these imperial powers. Together with an

increasing awareness of the violence of colonialism meant that it became increasingly problematic to consider progress as a reliable subject of knowledge.

One influential response to this shift was in the US where sociology flourished from the 1920s to the 1950s. Importantly, '[t]he new object of knowledge was society, and especially social difference and social disorder, *within the metropole*' (2007: 20). However, defining this new focus proved difficult and included consideration of social relations and group forms of association. A particular formulation of the sociological vision emerged. Nisbet (1967), for example, suggested that the unit ideas of sociology include 'community'. In short, modern sociology's concern with 'community' can be linked to its imperial origins.

The difficulties involved in conceptualising 'community' sociologically are summed up by Cohen (1985: 11) who wrote that 'Community… is bandied around in ordinary, everyday speech, apparently readily intelligible to speaker and listener which when imported into the discourse of social science however causes immense problems'.

One explanation for this ongoing difficulty is found in the writings of Studdert (2005). Drawing on Hannah Arendt's (1958) *The Human Condition*, Studdert challenges contemporary approaches to the idea of 'community'. He begins with Arendt's view that the foundation of sociality and communal activity is action and speech as action. The reworking of some of the core ideas in Western philosophy, Studdert argues, undermine this foundational starting point. First, the primacy given to thought or contemplation over human affairs supports the search for a stable vantage point from which to observe, judge and comment on the activity of life. Second, the questioning of our senses as fully reliable guides to any knowledge of the world promoted a retreat into the alleged security of our own subjectivity and contemplation (2005: 13). Such understandings impact on our relationship to the communal by distinguishing between a world understood through objective universal

laws and a world of personal subjectivity: the unique becomes the source of what it is to be human. Thus, our certainty about ourselves no longer relates to our roles as a social species, but rather in the lonely isolation of our own subjectivity. Third, there is a move from understanding what it is to be human in terms of duties (a reference to the obligations of social ties) to a normative notion, around which ideas of citizenship are formed. This reconfiguration 'binds each person in their solitary individuality to the abstract machinery of the state' (Studdert, 2005: 16). In addition, viewing the social as fundamentally conflictual, positions the state as the focus of social science investigation. The state becomes both the context for and the means by which it is possible to understand and resolve conflicts.

Studdert goes on to discuss various approaches to or accounts of community, such as social capital theory, 'Third Way' thinking and Communitarianism. In effect, Studdert argues that these approaches produce inferior models of 'community'. As modernist social scientific conceptualisations, they place 'community' within a pre-formed and unacknowledged framework that hampers its capacity to explain and engage with the social. To go beyond these difficulties, Studdert draws on Arendt's (1958) approach to the social and suggests that it is from the 'spaces of appearances', within the 'web of relations', that the basis of 'communities' emerges. The 'web of relations' – refers to the generic, inclusive sociality we are born into and is made up of objects and human relations; a world-centred approach rather than a human-centred approach. 'Space of appearances' occur and are located within the 'web of relations'. They can be understood as a 'specific reconfiguration of the web of relations in a particular instance' (Studdert, 2005: 154). The space of appearance is the everyday arena where human being-ness and sociality occur continuously and is based on our action and on the plurality of our existence. This social being-ness is messy as we live out our day to day lives, and co-create with others, commonalities through talking and taking action.

Conclusion

The focus here is on the theoretical use of ‘community’ in the context of emergency management and bushfire. It is argued that existing attempts to discuss the applicability of this concept in relation to bushfire safety are underdeveloped. The basic argument set out is that modernistic approaches to ‘community’ are fundamentally flawed and produce ineffectual models and ways of talking about communal life. Another approach is offered that begins from the premise that to be human is to be inherently social. The role of governments and agencies in this process is highlighted, along with the relevance of using framing to understand policy processes and responses.

Borrowing from Studdert’s analysis, it is necessary to consider how agencies engage with the public to promote bushfire preparedness. First it should be remembered that without our support and consent, governments would not function effectively, given the interdependence of state institutions and the general population. Second, state policies or programmes that purportedly increase social capital or build ‘community’ are only offering an imitation of what is an inherent quality in each of us. The next stage is to discuss the relevance of reconsidering our understandings of ‘community’ with personnel from fire agencies and emergency organisations and policy makers. These discussions would begin with the following: ‘community’ is who we are and not what we are.

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Reflexivity and the Structuring of Young People's Biographies

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Abstract

This paper addresses the utility of Beck's individualisation thesis for understanding the structural inequalities shaping the lives of contemporary youth. It presents a theoretically driven review of changes in the literature on class and youth identities, reading this literature in relation to the account of social change presented by Beck's individualisation thesis. The aim will be to move beyond increasingly stale debates about the 'right' way to read Beck, exploring new theoretical territory potentially opened up by these recent discussions of the meaning of individualisation. As a starting point, the paper begins from suggestions for more sophisticated dialogue between the work of Beck and Bourdieu in youth sociology, responding to this call by drawing on subsequent theoretical work focusing on the relationship between reflexivity and the habitus. The paper situates changing empirical and theoretical themes in the literature on inequality and youth identity in the context of these discussions, arguing that this literature indicates that reflexive practices are one way in which the dispositions of the habitus are realised for young people in modernity. It concludes by discussing the role of reflexivity in young people's lives, emphasising the way that reflexive practices articulate local structural conditions.

Introduction

This paper addresses the utility of Beck's individualisation thesis for understanding the structural inequalities shaping the lives of contemporary youth. It presents a theoretically driven review of changes in the literature on class and youth identities, reading this literature in relation to the account of social change presented by the individualisation thesis (Beck, 1992). The aim will be to move beyond increasingly stale debates about the 'right' way to read Beck, exploring new theoretical territory potentially opened up by these recent discussions of the meaning of individualisation (eg Woodman, 2009; Roberts, 2010; Threadgold, 2011). As a starting point, the paper begins from suggestions for more sophisticated dialogue between the work of Beck and Bourdieu in youth sociology (Threadgold, 2011), responding to this call by drawing on theoretical work on the relationship between reflexivity and the habitus from authors such as McNay (1999) and Adkins (2002). The paper situates changing empirical and theoretical themes in the literature on inequality and youth identity in the context of these discussions, arguing that this literature indicates that reflexive practices are one way in which the dispositions of the habitus are realised for young people in modernity. It concludes by discussing the role of reflexivity in young people's lives, emphasising the way that reflexive practices articulate local structural conditions.

Individualisation, Reflexivity and Youth Sociology

As described in the work of Beck and his collaborators (Beck, 1992; Beck and Lau, 2005; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), the individualisation thesis describes a process of social change in which detraditionalisation and structural fragmentation creates the conditions for individualised, reflexive subjectivities. According to Beck, modern societies are dominated by an ethic of individual personal fulfilment, rather than 'given', taken for granted or traditional models for identity. Moreover, Beck argues that contemporary structural conditions are increasingly insecure and heterogeneous. Beck (1997) argues that "first" modern or industrial societies were structured like a series of "Russian dolls" in which a traditional nuclear family, Fordist modes of production, and a class structure with a subcultural basis all fit together to create conditions of relative stability. These structures have broken apart, creating widespread structural insecurity, heterogeneity, and contradiction.

In response to this, Beck argues that modern subjects are increasingly reflexive. With the dissolution of the structural basis for earlier collective identities (particularly for the Fordist working class), modernity compels people to view themselves as individuals, and actively organise the various facets of their lives into a coherent whole in a way which was not necessary before the Russian dolls fell apart. Those who were once situated within secure collectives now must manage structural insecurity and detraditionalised cultural conditions, and this takes place through the active cultivation of a life. Beck refers to these as reflexive subjectivities – subjects who relate to the social world as individuals, and reflexively organise their lives oriented by an ethic of personal fulfilment.

The concept of reflexivity has been controversial in the sociology of youth, since it has been taken to describe an individualistic form of new agency. Whilst Woodman (2009) has argued against interpreting Beck's work as valorising a new form of emancipatory agency, authors such as Threadgold (2011) have called for a renewed focus on the relationship between Beck's work and Bourdieu's concept of the habitus in order to understand the continued impact of modern inequalities on young people. For Bourdieu, the subject is endowed with a habitus, which describes a system of dispositions that are structured by the various contexts that a person practically engages with. The habitus thereby generates practices that are reasonable without being conscious or reflexive. In this perspective, reflexivity only occurs when there is a lack of "fit" between the habitus and the conditions that structured it, such that it can no longer produce reasonable practices. Bourdieu (1990) argues that these moments of "crisis" create the conditions for reflexivity. Drawing on this aspect of Bourdieu's work, authors such as Sweetman (2003) and McNay (1999) have argued that the social changes Beck describes may have made crises of this kind endemic in modern societies, leading to the creation of reflexive subjectivities. Adkins (2002) cautions against reading these changes as describing any form of emancipation, arguing rather that reflexivity is implicated in new forms of hierarchy and privilege. In the next section of this paper I want to explore this claim in relation to changing themes in youth sociology.

Inequality, Identity, and the Structuring of Youth Biographies – Two Moments

What follows is a discussion of some paradigmatic literature in youth sociology which aims to theorise the relationship between inequality, identity, and the structuring of young pepole's

biographies. It is a selective review, but one which is emblematic of overall trends in this literature. Examining these trends, two 'moments' can be identified which roughly correspond to the processes of social change identified by Beck. These two moments demonstrate the ways in which the sociology of youth has come to terms with the fragmentation of Beck's Russian dolls, and synthesising some insights from this literature indicates new ways in which we can come to terms with the structuring of young people's biographies and identities.

First Modernity

The first moment, which reflects Beck's discussions of the "first modern" social structures, is best captured by Willis' widely cited classic *Learning to Labour* (1977). Willis carried out his study in a working class community during a period of very low unemployment due to the strength of local manufacturing industries. Willis' description of this community is reminiscent of Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts's description (1976) of a working class community discussed by Cohen (1991 [1972]) which was based on three interlocking social structures. Their description of these structures is strikingly similar to Beck's description of structures connected like Russian dolls. Clarke et al describe an 'extended kinship network' providing 'cultural continuity and stability', which depends on the 'ecological setting' of the working class neighbourhood, a space which shapes and supports social solidarity. This in turn is underpinned by the local economy, which provided good local working class jobs in relative abundance (p 30).

In this social environment, Willis' lads draw on the working class culture they were embedded in to construct a culture of collective resistance to the middle class individualism of the school. Willis argues that the lads' cultural practices both drew on, and were homologous to, working class shop floor culture, in particular valorising manual labour over intellectual labour as part of the lads' working class masculinities. In this sense, the practices that the lads used to resist the authority of the school also prepared them for a smooth transition into the kinds of work that was available to them. In the early stages of their transition in to work, Willis' lads found satisfaction in those aspects of their jobs which allowed them to perform the identities that that had proved so troublesome to their teachers at school. However, these practices were not subversive at work – rather, they fitted in perfectly with shop floor culture, and made lads preferable employees to the 'lobes', because the lads came to work anticipating the hierarchies which structured life on the shop floor. In a similar fashion, Brown (1987) documented the lives of "ordinary kids" working to "get on" within the terms of the 'respectable' working class, and McRobbie (1978) documented the way that the culture of working class femininity constituted acts of resistance at school which ended by preparing young women for nuclear families underpinned by traditional divisions of domestic and waged labour.

In this way, young people's identities reproduced the collective structures around them. However, as both Beck (1992) and Willis (2004) argue, these conditions no longer exist. The replacement of a manufacturing with a service economy, and the collapse of the youth labour market, have eroded the structural basis for these kinds of identities and biographical transitions. Youth identities in the "second moment" identified here reflect these changes.

Second modernity

The kinds of changes Beck describes, with increased structural complexity, heterogeneity, and insecurity, are reflected in changes in the dominant motifs of contemporary youth sociology. Work on youth transitions emphasises complexity, insecurity, non-linearity, heterogeneity and temporal decoupling of transitions (Andres and Wyn, 2010; Chisholm and Hurrelman, 1995) which Wallace and Kovatcheva (1998) go so far as to describe as the 'deconstruction' of the youth period. Class inequalities have continued to shape all young people's lives, but these are no longer experienced in collective terms (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). Moreover, whilst class continues to be an important factor influencing young people's life chances, youth identities no longer map easily onto class locations. Instead, the literature describes a complex terrain of differentiated youth identities. Reflexivity is an important part of this terrain. It is not merely a middle class concern, does not map neatly on to class differences, and has a non-determinate relationship to material advantages. Rather, the evidence seems to be that reflexivity is associated with specific local structural conditions, and is shaped by the dispositions of young people's habitus.

A number of studies are significant in this regard. One is the widely cited work of Ball et al (2000) who document different individualised identities in the "global city" of London. In this work, class is not a straightforward means by which to predict the existence, or not, of reflexive subjectivities. Class shapes the goals, expectations and values of young people, but these must be realised in reflexive practice. Ball et al document working class young people who navigate the education system strategically, creating strategies to aim for more modest achievements without the educational successes of their middle class peers. Others are thrust into insecure work environments and must manage multiple work and personal commitments in order to build an identity and look towards the future. The authors argue that for today's "ordinary kids", life is uncertain, and reflexive practices are about the search for security in an unstable world. Examining the reflexive practices of young people in different structural and geographical locations provides insight into the nature of this process which goes beyond contemporary assumptions about the meaning of reflexivity in youth sociology.

Kenway, Kraack and Hickey-Moodey (2006) describe working class regional masculinities in Australian communities suffering from the effects of deindustrialisation and the decline of primary industries. The older generation in these communities continues to subscribe to traditional notions of "real" working class masculine work that do not suit local labour market conditions. Young people who cling to these ideals in order to conform to class cultural expectations find themselves unemployed. In contrast, others entered new service and leisure economies, redefining both themselves and the meaning of this work in the process. In these contexts, hospitality work becomes gendered in new ways, with young people defining waitressing as a feminine occupation requiring good personal presentation, and chef work as masculine, requiring physical endurance and technical competence. Kenway et al describe this as the emergence of new reflexive subjectivities oriented towards dealing with rapidly changing economies in a local context. This reflexivity is oriented towards the local labour market, as well as being shaped by the classed and gendered

expectations of young people. However, as Adkins (2002) points out, this reflexivity actually leads to a retraditionalisation of previous gendered hierarchies.

The evidence on middle class biographies is complex. While these young people are often held up as emblematic of contemporary reflexivity, Ball et al describe these young people as having solid identities and stable transitions, arguing that it is the middle class students on the "A level pathway" who have the least need for reflexivity in their various biographical movements. Cultural capital buys these young people structural stability in their movements through school and work, and the success their capital creates and confirms the value of their own identities. Walkderdine et al (2001) present a similar argument, noting the similarity of the pathways taken by their middle class participants, as opposed to the heterogeneity of working class young people thrust into an uncertain services sector with few educational qualifications. In McLeod and Yates (2006), reflexivity is characterised as "generalised disposition" but which takes a heightened form especially for middle class girls. However, significantly, in this study a highly developed reflexive awareness of self and the social world did not translate into material advantage. As in many others, it is those young people who moved through what Walkderdine et al describe as the middle class "conveyor belt" from private schools to elite universities who achieved the most structural advantage.

However, in all of these studies, as well as others, there is a group of young people described as "disconnected", "socially excluded", or as members of an "underclass", who are experiencing very profound forms of disadvantage. The work of McDonald and Marsh (2005) is significant in this respect, describing a community ravaged by deindustrialisation without a service sector to replace the former sources of manufacturing employment on which the community relied. McDonald and Marsh describe these young people as experiencing fragile and chaotic transitions. However, significantly, they argue that rather than responding with reflexivity, their participants continue to operate within strong, locally embedded, class cultures. McDonald and Marsh argue that this is because of the absence of the kinds of opportunities offered in the "global city" of London or the other locales analysed by previous authors. Essentially, in this context, there was nothing to be reflexive about. As a counterpoint to this, both Ball et al and Walkderdine describe socially excluded young people who respond to extreme disadvantage in highly individualised ways, and for whom dealing with insecurity is a day to day struggle requiring constant self management. However, this remains circumscribed by the day to day exigencies of life without capital. All of these young people occupy the structural cracks opened by individualisation, experiencing forms of disadvantage just as intractable as Fordist class divisions.

Reflexivity, Habitus, and the Creation of New Differences

Taken as a whole, this literature suggests a reframing of current concerns with reflexivity. There are certainly structural conditions which compel young people to be reflexive. However, differences in the existence of these conditions do not map easily onto traditional class divisions. Contrary to the notion that reflexivity is a privilege of middle class youth, much of the available evidence suggests that reflexivity is neither exclusive to the middle class, nor necessarily a source of privilege or material advantage. Rather, reflexive

subjectivities emerge in response to local structural conditions, and are mobilised in ways that are conditioned by familiar forms of social inequality. Reflexivity does not mean the destructuring of youth biographies, but is a part of the creation of classed and gendered inequalities in specific social contexts. In many ways, reflexivity is part of the means by which modern youth inequalities are actually produced. If youth sociology is to understand the means by which young people's identities reflect structural conditions, careful attention to different forms of reflexivity is important.

Following McLeod and Yates (2006), I suggest that it is necessary to see reflexivity as a generalised disposition with different consequences for differently positioned young people. In order to understand this, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital must be seen as forming the basis for the different forms of reflexivity mobilised by young people. Indeed, this is necessary because without this, the concept of reflexivity remains "empty" of any specific meaning – it is the habitus that gives reflexive practices their *content*. Reflexive practices operate according to assumptions very much like those that structure the habitus: social divisions influence the things that young people are reflexive about, as well as the material resources available to them in achieving their goals. Viewing reflexivity in this way directs attention to the structures which may compel young people to be reflexive about their lives, as well as the values and goals that make up their reflexivity. What is significant about contemporary modern societies is that for the dispositions of the habitus to be successfully realised in practice, young people must be reflexive. With the exception of those described as disconnected and socially excluded, the important distinction between young people is not whether or not they are reflexive, but what they are reflexive about: reflexivity articulates difference, becoming the medium by which inequalities are produced and reproduced on the level of young people's biographies. Habitus and reflexivity are not paradoxically opposed concepts, but may be mutually implicated in creating the practices which young people mobilise to realise different aspirations.

I conclude with two points. The first is that Beck's description of a homogeneous modernity in which everyone is reflexive should be approached with caution. It is not supported by evidence, and turns the concept of reflexivity into a blanket description rather than a heuristic tool for understanding the way that structures operate on the level of biographies. Secondly, and related to this, I want to emphasise that the evidence demonstrates the continued importance of local structural conditions in compelling young people to be reflexive, and in providing the content of their reflexive practices. Reflexivity is oriented towards local structures, and constituted by cultural capital – reflexive practices are the way in which modern class inequalities are articulated in young people's identities and in the way they manage their lives. Understood in this way, the concept of reflexivity provides youth sociology with a means to understand the way that modern social structures are articulated in the lives and biographies of contemporary young people, and provides new insight into the way that class, biography, and identity intersect in late modernity.

Keywords: Individualisation, Reflexivity, Class, Beck, Bourdieu.

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Flagging nationalism: Some thoughts on the nature of provocation

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Abstract

This paper considers the media frenzy and public outcry that surrounded the publication of findings of a relationship between the flying of Australian flags on cars for Australia Day and racist attitudes. While the findings did not surprise many sociologists, they were apparently highly contentious for portions of the Australian public. The role of the academic in fomenting public debate on national identity and the use of national symbols, and their responsibility in relation to calls for a 'public sociology', are discussed, using the lens of the concept of provocation.

Keywords: Flags, nationalism, public sociology, intellectual, Australia Day

Introduction

There is an extensive body of research indicating that racism (negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities) exists in Australia (Forrest and Dunn, 2010; Goot and Watson, 2005; HREOC, 2004; Issue Deliberation Australia, 2007; Pedersen et al, 2011) and there is evidence that xenophobia was encouraged during the 11 years of the Howard government (Jupp, 2007; Maddox, 2005; Tate, 2009). Dunn and Nelson (2011) found that 85 per cent of Australians believe there is racial prejudice in Australia. So why were Australians so upset at the publication of research indicating that exclusionary forms of nationalism (identified as 'racist attitudes') are associated with car flag flying on Australia Day? This paper describes the public reaction and discusses it in relation to public sociology, considering particularly the extent to which publication of the findings can be seen as an instance of provocation.

Background

The use of the Australian flag has proliferated in recent years, not simply as a result of the Howard government's insistence that schools have a working flag pole, nor in the extreme versions of its use as a nationalist symbol such as at Cronulla and by Pauline Hanson (Noble, 2009), but in more banal forms (Billig, 1995) such as its use by average Australians in the installation of flag poles in their homes, and on cars around Australia Day (Huxley, 2009; Orr, 2010). While this phenomenon has been remarked upon in the media and by academics and the public alike, no research had been undertaken into everyday Australians' understandings of it. Research was undertaken in 2011 to explore the extent to which car flag flying was associated with patriotism and nationalism (Kemmelmeier and Winter, 2008; Skitka, 2005), particularly exclusionary forms of nationalism.

The study gathered data about public opinions and attitudes concerning the practice, in Perth, Western Australia. 32 Likert scale questions regarding nationalism and diversity and five

open-ended questions covering attitudes about the Australian flag, the practice of displaying flags on cars, and the meaning attributed to this practice, were included. 513 people completed the survey. Results are included in the press release[ii], and a paper was delivered at the 2011 TASA conference reporting the results. For all measures indicating levels of nationalism and positivity towards diversity, the car-flag-flyers rated higher and lower respectively compared to non-flag-flyers, and most of these differences reached statistical significance.

In late 2011 the researcher approached the UWA Public Affairs section to ask whether a press release on the research would be better received in November to coincide with a paper being presented at The Australian Sociological Association Conference, or closer to Australia Day. They strongly recommended leaving it till closer to Australia Day (as did a personal friend who works for *The West Australian*). The first version of the press release did not use the term 'racist attitudes' and did not focus on the statistical relationship between car flag flying and negative attitudes towards diversity. It summarised the qualitative data from the study. The Public Affairs section advised that it was not punchy enough and to be more straight forward and provide statistics. The press release was modified to include stats and opened with the line "A study in Western Australia has found that people who fly Australian flags on their cars for Australia day express more racist attitudes than those who do not." The term 'racist' was used once thereafter – the rest of the release simply reported attitudes to diversity.

Response: media reports, blogs site discussions and personal hate mail

The majority of media coverage was reasonably accurate, and based on the press release, although there was a tendency to use the first sections that emphasised the 'racism' aspect, and ignore the other sections that identified ambivalence and lack of interest, and the finding that a majority of both populations were positive about diversity. Factiva identifies 69 articles on the research, though it is likely the number is higher because Factiva does not cover all community newspapers, radio stations, and letters to the editor. Nor does it pick up the informal and formal web based discussions, nor talk-back radio (coverage on which was extensive). On the day before Australia Day (the day after the release) Media Monitors picked up 18 radio or television programs covering the story. Appendix A contains an example of a news article, indicating the style of some of the coverage, and is notable for the fact that it includes responses from the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition. Some of the media coverage was clearly anti-intellectual and designed to misinform and incite.[iii]

Thousands of responses were generated on online media discussion boards. A number of media websites ran polls asking people whether they agreed with the results of the research. A selection is provided in Table 1. Results differed depending on the wording of the question.

Table 1: Summary of polls (as of 27 January 2012)

Details	# of responses	Yes	No
Rhianna King *The Age* Does flying the Australian flag from your car on Australia Day mean you are more likely to be racist?	8029	50% (4015 votes)	(50%) (4014 votes)
Todd Cardy *The Herald Sun*	10200	25.18%	74.82%

Are people who fly flags on their cars more racist?		(2568 votes)	(7632 votes)
Todd Cardy *The Daily Telegraph* Does putting an Australian flag on your car mean you are racist?	3055	14.57% (518 votes)	85.43% (3037 votes)
Todd Cardy *Adelaide Now* Are people who fly Aussie flags on cars more racist?	2624	15.82% (415 votes)	84.18% (2209 votes)
Perth now: Poll Do you agree with research that suggests people who fly Australian car flags are more racist?	7717	25.72%(1985 votes)	74.28%(5732 votes)

The researcher received over 200 personal hate-emails, several abusive phone calls, and around 30 abusive Facebook messages (from people not known to me).[iv] Some of the emails were copied to local members of parliament, or to the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition, as a form of complaint. The following is an example of the type of vitriol received:

> you calling me a racist/ now that has to be curtailed young lady you are the biggest biggot, lier and bullshit artist I have ever had the misfortune to hear about... If you were in front of me right now I would slap you down and kick you lilly livid arse until your nose bleeds woman…where do you get off calling me and my fellow compatriots racists for flying a flag on the national day, where does your patriotism lie??? it certainly does not lay within the country you now reside in!!!and If I were you (thank god I am not) I would be looking over my shoulder because somewhere along the line you my dear lady will get your upcomings for sure. The ire of the land will surely pays its respects to you and your kind...and you call yourself a doctor hahahaha you nothing but a media seeking junkie tree hugging hippy bitch who needs a good slap and a kick up the arse.

In contrast to being a tree hugging hippy, others accused the researcher of being a Muslim male. Many suggested the researcher should go back to where she came from. Key themes in the responses included racism, anti-intellectualism (including accusations of ideological bias), and sexism (see Fozdar, under review).

The response to the press release was entirely unanticipated by the UWA Public Affairs section, and the researcher. It is estimated three quarters of the population heard about the research – it was reported by friends and family as a topic of 'water-cooler conversation' in many different workplaces, and on Facebook.

Provocation

There are a number of candidate reasons for why the research produced such a strong response. There is not space to discuss each of these, but they include the timing two days before Australia Day; the medium of communication and the adversarial approach it encourages; misunderstanding about the difference between opinion and research; the use of the word 'racist'; and the defensiveness of the Australian population to what they see as

criticism. I want to explore these last two issues a little further. Dunn and Nelson (2011) provide evidence from a number of authors to argue that the denial of racism, a defining aspect of contemporary racism, has a long history in Australia. Among the more recent examples are the denial that racism was partly responsible for the attacks on Indian students and the Cronulla riots. They quote research that found that a fifth of newspaper headlines about the riots denied or mitigated racism by individualising it, blaming it on context or presenting it as inevitable. Similar devices were used in the flags on cars debate. One aspect of the backlash against the current research was not only this denial of racism, but the suggestion that the researcher ought to be ashamed of herself (although it was unclear about what – the publication of the findings, or asking the question in the first place). The question 'why would you ask such a question', framed both as an innocent query and as an accusation of ideological bias, was common.

The furore was partly the result of the fact that the researcher was saying something that is unsayable (van Dijk, 1992). In her article, 'The Feminist Killjoy', Sarah Ahmed (2010) noted how feminists are seen as killing other people's joy when they point out moments of sexism – bringing other people down with mention of unhappy topics. Similarly, talking about racism can be seen as divisive, she suggests:

> Take the example of racism. It can be wilful even to name racism: as if the talk about divisions is what is divisive. Given that racism recedes from social consciousness, it appears as if the ones who "bring it up" are bringing it into existence. ... Those who talk about racism are thus heard as creating rather than describing a problem. The stakes are indeed very high: to talk about racism is to occupy a space that is saturated with tension.

This may explain the assertion that the researcher should be ashamed of herself. It is one thing to acknowledge racism exists in Australia, as 85 per cent of the population do, but another thing altogether to actually link racist attitudes with expressions of nationalism – acknowledging that racial prejudice exists is perhaps easy if it can be attributed to someone else, and to the most extreme examples, rather than everyday instances such as the one the research focused on.

It was suggested to the researcher by an overseas colleague, that the press release constituted 'a provocation'. To what extent can informing the public of the results of our research be seen as provocation, if those results are likely to elicit a heated reaction? And what is the duty of the researcher, in relation to calls for a public sociology, in this respect?

Oxford Dictionaries (2012: online) defines provocation as an "action or speech that makes someone angry, especially deliberately". Legal definitions see provocation as "any wrongful act or insult of such a nature as to be likely when done to an ordinary person to deprive the person of the power of self-control," (Supreme Court Benchbooks, nd). The press release was not intended to make anyone angry or deprive them of the power of self-control – it was offered as a piece of research that might be of interest to the public, and that might encourage debate about Australian nationalism, and was shared for that reason. Thus it was not a deliberate provocation. But it did make people angry!

Derek Edwards (1997) has pointed out the rhetorical effect of identifying where a story begins:

> A basic issue, in telling a story of events in your life, is where to begin: 'Where one chooses to begin and end a narrative can profoundly alter its shape and meaning' (Riessman, 1993: 18). Where to start a story is a major, and rhetorically potent, way of managing causality and accountability.

With this in mind, it is useful to consider where this story began, particularly in terms of the question of provocation, if one is interested in laying 'blame' for the fallout. Huxley (2009), in an article in the Sydney Morning Herald headlined "When Patriotism Becomes Provocation", suggested that the flag itself has become a provocative symbol. Similarly, Orr (2010: 510-511) argues:

> Undeniably there is a racial element to some of this…Whether tattooed on the skin, painted on the face and worn to the Cronulla race riots, or brandished at the Big Day Out rock concern, many now appropriate the Australian flag as an expression of a narrow brand of 'Aussie' nationalism. In its more militant uses, the flag is wielded confrontationally – as a symbolic weapon – against whichever recently arrived ethnic group is accused of failing to assimilate.

The question might legitimately be asked, therefore, as one might with quarrelling children: who started it, who was provoking whom? Is the researcher's decision to undertake research to try to understand what the flag waving is all about, and their subsequent publicising of the results, something that should have been seen as likely to incite such a reaction? And if so, what is the responsibility of the researcher?

Social scientists have been encouraged over the past decade or more to become 'public intellectuals', who try to speak truth to power (Said, 1994). Gramsci's work on the role of organic intellectuals who challenge the status quo is one heritage to whom this approach is owed. One role is "to defend the weak", "to speak up courageously" (ibid, 1994: 6, 8): "...to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug" (ibid, 1994:11). This "involves both commitment and risk, boldness and vulnerability" (ibid, 1994:13).

Most recently we have been asked to engage in 'public sociology' (Burawoy, 2004; 2005), to take on topical issues in a way that is accessible to the general public in order that both sides gain from the dialogue – basically not to sit in our ivory towers, but "to enrich public debate about moral and political issues by infusing them with sociological theory and research" (Burawoy, 2004: 1603). However Said (1994: x) has noted the association, in the public mind, between intellectual, ivory tower, and sneer. The response to the flags on cars research demonstrated this connection, with the public clearly offended at the results and taking away the message that a foreign sounding researcher is of the opinion that the Australian flag is racist, and asking themselves why public money is wasted on such people. A key point here is whether the communication with the public was effective. C. Wright Mills (quoted in Said, 1994: 21) emphasised the importance of the intellectual having the means of effective communication, but noted this is often expropriated. While the original press release was clear (although already filtered through the university's media people), its use by the media and the take-up by the public in talk-shows and in social media, demonstrates that the intellectual no longer has control over their product. On the other hand ethnic minorities and academics (together with some members of the mainstream population) generally applauded the research. The overwhelmingly negative reaction however does not convince us that public

engagement, particularly on issues of nationalism and racism, is likely to be productive and positive.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, what is the likely effect of such 'provocation'? The media and public reaction was highly personally hurtful, and the inability to defend myself was frustrating. Concern for my academic standing, and that of my university, was also significant, as some respondents had vowed to 'bring me down'. One said he was setting up an anti-Fozdar website to publicise my misdeeds. Another said he had written complaining to all of the funding bodies from which I had received grants.

But there was another possible effect, specifically the effect on the public and the practice of flag flying that was the subject of the research. Burrawoy (2004: 1606) argues sociologists should "be in the business of stimulating public discussions about the possible meanings of the 'good society'". Ideally this is a form of Habermasian 'communicative action', he says, which should be dialogic in character (ibid, 2004: 1606). However, the flags on cars debate did not really open up a dialogue about the nature of nationalism and the national character, nor the appropriate uses of the flag. In fact, it may be likely that, given the publicity, the proportion of the car-flag-flying population who did not have more racist attitudes will stop the practice (not wanting to be identified with racism). The result would be to leave the flag (as symbol of the nation) in the hands of those with the more negative attitudes – reinforcing the connection of the flag/nation with racism, rather than the opposite. This would be a wholly unintended negative consequence.

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Appendix A

MEDIA MONITORS

back

Herald Sun
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General News
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MTWTFS-

Politicians unite over race row

Wes Hosking, Aleks Devic and Stephen Drill

PROMINENT Australians have urged their compatriots to fly the flag with pride, despite claims the national symbol is a sign of race hate.

Prime Minister Julia Gillard and Premier Ted Baillieu led the charge to dismiss a study suggesting Aussies who attached flags to their cars for Australia Day were more likely to have racist views.

But an Islamic leader claimed the country could not deny some flag-flying patriots were racist and that the flag had allegedly been used as a "weapon" against some Australians.

The flag furore follows neurosurgeon Dr Charles Teo's claim that racism still plagued Australia and migrants were victimised.

University of WA researchers found in a survey of 513 people last Australia Day that one in five attached flags to their cars, and that flag-flyers "tend to express more racist attitudes" than others.

Just over 40 per cent believed the White Australia Policy had saved Australia from many problems other countries had experienced compared with only a quarter of non-flag flyers.

Dual Olympic swimming gold medallist Kieren Perkins said he found it "extraordinary" such links could be made. "I am proud of my country and I'll be flying my flag," Perkins said.

Businessman and former Geelong Cats president Frank Costa, who migrated from Italy, said he flew the Australian flag on his car for six months of the year.

"Anyone who flies their flag is saying: 'I'm proud to be Australian' and it represents our love for the country we live in and how fortunate we are," he said.

Ms Gillard said: "I have always been proud of the Australian flag, and I'll be attending a ceremonial flag raising in Canberra on Australia Day."

Opposition Leader Tony Abbott said: "This is nonsense on stilts. Australians should fly the flag with pride this Australia Day."

Mr Baillieu said people should be free to celebrate and welcome each other.

But Islamic Council of Victoria director Nazeem Hussain said the study did not surprise him.

"It's a sad reality that the flag has been more closely associated with white nationalist agendas than it has been in the past," he said.

The Cronulla riots had linked the flag with racism.

"It was used as some sort of weapon," he said.

Our day in the sun, Pages 14-15
Hot Topic, Page 36
Editorial, Page 38

[i] This author would like to acknowledge the support of the Australian Research Council Future Fellowship FT100100432; and the work of research assistant Brian Spittles and others who helped with data collection.
[ii] Available at http://www.news.uwa.edu.au/201201234297/research/study-shows-racist-views-link-car-flags,
[iii] Miranda Devine's article, with the headline "Academic's data sinks the boot in", was a particularly nasty example of a personal anti-academic attack which involved criticism of funding received and selective quoting of names of publications or grants to ridicule the researcher (Herald Sun, Jan 26th).
[iv] Positive responses (both personal and in the public debate) were also received. However the positive responses by email were at a rate of about 1 in 4, and for online discussions positive far fewer, I estimate at a rate of about 1 in 10.

Environmentalism and the marginalising of rural society and rural industrial practices

Introduction - the 'metropolis' as mother city

In the context of this paper, the term 'metropolis' is employed to encompass the idea that our largest cities hold political and economic power, are the sites for the acquisition of wealth, are culturally and intellectually rich and provide the people who reside there with superior opportunities for new and better ways of doing things. The 'metropolis', burgeoning as it is with domestic and international immigrants, the best facilities and newest technologies, can sustain sophisticated and desirable lifestyles and careers (Kenway, Kraack & Hickey-Moody, 2006). The metropolis is "imbued with the magnetic appeal of accessibility, possibility and hospitality to difference" (Kenway, *et al*, 2006: 6). The use of this term to describe our major cities also implies the inter connectedness of contemporary western cities, and through this inter connectedness the 'metropolis' is a participant in and contributes to the globalisation processes and cultures as these have been instilled through no liberal policies and actions. The easy compliance with national and international priorities and actions has also given the people of the metropolis disproportionate leverage in decision making , overwhelming and marginalising locally relevant political and economic directions and delivering fundamental social and cultural change to rural jurisdictions (Franklin, 2010; 2011).

Environmentalism and the metropolis

Environmentalism as a social phenomenon began with discourses about the conservation of native and natural places in Australia very early in the twentieth century. Notions about conservation and resource protection, and particularly issues about soil conservation, became a part of government

policy and action from the 1930's, but from the 1950's debate about conserving natural spaces and resources gained public attention and momentum (Franklin, 2010). As the urban proponents of the conservation movement engaged both with the natural sciences and the media, land use and land protection ideologies produced new ways of thinking about non urban landscapes. The urban rural dichotomy grew from the rejection of Paterson's simplistic nineteenth century view of "the foetid air and gritty of the dusty, dirty city" and Clancy's fanciful yearnings about sharing the culture of the Australian bushman's "vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended" ("*Clancy of the Overflow"*, The Bulletin, 21.12. 1889). The conceptualising of conservation and environmentalism was inaugurated with ideas about the 'nature' of nature and need felt by professional, middle class urban males in particular who demanded access to 'natural' areas adjacent to the city for 'self reliant recreation' (http://www.colongwilderness.org.au/whatiswilderness.htm Downloaded 18.3.2010).

The shift in early thinking from conservation as recreation to the broader conceptualising of environmentalism as sustainable development (Bruntland, 1987; Franklin. 2011) was supported by natural science institutions and was given political impetus by the growing urban middle class who had the capacity to comfortably travel long distances from the metropolis to experience a variety of wild, unique and pristine places. The social phenomenon of post modern environmentalism was given impetus and credibility by the development of tourism as an industry and by the dissemination of 'scientifically' based environmental discourses that were widely disseminated through popular TV programs. Jacques Cousteau, Sir David Attenborough and Steve Irwin as environmental mega stars, popularised environmentalism and gave environmental science credibility by embracing and promoting an inviolate interpretation of natural science paradigms and 'facts' but rarely without censure of man's role as nature's despoiler. Nature conservation documentaries have been explicitly and implicitly used to educate the populous about formal conservation goals and natural resource management strategies and policies as these have been

defined by government land management bureaucracies during the post modern era. Within this process for change there has been little investigation or acknowledgment of social justice consequences for some groups in society as these changes have been implemented to meet wholly new social values (Pepperdine & Ewing, 2001). The centralising of authority to NRM bureaucracies for the conservation and management of natural resources has resulted in environmental as well as social disturbances, but this process has also caused the loss of democratic participation in locally relevant decision making processes for rural people.

Dingoes and society

In some areas of conservation practice, such jurisdictional and ideological discrepancies and inconsistencies have become very apparent, and in the area of dingo and wild dog management for example, critical social justice issues have arisen as a result of unmitigated predation impacts on many livestock industry communities nationally. In the decades from 1970 to the present, the dingo as a species became the popular focus of a bitter debate that deeply divided those who sought its protection and those who sought the maintenance of effective population control. It was during the last four decades that the historical 'plight' of predatory animals everywhere was popularised by environmental documentaries based on the natural science paradigms of western cultures. It was through this popular scientific interpretation that the endorsement for the conservation of predatory animals was delivered as a priority over any consequential economic and social costs. Australia, devoid as it was of a marsupial predatory species, witnessed the re imaging of the dingo from a destructive menace to an iconic native dog, endowing it with an iconic status both in nomenclature and in all mainland environments. Its reputation too was remade (Breckwoldt, 1988), and for stock owners, the dingo's elevation to this wholly unexpected position in conservation policy was quickly entrenched without consideration for the possibility of severe negative consequences for those most

vulnerable to such sweeping change.

The history of the relationships between dingoes and humans has always been dynamic and highly contested, but the dingo has maintained its tenure in all but a very few of the continent's ecological spaces. As a species it easily adapted to and inhabited almost all ecological spaces across the continent where relatively defenseless marsupial mammals were dominant. Aboriginal Australians had maintained complex interactions with dingoes that included their semi domestication so they could be used as a food resource and as a companion animal (Smyth, 1876). At the time of the arrival of Europeans and their grazing animals, dingoes were abundant and became a significant inhibiting factor in the establishment of the sheep industry until strategies could be employed to protect the sheep and tools for widespread control of dingo populations became available. In each case the relationships between man, dingo and prey animals was linked to the societal expectations and human welfare of either Aboriginals or Europeans as a priority, but never was the dingo as a species victimized to its extinction except in a relatively small, highly productive and populous area of the south east mainland after European settlement. In much of the 'inland' of the continent and the timbered country of the steepest escarpment ranges and the alpine and sub alpine mountains of the south and east, it was rarely pursued except when it was in sufficient numbers to enter sheep paddocks to kill and maim.

Jurisdictional autonomy, and community responsibility

Australia's continental isolation has produced a unique fauna which has as a consequence left many species vulnerable to feral and exotic animal introductions and especially to predators like dogs, foxes and cats. The sheep owners of the nineteenth century dealt with the dingo 'menace' and later the European fox as best they could. During the convict era this meant the use of convict labour to

shepherd and guard valuable sheep flocks day and night from packs of dingoes. With the end of the the convict era, sheep owners used strychnine and steel jawed traps in the 'closer settled' areas to manage predation patterns. On the large pastoral runs of the semi arid plains when these tactics failed to stem the tide of dingoes, pastoralism erected barrier fences to separate dingo populations from their sheep flocks. There were no formal policies or regulations in place on the frontiers where sheep met dingoes during the nineteenth century, and thus no formal management structures. Dingo control was wholly dependent on the informal co operative and independent practices of sheep owners who responded to dingo predation in those places wherever it caused unacceptable stock losses (Woodford, 2003, Franklin, 2010).

Not until the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries did the catch as catch can dingo control activities formalise with the introduction of regulation to enforce pest animal control (Franklin, 2010). The combination of a series of dry years from the 1890's, the astonishingly rapid spread of European rabbits, driven by the rabbit meat trade, the simultaneous spread of the European fox population, produced critical social, environmental and economic challenges for rural jurisdictions. One response to the severe imposts of this trilogy of predatory pests in NSW - dingoes, rabbits and foxes - was the introduction of the locally based Pastures Protection Boards. These Boards were initially mandated to control sheep scab disease and were briefly known as Sheep Scab Boards, but from 1901 they were given the additional task of guiding and regulating pest animal control across NSW (Franklin, 1978).

Wherever local jurisdictions have been and remain responsible for the management practices of vertebrate pests, local government organisations in general remain reliant for their income on a local ratepayer base but have never had jurisdictional capacities to substantially influence management on public lands (Franklin, 1978, 2010). Contradictory legislation has long been and

remains one of the great injustices in land management practice for rural landowner ratepayers compelled to undertake pest management on their own lands which are continually re infested from adjacent public lands including roadsides, railway easements, vacant crown land, water catchment lands (Franklin, 1978), and in more recent decades, national parks and conservation reserves. In the case of dingoes and wild dogs this imposition and contradiction has wrought locally relevant catastrophe for many families and communities as these animals increase in number under the protection of conservation legislation before moving onto private lands to attack and destroy sheep flocks.

Conservationism, the wool industry and the pre eminence of natural science

The natural science about dingoes has deeply influenced pest animal management policies and practices across Australia. Notably this influence has had severe implications for those sheep owners whose lands are adjacent to the areas with historical links to remnant dingo populations, the pretty places along the ranges and valleys where these are coveted by conservation groups for the establishment of national parks (Franklin, 2010). During the 1970's and 1980's especially, the NSW, Victorian and ACT national park estates were established with great speed and in consultation with urban based conservation groups including the Colong Foundation in NSW and the National Parks Associations of these two states and the ACT. Noticeably there was no consultation process undertaken with the private land owners most affected by the revocation of crown leases and the aggressive public debates about the conduct of traditional wool growing enterprises (Franklin, 2010). The phenomenon that installed the dingo as an iconic Australian animal also denigrated the dingo's human and animal victims, (Breckwoldt, 1988; Corbett, 1995; Johnson, 2006). For many families affected by the overturning of traditional dingo management practices, the invasion of their industrial spaces by this predator also lead to the denigration of their

traditional practices and belief systems with emotionally and economically devastating consequences (Sloan, 1996; Ramirez-Ferrero, 2006; Franklin, 2010; 2011).

Marginalisation ... or simply restructuring?

Formal discussions about conservation and broader environmental management including water rights, significant changes to forestry and fishing activities and dingo management within the context of post modern rural industry 'restructuring', has generally failed to identify or investigate the detail in the critical relationships that exist between these phenomena and the negative impacts they have on rural social structures and communities (Franklin 2010; Pepperdine & Ewing, 2001).

The present natural science focus in conservation management and NRM policies and practices as these are imposed by governments through powerful bureaucracies, rejects the positioning of both critical social scientific paradigms and traditional production based land use methodologies. Both sociological and psychological understandings are notably absent in environmental research, theorizing and practice in Australia. There is "a yawning gulf between social science assumptions and paradigms, on the one hand, and the assumptions and models of the natural sciences in the environmental arena in Australia, on the other" (Reser & Bentrupperbaumer, 2001: 38-39), often to the cost of both industry and community cultural values and practices.

Seeking redress

Families and communities caught by the pre eminence of post modern natural scientific paradigms, and the process of validating natural scientific knowledge through the process of institutional accreditation and the media, have been forced to rely on the representations of their plight by

agripolitical organisations. Appropriate actions to formulate recommendations to governments or to acquire or deliver multi disciplinary advice to induce a review of social injustices for rural communities has been belated and long overdue in Australia. Agforce in Queensland established a tentative precedent when it examined the economic impacts of predation (Hewitt, 2009), but elsewhere farmer organisations have not focused specifically on either the clear and growing *economic* impacts of extreme dingo predation or the threats that these economic impacts imply for the loss of the irreplaceable cultural and social assets of wool growing communities.

Dingoes, science and society - a summary

Modern natural science and the cultural phenomenon of popular television conservationism, has entrenched a mythology about canine and feline predators everywhere. Once wherever these predatory animals met with humans there was a spilling of blood, and thus there was a relationship built on fear and the need to compete for difficult to harvest animal food resources. The sheep industries of the colonies flourished when the sheep killers were pushed temporarily into the less accessible and remote places of the high country, the deep places of the escarpments that separated the tablelands from the coastal strip and the furtherest places away from the sheep zones 'outback'.

The future of large segments of the sheep and wool industries across much of the Australian continent, and the associated culture of land management practices for stock production, look bleak. Dingoes and their hybrids have been unleashed by the natural scientific conclusions that supported the re regulation of dingo management by rejecting their reputation as sheep killers (Newsome, Corbett, 1980), and then by redefining them as a "native dog" (Breckwoldt, 1988; Corbett, 1995), a "trophic regulator" (Glen *et al.*, 2007), and "meso predator" (Johnson, 2006).

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Emerging and enduring inequalities

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Workplace culture, ignorance and persistent inequalities

Abstract

Women's inequality in male-dominated work persists in spite of gender oriented research and equity campaigns. The demands for workplace gender equity are widely accepted but there appears to be little understanding or knowledge about possible reasons for this continued inequality. Based on a set of case studies of engineering workplace culture, this paper proposes that practices of ignorance help to obscure the sexual politics at stake in challenges to gender inequality in engineering workplaces.

Keywords: work, sexual politics, gender, ignorance, inequality

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Workplace culture, ignorance and persistent inequalities

Introduction

Knowledge of the culture of workplaces has a long and fascinating history since at least the early days of the industrial revolution and the emergence of modern occupations and industries. The notion of workplace culture cannot be defined simply. Nevertheless it is an idea that suggests the complexities and textures of material conditions of work, organisational structures and languages as well as the practices and relationships of everyday life. It is thus a useful concept to utilise when seeking to understand and explain the persistent problem of women's inequality in the workplace, particularly male-dominated workplaces such as engineering.

The problem of why women have made few inroads into engineering, with less than twenty per cent in most OECD countries, is sharpened by contrast to the progress that other traditional male-dominated professions such as law and medicine seem to have made (in terms of student numbers and recruitment). There appears to be a lack of understanding that is a form of ignorance about the resilience of women's inequality in engineering. In this paper I investigate the proposal that this ignorance is perpetuated in engineering workplace culture in ways that help to sustain gender inequality. I draw on a large project on the puzzle of the failure of engineering to attract and retain women that I have conducted through a series of studies over a ten year period with three colleagues[1]. I argue that ignorance is produced in much the same way that knowledge is, and thus propose that understanding ignorance and the complex practices of its production are equally as important as the practices of knowledge

[1] Julie Mills, Rhonda Sharp, Judith Gill at University of South Australia

production culture (Le Doeuff 2003; Tuana 2006). Ignorance like knowledge is interrelated with power and therefore with politics, thus ways of not knowing about gender and change are shaped by a politics of gender or sexual politics.

Workplace culture

The literature on workplace culture draws attention to the complex spectrum of practices, discourses, material conditions, time and space that go to make up the workplace. Attention has been paid to the historical development of work practices, the impact of workplace organisations and associations such as trade unions and professional associations, as well as worker identities, including class, race, and gender as well as other dimensions such as family involvement and information networks.

Feminist research has focussed on the gendered culture of organisations and work (Cockburn 1991; Kanter 1977). Mastery over technology has long been seen as a key source of power for men, reflected in hierarchies of sexual difference at work and at home. Cockburn (1985) argues this is not because women are not interested and capable, but because men as a sex strive to retain the power that comes from controlling technology. Hierarchies and subdivisions at work, and the gendering process, enable men to keep themselves separate from and superior to women in a world of 'men's jobs' and 'women's jobs'. Although technology may improve conditions for women's professionalization in some ways (Wajcman 2004), the IT industry is becoming more male-dominated and less supportive for women. For example, Guerrier, et al (2009) find that IT managers unproblematically conceptualize women's work roles in traditional, essentialist terms and display the kind of ignorance of the effects of their own practices on the gendered constructions of the IT jobs, that I suggest is part of the sexual politics of workplace cultures.

Workplace culture in engineering was an early focus for feminist researchers like Sally Hacker who saw the 'culture of engineering' (Hacker 1981) in gendered terms that valued technology and formal abstract knowledge. McIlwee and Robinson's influential study found that 'Where workplace culture was defined by engineers, it was imbued with the technical and interactional orientation associated with the male gender role' (1992, p.177: 177). However, workplace cultures, including those in engineering workplaces, vary even within organisations, as well as across work sites, regions and types of function (Lewis, Harris & Cox 2007). Faulkner (2009) notes that pleasure in technology has long been recognized as a central element in the shared culture of engineers (see also Hacker 1981). She also argues that the effect of class on engineering workplace culture, with its celebration of a masculine 'nuts and bolts' blue collar identity undermines women's careers (Faulkner 2007: 346).

The case study of engineering workplace culture

In our team's earlier studies we found that while gender equity has become an accepted demand, the implementation of gender equity policies is frequently met with resistance, hostility or indifference by both women and men engineers. We then designed a case study approach to investigate the explanatory value of engineering workplace culture. The three large engineering organisations we selected were all located on several sites, both metropolitan and regional, and operated across several sectors of the industry. All were facing skills shortages and had gender equity programs. Each of the organisations, a recently corporatised utility (referred to hereafter as Corporatised Utility, CU) a large multinational company in the mineral resources and processing sector (Mineral Processing, MP) and a multidisciplinary consulting private company (Consulting Engineers, CE) employed an average 28 per cent of women in their total engineering related workforce. The women were

relatively young and had less work experience than the men. We interviewed 62 men and 88 women and conducted three focus groups of women (total 20 respondents).

The workplaces we observed were located in a mix of old and new buildings, designed for a range of functions and styles. Some engineers were housed in temporary buildings while their colleagues including the head office were in glass towers behind high security barriers. Regional offices or short term site workplaces tended towards the minimalist end of functional and eating areas gave little physical or visual comfort. Hard hats were often on display, even in the most technologically sophisticated office, signalling that at any moment, the worker could enact the high-risk side of the work. None of the workers lived on the regional sites, but travelled to them from local towns. We asked the chief executives, personnel managers and engineers at each site about the nature of engineering work and how they saw the persistent low ratios of women and possible solutions.

> I knew you were going to ask me that, and it's probably the only question I've thought about before time, and the answer is I don't know. I don't know. (Personnel manager, CE)

> I don't know, I can't answer that one, I'm not a woman. (Male engineer, CU)

So many responded in similar terms that we wondered whether the answer, 'I don't know' meant a lack of knowledge or if it signified somethingelse. Reflecting on this form of ignorance has led to the argument in this paper that such ignorance is critical to our understanding of the persistent of women's inequality in the workplace.

Ignorance & sexual politics

The effects of gender in any situation and at any time are the outcome of the state of sexual politics at that point. I define sexual politics as the dynamic and contested politics of gender relations in which discursive and material gendered power is always at stake (Franzway 2001). In the case study of the engineering workplace discussed here, generally interviewees did not want to know about the state of sexual politics in their engineering workplaces. If as Tuana argues, ignorance is situated in the same way that knowledge is (Tuana 2006, : 3), the production of ignorance helps to obscure the sexual politics in engineering, so that not knowing the effects of sexual politics on the causes of women's inequality helps maintain the status quo. Any challenge to women's participation in the engineering workplace also involves a challenge to the state of sexual politics. The issue is thus one of how ignorance about sexual politics of workplace culture is produced and maintained.

We therefore need to understand the characteristics of ignorance circulating in the sexual politics of engineering (Franzway et al. 2009) in order to understand the workings and effects of gendered power and how this may be made visible. The production of ignorance has observable elements in our case study of engineering workplace culture and in the following, I discuss four of significance.

1) Wilful ignorance

Ignorance is active and systematic rather than a passive state of not knowing. We observe the avoidance of knowing about the sexual politics in engineering that is an active practice of ignorance. In engineering, it is known that the proportion of women is small, but this knowledge overlays a wilful ignorance about why this is the situation and even more crucially, about the privileging of men as normative engineers.

> It doesn't worry me whether people are men or women to be honest, I don't look to that sort of difference. (Male engineer, CU)

Responses to our questions about the problem would be familiar to students of gender and work. Gender is not a problem since women and men are the same, or gender makes no difference. Gender, meaning women, is irrelevant. If all workers are the same then it does not matter if there happen to be no women engineers. Since gender is not an issue, the sexual politics that may be in play is also not an issue; sexual politics in engineering is invisible. Yet these respondents appear well aware of the strength of normative discourses as they endorsed the general principle of gender equity, at least when they spoke to us. While some will name the gender dimensions of engineering, they will go no further, and maintain a determined ignorance that deflects sexual politics as having any relevance to them. This is not unique to engineering. The desired effect is for gender to become invisible. In a context of sexual politics that is dominated by heterosexual men, the invisibility of gender also renders men's dominance invisible so that men's concerns and practices are seen to be the norm.

2) *Ignorance is produced by the construction of epistemically disadvantaged identities.*
The construction of women as lacking authoritative knowledge, credibility and capacity lies at the heart of a politics of ignorance of women engineers. Women engineers whom we interviewed recounted stories of incidents where they were continually reminded of their femaleness as an impediment to being seen as a competent colleague with authoritative knowledge. In spite of the public acceptance of women's equality, women engineers were told they simply 'don't cut the mustard'.

> I know that a female mining engineer has to prove to them that she knows her stuff and she has to earn their respect a lot more [than young male engineers]. (Woman engineer, CE)

Women's knowledge and professional practice are rarely trusted (Townley, 2006). If women are to have equivalent epistemic agency to men engineers, they must be treated with appropriate respect and trust which is a 'necessary and inherently valuable part of epistemic agency'(Townley 2006, : 41). Without it, they remain disadvantaged in relation to men. Where women do gain credibility, it is an occasion of note. Since the sexual politics in play produces the woman engineer as subject to 'group-based differential treatment' those women who appear to benefit from affirmative action programs are put at risk of lacking cognitive authority and being constructed as epistemically disadvantaged identities.

As a result, women strive to win the job 'because of merit' and not 'just because I'm a girl'. (engineer, MP). The women's wish to deny gender difference stems in part from their recognition that the state of sexual politics in engineering disadvantages those who are not part of the dominant group. But for the women engineers gender does make a difference, and one in which they are constantly at risk of being constructed as disadvantaged agents.

3) Knowing that we do not know, and not caring to know.

All our participants knew that women can be engineers because we're all equal now, and most know that the number of women engineers remains low in spite of various programs aimed at recruitment and retention. However, as Tuana points out, knowledge that is not linked to our interests is better ignored (Tuana 2006). Our questions about *why* these programs appear to have been largely unsuccessful led to a range of reasons such as the nature of engineering work, with its large structures, heavy machines, dirty mines, long and

unpredictable hours, outdoor work and remote locations or the lack of knowledge about what engineers do. Somehow these are not problems for men, while even brilliant young female maths and science students are unable to find out about engineering. Gender is seen to make a difference, but how or why it does, remains a puzzle. The question that is rarely asked, is why are such clearly inadequate reasons allowed to stand?

I suggest that what is being ignored, the knowledge that we do not care to know is the refusal to know the role of sexual politics in workplace cultures. The state of sexual politics in engineering, and other male-dominated occupations, is one in which male dominance is deeply entrenched and it is this which is being ignored. Not caring to know about male dominance is a form of ignorance that is produced and sustained by the failure to pursue questions about why gender equity programs for women engineers make little difference.

4) Do not even know that we do not know.

The decades of feminist research and activism around the problems for gender equity in work make it seem unlikely that anything of significance is left unknown. We know that male dominance of the workplace, especially those defined as non-traditional, cause difficulties for women. Many interviewees said that a very common reason (given by both men and women) for women to leave engineering is its incompatibility with family and caring responsibilities. It is also widely assumed by society generally that the family is central to women's lives, impacts on their paid work, but plays little part in men's lives as workers. In western societies, family-friendly workplace policies and practices are in place, but are designed to ameliorate the effects of women's family responsibilities primarily (Maher, Lindsay & Franzway 2008). Women's roles in the family are unchallenged by such family-friendly workplaces, which are not gender neutral but are shaped by the sexual politics of the family,

work and the relationship between them. What we do not know that we do not know is how resilient are the assumptions that constitute the family as the central institution in women's lives (Franzway 2001).

> Oh well, they've got a work–life balance committee. I think that's more lip service because I don't think they're getting to the core of the problem. (Woman engineer, CE)

The core of the problem is obscured by our current beliefs and assumptions that it is women who cope with central family matters and family care more generally, an entirely taken for granted assumption. This engineer is pointing to the lack of any challenge to the conflict between work and family demands for women. What is not known, what is ignored, is that not only are women responsible for family care, but that this is an outcome of a sexual politics in which gender relations, gendered identities are at stake.

Conclusion

It is the apparent stubbornness of these assumptions that demand attention. Gender is not a simple category, and the difference that gender makes does not just happen. Rather the difference depends on the state of sexual politics in male dominated workplaces such as those in engineering. It is the practices of ignorance which help to sustain that difference and thus the persistence of women's inequality.

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Identities and occupational aspirations: A contribution to the project

The project to bring together sometimes distinct theoretical traditions within the sociology of youth is in full swing. This paper contributes to this project through an engagement with the relationships between occupational aspiration and identity. In the case studies presented within, occupational aspirations and identities were found to be informative of, and embedded within, each other and the social contexts within which they were constructed. Exploiting Gottfredson's (1981; 1996) conceptual model, in the broadest sense, this paper is a contribution to the discussion about meaningful intersections between the 'cultural' and 'transition' traditions.

Key words: Youth, identity, occupational aspiration, rural

Background

An examination of ways in which the cultural and transitional traditions within sociological youth scholarship might be brought together has been a keen focus across several international conferences and special journal issues during the past 24 months. The 2011 Special Issue of *Journal of Sociology,* which was dedicated to this project, carried the following observation: 'There has been a long-standing separation (and on occasion a tension) between 'cultural' and 'transition' perspectives in youth studies which has had a negative impact on our understanding of experiences of youth' (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn, 2011:356). That is, youth scholars have tended to focus either on the stylistic and identity work of young people *or* on the nature of their progression through a series of normative markers towards 'adulthood' (moving from education

and into work, for example). The current paper contributes to this project through highlighting the relationships between identity from within the cultural and occupational aspiration from within the transition tradition.

Identity theories, particularly those employing modern frameworks, have borrowed heavily from the work of Erik Erikson and psychoanalytic theory. This work posits that the development or achievement of identity occurs along a pathway which lends itself to mapping, modelling and prediction. Other schools of identity theory challenge the notion of a singular definitive identity. Chris Weedon (1987), for example, considered that to seek to define an individual in any singular or absolute way is a miscalculation. That is, 'the various multiplicities that constitute self at a given time are involved in play and dance with each other' (Hollinger 1994:113). This paper takes the view that identities are 'constituted by a personal experience and an individual history' (Raceviskis 1983:21) and are 'socially embedded' (Danielsen et al 2000). Identity is therefore conceptualised as 'one's view of who one is and who one is not', based upon 'views about one's abilities, interests, personality and 'place in society'' (Harvey-Beavis & Robinson 2000:2). 'Identity' has been a corner stone of the cultural tradition within the field of youth scholarship.

The transitional tradition has paid considerable attention to concerns about pathways between school and the workforce. Occupational aspirations fit neatly here. In the current paper, a theoretical nexus is underlined by the work of Linda Gottfredson. Whilst a wealth of scholarship points to factors such as 'gender', 'socio-economic status' and 'parental aspirations' in the development of aspirations, the appeal of Gottfredson's (1981; 1996) thesis is the exploitation of 'identity'. Gottfredson (1985:160) proposed that 'people prefer, seek, and are most satisfied in occupations that are consistent with their views of themselves'. Inherent here is the notion that aspirations change with exposure to new appreciations. The theory asserted that children are

initially attracted to occupations that reflect their understandings of what it means to be 'big'/'adult'. Subsequently, and in turn, notions of gender and status shape aspirations before personal interest asserts influence. In sum, when articulating an occupational aspiration, individuals are doing so 'in large part, on the basis of their beliefs about themselves and their location in the social world' (Harvey-Beavis and Robinson 2000:2). Gottfredson (1981; 1996) described two underpinning processes: The first, *circumscription*, resulted in the production of a 'zone of acceptable alternatives': a suite of options which represented 'good fit'; followed by *compromise*, the narrowing of these alternatives in accordance with an 'emerging self-concept'.

This paper exploits three case studies in order to highlight an intersection between the cultural and the transitional within the context of young people growing up on their family farm on the outskirts of a small town in rural Victoria.

Methodology

Participants were recruited within secondary colleges at year levels 10, 11 and 12 in four small towns in rural Victoria. Students who self-identified as residing on a 'family farm' were invited to complete a survey and potentially an interview. 37 interviews were conducted following purposive sampling for location, gender and year level from amongst the 138 who completed a survey. The analysis of identities in this data was informed by Krysia Yardley's (1987:216) criteria: '1) Descriptions of others and explicit comparisons of self with significant others; 2) Descriptions of specific actions of self and others; and 3) Process statements that describe the self in flow and reflexive in-flow comments upon self'. Aspirations were coded where references were made to post-school possibilities and plans. The three case studies utilised in the following pages provide a vehicle showcasing the intersections of identity and occupational aspiration.

Findings

Unsurprisingly perhaps, this research determined that Gottfredson's (1981; 1996) stage-based model *could not* adequately encapsulate the diverse ways in which these young people constructed and renegotiated their occupational aspirations. Modelling assumes a predictability that was not readily found in the data. A broad reading of this theory remained, however, useful.

These young people's identities and occupational aspirations referenced a range of influences. 'Knowledge' and 'expectations' in in different guises were instrumental. As the following attests, occupational aspirations generally reflected participant's 'seeing themselves' in particular jobs. That is, their 'beliefs about themselves and their location in the social world' (Harvey-Beavis and Robinson 2000:2) were keenly aligned with what they thought they might 'do' when they finished school.

Declan was in year 10 and had grown up working with the machinery on his family's farm. He had always been surrounded by cars because his Dad built them 'in his spare time': they had 'heaps of cars'. Whilst they hadn't built them to make money, they would 'probably sell them later on'. Declan had been driving since he was 'six, seven or so' and he had a 'racing trail bike'. He spent a lot of time 'mucking around outside': he liked getting out in the 'scrub': 'camping', 'fishing', 'riding bikes', and driving 'the buggy' with his mates. He hated to be inside because he couldn't 'sit still'. He didn't 'hang around in town' like others because it was 'pretty boring'.

Declan got up at five o'clock every morning; it's not a big deal it's just become 'habit'. He had a job on a local beef farm as well as working on his parents' property. He didn't have regular tasks except for 'the milking rotations': he does 'whatever is happening that day'. Money had always been 'tight' and his Mum worked off-farm so that they had 'a bit more money coming in': 'it

sucks! The money that we make goes back into the farm so there is not anyone really making a wage’. If he had his own land he wouldn’t be in dairy cattle; he’d run beef: ‘with dairy you are there all the time and you don’t get to go anywhere on holidays and stuff like that’. He wished that his family had been able to get away more often.

Whilst Declan had his own business ‘raising chooks and selling the eggs' he had little interest in becoming a farmer: He wanted to be a mechanic. This interest 'pretty much' came from growing up and fixing cars with his Dad and because his Mum and Dad didn’t want him to be ‘tied to the property’ like his Dad had been. His parents were ‘all for’ him getting an apprenticeship. He’d already had one that 'didn't work out' and if another ‘came up’ he’d 'take it'. He was in his second year of VET auto – and the certificates would 'take a year off' his apprenticeship. In the coming year he ‘might leave home, but not live in town’ as he ‘would rather have some room’. He ‘wouldn’t want to leave’ the area: ‘I wouldn’t live in Melbourne…I don’t like city living’.

Declan described his aspirations with confidence and self-assuredness and was intensely proud of his work ethic. Processes of circumscription and compromise had been established early whilst working with his father. He was being actively discouraged from staying on the farm and he knew that farming was a financially precarious pursuit. Taking the VET automotive classes at school had provided him with further experience and knowledge which were instrumental in legitimating his interest and sense of ‘fit’. He would not need to relocate to Melbourne in order to pursue this aspiration and work was available locally which suited his sense of where he was most comfortable.

Zoë was in year 10 and loved cows. She had ‘pictures of them all around’ her room and she collected ‘figurines and stuff’. With great pride she related how she ‘looked after’ the ‘orphaned’

calves during winter. She ‘wouldn’t be able to live’ on a farm though because ‘it would be boring’: ‘You have to really love what you do. I know that Dad loves being there, he can’t bear to be away from it for very long’. Whilst she was attached to her area (‘we have got peace and quiet…you can feel safe: Like we don’t lock our doors at night because we know that no-one is going to come and rob us’), she also entertained the idea of living in the city (‘there are things to do, you can go to the footy, you can go to the movies, we don’t have a cinema here so you can’t just go and do things’). Both of her siblings were attending university in the city.

Zoë assumed that all of the adults in her town ‘talk to each other’: Simply, ‘you know everything’ about everyone. This was not a problem for her though, because she was ‘not a bad kid’ and didn’t ‘get in much trouble’. Her parents hadn’t indicated a strong preference for what she should do post-school; they simply wanted her ‘to be happy; to have a good life’. Zoë declared that it was important to ‘have proper schooling’ and planned to continue to year 12 and decide ‘what to do’ afterwards. If she earned ‘good enough marks’ she wanted to be an ‘outdoor education teacher, PE teacher, or police officer’. Asked which she would prefer: ‘I don’t know…I like police because my cousin is a policeman…and I want to help people, but then I love PE; I love being able to boss people around’. The youngest in the family, Zoë was frequently ‘bossed around’. She was also inspired by those around her: ‘I want to be an outdoor ED teacher because I have got a really good teacher who is a PE teacher and he is really nice to me and I think that is part of it…and my cousin is a police officer and he is really good and really nice, I think that has something to do with it’. Zoë did not elaborate about the nature of the jobs, ‘ENTER’ scores or training requirements beyond the need to attend either university or ‘police school’.

Zoë had established a zone of acceptable alternatives: She had identified occupations that engendered a sense of authority and attracted a degree of status. As importantly, these were

occupational roles held by persons with attractive personal qualities: These were ‘nice’ and ‘good’ people. In many ways her depth of consideration was unsophisticated, but entirely consistent with her self-concept: She was a ‘good kid’, a ‘nice person’; she wanted to ‘help people’ and be admired. She felt that others saw this in her too. Processes of compromise were, at this point, actively being set aside until she completed secondary school. She articulated no great urgency, at the behest of her parents or teachers, to make decisions more urgently. Pursuing these aspirations would require Zoë to relocate. Moving to a larger city or to Melbourne in order to pursue tertiary qualifications and/or to access employment was not greeted with concern – Zoë would be following the lead of her siblings.

Greg was in year 11 and liked living in his area because it was ‘quiet and away from everyone’ and because he could ‘ride motorbikes and drive the ute around’. Like Declan, Greg’s mates ‘came out nearly every weekend’. Unlike Declan, Greg also liked to ‘be away from everyone’. He played footy ‘every Sunday’ but was not as ‘into it’ as others. He came into town for school, when his ‘Mum came in for shopping’ and ‘for footy training’ and rarely travelled to larger towns: ‘maybe three or four times a year’ at most and ‘mainly for Christmas presents and stuff’.

Greg wanted to be ‘a cabinet maker or builder’ because he liked ‘working with wood’. He had ‘done’ woodwork since year seven and did not plan to ‘do year 12’: ‘I might be going at the end of the year…see if I can get into TAFE and do that for 16 weeks and then might be getting an apprenticeship for four years as a builder’. There were no TAFE campuses nearby so Greg would ‘probably move down to Ballarat’ where his brother, a builder, lived. His brother had raised the possibility of taking him on as his apprentice. Was his brother a role model? ‘Yeah, a little bit’. He had connections in Ballarat: ‘I know a few mates through my brother and the footy team and my brother’s girlfriend and her brothers are all like my age so I think that they should get me a

few mates'. The town size was also an attraction: 'I wouldn't like it in Melbourne, it's too big for me…Ballarat and Warrnambool are both regional and that suits me'.

Greg had a clear sense of what he would like to do and faming had never entered his zone of acceptable alternatives. Asked what his parents thought about his plans he said: 'I know Dad wants me to do year 12 but he doesn't mind if this is what I want to do, [but] he wouldn't mind me finishing year 11'. If he introduced the possibility of farming, his parents 'would be a bit shocked': 'Ever since I was 12…I have been saying that I wanted to do woodwork or be a builder or something like that so it would be a bit unexpected for them'. He had had relatively little contact with farm work. At most, he feed the 'chooks' and 'checked the cows' when asked to.

Whilst he played footy, enjoyed it and was reportedly good at it, Greg did not attract attention as the 'footy guy' and he did not speak in ways that alluded to constructions of himself as a 'country boy' as others had. Greg did not make impressive claims or gestures. Although his brother was a role model, Greg's interest in becoming a builder or a carpenter had been sparked and maintained thorough exposure at school and, having long touted this occupational pathway, his own and his family's expectations had been firmly established. He articulated a clear sense of where he felt he 'fitted'.

Conclusions

These three case studies reflect the ways in which participants of this research's occupational aspirations referenced both beliefs about themselves and their locations within their social worlds. Rather than suggesting that, for example, exposure to dairy farming was related to an interest in dairy farming, this research identified that 'knowledge' and 'expectations' were fundamental to circumscription and that a number of 'constraining and enabling' factors were

evident in relation to compromise. Knowledge was generally gleaned from sources including: personal exposure, work experience and the pursuit of personal interests. Expectations were articulated directly or otherwise by parents, extended families, teachers and others in their communities. The data also revealed that encouragement or otherwise at school, the availability of employment locally and socio-geographic dimensions were constraining and enabling of these young people's occupational aspirations. To suggest that occupational aspirations are the sum of our understandings of what it means to be 'adult', to have a gender, to be located within a status-assigning hierarchy and of our personal interests is simplistic. The reality is more complex and interesting than this.

Unquestionably, though, this research supports the notion that identity, from within the cultural, and occupational aspiration, from within the transition tradition, are inextricably linked. A broad reading of Gottfredson's (1981; 1996) work assists in explaining how and why these young people developed a sense of who they were and what they aspired to 'do' when they completed their secondary education. This paper is a contribution to discussion about the intersections between the cultural and transition traditions in youth scholarship. Whilst the 'long-standing separation (and on occasion a tension) between 'cultural' and 'transition' perspectives in youth studies' (Furlong, Woodman and Wyn, 2011:356) has attracted considerable attention in recent years, it is important to recognise, wherever possible, the uncontroversial ways in which these intersections reside within the contemporary theoretical landscape. This paper represents one contribution.

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Does the use of 'the public' in some debates about environmental decision making properly reflect the different publics involved in the decision making process?

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Abstract

The focus of this paper is a distinction between the public-in-general and publics-in-particular. It first considers Mike Michael's (2009) argument, focused on the practice of science, that the public-in-general is far too blunt an instrument, then it adopts Michael's schema to the analysis of debates about environmental decision making, in order to argue that the different publics involved in this decision making might be better analysed and described in terms of their particularity. Secondly, it criticises some contributions to debates about the role of lay legal advocates in environmental decision making for relying too heavily upon a notion of the public-in-general. And thirdly, by way of enhancing their approach, it discusses the advantages of focusing upon particular publics of environmental governance.

Keywords: environment, environmental law, public interest, public-in-general, publics-in-particular

Introduction

Some recent contributions in the sociology of science have developed a distinction between the public-in-general and publics-in-particular (Michael 2002; 2009; Michael and Brown 2005). In this paper I propose a similar distinction in regard to debates about environmental decision-making. A number of those who study environmental decision making argue for the importance of involvement by the public (Bonyhady 1993; Bonyhady and Christoff 2007; Peel, 2008; Preston, 2006; 2010; Millner and Ruddock, 2010). In arguing for this position, these scholars tend not to reflect sufficiently on the diverse character of the different publics that actually constitute 'the public' (in the singular) which they champion.

In the first section I will outline Mike Michael's (2009) argument that the public-in-general is far too blunt an instrument for the analysis of the role of 'the public' in science; to help overcome this problem Michael offers a schema in which different publics are analysed and described in terms of their particularity. I will also show in this section how this distinction can be usefully applied to the analysis of environmental decision making. In the second section I will criticise some contributions to debates about the role of lay legal advocates in environmental decision making (Bonyhady and Christoff 2007; Peel, 2008; Preston, 2006; 2010;

Millner and Ruddock, 2010) for relying too heavily upon a notion of the public-in-general. And in the third and final section, by way of enhancing their approach, I will discuss the advantages of focusing upon particular publics of environmental decision making.

From the particular publics of science to the particular publics of environmental decision making

For Mike Michael (2009: 609, 620), 'the public' is 'neither static nor singular'; rather 'publics are dynamic and relational'. Individuals and groups assume the role of public actor 'through identification with, and differentiation from other publics of various sorts', as much as by how they situate themselves in relation to scientific expertise institutions and practices. In developing this line of analysis and applying it to the broad operation of science, Michael makes a distinction between the 'public-in-general' and publics-in-particular'. The 'undifferentiated whole' of the public-in-general is of little interest to him, principally because any analysis of how the public-in-general engages with science is necessarily limited by the non-specific and amorphous nature of its supposed involvement. Its very amorphousness means the public-in-general, like 'society-in-general', is readily subject to any number of 'over-arching characterizations': disillusioned, skeptical, fickle, profoundly ignorant or savvy (2009: 621). The public-in-general is only of interest to Michael to the extent that such a public has been juxtaposed to 'science-in-general' in the political and rhetorical process through which the public's engagement with science has emerged and been framed (2009: 619). He argues that the capacity of the public-in-general has shifted as discourses of 'the public's' (largely passive) understanding of science have refocused to encourage and facilitate 'the public's' (more active) engagement with science (2009: 621-2). Michael notes that the more active discursive frame has tended to normalize the 'citizenliness' of the public-in-general. 'The public' which engages with science is assumed to have 'an in-principle political capacity to deliberate, to participate, to engage' and a concomitant 'abstracted commitment' to taking up these deliberative opportunities (2009: 622). Michael's project, then, is to conceptualise the emergence of these capacities and deliberative opportunities.

Michael observes that rather than being defined by an interest in science-in-general, publics-in-particular 'emerge with technoscientific issues' and that 'such emergence is a complex and variegated process' (2009: 623). He argues that the reasons particular lay-publics take up these sorts of issues go beyond the opportunity or encouragement to engage with specific matters of technoscientific concern. Empirical research by Michael and Brown (2005: 40; see also: Goodie, 2008) demonstrates that the processes by which lay people problematise, identify with, articulate and act on particular concerns are subject to a 'complex of considerations (that connect to civic, familial and personal responsibility)'. For Michael, there is little room to take account of these sorts of complexities when 'the public' is understood as the public-in-general.

In adopting Michael's insights to the study of environmental decision making, I begin with Cameron Holley's observation (2010: 390):

> To date, theorists, policy makers and NEG [new environment governance] research (including this article) tend to variously refer to participants in NEG

> using terms such as "stakeholders", "nongovernment actors", "community" and similar neologisms. While all of these terms call to mind actors from civil society they do so in terms that are broad, vague, under informative and potentially misleading … There are in fact many different kinds of "participation" going on that may have different normative implications for democracy (and quite probably environmental outcomes).

From here it is not difficult to see how Michael's distinction between the public-in-general and publics-in-particular can be helpful in assessing the 'normative implications' of public engagement for the governance of the environment, as well as for the governance of science, or indeed for the governance of any other matter that has significant consequences for a population's well being.

There are significant parallels between public-science relations and the public's interest and involvement in environmental decision-making. Public involvement in environmental decision making has become an accepted part of environmental governance, just as it has in relation to science (Dryzek, 2005; Harding et al, 2009; Hajer, 1995). The 'involvement of wider public constituencies' in both scientific and environmental governance is encouraged as a means of maintaining the legitimacy of decision making in the face of 'chronic uncertainty' (Michael and Brown, 2005: 40; Dryzek, 2005; Harding et al 2009; Hajer, 1995; Steele, 2001). In both scientific and environmental governance, public knowledge and values variously confront, complement and complicate prevailing expertise (Michael and Brown, 2005: 40; Darier, 1999; Harding et al., 2009; Hajer, 1995; Steele, 2001). The 'publics' with a stake or interest in environmental governance are as diverse as those who engage with science. As such, their capacity for involvement and the forms of their engagement with environmental governance are equally particular and disparate (Dryzek, 2005; Harding et al, 2009; Holley, 2010; Steele, 2001).

Some problems with generalising about the public's participation in environmental decision making

Over the last three decades the law has increasingly recognised the right of lay environmental advocates to challenge the outcome and process of specific environmental decisions. Litigation as participation has emerged as one of significant ways that the public can influence environmental governance (Bonyhady, 1993; Bonyhady and Christoff, 2007; Harding et al., 2009; Peel, 2008; Preston, 2006; 2010; Steele, 2001). Most of the burgeoning body of climate change litigation has been initiated by lay individuals or organisations who do not bear the status of expert or lawyer, but who have been able to claim a legal right to challenge or intervene in a decision making process impacting climate change mitigation or adaptation obligations of developers or government[i]. Through the litigation the public has taken a modest, but not inconsequential, role in shaping Australia's relatively nascent climate law and the way it addresses the particular dilemmas posed by climate change, including: the global and cumulative effect of anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions; uncertainty surrounding the temporality, degree and shape of climate change impacts; and the disproportionate consequences of climate change for some communities over others.

The legal commentators mentioned above have largely been of one voice in extolling this litigation for transforming the largely aspirational principles of 'precaution' and 'intergenerational equity' into a normative basis for the legal recognition of the need to mitigate and take adaptive action to prevent irreversible environmental damage (Bonyhady, 2007; Bonyhady and Macintosh, 2010; Millner and Ruddock, 2011; Peel, 2008; Preston, 2010).

This body of commentary pays significant attention to the ways in which public involvement has enhanced the quality and legitimacy of environmental decision making (Bonyhady and Christoff, 2010; Millner and Ruddock, 2011; Peel, 2008; Preston, 2006; 2010). It is, mindful of how hard won the legal recognition of the lay environmental advocate has been (Bonyhady, 1993; Goodie and Wickham, 2002). The Honorable Brian Preston, Chief Justice of the NSW Land and Environment Court, a noted champion of the lay environmental legal advocate, for instance, argues extra-judicially that public interest litigation initiated by these advocates has allowed the courts the opportunity to develop a jurisprudence on matters of environmental governance such as climate change, which are otherwise inadequately regulated (2006; 2010). In his reported decisions, Preston CJ expressly acknowledges the value of the alternative perspective and insight lay public involvement brings to the legal determination of environmental disputes (*Taralga Landscape Guardians* 2007 NSWLEC 59) but, there is little scope in those decisions for Preston CJ to reflect any further upon the diversity of lay public advocates, or examine the understanding or motivations that underwrite their advocacy.

But while this body of legal commentary is implicitly recognising the diversity of public engagement, in arguing for the extension of the opportunity for public involvement and the removal of legal impediments to participation (Millner and Ruddock, 2011; Bonyhady, 2007), it never does so explicitly. Instead, the rhetorical focus of their commentary is on the success and legitimacy of lay public involvement *conceived in general terms*.

Conclusion: developing a more particular understanding of the lay environmental advocacy

It is precisely because of the impact of public interest litigation on the shape of environmental decision making that it is important to know in a much more particular sense who these lay environmental advocates are and how they understand and problematise environmental governance. Generalised accounts of the practice of lay advocacy cannot achieve this goal, not least because the inherent complexity and uncertainty of many environmental problems, such as climate change have driven a 'new understanding of the public's potential contribution to environmental decisions' (Steele, 2001: 415). The imperatives of contemporary environmental governance mean there is potential for a more diverse range of individuals and associations to be affected and take up the public personae of the lay environmental legal advocate.

The legitimacy of environmental decision making is now measured against the ecological imperatives of sustainability, which demand collective judgments incorporating the views of a wide range of particular-publics rather than top-down forms of governance (Holley, 2010: 360; Harding et al, 2009: 171; Steele, 2001: 437).

These principles also necessitate environmental governance incorporate the interests of future-publics and indigenous-publics. Increasingly expert assessments of the potential for adverse environmental impact are evaluated against situated, lived understandings of specific environments (Harding et al, 2009).

Despite the general consensus that sound environmental decision making requires more diverse and particular deliberation, particular-publics are not 'transparently obvious entities' (Michael, 2009: 625). Investigation of who particular lay environmental advocates are requires attention to the complex of factors and processes by which those particular lay advocates come to identify with and exercise their legal authority. Lay environmental advocates are not only made though the 'techniques by which their voice is encouraged to find "expression"' (Michael, 2009: 619), but also by the ways in which advocates identify themselves 'with particular versions of publics available' (Michael, 2009: 619). In his genealogy of ecological modernisation, Maarten Hajer (1995) observes that it was the 'argumentative struggle' between different groupings within the environmental movement, and the active rejection by some groups of the stratagems and policies of others within the movement, that shaped the course of twentieth century environmentalism away from the politically isolated agendas of conservationism towards ecological modernisation (1995: 90-3).

The formal recognition of the legal authority of environmental lay advocates has never rested on their personal 'intellectual or emotional' concern for the environment, but rather upon their capacity to articulate and align themselves with certain scientific and epistemological constructions of the environment (Goodie and Wickham 2002: 45). To account for the legal authority of different lay advocates and its location in the wider narrative of environmental governance, a closer analysis of the particularity of their participation is called for. Identifying the factors (such as location, community, political practice, experience, proprietorial interests) that ground the 'authenticity', 'reality' and legal authority of particular litigating publics is crucial (Michael 2009: 625). As Holley observes, despite the political aspiration for wider participation in environmental decision making, the reality is that 'most citizens at a local level will be unlikely to have greater voice, and those people who are already active on the issue will continue to be the major political players' (2010: 388). To thoroughly test the breadth or impact of lay advocacy its particularity must be at the centre of any analysis.

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Negotiating Paid Work and Intimate Life in Late Modernity: Accounts and Strategies from Primary Carers Returning to Work in Higher Education

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Abstract

Concerns about the intensity of competing demands in our paid work and intimate lives, the blurred boundaries between work and home, and the changing role of women – are perennial themes taking centre stage in Australia today. The ideal and image of a relaxed, long weekend nation where individuals choose their preferred lifestyle, equally balance their work and family/personal life responsibilities,does not stack up. As Amartya Sen (2009), writing in a liberal society that ostensibly values both freedom and well-being, has argued: people having plans, being able to realise them and being free to choose between different styles and ways of living, is a vital constitutive characteristic of a liberal society. This paper draws on data from a longitudinal qualitative study conducted from 2004 to 2010 that investigated female university and retail employees' preferences, plans and intentions, and lived experience of arranging their paid work and intimate/family life. The theory of domesticity ideology was applied to the data. The purpose of the paper is to unpacksome of the strategies and rationalities employed by the participants negotiating how to return to paid work, andin relation to debates around paid maternity/parental leave and equality outcomes. The findings open up important questions for how paid work and intimate life are negotiated in late modernity, and for enhancing gender equality in the household for the transition to return to paid work. This paper contributes to contemporary debates about emerging and enduring inequalities in daily life.

Key words: Return-to-work after leave from childbirth, late modernity, part-time work, higher education, domesticity ideology.

Introduction

There is now a longstanding body of research that documents the day-to-day juggle of combining paid work, family/personal life, including the care for young children (Gregg, 2011; Pocock, 2003; Williams, 2000; Bittman & Pixley, 1997; Bittman, 1991). The research acknowledges the unequal pressure of work–familydemands in a swiftly changing social and economic context (Bryson et al.,2007). In January of 2011, Australia's first Paid Parental Leave (PPL) government scheme commenced to provide economic support and flexibility so that parents can take time out of the workforce to focus on caring after childbirth for a limited period of time(Baird, 2009).The new PPL scheme and the burgeoning research framing it, marks a shift in attention to contemporary paid work and family/personal life issues from merely 'being on the radar' to 'a national policy concern'.

Historically, access to PPL in Australia has been modest, limited and determined by occupational status (Baird & Whitehouse, 2007).The idea of PPL does not address all of the issues at stake (Grace, 2003);however it does catch some.

Policy and Managing Paid Work-Intimate/Family Life

Thework–family/personal life dilemma in Australia, particularly the experience of working time being different for men and women,has been treated by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) essentially as an issue about inequality and discrimination. A 2002 debate about the need for a reform in policy, to address work and family demands and support work and family balance, was raised at the federal level in the HREOC report A Time to Value: Proposal for a National Paid Maternity Leave Scheme. A key issue highlighted in this and other research reports has been the acknowledgment by a succession of Commonwealth governments of the unique challenges that women face when trying to combine paid work and family obligations after childbirth. The report focused particularly on the idea that 'paid maternity leave would make it easier for women to combine paid work and family responsibilities' (HREOC, 2005: 2).It was also made clear that 'maternity leave is not itself enough to deliver balanced paid work and family responsibilities to families' and that a government–mandated scheme should be accompanied by other supportive measures – for example, access to flexible work practices and high quality child care (Ibid). HREOC (2002) proposed that the Commonwealth government implement a national paid maternity leave scheme.

Research indicates that PPL provisions matter in employment transitions after childbirth. Data from the Parental Leave in Australia Survey from the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC, 2006; 2007) shows that patterns of leave–taking among parents differed markedly between women and men (Whitehouse et al*.,* 2006). Only 15 per cent of women surveyed took paid leave from work around childbirth, and only 4 per cent of women took paid maternity leave (Ibid), while 26 per cent of mothers took no leave at all (Whitehouse et al*.,* 2006: 10-12). Fathers took far fewer periods of leave but had better access to leave than women (Whitehouse et al*.,* 2006: 12). One reason men did not take longer periods of leave was that their partner was at home engaged in full-time child care (Ibid).Baird(2009) noted the practice of men not taking parental leave when it was available to them was common:

> Since 1990, Australian men have been entitled to twelve months unpaid paternity leave but fewer than one in ten use any of it. Instead eighty per cent of working men take two weeks' paid annual leave when their child is born … [M]ost men who do have access to paternity leave choose not to use it … [W]orkplace expectations and societal pressures are the main reasons for this (Baird, in Egan and Sheridan, 2009).

Recent Australian research also shows that gendered notions of the 'ideal worker' (Williams 2000) remain embedded in many workplace cultures, which explain in part why some men are reluctant to work part-time and apply for PPL. The fear seems to be that part-time employment and paternity leave are not 'manly'.It seems there are clear limitations to the effectiveness of PPL policy as a vehicle for change if men's and women's decisions about child care are based on different norms from those underpinning experiments in PPL (Productivity Commission , 2008; 2009).

Research conducted in Australia since the 1950s has consistently revealed that 'women continue to take on the major responsibility for family tasks related to children regardless of whether the family is a dual or single income family' (Higgins & Morse, 2000: 11). Many women continue to find it 'difficult to juggle their dual loads of paid work and family work', which is illustrated by the 'large numbers of women working part-time and in positions

below their skill levels' (HREOC, 2007:3). Juggling and integrating work and family is a challenge that all parents face (OECD, 2007), and 'either mothers or fathers could use part-time workload as a means of balancing work and family' (Olsen & Walby, 2004 in Craig et al., 2008: 16). However, 'in practice it is usually the mother who is a part-time worker within a household' (Ibid).

It is now well-recognised that women are far more likely than men to adjust their paid work hours around caring obligations and to use family-friendly workplace measures such as part-time work, 'even when those measures are offered to both' men and women (Ibid). Indeed, 'decisions by parents with young children about participation in paid employment are tied to decisions about who will care for their children' (ABS, 2010: 26). The gendering of work arrangements in late modernity can be described as a system of practices that embody culturally defined processes to construct social and moral order. This system is the focus of the next section.

Domesticity Ideology

Feminist legal scholar, Joan Williams, argues that gender is inherently unbending in the social organisation of work and family/personal life. Williams (2000) coined the term 'domesticity ideology' to describe the gender system that organises work and family life and remains entrenched in society by its reproduction in social, legal, economic and political institutions. In this way, gendered norms play a key role in everyday social life, but do so in ways that are entrenched as norms. First, the idealised paid worker or 'ideal worker' norm describes an employee who can work full-time, who can work long hours, including overtime if necessary, who is unencumbered by family responsibilities, and who almost always has the support of a full-time partner in the household to take care of family and domestic obligations. The 'ideal carer' entails that those with care-giving responsibilities are marginalised because they cannot perform like an 'ideal worker'. The marginalisation of carers (almost always describing women/mothers) rests on their exclusion from the ideal worker model because they do not and cannot fit the ideal worker gender norms. These are the conditions that constitute and reproduce inequality. Therefore, in order to achieve gender equality, the powerfully held norms that underpin these social arrangements must be deconstructed.

The Study and the Participants

This paper draws on data from a longitudinal qualitative study conducted between 2004 and 2010[1]. The study investigated retail and university female employees' decision–making[2] for how to organise their paid work and family lives after childbirth[3]. Interviews were conducted

[1] This research was undertaken at RMIT University for the degree Doctor of Philosophy (Social Science).

[2] No known study at the time in Australia had been carried out of a qualitative longitudinal nature, following both women who were pregnant and women who had had a child and worked in either retail or the higher education sector in Victoria, Australia. No known study had asked about preferences and experiences in the context of the two industries in Victoria; from before maternity/parental leave (during pregnancy), during maternity leave, and after returning to work.

[3] University employees were chosen as a case for focus because at the time, higher education presented some of the leading paid maternity/parental leave policy. However, access to maternity/parental leave was limited. At a broader level, exploring the effect of work-family policy was a rationale for the cross-industry comparison. The discussion in this paper is limited to higher education participants.

from mid-2004 until late 2006. Fifteen interviews with female university employees[4] aged between 27 and 43 years of age in 2004 provide the evidence base for this paper[5]. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants' characteristics[6].

[Table 1 here]

Each participant took part in three interviews across two years. All 15 participants were in heterosexual couple households. Nine of the 15 participants were pregnant at the first interview; six had recently had a child in the last 12 months to three years. There wereeight full-time employees at the first interview in a mix of academic and non-academic roles.

Findings: Accountsand Strategies of the ReturntoWork in Higher Education

The findings tell a story of the fraught process of returning to paid work, even for the few participants who accessed the best employer-paid maternity/parental leave policy available (at the time of data collection).Needing to be flexible, accommodating and adjusting around others in the household (particularly their partners) and in regards to child care availability to return to paid work, and the pressures of combining paid work and family responsibilities - were principal themes. These themes also describe the marginalised carer norm that is part of the domesticity ideology (Williams, 2000).

There were experiences common to a number of the participants. It is clear that part-time employment was the dominant arrangement. This is especially evident when looking at the patterns of continuity and change in employment status in Table 2. By the third interview there were only two full-time employees, compared with eight at phase one.Most women moved from full-time to part-time work; alternately, they continued working part-time but reduced their hours – this was the main strategy for combining work and intimate life. Two participants left paid work completely after the birth of their child because they had 'no job to go back to'.

[Table 2 here]

We need to look at paid work status patterns in a discriminating way. Continuity in employment status did not equal continuity of work experiences. There was significant change not only in the hours worked, but also in the work roles and responsibilities. Naomi had found that her first workplace was not as family-friendly as she required, and she wanted a work culture that had greater flexibility. Naomi chose a job that paid less, but was more flexible and supportive, and enabled her to carry out what she saw as her primary care role. Her partner did not alter his paid work arrangements, and in this way describes the ideal worker norm (Williams, 2000). Naomi saw child care obligations as her domain and her responsibility, as per the carer norm (Williams, 2000). For example, of crucial importance to Naomi was having a job that was accommodating and supportive of her role as mother.

> …[I]n the end I had the choice of two jobs – one was full-time and that they could work me in part-time, and the other my supervisor had offered me. And the

[4]In various roles of academic and non-academic.
[5] The average age of the participants was 35 years.
[6] Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of participants.

> difference in those jobs – they were both three days a week, they were both fairly flexible, and they were both reasonably interesting. One was something that I knew, so I knew mostly everyone, [I knew] I'd be fairly happy there. The other one, I would be a little bit more uncertain [of] because I hadn't worked with any of the people, I didn't know anyone. The job that I turned down was much higher paying. The only thing [my partner] wouldn't understand is why I would take a lesser paying job than the stability of going into a job where I was less certain of how it would all work. Whereas I don't have anything to worry about now, I know I'll be fine. With an ill child you can't get in a nanny when you have to work, you can't send them to day-care and the only option would be to ask [my partner's] parents and they might get ill and the stress isn't fair to them, and they're a little bit older ... So we just have to drop everything.

Inlooking beneath the patterns of employment transitions are strategies andaccounts of choosing a job which meant lower remuneration because it offered a more flexible and supportive culture. Perceptions of rejecting previous ambitions for career advancement and promotion due to working part-time and prioritising family life were also prominent and directly related to William's system of domesticity (2000). Paula, a full-time academic on full paid maternity leave (three months) for the birth of her first child, explains this well:

> I'm not being very ambitious. I don't think there's much point in thinking you can keep going doing the same things you were doing full-time without a child … Some women seem to manage it, but I don't know how they do. I guess you have to renegotiate what you want to get out of your career because you can't achieve the same sort of things when you're part-time as you would full-time and you have to sort of prioritise things.
>
> I've always had sort of academic ambition and for now I have to take a step back and realise that … it doesn't matter if I don't get promoted. I need to realise that these things aren't important and that's why I say now family comes first, but it's difficult because I work in a department full of men with families and for them family doesn't come first.

The need for flexibility in the workplace and a personal capacity to make adjustments was described by many participants.Powerful cultural expectations, explained in domesticity ideology, influence work practices as women move in and out of paid work while also doing unpaid caring work in the household. Regardless of access to the best parental leave policy, the domesticity ideology where gender inequality is constituted remained untouched.

Discussion and Conclusion

Characteristics of domesticity ideology are obvious in the participants' accounts of negotiations and transitions. The participant's devotion to family/caring significantly affected their ability to engage in paid work. Flexibility was required in relation to part-time work, as well as the unequal distribution of labour involved in managing child care, domestic work and employment arrangements. Not only did the employment status of many of the participants change, but so too did their roles and responsibilities. For some participants it also meant a change in their workplace.

The snapshot data from the longitudinal study on how individual's in Australia in the late modern twenty-first century make decisions about the organisation of their paid work, family/personal life including child care arrangements following childbirth– highlight

something far more obdurate than the ideal of individual choice and lifestyle preferences. What emerged was a picture combining elements of change, loss and accommodation.This opens up questions about the relationship between PPL and gender equality. In particular, how can we further facilitate change to the unbending domesticity ideology around employment transitions after childbirth? How can PPL influence gender equality in the household?

Having a baby has a significant impact on women's lives. The powerful attachment women have to their babies and their evolving appreciation of what being a parent meantimpacted on the participants'ideas about how they resume employment.Women's experiences of 'cutting back' paid work so they could spend more time at home revealed that what was happening in the household was still an important consideration, and that paid parental leave, while welcomed, supportive and needed, was not affecting the domestic gendered imbalance in the organisation of paid work and family/intimate life in late modernity upon the return to paid work.

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Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants at Phase 1 Interview

Participant/ Pseudonym	Age	No. Children / Age	Relationship	Employment in Higher Education
Anna	36	2 children - 4, <1	Partnered	Full-Time, Non-Academic
Patricia	33	4 children - 9, 7, 5, 2, Pregnant	Partnered	Casual, Academic
Mary	34	Pregnant	Partnered	Full-Time, Non-Academic
Janice	43	Pregnant	Partnered	Full-Time, Non-Academic
Paula	36	1 child - <1	Partnered	Full-Time, Academic
Linda	28	1 child – 3, Pregnant	Partnered	Part-Time, Non-Academic
Naomi	33	1 child - 2, Pregnant	Partnered	Part-Time, Academic
Cheryl	42	4 children-9, 6, 4, 1	Partnered	Casual, Academic
Miriam	32	2 children – 4, 1	Partnered	Full-Time, Academic
Sandra	35	1 child – 2, Pregnant	Partnered	Full-Time, Non-Academic
Martha	38	1 child - 1	Partnered	Part-Time, Academic
Joan	37	1 child - <1, Pregnant	Partnered	Part-Time, Non-Academic
Maria	33	1 child – 1, Pregnant	Partnered	Full-Time, Academic
Debra	29	1 child -1	Partnered	Full-Time, Non-Academic
Chloe	32	Pregnant	Partnered	Part-Time, Academic

Table 2: Employment Status of University-Employed Participants,Interviews 1-3

Participant/ Pseudonym	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Employment Status
Anna	FT (on leave)	FT(on leave)	PT	Change
Patricia	Casual	Casual	PT	Change
Mary	FT (on leave)	FT(on leave)	PT	Change
Janice	FT	FT(on leave)	Unemployed	Change
Paula	FT (on leave)	FT(on leave)	PT	Change
Linda	PT	PT(on leave)	Unemployed	Change
Naomi	PT	PT(on leave)	PT	Continuous
Cheryl	Casual	Leave	Casual	Continuous
Miriam	FT	FT	FT	Continuous
Sandra	FT	FT(on leave)	PT	Change
Martha	PT	PT	PT	Continuous
Joan	PT	PT(on leave)	PT	Continuous
Maria	FT	PT	PT	Change
Debra	FT	FT	FT	Continuous
Chloe	PT	PT(on leave)	PT	Continuous

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TITLE: "The social construction of prostitution in Californian 'John' Schools"

Abstract

The existence of prostitution in society continues to be a highly contested issue in both political and social arenas. With traditional criminal justice methods to address prostitution focussing predominantly on sex workers, newly formed initiatives have been created to target the demand side of prostitution. 'John Schools' – diversionary programs for clients, or 'johns' who have been arrested for prostitution offences – aim to educate participants on the various harms and risks associated with such behaviour and claim to provide an innovative means to reduce prostitution by decreasing demand for sexual services. It is evident however, that these programs perpetuate traditional social constructions of prostitution, characterising the act, and the actors, as sexually deviant. This paper examines the curriculum of these programs in order to identify how prostitution is constructed, firstly through the depiction of the victims in the program, and secondly through the characterisation of prostitution offenders. This paper argues that such initiatives merely extend the charge of sexual deviance from the sellers of sex to the buyers, and fail to acknowledge autonomy and choice for sex workers and clients.

Keywords: Prostitution, 'John School', sex work, commercial sex, client

Word Count: 3010

The social construction of prostitution in Californian 'John' Schools

Introduction

The existence of prostitution[1] in society is one that attracts much public debate. Resistance to prostitution often centres on notions of morality and deviance, where those individuals involved in such behaviour are viewed as deviating from the constructed 'norm' of sex; that being sex with a loved partner or sex between spouses in a nuclear family' (Agustin 2005: 67). Though there have been general acknowledgments of the contribution of males in prostitution either as clients, exploiters or pimps, traditional criminal justice methods to target sex work have largely ignored this multi-faceted demand side. The lack of police attention to the clients of sex work specifically, can be linked to historical conceptualisations and constructions of gender. The practice of male clients purchasing services from a sex worker co-exists with the social construction of masculinity; where men are assumed to have a 'biological need for sex' (Carpenter 2000: 19), and therefore their engagement in prostitution is commonly accepted and regarded as a form of biological normalcy. In contrast, the practice of prostitution conflicts with constructed ideals of femininity. Women who engage in sex work are viewed as deviant and promiscuous, and therefore targeted by authorities in an attempt to both punish socially unacceptable behaviour and 'save fallen women' (Agustin, 2007). These constructions are quite contradictory in their focus, as they assume that prostitution is a deviant act for women, but not necessarily for men, despite the involvement of consenting adults of both genders. Such views are argued to be unfair and discriminatory (Monto 2010: 233; Monto 2004: 161).

[1] This paper acknowledges that the terms 'prostitution' and 'sex work' carry distinct political significance. We prefer the term 'sex work', however will be using them interchangeably throughout this paper as the term 'prostitution' is dominant in the United States and used frequently in relation to diversion programs for the purchasers of commercial sexual services.

The United States continues to practice a criminalisation or prohibitionist approach towards prostitution[2]. In recent decades, policy-makers have moved beyond a predominate focus on the sex worker, and begun to problematise the buyer of sexual services. One of the primary ways in which this has occurred is through the establishment of diversion programs for sex work clients, more commonly known as 'John Schools' (Bernstein 2005: 103). These programs target the clients or 'johns' who have been arrested by police for offences relating to prostitution (Gibbs Van Brunschot 2003: 220). Interestingly, John School initiatives are only applicable to offenders who have engaged in street prostitution. This is despite street sex work accounting for only around 20% of all forms of prostitution in the US (Weitzer 2010: 9) and the rapid expansion of privatised prostitution services, such as through the internet, telephone, brothels and escort agencies (Weitzer 2012: 4).

However essentially, a John School program is a didactic tool that aims to reduce the demand for all forms of prostitution, by changing the participants' attitudes towards sex work, through extensive education about the varying harms and risks associated with such behaviour (Wahab 2006: 69; Fischer et al 2002: 390). A multidisciplinary approach is adopted for the programs' curricula, generally with the addition of various professionals who present to the johns on their area of expertise. Participants are subjected to a number of sessions throughout the programs that provide information on the social, financial, health and personal safety risks and harms that are attributed to the johns' involvement in prostitution (Wahab 2006: 69; Fischer et al 2002: 390).

[2] With the exception of legalised brothels in the state of Nevada, all forms of prostitution in the US are considered illegal and therefore criminalised by the government and law enforcement (Thompson 2000, 239; Weitzer 2010, 21).

Existing research on these diversionary initiatives has generally focused on the demographics and attitudinal changes of the prostitution offenders (Wortley et al., 2002). To date, little research has examined how these programs construct or reinforce conceptualisations of prostitution and those involved. In an attempt to begin an examination of this question, this paper will analyse the curricula of three US John School programs in the State of California to determine how prostitution generally, the offenders, and alleged victims are being framed by such initiatives. Despite similar efforts to target clients of commercial sex in various jurisdictions in the US, Canada and Britain (Weitzer 2010: 31), the focus on California specifically allowed for a consistent legislative status quo with regard to legislation against prostitution within the jurisdiction, along with availability of documents detailing the programs' curricula. A content analysis was then undertaken of the collected documents which detailed the programs' objectives, operation and curriculum; all of which were published by the program partners or an independent evaluation body. The content analysis research method was utilised for this paper as it provided a technique to make systematic and valid inferences from the characteristics within the text (Neuendorf 2002: 10).

The three Californian Johns School programs included in this project are:

- The First Offender Prostitution Program (FOPP), established in San Francisco in 1995 as a partnership between the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), the Office of the San Francisco District Attorney (SFDA) and non-profit organisation Standing Against Global Exploitation (SAGE);
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Participants for the programs are typically accrued through police decoy 'sting' operations; where female police officers pose undercover as street sex workers to arrest prospective customers (Monto 2010: 234). Eligibility is usually on the basis that the offender has no previous criminal record, or at least no previous convictions for prostitution offences, sexual offences, or violent offences (Shively et al 2008: 28; FPD 1999: 8). Both the FOPP and the PAR program have post-program conditions whereby offenders arrested for subsequent prostitution offences within a year of participating in the program are subject to prosecution for both the new and original offence (Shively et al 2008: 29; FPD 1999: 9).

This paper examines the curriculum of these programs in order to identify how prostitution is constructed firstly through the depiction of the victims in the program, and secondly through the characterisation of prostitution offenders. This paper argues that the construction of prostitution through the John School programs does represent a minor shift in focus towards the clients of sex work, but relies heavily on traditional constructions of prostitution as a deviant sexual behaviour. In addition, while some hallmarks of victimhood are ascribed to the sellers of sex, both the buyers and sellers are characterised as only participating in this activity due to coercion, ignorance, or psychological condition.

The 'victims'

The 'victims' of sex work are primarily identified as the women who sell sex, and the 'reality' of prostitution presented by the program is one of exploitation, lies and risk. The participants are firstly told of the exploitation that women within the industry experience. In the FOPP program, former sex workers are invited to talk to participants about their own experiences of the industry (Shively et al 2008: 44). Presenters point to statistics illustrating that the average age identified for females to enter into prostitution is around twelve years old, with eighty to ninety percent of all sex workers being estimated to have a history of

sexual abuse in their childhood (Shively et al 2008: 44).The PAR Program also invites former sex workers to present their personal experiences, with a focus on expressing their desire to be successfully reintegrated into society (FPD 1999: 9). Additionally, these presenters persuade the participants of the link between drugs, violence and the sex industry (FPD 1999: 9).

John School participants are also told that street sex workers are manipulated and controlled by pimps, and lack any choice or autonomy in regards to their work (Shively et al 2008: 49). Additionally, the presenters argue that pimps control and receive most of the money earned by the workers, with the workers receiving very little (Shively et al 2008: 49). The PAR program illustrates how young girls are commonly drawn into prostitution through certain pimping tactics, also asserting that these predators continue to exploit and enslave women on a global scale (FPD 1999: 9). The PIP program also includes former sex workers as panellists, and shows video testimony from a former juvenile sex worker, in order to reinforce the vulnerability and prevalence of underage sex workers in the industry (SDPD and CAO 2003: 5).

These sessions are designed to demonstrate to johns how their participation in prostitution contributes to the continuation of the abusive and exploitative cycle that the sex workers endure. Prostitution can be conceptualised in a number of ways, and a perspective of prostitution that differs from the view expressed by each of the programs is one that argues prostitution to be a legitimate form of work, in which women may exercise agency rather than compulsorily experience oppression (Outshoorn 2005: 145). These programs explain sex workers' involvement in prostitution as occurring due to past abuse, the coercion of pimps, or the demands of addiction. Essentially, as expressed by (Weitzer 2005: 213), prostitution through this context is conveyed as something that is 'done' to women rather than chosen by women.

This construction of prostitution not only excludes alternative accounts of sex work, but it also conflicts with the realities of sex work for those involved in the program. An evaluation of the FOPP program found that the majority of sex workers presenting at the John School during the evaluation period had never actually been pimped or trafficked during their time in the industry, despite the heavy focus on this form of exploitation in the program sessions (Shively et al 2008: 48).

Despite a construction of prostitution as an industry in which women are victims, the programs also contribute to a construction of sex workers as untruthful, predatory, and dangerous. This is first done through the discussion of key 'myths' associated with sex work, particularly in the FOPP and PAR programs. The presenters explain that prostitution simply fulfils a fantasy for these men, and in reality, sex workers generally:

- Do not like their johns, and only act as if they do to make money;
- Are not the johns' girlfriend, and only act as if they are to make money;
- Do not enjoy sex with johns, and only act as if they do to make money;
- Are often armed with illegal weapons and frequently fantasize about robbing, hurting or killing johns – and sometimes act upon these fantasies;
- Will lie about having unprotected sex only with their current john;
- Will have unprotected sex while knowing they have STD's or are HIV-positive (Shively et al 2008: 45).

The presenters in this session clearly illustrate to the johns how sex workers will potentially lie, mislead and even set the men up to be robbed in order to obtain money from them to support themselves, dependents and/or addictions (Shively et al 2008: 45). The programs have a stated intention of reducing clients' motivation for seeking out commercial sex by assisting them to build empathy for the sex workers (Shively et al 2008: 1). However, the

depiction of sex workers as a threat to a man's health, safety, or wallet, create conflicting constructions which undermine the victimhood the programs attempt to ascribe to the sellers of sex.

The 'offenders'

The dominant constructions of offenders in the programs' curricula relies on the assumption that these men are only engaging in what is perceived to be deviant sexual behaviour because they are either ignorant of the true nature of prostitution, or suffering from some form of sexual addiction.

The FOPP Program outlines 11 key areas in which they believe participants are either suffering from ignorance, or denial. These beliefs and attitudes are:

1. The belief that the risk of arrest and legal sanction are low;
2. Denial or ignorance of the risk of contracting STDs or HIV through purchased sex;
3. Ignorance of the risk of being robbed or assaulted by prostitutes or pimps;
4. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact prostitution has on the neighbourhoods in which it occurs;
5. Ignorance of the links between street prostitution and larger, organised systems of sex trafficking;
6. Denial or ignorance of what motivates them to solicit prostitutes (e.g., addictions, compulsions, unmet social or sexual needs);
7. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact of prostitution on "providers;"
8. Denial or ignorance of the fact that money is the only reason prostitutes have sex with them;
9. The mistaken belief that the women they hire care about them, and that they are in some kind of relationship with them;

10. Denial or ignorance of the anger, revulsion, or indifference that many prostitutes have while they are having sex with johns;
11. Ignorance about how to have the healthy relationships that could replace their reliance upon commercial sex (Shively et al 2008: 13).

The FOPP conceptualises these beliefs and attitudes to be an inclusive part of every participants' 'denial system' regarding prostitution (Shively et al 2008: 13). The PAR program, which is modelled on the FOPP program, also seeks to address the above beliefs, and the PIP program also assumes that the offenders are often unaware of the realities of prostitution (SDPD and CAO 2003: 5). All of the programs are predicated on the assumption that if men were truly aware of the realities of prostitution, they would not purchase sex. This construction is supplemented by the strong suggestion that men who buy sex are likely to be suffering from a condition which is the cause of their deviant sexual behaviours, further reinforcing offenders as somewhat innocent.

Sex addiction as a possible cause for the men's desire to buy sex is clearly promoted to the men in both the FOPP and PAR programs. In the PAR program, members from the Californian School of Professional Psychology are invited to explain and discuss sex addiction, whilst providing resources and information about where the johns can go to for help with their addiction (FPD 1999: 10). In the FOPP Program, representatives from the rehabilitative program Sexual Addicts Anonymous (SAA) suggest that sexual addiction may provide a possible explanation as to why they engage in prostitution (Shively et al 2008: 51). Throughout this session, it is repeatedly expressed to the johns that the SAA presenters are not there to diagnose them with a sexual addiction. However, the johns are handed a twelve-item self assessment checklist which assists them to diagnose themselves (Shively et al 2008: 51). Participants are told that if they answer yes to any one question on the checklist, they should seek help for sexual addiction. One of the questions on the checklist is 'Have your

sexual practices caused you legal problems? Could your sexual practices cause you legal problems?' (SAA, 2012). Considering every participant in the John School program is there as a result of arrest, and under threat of further legal action, they would automatically qualify as a sex addict, according to the instructors involved in the program.

Conclusion

The increasing focus on men's demand for prostitution is often hailed as a significant shift in the way prostitution is understood, by moving on from the assumption that the woman is the 'problem' (Altman, 2001). The John School programs offer some challenge to this construction, by focusing on men's demand. However, the characterisation of prostitution remains heavily invested in notions of 'normal' sexual behaviour.

The construction of women in the sex industry may have shifted slightly from historical notions of the 'fallen woman'. However, they are still positioned as operating outside the norms of sexual behaviour through the assertion that this is only something women would engage in as a result of past abuse or pimping. Men's choice to purchase sexual services is no longer viewed as an understandable expression of masculinity, but is instead depicted by the John School programs as the result of ignorance or addiction. It is assumed that if the men were truly aware of the 'realities' of prostitution, they would never seek to purchase sexual services, and that they have only been driven to this option as a result of sexual addiction.

Nowhere in this construction is there space for the possibility of women who engage in the sex industry as a legitimate form of labour, or of male clients making an informed choice to purchase a service. The establishment of John School programs in the United States certainly disrupts traditional constructions of prostitution. However, the characterisation of the victims and offenders of prostitution does little more than extend the charge of deviance, typically levelled at the sellers of the sex, to the buyers. Prostitution remains constructed as a deviant

sexual behaviour that is socially undesirable, with both sex workers' and clients' decision to engage in a sexual transaction being challenged on the grounds of psychological affliction, coercion, or ignorance.

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TITLE: "The social construction of prostitution in Californian 'John' Schools"

Abstract

The existence of prostitution in society continues to be a highly contested issue in both political and social arenas. With traditional criminal justice methods to address prostitution focussing predominantly on sex workers, newly formed initiatives have been created to target the demand side of prostitution. 'John Schools' – diversionary programs for clients, or 'johns' who have been arrested for prostitution offences – aim to educate participants on the various harms and risks associated with such behaviour and claim to provide an innovative means to reduce prostitution by decreasing demand for sexual services. It is evident however, that these programs perpetuate traditional social constructions of prostitution, characterising the act, and the actors, as sexually deviant. This paper examines the curriculum of these programs in order to identify how prostitution is constructed, firstly through the depiction of the victims in the program, and secondly through the characterisation of prostitution offenders. This paper argues that such initiatives merely extend the charge of sexual deviance from the sellers of sex to the buyers, and fail to acknowledge autonomy and choice for sex workers and clients.

Keywords: Prostitution, 'John School', sex work, commercial sex, client

Word Count: 3010

The social construction of prostitution in Californian 'John' Schools

Introduction

The existence of prostitution[1] in society is one that attracts much public debate. Resistance to prostitution often centres on notions of morality and deviance, where those individuals involved in such behaviour are viewed as deviating from the constructed 'norm' of sex; that being sex with a loved partner or sex between spouses in a nuclear family' (Agustin 2005: 67). Though there have been general acknowledgments of the contribution of males in prostitution either as clients, exploiters or pimps, traditional criminal justice methods to target sex work have largely ignored this multi-faceted demand side. The lack of police attention to the clients of sex work specifically, can be linked to historical conceptualisations and constructions of gender. The practice of male clients purchasing services from a sex worker co-exists with the social construction of masculinity; where men are assumed to have a 'biological need for sex' (Carpenter 2000: 19), and therefore their engagement in prostitution is commonly accepted and regarded as a form of biological normalcy. In contrast, the practice of prostitution conflicts with constructed ideals of femininity. Women who engage in sex work are viewed as deviant and promiscuous, and therefore targeted by authorities in an attempt to both punish socially unacceptable behaviour and 'save fallen women' (Agustin, 2007). These constructions are quite contradictory in their focus, as they assume that prostitution is a deviant act for women, but not necessarily for men, despite the involvement of consenting adults of both genders. Such views are argued to be unfair and discriminatory (Monto 2010: 233; Monto 2004: 161).

[1] This paper acknowledges that the terms 'prostitution' and 'sex work' carry distinct political significance. We prefer the term 'sex work', however will be using them interchangeably throughout this paper as the term 'prostitution' is dominant in the United States and used frequently in relation to diversion programs for the purchasers of commercial sexual services.

The United States continues to practice a criminalisation or prohibitionist approach towards prostitution[2]. In recent decades, policy-makers have moved beyond a predominate focus on the sex worker, and begun to problematise the buyer of sexual services. One of the primary ways in which this has occurred is through the establishment of diversion programs for sex work clients, more commonly known as 'John Schools' (Bernstein 2005: 103). These programs target the clients or 'johns' who have been arrested by police for offences relating to prostitution (Gibbs Van Brunschot 2003: 220). Interestingly, John School initiatives are only applicable to offenders who have engaged in street prostitution. This is despite street sex work accounting for only around 20% of all forms of prostitution in the US (Weitzer 2010: 9) and the rapid expansion of privatised prostitution services, such as through the internet, telephone, brothels and escort agencies (Weitzer 2012: 4).

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depiction of sex workers as a threat to a man's health, safety, or wallet, create conflicting constructions which undermine the victimhood the programs attempt to ascribe to the sellers of sex.

The 'offenders'

The dominant constructions of offenders in the programs' curricula relies on the assumption that these men are only engaging in what is perceived to be deviant sexual behaviour because they are either ignorant of the true nature of prostitution, or suffering from some form of sexual addiction.

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3. Ignorance of the risk of being robbed or assaulted by prostitutes or pimps;
4. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact prostitution has on the neighbourhoods in which it occurs;
5. Ignorance of the links between street prostitution and larger, organised systems of sex trafficking;
6. Denial or ignorance of what motivates them to solicit prostitutes (e.g., addictions, compulsions, unmet social or sexual needs);
7. Denial or ignorance of the negative impact of prostitution on "providers;"
8. Denial or ignorance of the fact that money is the only reason prostitutes have sex with them;
9. The mistaken belief that the women they hire care about them, and that they are in some kind of relationship with them;

10. Denial or ignorance of the anger, revulsion, or indifference that many prostitutes have while they are having sex with johns;
11. Ignorance about how to have the healthy relationships that could replace their reliance upon commercial sex (Shively et al 2008: 13).

The FOPP conceptualises these beliefs and attitudes to be an inclusive part of every participants' 'denial system' regarding prostitution (Shively et al 2008: 13). The PAR program, which is modelled on the FOPP program, also seeks to address the above beliefs, and the PIP program also assumes that the offenders are often unaware of the realities of prostitution (SDPD and CAO 2003: 5). All of the programs are predicated on the assumption that if men were truly aware of the realities of prostitution, they would not purchase sex. This construction is supplemented by the strong suggestion that men who buy sex are likely to be suffering from a condition which is the cause of their deviant sexual behaviours, further reinforcing offenders as somewhat innocent.

Sex addiction as a possible cause for the men's desire to buy sex is clearly promoted to the men in both the FOPP and PAR programs. In the PAR program, members from the Californian School of Professional Psychology are invited to explain and discuss sex addiction, whilst providing resources and information about where the johns can go to for help with their addiction (FPD 1999: 10). In the FOPP Program, representatives from the rehabilitative program Sexual Addicts Anonymous (SAA) suggest that sexual addiction may provide a possible explanation as to why they engage in prostitution (Shively et al 2008: 51). Throughout this session, it is repeatedly expressed to the johns that the SAA presenters are not there to diagnose them with a sexual addiction. However, the johns are handed a twelve-item self assessment checklist which assists them to diagnose themselves (Shively et al 2008: 51). Participants are told that if they answer yes to any one question on the checklist, they should seek help for sexual addiction. One of the questions on the checklist is 'Have your

sexual practices caused you legal problems? Could your sexual practices cause you legal problems?' (SAA, 2012). Considering every participant in the John School program is there as a result of arrest, and under threat of further legal action, they would automatically qualify as a sex addict, according to the instructors involved in the program.

Conclusion

The increasing focus on men's demand for prostitution is often hailed as a significant shift in the way prostitution is understood, by moving on from the assumption that the woman is the 'problem' (Altman, 2001). The John School programs offer some challenge to this construction, by focusing on men's demand. However, the characterisation of prostitution remains heavily invested in notions of 'normal' sexual behaviour.

The construction of women in the sex industry may have shifted slightly from historical notions of the 'fallen woman'. However, they are still positioned as operating outside the norms of sexual behaviour through the assertion that this is only something women would engage in as a result of past abuse or pimping. Men's choice to purchase sexual services is no longer viewed as an understandable expression of masculinity, but is instead depicted by the John School programs as the result of ignorance or addiction. It is assumed that if the men were truly aware of the 'realities' of prostitution, they would never seek to purchase sexual services, and that they have only been driven to this option as a result of sexual addiction.

Nowhere in this construction is there space for the possibility of women who engage in the sex industry as a legitimate form of labour, or of male clients making an informed choice to purchase a service. The establishment of John School programs in the United States certainly disrupts traditional constructions of prostitution. However, the characterisation of the victims and offenders of prostitution does little more than extend the charge of deviance, typically levelled at the sellers of the sex, to the buyers. Prostitution remains constructed as a deviant

sexual behaviour that is socially undesirable, with both sex workers' and clients' decision to engage in a sexual transaction being challenged on the grounds of psychological affliction, coercion, or ignorance.

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Cultural and Social Resources among Students In Welfare Professions

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"Comparative study of the social structures of the most important civilizations shows that the professions occupy a position of importance in our society which is, in any comparable degree of development, unique in history". These are the words with which Talcot Parsons introduced his article entitled *The Professions and Social Structure* in 1939.

What kind of young people were recruited to a degree programme in the welfare professions in Denmark in 2010? This article seeks to find the answer. The social background of the students is described in terms of the economic and social resources available to them during their upbringing. However, a successful transmission of these resources in the family sphere depends not only on the social position of their parents on the labour market and their formal education. Cultural capital and the mastery of cultural codes are also central factors in understanding how personal and social values correspond with educational reproduction, and how various cultures and values are established in the professions.

The study is based on data covering 5,000 students from 21 professional degree programmes in Denmark (students studying to be teachers, nurses, social workers, doctors, physiotherapists, social educators, lawyers, psychologists and dentists).

Key words:

Welfare professions, reproduction, social closure, cultural capital, hierarchy.

Professions in the welfare state

This paper discusses the way in which the social declassification of the welfare professions interacts with what could be called middle-class strategies (Ball 2003), including the relationship between social class and lifestyle (the way in which professionals practise their family resources). The class perspective is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu and Max Weber, and includes the idea that decisions regarding choices of education are seen as a market exchange in which assets are traded and embedded in a society characterised by social conflict (Weber 1962/1993).

Profession, knowledge and social closure

In a list of the characteristics of professions, Brante underlines one feature as being vital for their authority and status: their knowledge resources. He says that professions are occupations conducting interventions derived from scientific knowledge of mechanisms, structures and contexts (Brante 2011: 17).

The knowledge corpus of the professions is vital with regard to their ability to maintain and develop their position through what is called social closure (Weber 1980). In other words, social groups seek to monopolise their given opportunities and install these as rights reserved solely for the members of the group or profession concerned.

According to Abbott (Abbott 1998: 54), the prestige associated with the knowledge of the professions is based on general cultural acknowledgement of rationality, logic and science, including their related jurisdiction. So the assumption here is that the power of the professions is not primarily an epistemological question, but reflects the fact that

formal, rational and abstract knowledge contributes to the development of new types of control mechanisms which combine to make it possible to regulate the market, public bureaucracy, the courts and the economy as if they were formally rational systems (Murphy 1988: 246). So it is assumed that power in the professions is linked to class positions which master *both* a formal and legitimate knowledge corpus *and* the opportunity to exercise power by management and control (Wright 2000: 18).

Professional fields

When we refer to professional knowledge, we are referring to an academic and social order in which academic titles constitute a symbolic and social value in a field. A social field in Bourdieu's terminology is characterised by the fact that agents and institutions (which in this case means various professions, their values and ethical guidelines, professional discourses, relationship with the exercise of state power etc.) enable professions to demonstrate their power through specific symbolic resources. For instance, academic ranking at a university reflects a secular social order in the social field (Bourdieu, 1996).

The relationship between professions, knowledge and science can be expected to vary from one area of education to the next (Brante 2011: 16). For instance, the professions associated with "mature" scientific disciplines with a relatively large consensus regarding scientific results (medicine and law for instance) are also the professions that perform highly specialised social functions and enjoy relatively widespread recognition and legitimacy. By contrast, the professions of teacher and social worker, which have to obtain their knowledge base from a range of disciplines which lack broad consensus re-

garding scientific results, will not be specialised to the same degree – and nor will they have achieved the same degree of recognition and legitimacy.

Field of education

Let us now focus on a section of the field of professional education to illustrate the differences that exist between students in various parts of the education system. The study shows how differences in student tastes (life style indicators) relate to the field of social positions illustrated by the level of education and occupational background of their parents.

Any given field has according to Bourdieu a dominant form of capital, and the field of education has symbolic capital in the form of examination certificates (among other things). Symbolic capital in the form of good grades from a high-status degree programme at a recognised university can be exchanged for a given social position with a given salary on the labour market (Bourdieu and Passeron 1998: 73). The main factor involved here concerns the way in which students applying for degree programmes administer the family resources they possess – including the individual and social strategies they implement.

This article presents data taken from two sectors: the healthcare sector and the pedagogical/social sector respectively. These professions occupy different positions in relation to each other, and are thus included in a social division of labour which also represents differences in symbolic resources and lifestyles. The data shows that recruitment to various

professions does not only depend on the social background of student families, but also reflects patterns in relation to student lifestyles and values. Such differences indicate that the professions also represent various cultures, each with its own internal set of value norms and tastes.

Recruitment to the welfare professions

The data illustrates three concrete factors:

1: Social background in the form of the level of education and occupational position of the fathers of students. 2: The cultural capital and lifestyle of the students. 3: Career choices. The point is to illustrate the correspondence between the student's social background and their cultural capital, and dedication towards career and further education. These assumptions are based on Bourdieu's *Distinction*, where he describes the social logic of taste and life style in a way that elaborates a structural class concept (Bourdieu 1985).

The first factor concerns recruitment in relation to the gender of students and the social class of their fathers (and specifically the education and occupation of these fathers). The first immediate impression generated by the data in tables 1 and 2 shows recruitment from two different positions in the field of education. In Denmark there is still a strict political division and difference in status between classical universities educating at master level (medicine, law, psychology and dentistry), and university colleges educating at bachelor level. University colleges (teacher training, nursing, social work, physiotherapy) are not obliged to do research themselves. Table 1 and table 2 illustrates that there is a group of students attending classical university degree programmes (stu-

dents of law, medicine, dentistry and psychology), who have fathers with relatively long and more academic educations *and* an occupational position in which academic capital and economic capital are more important.

Table 1. Father's post-school education. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	None	**Vocational training**	**Short-term further education**	**Medium-term further education (Under graduate)**	**Long-term further education (Post graduate)**	
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**n**
Law	16.9%	35.1%	9.1%	11.7%	27.3%	154
Medicine	7.4%	26.5%	8.9%	22.3%	34.8%	336
Psychology	7.0%	29.8%	10.5%	22.8%	29.8%	57
Dentistry	13.3%	40.0%	10.0%	13.3%	23.3%	30
Physiotherapy	7.1%	40.4%	13.1%	26.8%	12.6%	198
Teaching	12.4%	46.6%	7.6%	21.5%	11.9%	596
Social education	17.4%	43.8%	13.8%	18.9%	6.1%	609
Social work	18.3%	45.6%	12.5%	15.6%	8.0%	263
Nursing	15.5%	40.5%	13.9%	19.8%	10.3%	632

NB: Student responses to question 59: *"How much post-school education does/did your father have? If your father attained more than one level, please select the last level that he concluded."* For each question "n" reflects the total number of respondents in each degree programme. Respondents answering *"Don't know"* have been omitted.
Source: "På vej til professionerne" (2010). Web survey.

Table 2. Father's occupation during upbringing. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	No employ ploy-ment	**Stu-dent**	**Un-skilled worker**	**Skilled worker**	**Low-level 'white collar jobs'**	**High-level 'white collar jobs'**	**Self-employed with less than 10 employees**	**Self-employed with 10 or more employees**	
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**n**
Law	5.4%	1.3%	12.8%	21.5%	10.1%	31.5%	10.1%	7.4%	149
Medicine	1.8%	0.6%	9.0%	19.8%	10.5%	39.2%	15.6%	3.6%	334
Psychology	1.8%	0.0%	3.6%	23.2%	23.2%	30.4%	12.5%	5.4%	56
Dentistry	10.3%	0.0%	6.9%	17.2%	13.8%	27.6%	20.7%	3.4%	29
Physiotherapy	2.9%	0.5%	6.4%	34.8%	10.8%	24.5%	15.7%	4.4%	204
Teaching	2.9%	0.2%	11.9%	32.0%	8.7%	23.8%	16.5%	4.1%	588
Social education	5.6%	0.0%	18.4%	38.1%	7.3%	13.1%	15.2%	2.4%	620
Social work	10.1%	0.0%	14.2%	32.1%	7.8%	16.4%	16.4%	3.0%	268
Nursing	4.9%	0.6%	16.0%	31.7%	8.2%	15.5%	19.0%	4.1%	637

NB: Student responses to question 60: *"What was your father's occupation during your upbringing? If your father had more than one occupation, please select the one that lasted the longest time."* For each question "n" reflects the total number of respondents in each degree programme. Respondents answering *"Don't know"* have been omitted.
Source: "På vej til professionerne" (2010). Web survey.

Judging by their occupations, the fathers of physiotherapists, school teachers, social workers and others with a bachelor degree from Danish university colleges have relatively less academic capital and economic capital. (Career-long earnings histories seem to provide evidence that highly educated workers experience more rapid earnings growth through most of the life cycle (*Bhuller 2011)).*

The university degree programmes differ from each other (table 1). In particular, the characteristic feature of students of medicine is that their fathers have a higher level of education than the fathers of students of law and dentistry. The parents of students of dentistry have the lowest level of education capital in this group. As far as the occupational position of fathers is concerned (table 2), students of law are more likely to have self-employed fathers with more than ten employees than students of medicine and psychology, which from Bourdieu's perspective indicates greater economic capital in their childhood home. By contrast, students training to be teachers, nurses and social workers tend to have fathers from a petit bourgeois background (small building companies, farming etc.), the children of whom find employment in the public sector.

Professions such as social educator, teacher, social worker and nurse are 'marginalised' because they do not possess scientific research capital, academic administrative power, intellectual influence capital or economic/political capital. Doctors, psychologists and lawyers are placed higher in a social hierarchy, as well as being representatives of a formal, sanctioned state authority.

Based on table 1, figure 3 shows the professional areas categorised according to the gender of the students (horizontal axis illustrates the number of male students) and on

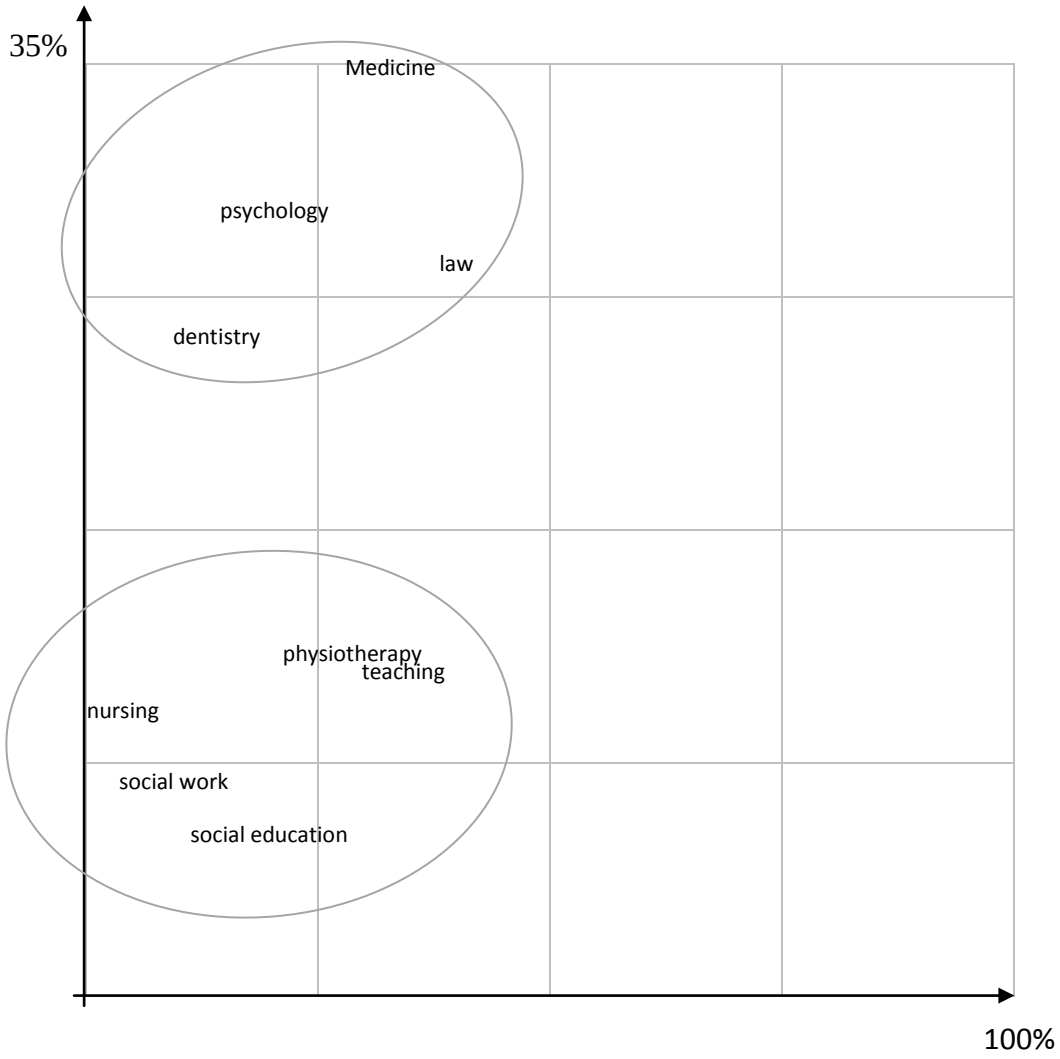
the vertical axis the number of student´s fathers who have completed long-term further education (high cultural capital). It might be argued that the relationship between doctors (MA) and nurses/physiotherapists (BA) is homologous with the relationship between lawyers (MA) and teachers/social educators (BA), with doctors and lawyers occupying a (more masculine) dominant position based on their formal university post graduate degrees and their right (to some extent) to define the professional work carried out by the other groups. Doctors prescribe medicine and treatment, while nurses and physiotherapists implement it. Lawyers interpret legislation as the basis for exercising judgement and allocating financial assistance in the public administration, while social workers must act within the framework of this interpretation.

Figure 3 shows the professional areas categorised in terms of the proportion of male students and the proportion of fathers who have completed long-term further education (calculated as a percentage). The proportion of male students is: 35% in medicine; 14% in dentistry; 39% in law; 19% in psychology; 32% in physiotherapy; 21% in social education; 36% in teacher education; 4% in nursing education, social work 10%. We see a strong feminization of the welfare professions (nursing, social work, social education and physiotherapy). You find the same tendency in law and medicine, but not in the same degree.

Figure 3: Students and professional areas, revealing the level of education of their fathers and the proportion of male students

The vertical axis shows the proportion of parents who have completed long-term further education (see column 5 of table 1). The horizontal axis shows the proportion of male students.

Example: 35% of students of medicine are men, and 34.8 % of their fathers have completed long-term further education.



Cultural capital and lifestyle

The indicators that are given priority below concern acquired cultural capital as the basis of the construction of student lifestyles. The differentiation within the cultural field (literature, films and music) and the media field is based on a selection of indicators illustrating the level of "culture" that can be regarded as being characterised by a specific choice of music and literature. Questions of social class, classification and lifestyle and the preferences of the students may reveal the distinctions and tendencies that are combined in a unity of practices: for instance whether you read classical literature or not (Bourdieu 1984).

Examination grades

Basing university entrance on examination grades has a selective social function because such grades are not equally distributed across all social groups (Bourdieu 1994: 15), and according to Weber examination grades define student´s opportunities in the educational market. The selection involved is linked to the internal communication of the education system. In other words, it is linked to the fact that language and communication in each student's family also limit the potential of the student in the education system. The higher up the education hierarchy the young people apply, the greater importance the tendency to verbalise thoughts, feelings and opinions becomes. Verbalisation is the code that has to be cracked in order to understand and thereby to master academic education; and verbalisation and abstraction are sanctioned as the most important form of communication (Bourdieu et al. 1994: 15).

Table 4. Average student grades and degree programmes. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	Far above average	Slightly above average	Average	Slightly below average	Far below average	
	%	%	%	%	%	n
Law	11.0%	80.5%	0.6%	7.1%	0.6%	154
Medicine	42.4%	55.6%	0.6%	1.4%	0.0%	356
Psychology	61.3%	38.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	62
Dentistry	17.6%	79.4%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%	34
Physiotherapy	2.4%	71.7%	2.9%	20.0%	2.9%	205
Teaching	5.3%	56.3%	6.4%	28.6%	3.4%	590
Social education	2.8%	43.3%	11.9%	31.8%	10.1%	503
Social work	1.2%	51.8%	8.4%	33.3%	5.2%	249
Nursing	4.3%	51.9%	7.5%	29.1%	7.3%	588

NB: Student responses to question 17: *"What was your average grade at upper-secondary level?"* For precise response categories, please see the report entitled *På vej til professionerne* (2010). For each question "n" indicates the total number of respondents in each degree programme. The category "Far above average" indicates an average grade of above 10 on the 7-point scale. The category "Slightly above average" indicates an average grade of between 7 and 10 on the 7-point scale. The category "Average" indicates an average grade of 7 on the 7-point scale. The category "Slightly below average" indicates an average grade of between 4 and 7 on the 7-point scale. The category "Far below average" indicates an average grade of below 4 on the 7-point scale.
Source: På vej til professionerne (2010). Web survey.

However, the relationship between the agents and the education system is not only a linguistic one: it also comprises the social and cultural lifestyle of each individual student, constituting the horizon of understanding with which they interpret the verbal and abstract demands of the education system. In this perspective, students who shine at upper-secondary level and who have high grades, practise their cultural background and reflect this background in the expectations of their degree programme (Passeron and Bourdieu 1998: 115). Academic language is very different from the language actually spoken by different social classes. Students with working class background face a different challenge when the tasks with which they are faced have to be conquered and understood in an abstract form with which they are not familiar. Table 4 reveals that students attending classical university degree programmes gain admission based on much higher grades (this applies to the study of medicine and psychology in particular). Students on bachelor degree programmes all have much lower grades, which illustrates that academic learning implies acquiring both knowledge and the code of transmission used to convey a particular body of knowledge (Bourdieu 1994, p. 5).

Preferences for literature and films

The fundamental idea involved here is that lifestyle reflects a basic logic or taste which varies from one social group or class to the next. In his analysis of French society, Bourdieu (1984) points out that the taste of the upper classes is directed towards avant garde and more sophisticated forms of expression in various genres. By contrast, the taste of the lower classes is typically directed towards more easily accessible forms of expression (paintings must be nice to look at, music must be pleasant to listen to, and

literature and theatre must have easily comprehensible and morally defensible points to make, for instance). Lifestyles gain independent significance because as cultural resources they also express social positions and hierarchies. As a result, lifestyles also have a symbolic value which is included in the symbolic categories of "fine" and "popular" art (Bourdieu 1985). Consequently, lifestyles are also symbolic signs of where you belong in social and educational hierarchies; and they are used in our consumer choices, in the creation of our identities, and in our position in relation to social class.

Lifestyles described through indicators of cultural capital are interesting because they add a dimension to Weber's concept of social closure, allowing us to describe a "symbolic closure". The question is whether it is possible to observe patterns in the tastes of students which correspond to their choices of degree programme. If so, this could be seen as a sign of a symbolic closure in which taste is included as an element in relation to elite degree programmes and bachelor degree programmes. Do students of law read newspapers more than students of social education? Are students training to be teachers more interested in classical literature than students of psychology?

Let us start by presenting student choices of literature in table 5.

Table 5. Student choices of literature and degree programmes. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	Have read quality Danish literature (%)			Have read historical/political literature (%)			Have read detective stories (%)			Have read Danish bestsellers (%)			Have read entertaining literature (%)		
	No	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**
Law	14.2	24.7	162	77.8	3.7	162	1.9	80.2	162	29.6	10.5	162	3.7	13.0	162
Medicine	13.9	32.1	361	85.0	2.2	361	1.9	89.2	361	27.1	11.9	361	9.7	12.7	361
Psychology	10.3	31.0	58	86.2	0.0	58	0.0	86.2	58	34.5	8.6	58	3.4	15.5	58
Dentistry	18.2	24.2	33	72.7	6.1	33	3.0	84.8	33	21.2	12.1	33	9.1	21.2	33
Physiotherapy	36.1	14.4	216	83.8	1.4	216	5.1	71.3	216	44.0	6.0	216	8.8	19.4	216
Teaching	12.7	38.6	637	76.0	1.6	637	2.2	76.9	637	31.6	15.1	637	4.2	20.6	637
Social education	29.2	16.1	688	77.0	1.6	687	7.4	63.1	688	41.4	7.3	688	8.1	25.3	688
Social work	19.7	27.7	289	80.3	2.1	289	5.2	75.4	289	29.8	13.8	289	6.9	24.6	289
Nursing	29.8	17.6	675	77.8	1.0	675	3.7	73.2	675	43.3	7.7	675	4.7	26.8	675

NB: Student responses to question 44: *"Please consider various types of author"*. For the precise details, please see the report entitled *På vej til professionerne* (2010). For each question "n" indicates the total number of respondents in each degree programme. The category "Quality Danish literature" covered the authors *Johannes V. Jensen* and *Svend Åge Madsen*. The category "Historical/political literature" covered the author *Bo Lidegaard*. The category "Detective stories" covered the authors *Dan Brown*, *Camilla Läckberg* and *Leif Davidsen*. The category "Danish bestsellers" covered the authors *Jakob Ejersbo* and *Kirsten Thorup*, and the category "Entertaining literature" covered the authors *Jane Aamund* and *Danielle Steel*. Respondents answering *"I haven't read anything by these authors, but I would like to do so"* and *"I haven't read anything by these authors and I don't want to either"* have been omitted.

Source: På vej til professionerne (2010). Web survey.

Preferences for literature have been chosen as an indicator of cultural capital; and as revealed by the data, students studying to be doctors, psychologists and teachers prefer "quality" Danish literature – while students studying to be social workers, lawyers and dentists are somewhat less interested in this category. Students of physiotherapy, social education and nursing read this category of literature the least. They prefer a more entertaining genre of literature. Students of the classical university professions (post graduate) prefer detective stories, while bachelor students at the university colleges tend to prefer Danish bestsellers. Both of these are entertaining genres, with Danish bestsellers typically dealing with themes relating to society and the family. Students studying to be doctors and teachers tend to be more interested in literature in general, while students of nursing, social education and physiotherapy are generally less interested in literature.

Film preferences

To some extent, the tendency with regard to interest in films resembles the literature preferences of students. Generally speaking, students of nursing, physiotherapy, social education and dentistry are not very interested in artistic films with a narrow appeal (table 6). Such films tend to be more popular among students studying to be doctors, psychologists, teachers and social workers. Students of law and medicine clearly prefer political documentaries such as *Armadillo* (dealing with Danish soldiers in Afghanistan). Romantic comedies appeal to all the professions, although they tend to be most appealing to students on bachelor degree programmes at the university colleges (with students studying to be social workers scoring lowest in this group). Students of dentistry score lower than students attending other university degree programmes in terms of having a taste for films in general.

Table 6. Student preferences for films. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	Have watched artistic films with a narrow appeal (%)			Have watched political documentaries (%)			Have watched detective stories (%)			Have watched adventure/science fiction films (%)			Have watched romantic comedies (%)		
	No	**Yes**	**N**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**	**No**	**Yes**	**n**
Law	40.1	9.3	162	7.4	30.9	162	1.2	74.7	162	9.9	46.9	162	1.2	44.4	162
Medicine	36.6	15.2	361	7.5	37.4	361	0.8	78.1	361	6.6	47.6	361	5.0	38.8	361
Psychology	46.6	15.5	58	13.8	17.2	58	1.7	74.1	58	8.6	46.6	58	1.7	43.1	58
Dentistry	63.6	6.1	33	18.2	9.1	33	0.0	69.7	33	18.2	24.2	33	9.1	54.5	33
Physiotherapy	57.9	7.9	216	18.5	25.0	216	3.7	76.4	216	10.6	33.8	216	6.0	56.9	216
Teaching	41.4	12.9	637	10.8	27.8	637	2.0	73.3	637	9.1	38.0	637	3.0	56.4	637
Social education	51.0	7.7	688	23.5	19.3	688	3.9	68.0	688	16.1	32.4	688	2.8	66.9	688
Social work	44.1	14.6	288	18.7	21.8	289	2.8	76.1	289	14.2	31.1	289	4.8	53.3	289
Nursing	51.9	9.2	675	20.1	21.9	675	2.2	76.6	675	15.7	27.0	675	0.9	68.3	675

NB: Student responses to question 45: *"I would also like to ask you to consider various types of film"*. For the precise details, please see the report entitled *På vej til professionerne* (2010). For each question "n" indicates the total number of respondents in each degree programme. The category "Artistic films with a narrow appeal" covered the films *Volver* and *Blue*, the category "Political documentaries" covered the film *Armadillo*, the category "Detective stories" covered the film *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, the category "Adventure/science fiction" covered the film *Star Wars Episode IV: A New Hope*, and the category "Romantic comedies" covered the Danish film *Anja og Victor i medgang og modgang*. Respondents answering *"I haven't seen this film, but I would like to do so"* and *"I haven't seen this film and I don't want to either"* have been omitted.

Source: På vej til professionerne (2010). Web survey.

Three tendencies are apparent in table 6: (1) students of the arts and social science (studying to be teachers, social workers, psychologists and lawyers) tend to have more taste for artistic films than students of the health sciences (apart from students of medicine, who occupy a special position); (2) a large majority of students on all the degree programmes watch detective stories; and (3) students on bachelor degree programmes in the university colleges including students of dentistry (post degree) have a greater taste for romantic comedies (characterised by a "lower" taste), with students of social education and nursing scoring highest in this category.

Careers and further education

The concept of social closure from Max Weber explains how professional practitioners establish monopolies and develop rights and discursive interpretations within their professions. This includes an ability to retain agents in their professions, something which can be achieved in various ways: partly by ensuring attractive conditions for professionals performing basic tasks and partly by offering opportunities for promotion to members looking for further challenges. Hospitals constitute a hierarchy which *both* creates opportunities for promotion *and* exerts pressure on individuals to ensure their place in the hierarchy: There are career opportunities both as a manager and as a researcher at a university hospital. As shown in table 7, students of medicine score highest of all the professions in this study with regard to future expectations for both management careers and further education. In other words, they seek to develop their professional identity *as well as* remaining within the limits of their profession. Students of dentistry and law are also interested in future careers as managers; while students studying to be teachers,

physiotherapists and psychologists are less inclined to see themselves in a managerial career in future.

Students studying to be social workers, nurses and physiotherapists are more interested in further education, something which is clearly untrue of students of law and dentistry.

Table 7. Student expectations regarding employment and careers after graduation. Number and range percentage. 2010.

	I expect to be employed within the profession most of the working life			I expect a career as a manager within the profession			I would like further education after graduation, like MA and PH.D.			I would like to try something new after a few years		
	Agree	**Disagree**	**n**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**n**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**n**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**n**
Law	88.6%	2.9%	175	41.0%	16.3%	166	12.6%	58.1%	167	8.9%	67.3%	168
Medicine	98.8%	0.0%	410	49.2%	9.3%	388	51.4%	16.9%	385	3.0%	90.2%	399
Psychology	84.8%	3.0%	66	21.5%	20.0%	65	27.0%	31.7%	63	7.5%	65.7%	67
Dentistry	95.6%	0.0%	45	48.8%	16.3%	43	12.2%	53.7%	41	2.2%	91.1%	45
Physiotherapy	75.2%	7.4%	242	29.3%	23.9%	222	38.2%	27.3%	220	19.6%	58.3%	230
Teaching	68.8%	13.0%	721	27.3%	35.7%	677	24.7%	47.3%	685	24.7%	47.0%	677
Social educat.	76.7%	8.2%	804	30.2%	31.0%	748	29.5%	41.1%	747	17.2%	55.6%	762
Social work	69.9%	10.3%	329	36.1%	24.2%	310	37.4%	33.1%	305	24.0%	48.7%	312
Nursing	82.7%	5.2%	765	32.7%	26.3%	719	35.3%	32.5%	726	20.9%	53.1%	737

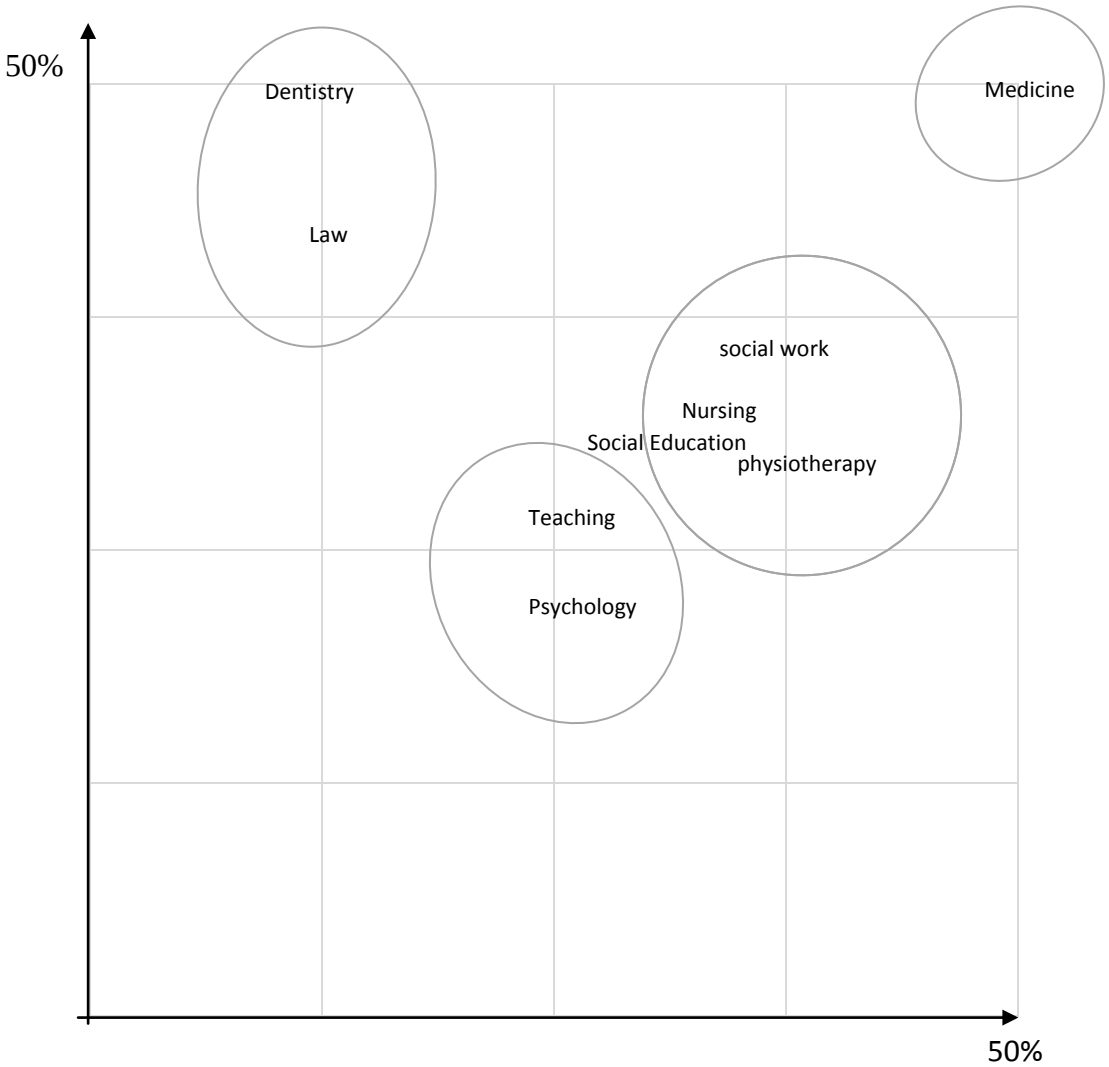
NB: Student responses to question 9: *"Students vary in terms of their expectations regarding employment and careers after graduation. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"* For the precise details, please see the report entitled *På vej til professionerne* (2010). For each question "n" indicates the total number of respondents in each degree programme. The category "Agree" covers the answers *Agree completely* and *Agree*, and the category "Disagree" covers the answers *Disagree completely* and *Disagree*. Respondents answering *Neither agree nor disagree* and *Don't know* have been omitted.

Source: På vej til professionerne (2010). Web survey.

Three tendencies are apparent in table 7: (1) students of medicine differ from other students because they are most focused on both management and further education. In other words, they are highly ambitious both for themselves and for their profession. And (2) students of law and dentistry focus on management, on administrative and economic power (a hierarchical focus also in terms of management); while bachelor students of social work, nursing, social education and physiotherapy from university colleges are less likely to see themselves as managers. On the other hand, they are more focused on further education (horizontal qualifications for themselves and their profession). The characteristic feature of students studying to be psychologists and teachers is that they focus least on both management and further education. And (3): Table 7 reveals a general tendency for students on bachelor degree programmes (studying to be teachers, social educators, nurses, physiotherapists and social workers) to feel a less permanent connection (and attraction) to their profession: they are the most interested in exploring other alternatives than a career in their own profession. Figure 8 shows as a summary this distribution in graphic form: The vertical axis shows the proportion of students expecting a career in management (column 2 in table 7). The horizontal axis shows the proportion of students expecting to attend further education after graduation (column 3 in table 7).

Figure 8: Student dedication to management careers *and* further education after graduation.

Vertical axis: The proportion of students expecting a career in management



Horizontal axis: The proportion of students expecting to attend further education after graduation

Conclusion

The conclusion is that Danish students at post degree programs (MA) generally are recruited from families with higher education, and families with a father who to a greater extent is employed in white collar positions (experts, experts' supervisors, skilled managers' i.e.) and positions with higher status. We see that educations with high status like medicine and law at a prestigious Danish university generally attract students from families with more social and economic resources, compared to students (BA) studying at Danish university colleges. All education in the Danish welfare state is generally free, and all students' at university (MA) or university college (BA) receives the same monthly grant from the Danish state, at the moment 1.000 Aus. dollars. Even because of this we see a division of labor regarding the professional hierarchy between nurses vs. doctors and lawyers vs. social workers, but also a hierarchy between universities where you can study medicine, law and psychology *and* university colleges where you can study nursing, social work and do teacher training. Also cultural resources and students' dedication towards both further education and career are differentiated. Professions characterized by most prestige like medicine and law seems to be able to attract students with more resources like cultural capital and higher dedication towards career, and thereby confirming the social dominance they have acquired . But also within the dominated professions like teaching, nursing, social work and physiotherapy we see differentiations which illustrates the hierarchy and status among the welfare professions themselves. With the theories of Max Weber and Pierre Bourdieu we can better understand these differences as social and cultural incorporated strategies towards choices of educa-

tion, and the concordance or congruence between the student's volume and composition of cultural capital and the demands of the formal educational market.

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Conditionality, Recognition and Indigenous Housing Policy in Australia

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Conditionality, Recognition and Indigenous Housing Policy in Australia

Introduction

This paper draws on ideas of recognition and the intercultural as a way of examining the impact of welfare conditionality on Indigenous housing policy in Australia. The increased application of welfare conditionality has occurred in tandem with 'mainstreaming' of housing management and provision, and regulation of Indigenous Community Organisations. (ICOs). These developments raise policy and practice questions about the effectiveness of such approaches in achieving desired housing outcomes because of questions about their alignment with Indigenous norms and values. The paper argues that the embedded nature of individuals in their social and cultural locations requires the development of policy paradigms that are adapted to these realities. The idea of a recognition space extends the idea of conditionality to one involving moral relationships of duty and care between the individual, Indigenous formal and informal governance structures and the state and its agents. This can be used to build a framework for the development of flexible and adaptive housing policies that are culturally respectful and address the differences in housing values between tenants and housing agencies.

Shifting Loci of Indigenous Public Policy

Through the 1980s and 1990s the management of remote Indigenous communities was decentralised. This saw the establishment of hundreds of Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory, Western Australia, Queensland and South Australia but this development was not accompanied by corresponding efforts to build capability within local Indigenous organisations. The community development approaches implemented and trialled during this period often failed to adequately deal with the complexities of the internal politics of 'community'. Community

egalitarianism was favoured over family and private interests, and the external politics of 'regional governance', often saw local organisations favoured over regional ones (Lea and Clark 1995). This period saw growth in the number of Indigenous community organisations, but insufficient effort to build their governance capacity and operational resources (Rowse 2005). Commentators have also argued the rhetoric of 'self-determination' allowed the Australian government to structurally disengage from remote Indigenous communities (Dillon and Westbury 2007).

Since then, the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction with government adopting a policy-led interventionist approach, culminating in the Northern Territory Emergency Response. Community-based organisations and community development approaches were largely discredited and support withdrawn. A mismatch ensued between government policy and its implementation, including a lack of engagement with Indigenous community groups (Commonwealth of Australia 2008). Sanders has described this shift as one from 'choice and positive difference and diversity' towards 'guardianship, vulnerability and negative difference and diversity' (Sanders 2009:317).

These shifts in Indigenous policy can be conceptualised as involving competing loci of responsibility and agency, between the individual or citizen, the state and Indigenous organisations. Each tends to aggressively assert its demands politically, and this is played out through national media outlets, with little consideration of the context and constraints faced by the others.

Today national policy, notably the National Housing Agreement and the National Partnership on Remote Indigenous Housing, require the 'normalisation' of land tenure, transfer of housing management from Indigenous housing organisations to State Housing Authorities and additional tenant obligations including reporting changes in circumstances

and anti-social behaviour provisions (COAG 2008b; 2009b). Indigenous housing organisations have lost dedicated national funding and are now expected to meet the conditions of mainstream community housing funding, policy and regulatory imperatives (Milligan, Phillips et al 2010). This has especially impacted on Indigenous housing in remote locations where the ICO sector was strongest. This instrumental focus in housing policy is reflected in performance indicators that focus on housing supply and access, building standards, management efficiency and tenancy sustainability (HMC 2001).

Conditionality in Indigenous Public Policy

These developments have been associated with the spread of principles of conditionality in national policy as part of efforts to improve the circumstances of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (ATSI) in Australia. This reflects international developments in state welfare provision towards an emphasis on the responsibilities of citizens to minimize their burden on the state (HREOC 2001; IMF 2002; Kinnear 2002; Dwyer 2004:270). Examples include the 'Shared Responsibility Agreements' that have been applied to some Indigenous communities and the welfare reform measures applied to Indigenous individuals and households in Cape York (Thompson 2006; Pearson 2010).

Supporters of welfare conditionality argue for its benefits on moral, psychological, political and economic grounds (Pearson 2000; Saunders 2008; Taylor-Gooby 2005). They point to increased participation in education and health services, improved targeting of resources to particular vulnerable groups and increased political legitimacy of programs targeting the poor (Bastagli 2009:136).

Critics suggest conditionality is unfair, paternalistic, discriminatory, intrusive and punitive (Lister 1998; Wacquant 2009) and question its effectiveness (Campbell & Wright 2005; Dwyer 2004). In housing policy

concerns have focused on the impact on innocent third parties, especially children (Deacon 2004), its costs (Jacobs 2008; Bastagli 2009) and further marginalisation of the most vulnerable social groups (Flint 2004; Rodger 2006).

Models of conditionality differ according to the balance of rights and duties between the state, community and citizens. All share a concern with active citizenship, but conservative models minimize state responsibilities stressing instead the moral obligation of citizens to conform to mainstream behavioural norms (Murray 1984; Mead 1997). Progressive versions locate individuals within communities and allocate some responsibility to the state to address embedded disadvantage (Flint 2003; Deacon 2004).

In Australia, social housing measures have taken the form of additional tenant obligations including reporting changes in circumstances, probationary leases and anti-social behaviour provisions (see Table 1) (COAG 2008b; 2009b). In public rental housing, conditionality underpins the landlord/tenant relationship and across the social housing sector, largely undifferentiated housing management policies and practices have been adopted. This is similar to the UK where the use of positive incentives (see Jacobs et al 2008) is outweighed by a disciplinary approach linked to a civilities agenda (Pawson & McKenzie 2006).

Culture and Behavioural Change

The Cape York trials in far north Queensland have been the inspiration for some of the forms of conditionality adopted by the Federal government, especially in relation to the use of income management as a means of promoting behavioural change. These trials are unique in their relatively slow development and the participation and engagement of the communities in which they operate. The programs draw on Indigenous principles of reciprocity stressing mutual obligation and 'an equitable distribution of resources, responsibility and capacity and to achieve

Table 1: Welfare Conditionality in Australia, 2011-12

Welfare Field	Lead Agency	Behavioural Concern	Incentive	Locations
Housing	SHA	Financial management ('Vulnerable welfare payment')	Income management	NT, Kimberley, Cape York, Perth. *From July 2012:* Rockhampton, Logan, Playford, Greater Shepparton, Bankstown
		Leases over Aboriginal land	Capital investment in housing & related services	Remote Aboriginal communities as defined by National Partnership on Remote Indigenous Housing
		Housing debt/disruptive or criminal behaviour	Probationary leases	All States and Territories
		Disruptive or criminal behaviour	Acceptable behaviour contracts	
Education	DEEWR /Local Education Authority	School enrolment & attendance	Income suspension	Katherine, Katherine town camps, Wadeye, Tiwi Islands, Wallace Rockhole, Hermannsburg (NT) Logan Central, Kingston, Woodbridge, Eagleby, Doomadgee, Mornington Island (Qld)
	Family Relationships Commission (Cape York)		Income management*	Cape York
Child Protection	Child Protection (referral) Centrelink	Child abuse/neglect	Income management	NT, Kimberley, Cape York, Perth, Rockhampton, Logan, Playford, Greater Shepparton, Bankstown
Child Protection/Family Violence	Family Relationships Commission	Substance use/gambling/family violence	Income management*	Cape York
Income security	Centrelink	Labor market participation	Income suspension	All States and Territories

cohesion and survival of the social order' (NHMRC 2003:10). While strategies such as 'Closing the Gap' and the 'Indigenous Urban and Regional Strategy' recognise the strength of Indigenous culture and the need to engage positively with Indigenous people (COAG 2008a:6; 2009a) research identifies concerns about power disparities (Smyth 2010), lack of consultation (Rowse 2002), lack of sensitivity to individual circumstance (HREOC 2001), disempowering effects (Kinnear 2002:261) and the imposition of values on cultures that do not share them (Thompson 2006:8).

Evaluations of income management operating in Indigenous communities show patchy acceptance with improvements in child and family well being, including housing conditions, co-existing with evidence that the policies increase marginalisation, decrease financial responsibility (FaHCSIA/Orima 2010; AIHW 2010), and are discriminatory and stigmatising (DEWR 2006; AIHW 2010; Equality Rights Alliance 2011).

A common theme of the housing literature is the need for service delivery to recognise positive aspects of the norms, values and social organisation of client groups if they are to achieve their goals. In the UK the Dundee intensive family support model of housing intervention has been hailed as exceptional in effecting behavioural change amongst families with high and complex needs who have been referred because of serious anti-social behaviour. The program provides intense supervision and support, with evaluations suggesting that the treatment of family members with 'respect, listening, being non-judgemental and accessible' is key to its success (Nixon et al 2006).

In contrast, an analysis of mainstreaming in urban Aboriginal housing found it was associated with reduced engagement with Indigenous tenants and communities and loss of Indigenous staff (Milligan et al 2010). There is a growing literature examining Aboriginal cultural norms and values with implications for social housing management. Residential mobility and the challenges this entails for tenants and landlords is well documented (Memmott, Long and Thomson 2006; Habibis et al. 2010). Aboriginal lifestyle norms, household formation and use of internal and external living spaces are recognised as potential sources of conflict with landlords and neighbours (Memmott et al 2003). Kinship obligations including demand sharing can compete with values of conforming to tenancy agreements (Peterson 1993). While much current housing policy discourse views cultural norms as negative traits, others view it as a valuable form of social capital (Altman 2009). According to Milligan et al:

> Appreciation of, and respect for ATSI identity and cultural values and understanding the implications of cultural norms and life styles for housing aspirations and the variety of needs and living patterns … is the fundamental starting point for designing and delivering housing service responses.
> (2010:49).

This emphasis on the nuancing of the design and implementation of conditional housing provision points to the embedded nature of individuals in their social and cultural locations. It is not just a matter of people waking up one day and becoming responsible citizens as defined by the state. The gap between the governance regimes of mainstream housing and those of ICOs are significant and not easily bridged. Grappling with these issues is challenging for both SHAs and tenants. Unless policies are adapted to the reality of Indigenous experiences, cultural values and social connections then it is hard to see how ambitious policy targets, such as halving the number of Indigenous homeless, will be achieved.

Recognition as an Alternative Model of Service Provision

At the heart of these issues is the question of how the state recognises the claims of different groups to maintain cultural difference. In seeking to live according to their own cultural norms and values, Indigenous people are asking the state to recognise their equal cultural worth (Taylor 1994:69). Insofar as current policies deny this claim, misrecognition can be said to occur.

In the Australian Indigenous context, the notion of a 'recognition' space was first proposed by Pearson (1997) in the context of native title, then elaborated by Mantziaris and Martin (1999). More recently it has been described in terms of Indigenous governance (Martin 2003), and intercultural development (Moran 2010:65-74). The concept critiques mono-cultural notions of development, where culture is idealised as static and isolated from outside influences, when in reality people are

intertwined in a complex and dialectic relationship with the wider society (Smith 2008:157). The concept can be used to build a framework for understanding the intersection between Aboriginal social and cultural capitals and social housing contractualism. For example, in Wadeye in the north-west of the Northern Territory, Memmott and Meltzer found that the combination of Aboriginal kinship, the system of social classes or divisions (subsections, sections, and so on or "skins") and the land tenure system generates multiple, social networks (2003). Customary Aboriginal networks included kinship, social classes, seven language groups, some 25 land-owning clans or descent groups, and three sociospatial residential/ceremonial groups. These often demonstrated a mix of properties drawn from both Aboriginal and mainstream cultural contexts (2003:109-110). In addition to values of trust, unity and reciprocity which are common in most societal formations, there were also rich and strong norms more specific to the local Aboriginal networks. These included respect, kindness and concern, motherly love, tough love, personal and community sharing, and belief in self-capacity." Of the values emphasised in the organisational networks, "taking ownership of the problem was strikingly pervasive…. (and) we also find an Aboriginal value of homogeneity or levelling being invoked at times" (2003:114-115).

In recent years there have been shifts in perceptions of how social and cultural capitals can operate. Critiques of Indigenous policy by Pearson (2000, 2001) and Sutton (2009) have highlighted the effects of dysfunctional Aboriginal communities, where traditional behaviours and shared values have become distorted, effectively counteracting personal responsibility, limiting the growth of positive social capital and possibilities for sound governance. Other research points to the value of community as the vehicle by which responsible and engaged citizenry can be activated (Hunter 2003).

In Honneth's model of recognition, individuals are constructed as autonomous agents with both needs and responsibilities, and 'with

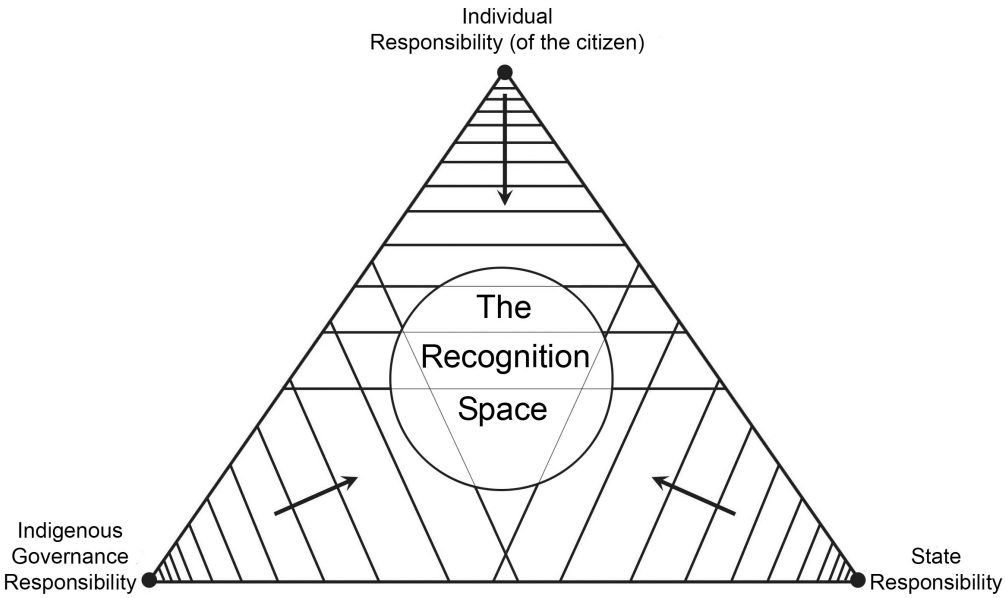
capabilities of constitutive value to a concrete community' (1997:29-30 in Culpitt:130). This approach recognises that individuals and organisations are intertwined in a complex and dialectic relationship involving differences in value systems and goals. It assumes that in working with different cultures housing services are seeking exchange and reciprocity in a mutual relationship, involving respect and self-valuation of the 'Other' and that this applies to all agents. The idea of a recognition space identifies a middle ground in which productive communication and interaction are seen as essential for identifying and addressing barriers between peoples of different value systems that impact on housing outcomes. The research suggests that in the intercultural domain, policy is most effective when both mainstream and Indigenous cultural knowledge systems are practised with equal human, technological and financial resources, with spaces for exchange of knowledge, methodologies and practices that ensure ongoing development of both systems (UNPFII 2009:177).

This approach provides a framework for understanding both the goods and bads of the intersection between Aboriginal people and communities, and social housing contractualism. For Indigenous tenants it includes understanding how social capitals can become problematic for tenancy sustainment, as in the case of demand sharing that is detrimental for children or levels of crowding that are stressful for occupants. For housing practitioners it includes understanding how policy constraints limit their effectiveness or require them to apply policies they believe are inappropriate.

Figure 1 depicts a model of the recognition space which extends the idea of conditionality to one involving moral relationships of duty and care between the individual, Indigenous formal and informal governance structures and the state and its agents. In the housing context the expectations on the individual are to be a good tenant through timely rental payments, maintaining the property and not engaging in disruptive or violent behaviour. Indigenous governance responsibilities involve

Indigenous community structures such as 'nodal individuals' (Morphy 2010) and leaders of Indigenous organisations with strong moral and

Figure 1: The Recognition Space – Three Intersecting Continuums of Responsibility



social connections to community members. The state provides benefits to the individual and to the Indigenous community and, in return, expects that the recipients will adhere to normative standards of behaviour.

The idea of a recognition space asks how can these three responsibilities be mutually recognised and appreciated. What is the optimum balance between these competing relationships such that it produces positive outcomes for Indigenous populations while acknowledging the constraints imposed on the social housing sector? It asks how we can make steps towards a productive framework for practice where Indigenous citizens, leaders, organisational employees, government officials, service providers and development workers can form the necessary trust and knowledge exchange to work through the complexity involved. It also reverses these questions, asking what is going on when the space could be described as a

misrecognition space in which negative dynamics take place between these three social spaces in ways that impact on housing delivery and tenant outcomes. These negative dynamics may be between any of the dyads including between the Indigenous governance sector and Indigenous individuals and between the state and the Indigenous governance sector or Indigenous individuals. Questions that arise from this might be what are the conditions in which demand sharing works positively for housing outcomes and what are the conditions when it works negatively for them? What are the policy and practice implications of these two different scenarios?

The development of a recognition space in Indigenous housing requires new models of practice that acknowledge that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people occupy a 'single socio-cultural field' (Hinkson and Smith in Moran 2010:66-7) involving negotiated relationships with racialised others and a diversity of institutional forms. Effective practice means a shared approach to problem solving that starts with a recognition of local contexts and emphasises the establishment of mutual trust and respect (Moran 2010). This requires models of consultation that provide for mutual learning and which ensure local communities feel recognized and empowered. It means flexible housing policies and practices that are culturally respectful and apply conditionality in ways that strengthen Indigenous individuals, families and communities (Milligan, Phillips et al 2010; 2011). Bauman observes that 'recognition wars' trigger a 'protracted, convoluted and contorted process of getting to know each other, coming to terms with each other, striking a bargain, seeking and finding a *modus vivendi* or rather *coexistendi'* (Bauman 2001:138). The multi-racial context in which social housing services operates locates them at the forefront of these engagements. Despite the difficult conditions in which they operate they have potential to be a progressive force through the development of innovative practices that start with an acknowledgement of difference to promote Indigenous tenancy sustainment.

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Disengaged young males and the role of sport in addressing marginalisation

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Abstract

This paper presents some of the findings from the author's doctoral research into young males, sport and civic engagement. The paper will explore the ways in which young males are (and are not) disadvantaged, touching on the complexity of inequality amongst young people. Further, an analysis of the relationship between sport and dominant culture will provide a basis for outlining how sport may (and may not) be a pathway for disadvantaged young males to engage more fully in society. Of particular note will be a discussion of ways in which the research participants were able to locate themselves in a socio-political spectrum, and give examples of sport reflecting, reinforcing and resisting dominant culture.

Keywords: youth, sport, sociology, males, marginalisation

Introduction

Understanding the interactions between young people and society continues to be a significant area of inquiry. It is commonly agreed that young people are at a disadvantage within society, although the form of that disadvantage, much like the definition of youth itself, is not actually straightforward. How young males fare within these complex forms of disadvantage suggests a relationship between gender and the extent to which young people sense their place within society. My research with young males, around their experiences of sport, adds to an understanding of this relationship, particularly in teasing out some of the ways in which they used sport, or learned from it, to grow their identity and to engage more deeply with their community.

The marginalisation of young males

Adolescence

As Bessant (2006) points out, there is a range of apparently conflicting definitions of 'youth', although it is generally acknowledged (e.g. White and Wyn, 2012; Arnett et al, 2011; Wierenga, 2009) that it encompasses a life stage which represents a path of transition from childhood to

adulthood, where tasks to be resolved include seeking identity and moving towards independence. Young people begin to see themselves as independent, both separate from – and opposed to – their surrounding universe, so they are caught up in their own subjectivity. However, it is flawed to generalise the experiences of all young people as identical through this life stage. To begin with, there is a broad range of demographic differences such as age, gender, (dis)ability, ethnicity. Additionally, there is a broad variety of interests, hobbies, appearances, and values. Bessant et al (1998) and White (1990) discuss whether, with these differences, there can be a general 'youth culture', or rather a collection of 'youth sub-cultures'.

Indicators of disadvantage

These layers of analysis incorporate the complexity of disadvantage that relates to young males. Various researchers (e.g. Vinson, 2004, 1999; Saunders et al, 2007; Wilkinson and Marmot, 2003; Macdonald, 2006, 2011) point to indicators of disadvantage such as poverty, health, unemployment, level of education, crime, social networks, discrimination, social gradient, stress, early life, social exclusion, addiction, food and transport. Macdonald (2006:456) specifically underlines the importance of these as vital to understanding the life situations of men and boys, rather than apportioning blame to 'masculinity and men behaving badly', which appears to be a prevailing social/political attitude . Easthorpe and White (2006) express concern that there is a perception in the current political climate that health choices are the exclusive domain of individual responsibility. However, Wilkinson and Marmot (2003) point out that the empirical evidence no longer supports the idea that individuals are solely responsible for their health, when individual and public health is evidently poorer in whole societies that are poorer. Fletcher (1997) makes clear connections between disadvantage, health and gender, showing that on multiple indicators of mortality and morbidity, the health status of men is poorer than that of women. According to NSW Department of Health (2007) the rates of suicide and self-inflicted injury for men in New South Wales has steadily *decreased* in the past ten years, but it currently remains substantially higher than the current female rate of suicide. Similarly, there has been an overall steady decrease of potentially avoidable deaths in males, although the rate is still higher for men of low socio-economic status.

In terms of young males, Sercombe et al (2002) assert that based on mortality and morbidity rates young people are generally considered the most *physically* healthy section of the community in Australia, although suicide rates are still highest for young males. Sercombe et al (2002) and Eckersley et al (2006) indicate that, whilst as a sub-population the physical health of young people is greater than that of other age groups, their mental health (measured by indicators such as depression, self harm and suicide) is poorer. They list some of the determinants of individual youth health that feature: hope for the future, feelings of self-worth, feelings of being needed, and seeing a positive role in the world for self. Wise et al (2003) argue that despite investment in the development of young people by governments, families, and social welfare organisations, many young people are not receiving the support they need for a safe and successful transition to adulthood. Konopka (1973) articulates crucial elements to the healthy development of young people, including participating as citizens, sense of belonging, experience in decision-making, developing a feeling of accountability, and the capacity to enjoy life. Therefore, any processes which increase equality, fairness and empowerment are going to have a positive impact on an individual's health. Wilkinson (2006:713) also shows that any form of social affiliation, which includes participating in community life and being valued for it, is 'highly predictive of good health'.

Operation of power

On one level, where young males are overrepresented in juvenile crime statistics, higher suicide rates, higher unemployment rates, lower levels of civic engagement activity, and derogatory community perception (Bolzan 2005, Lopez & Moore 2006), it can be argued that their disadvantage is acute, despite the male sex generally being considered to benefit from the operation of a patriarchal social structure. However, the social structure still serves to exclude some young males on the basis of, for example, age, class, race, and sexual orientation. As Pease (2009, p161) says, 'systematic male dominance dehumanises men too', and not all men benefit equally from the operation of domination. This position acknowledges that men certainly benefit from the oppression of women, but that young males are often significantly affected by men's oppression as well, understanding that power is a major factor in the experience of social relationships and opportunities.

This acknowledgement recognises the personal-political processes involved in how young males transition to adulthood through avenues such as sport participation and sports culture. Sport is one social structure where participation rates are clearly higher for young males than females (and than older population groups), however the existence of exclusion and disadvantage of some groups of young males cannot be denied. Were the issues about participation and equity in sport generally, then the discussion should be focused on young women, as literature indicates that they are more disadvantaged than young men in this regard. However, if the question is more concerned with participation and equity in society (and whether sport plays a role in that), then young people generally and young males specifically are less civically engaged because both statistical research and community perception seems to indicate that 'anti-social behaviour' is primarily a male phenomenon.

For how this disadvantage is seen in sport, most sports sociologists recognise that sport can be seen as a medium for three identifiable processes. McPherson et al (1989) explain that sport can *reflect* society and culture, *reinforce* social strata and inequalities, or provide *resistance* when sports participants and organisations are in conflict with social norms/values. My research was fascinating in how the participants' narratives revealed these three positions of sports sociology, but also in pointing to ways in which sport addresses the exclusion and marginalisation of young males.

The functions of sport

Good, bad and ugly

It is certainly not my intention to extol the virtues sport without also acknowledging its ugly side. As Tatz (1995), McKay (1990) and Kell (2000) have long pointed out, sport has been just as guilty as any other social structure of creating exclusion and reinforcing discrimination. In terms of associations between sport and maleness, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) lament that the sports most likely to gain attention in schools and the media tend to be competitive and violent. Fitzclarence and Hickey (1998) conclude that elite sportsmen, whose on-field and off-field aggressive, violent and inhumane behaviours are overlooked, serve as a model for younger males searching for a masculine identity, while Brown (1998) adds the dimensions of sexism, sexual harassment and alcohol-fuelled behaviours as negative characteristics associated with male sport. Burstyn (1999) agrees and asserts that this association has led to a widespread 'hypermasculinity' which is synonymous with misogyny, aggression and violence, but her argument seems to deny the plurality of masculinity without taking into account hegemonic processes. It is plausible that a celebration, rather than denigration, of maleness (even the 'traditional' understanding of it) can lead to positive pro-social development in young males. This possibility has particular relevance when

considering the role of stereotypical male pursuits such as sport, and was influential in developing my research question.

Methods

Within a social constructionist epistemology, I adopted a multidimensional research framework that incorporated elements of sports sociology, social determinants of health, and critical social work practice. Consequently, I embraced a phenomenological approach, which social research discourse (e.g. Groenewald, 2004; Walter, 2006) describes as a means of seeking to capture the richness of individual experience. Lester (1999) and Ploeg (2000) agree that the endeavour of phenomenological research normally translates into gathering information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, and representing the lived experiences of the research participants. Hence, I engaged in my research through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 14 young males in relation to their experiences of sport. The participants were aged between 16 and 25, either living or studying in Western Sydney, and could for the most part be considered as living in working class or lower middle class geographical areas. They had all engaged in a variety of sports, both formal and informal, from a young age.

Some research findings

The first argument of McPherson et al (1989:24) mentioned earlier is that sport merely reflects the broader society, in that sport contains 'the same values, beliefs and norms that exist elsewhere in society'. Since sports participants are also participants in broader society, their ways of thinking before they came to sport continue to influence them.

Many responses in my research pointed to the fact that the young males' values systems were formed both within and without sport participation. For example, many participants took individual responsibility for making health choices (diet, exercise, etc), which is a reflection of dominant political ideology on the matter despite a broader range of evidence. One revelation was the extent to which the participants were able to locate themselves on a political spectrum. Not unexpectedly, there were no responses that specifically referred to adherence to a political position, however some of the values systems that were reflected in their narratives drew strongly on notions of fairness, participation and sportsmanship (as opposed to egoism), respect for rules, altruism, connection to family and the broader community, and being part of something bigger than themself. For example,

> *How values are passed on? How people come together in team in first place, what style to adopt, what are the rules of the sport. Media personalities and role models from other sports are more about connecting with those you already agree with – the values you already hold. My sense of fairness and fair play comes from personal values and the values of sport. You can spot a sore loser. (Milo, 23 years)*

There were several participants who had experienced some level of discrimination and exclusion in sport, and in their general life, based on weight/fitness level, age, social gradient or ethnicity, but their reported resilience was such that it didn't affect them too negatively, and in the main did not deter them from pursuing their identified goals.

The second argument is that sport serves to reinforce existing social inequalities. In terms of access to sport and its resources, for example, literature (McKay, 1990; Kell, 2000; and Hill, 2002) shows that those people, or groups of people, who are disadvantaged within the broader society (e.g.

women, the elderly, people with disabilities, or gay and lesbian people) remain disadvantaged within sport. McPherson et al (1989) believe that this discrimination occurs because sport provides another social context for the persistence of the wider social values, beliefs and norms (such as self-interest and prejudice) that enable these inequalities. Rowe (1995:132) argues that because of the continuing inequalities based on social class and gender, to believe in the myth of sport's egalitarianism is a 'romantic view (which) cannot be simply characterised as harmless, wishful folly'. Notwithstanding many of the negative associations between sport and maleness, participants in this study also demonstrated the reinforcement of social values that can contribute to exclusion. One specific example of participant responses in my research, after witnessing friends' and team mates' experiences, involves the notion of zero tolerance on drugs.

> *I know a lot of blokes that were really good footy players. Now they're too busy drinking, smoking, doing drugs on the weekend, and when it comes to sport they 'just have a good time' and they stay at one level, they don't want to succeed. (Pedro, 20 years)*

These experiences made some of the participants quite adamant about avoiding the same pitfalls. There was a particular antipathy towards tobacco, with the use of some very emotionally charged and value-laden phrases to describe their attitudes about smoking. For example, *'it is so disgusting'* and *'mate, that's wrong'*. Link (20 years) was unequivocal in his intolerance.

> *I hate the smoking thing. I was young and heaps of my mates would offer me a smoke, and I'd say 'no' the first couple of times and they'd look at me and offer me again, and I'd say, 'Mate, you're joking aren't you?' I've never been offered a smoke since. I've been vocal about things like that.*

The second example relates to conflict between local government and downhill mountain bikers who, after some initial resistance to the location and construction of jumps, gave up their campaign. This example demonstrates how the operation of power is reinforced through the sport experience.

> *The council have approached us various times and just told us to stop building, and announced a "notice of closure to Jump Site". We didn't really try to negotiate and since then quite a few riders that ride this particular track have gave up on fighting for it really. (Wheels, 20 years)*

The third argument about sport is that it is a form of resistance. If sport reflects society then it also reveals social conflicts. Resistance occurs when sport and sport participants oppose the norms and values of the wider society. McPherson et al (1989) discuss two variations of this resistance. The first concerns competing interests between groups within sports, where the disadvantaged group seeks to change the status quo, thereby redressing inequalities within their sport. The second concerns the influence of sport in pursuing change in the broader society. They emphasise that some subcultures within sport succeed in opposing wider social trends, and also that collective behaviour in sport has been a factor in initiating or fostering significant socio-cultural change. Although Rowe (1995:140) outlines the undeniable effect of sport in reproducing social inequality, he maintains the Foucauldian argument that the agency of power that leads to dominance or oppression also 'inevitably provokes resistance and subversion'. In this light, Budd (2001:10) describes resistance as an 'elastic concept, extending across a range of actions from stubborn nonconformity to conscious opposition to prevailing social relations'.

Most of the participants' responses that could be categorised as examples of resistance or political action, apart from some initial civil disobedience by mountain bikers, were reported as future plans rather than current activity. There were, however, two notable examples of conscious opposition to

dominant ideology. The first related to the framing of alternative masculinities in the context of helping behaviours. That their identity was such that it allowed an aspect of helping and concern for others to be prominent is example of the way in which these participants placed themselves in conflict with the hegemonic masculinity associated with homophobia. For example, one participant (heterosexual) had no concern about being thought of as homosexual because he was committed to helping others.

> *A lot of people say "well that sounds poofy" or whatever, but to me that's mad. To be able to make a difference in someone else's life and not go out there and say "this is what I done"; just do it and know yourself you've done it and that's all, even if they don't say thanks you know that they're grateful so you don't even need thanks. (Pedro, 20 years)*

This comment also shows a willingness to engage in helping behaviours without the need for recognition - a feeling shared by other participants even though most wanted some kind of recognition for sporting prowess. Along similar lines, it appears that these young males believe that controlled aggression, fair play and concern for others are not mutually exclusive. These combined dimensions of self-recognition again contrast with the concept of hegemonic masculinity that is described as being unconcerned, violent or abusive. The expression from participants in this study of concern for others and anti-homophobia compares to the work of Beal (1996) in describing self-expression and open participation as an alternative masculinity, and is further evidence of resistance to the dominant images of masculinity.

The second example is more closely related to an opposition to club culture and the relationship to class-based values and pursuits. Because of the emphasis that the participants placed on inclusion, hard work, fairness, loyalty and socialising, there arose situations of conflict for some who were playing for clubs that did not represent these values. This conflict led to the definitive actions of changing clubs or changing sports, the most noticeable switch being from rugby league to rugby union. A number of participants reported the perception that rugby union equally valued winning, but balanced with inclusion, resulting in experiences at training, in the game and off-field, with which participants were more comfortable. The perceived lack of favouritism in rugby union at the local club level, and an increased sense of loyalty between club and player were also clear differences between the two sports in the participants' experiences. As an example, Maverick's story captures these elements well.

> *Like, there's a lot of talking behind people's backs in league. In union it just seems like everyone just gets along with everyone. I played league and I mean, I've never had an older team come down and help me, whereas union we were training and the older boys were just watching before they trained, and they came over and just helped us. I'll play my game and then we'll stay and watch every single other game and so will everyone else, they'll just stay and support everyone, where in other sports everyone will just go home, like they've done their part, they'll go home. Everyone just likes to chip in and everyone gets along.*
> *(Maverick, 18 years)*

The fascinating aspect here lies in the move by young working-class males – essentially living in a rugby league heartland – away from rugby league clubs and their identified values (such as 'win at all costs'), and towards rugby union clubs *because of* the perceived values of participation and social support.

Conclusion

The experiences of these young men certainly demonstrate the threefold sociological interpretation of the functions of sport, although the value of their narratives resides in the link between sport and some of the indicators of disadvantage. Sport has clearly played a role in improving their physical and mental health, connectedness to community, broader social networks, and the eschewing of addictive and anti-social behaviours, although this last point could simply be a function, as Hall (2004) and Morris et al (2004) conclude of simply having something else to occupy their time. Whilst it has not actually lifted the young males' socio-economic status, it has given them an opportunity to adopt certain values that are more collectivist as opposed to individualist. Sport has also given some of them the means by which to build resilience and overcome the operation of discrimination and negative community perceptions about young males.

In conclusion, there are grounds for seeing how young males are a group that are both advantaged and disadvantaged in contemporary society. Sport is not the cure-all for addressing such disadvantage, as it has its own inherent inequities as well. However, through the findings of my research, it is possible to see how sport can act as a pathway, or catalyst, for engaging with young males and redressing their marginalisation.

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Othering North Korean refugees in South Korea: A literature review and the concept of nouveau-riche nationalism

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Abstract

North Korean refugees experienced severe trauma during the transition period to South Korea. They are under extreme difficulties adjusting to the South and adapting to the common value systems in the South. Still, South Koreans' particular lack of understanding about NKRs and lack of social awareness make them highly vulnerable to exclusion. They are easy targets for marginalisation or discrimination from employment opportunities or socio-economic activities. This paper explores the concept of nouveau-riche nationalism which arises out of economic success and reluctance to share its benefits. The concept may potentially unpack why and how the newcomers including NKRs commonly experience discrimination in their everyday lives.

South Korean government and its citizens have displayed a tremendous effort attempting to facilitate the settlement of all those newcomers. Yet, it is not surprising that South Korean society is deeply divided in its treatment with the newcomers. This paper aims to sketch recent Korean scholarship on the NKRs in South Korea. I provide three major criticisms in this paper: (1) North Korean refugees should be treated as a disadvantaged group rather than as the same Koreans in the South; (2) The South Korean society, which is a multicultural society without multiculturalism, should reconsider its expectation of assimilation from new settlers. (3) Importantly, there needs to be an explicit acknowledgement of Korean prejudice against the Others.

Key words: multiculturalism, North Korean refugees, nationalism, racism, social inclusion/exclusion

Introduction

Coupled with droughts and extreme poverty in the 1990s, North Korean daily experiences of suffering led to many North Korean refugees (NKRs) settling in China and other Asian countries, including South Korea since the mid 1990s. The number of NKRs around the world has been estimated to have reached 100,000 (*Kangwon Domin Ilbo* 9/2/2010). In recent years, the reasons to flee from North Korea have been diverse including seeking political asylum as well as the motivation of achieving better economic and educational opportunities. The professional backgrounds of NKRs are also diverse. There is a broad range of age groups and the majority are women. The number of NKRs in South Korea is increasing rapidly.

Having been motivated to escape socio-political and economic hardship in North Korea, NKRs have found themselves facing different kinds of hardship in South Korea. Currently, NKRs have become a significant concern for South Korean academic research as well as being the target of increasingly negative media reports. The aim of this paper is to analyse

contemporary studies of NKRs, based on the concept of what I describe as 'nouveau-riche nationalism' to better understand the difficulties that NKRs are experiencing in South Korea.

There are many studies on the settlement experiences of NKRs from various viewpoints including the success stories, particularly in relation to employment. However, as Castles et al. (1992) suggest on reflecting on the settlement experiences of immigrants in multicultural societies such as Australia one of the most influential factors negatively affecting the quality of immigrant lives is 'discrimination'. Arguably South Korean scholars have not given adequate attention to the issue of discrimination despite its detrimental effect on the quality of life for NKRs. Broadly speaking, the critical issues facing NKRs include tension and conflict due to language difference, intolerance and competitiveness from South Koreans, as well as specific cultural factors. For example, South Koreans display certain prejudiced and negative views against NKRs in particular that are historical in nature (Cho & Chung 2006). From the perspective of NKRs, they think that South Koreans' perceptions of them are bound up in a cultural assumption that they are: 'the traitors who turned their back on their homeland and families, the beggars who used to starve in the North, the criminals who are meaner than the people from South East Asia' (Cho & Chung 2006: 46). In the workplace, South Korean co-workers' stereotypical and unfounded 'disregarding disparagement' frequently causes ill-feeling (p.48). This in turn leads to marginalisation in the workplace.

Literature review

Many research projects have explored how NKRs can be helped, focusing on the standpoints of the NKRs (Park 2004; Kang 2009), but there is dearth of studies dealing with discrimination against NKRs, focusing on their experiences and the attitudes of the majority, the South Korean people. It is important to investigate how South Koreans *actively* pursue discrimination against NKRs. There are several studies touching upon how NKRs are experiencing discrimination against their ethnicities and geographical origins (Park *et al* 2004; Kang 2011). However, a lack of critical understanding of the discrimination against NKRs is a shortcoming of the current scholarship. In this paper I argue that the most serious concern in relation to the NKRs is to consider them to be a problematic population, i.e., victim blaming, rather than seeking the ways to help them settle and become integral members of the Korean society. Yoon In-Jin (2007: 108) contends that South Korean scholarship of NKRs in the early 2000s emphasised that the settlement experiences of NKRs could be seen as a 'prelude' of what the Korean peninsula might have to go through when the reunification actually comes about. However, Korean scholarship of NKRs in recent years points out that whatever the future of reunification, NKRs are demonstrating maladjustment to South Korean society and are mostly settling in the bottom of the social hierarchy. As Yoon (2007: 109) argues the marginalisation of NKRs is not only due to lack of their own skills and personal resources, but also due to prejudice and discrimination exerted by South Korean society more broadly. That is, NKRs are categorised as 'Others' and have become discriminatory targets in South Korea.

Nouveau-riche nationalism and ethno-centrism

A common discourse about 'race' or 'ethnicity' in South Korea is about Korean heterogeneity being a risk to 'pure-blood nationalism'. These long-held claims argue for the cultural and ideological superiority of Koreans in general rather than 'natural' or biological differences on the basis of genetics (McLelland 2008). The Korean 'blood-based' superiority has much in common with a similar phenomenon in Japan – the notion of 'Japaneseness' which can be conferred by blood, not by naturalisation, place of birth or acculturation (Lie

2001). Historically, Korean xenophobia emerged from envy and hatred against past colonial countries such as Japan, China and the United States. For example, a widespread discourse in Korea over the last few decades is that Korea is about 30 years behind Japan, which stems from a sense of competition and jealousy. The 'racial' inferiority remains deeply entrenched in the minds of Koreans, which is passed on from generation to generation (Park 2002). The economic status of South Koreans has significantly improved and they not only use their capitalist production systems to exploit foreigners it would now appear they feel they have the right to discriminate against others economically and in other ways. I describe these associated ideas in terms of 'nouveau-riche nationalism'.

This concept of 'nouveau-riche nationalism' is commonly observed in rapidly developing economies such as South Korea. However, the practice of the phenomenon is broadly found in history. The example close to the concept is Japanese ideas of cultural superiority which discriminate against other non-whites, especially other Asians in general and Koreans in particular. For example, Channel 2, the extremely popular Japanese Internet bulletin board attracts the netizens' comments on Japanese superiority (McLelland 2008). Although Japanese prejudice despises all other non-Anglo Europeans except themselves, they still maintain a respect for Anglo-Europeans. Around the turn of the 20th century, Japanese imperialism was the key vehicle through which Japanese expressed this ethno-centric superiority towards other Asian countries. Earlier in history, the development of modern capitalism and colonial imperialism since the mid-to-late 18th century witnessed the practice of racial discrimination by Americans and Europeans, e.g., colonisation of India (Park 2002: 162). The US and European countries took a few centuries to accomplish their modernisation and this process involved appropriating the resources of other continents as well as practising racial discrimination against the people of colonies. Japan opened up its economic and diplomatic relations with the west well ahead of *Chosun* (Korea). Japan achieved an effective westernisation, adopting modern scientific and educational institutions, taking a relatively shorter period of time in comparison to the west. Japan joined in the colonial powers in the 19th century, then soon exerting racially discriminatory behaviours towards non-whites and the economically poor nation.

NKRs' adjustment to the South and experiences of exclusion and discrimination

There were about 9,000 NKRs by end of 2006 in South Korea (Cho & Chung 2006: 30) and women made up to 67% of them in 2006 (Park 2006a: 7-8; Ministry of Unification 2006). The number of NKRs increased to 17,746 by end of 2009 (Ministry of Unification, cited in *Naeil Sinmun* 9/3/2010), and 20,000 by mid 2011 (*Jeonbuk Ilbo* 28/6/2011). Since the 1990s, studies about NKRs' adjustment processes have generally focused on the following six influential factors: (1) political and ideological adjustment; (2) economic adjustment; (3) cultural adjustment; (4) social interactions; (5) psychological adjustment; and (6) health status (Park *et al* 1996; Chun 2004). Other studies have investigated support policies for NKRs (Che 2001; Im 2004; Park 2004; Kang 2009); education and training (Park 2006b; Choe 2008; Heo 2009). These studies show that the Korean government and numerous NGOs have invested significant amounts of financial and other resources supporting the NKRs' settlement. Some suggest that the frustratingly slow progress with the improvement of the NKRs' quality of life is partly due to a lack of objective measures and quality empirical studies (Kim & Lee 2011), which is open to debate.

There has been little effort to deal directly with why the NKRs' life quality is making such slow progress as widely reported in the Korean media. Even though the scholarship

progresses with understanding the NKRs' experiences of adjustment and discrimination, it would appear that policies and issues of goodwill and 'inclusion' needed to redress these problems are too complex to be resolved quickly. What is also clear in the Korean media and scholarly research findings is that the predominant proportion of the NKRs remains at the bottom of the Korean socio-economic hierarchy. Studies also show that the NKRs feel excluded and discriminated against because of their North Korean backgrounds (Kim & Lee 2011: 3). I argue that their successful transition to the South has been greatly marred by the deep rooted 'nouveau-riche nationalism' that has escalated in South Korea in recent decades. The NKRs are referred to not as Korean citizens, but as a minority group who are financially poor and socially excluded (p.2). Kang rightly suggests that Korean society should acknowledge what the division between the North and South has brought to the people of Korean peninsula, and learn to live with NKRs and other minorities. Before this is likely to occur, South Koreans have to be conscious of how they treat minorities (Kang 2002, ii, 3). The kind of discrimination that Kang (2002) suggests has much in common with 'nouveau-riche nationalism'. This is a broad underlying mechanism that constantly generates South Koreans' affliction of discriminatory attitudes. Consequently, exactly how the NKRs are systematically and profoundly excluded from their participation in South Korean society has not been given adequate attention.

Kang Ju-Won (2002) undertook an insightful study of NKRs with reference to discrimination. South Koreans' understanding of the NKRs is primarily focused on their poor socio-economic backgrounds in North Korea rather than being regarded as fellow Koreans who share their own history and culture. South Koreans also see North Korea as an 'enemy nation' given the political antagonisms since partition. Kang (2002: i) argues that South Koreans' perception of North Koreans more generally is reflected in the way they see the NKRs. South Koreans' prevalent perception of the NKRs is 'the poor North Korean people who fled from their hunger and famine' (Kang 2002: 2). South Korean media reproduces negative images of the NKRs, e.g., 'non-citizens, the poor, turn-coats.' The NKRs are often understood to deserve to be a target group to be picked on for their geo-political background. A range of support that South Korean society offers the NKRs is inadequate to help them to overcome ideological and cultural barriers that the South Korean society has built over many centuries. It is evident that, social exclusion, ethno-centrism and nouveau-riche nationalism seriously disrupt the adjustment process of NKRs, and indeed have detrimental impact on the NKRs' quality of life. Social exclusion is an important concept utilised in the several research findings. Social exclusion refers to 'the process whereby an individual or group is being cut off or distanced from the mainstream society economically, socially, culturally, institutionally, and spatially' (Yu 2007: 149). For example, the socially excluded include the disadvantaged, the poor, sub groups and immigrants. Pierson (2001) regards social exclusion as a series of process that deprives an individual, family, group or neighbours of the resources that they require for their social, economic and political activities. Kang Sin-Uk et al (2005) note that if an individual is unable to participate in normal economic and political activities in the society of his or her belonging, then he/she is deprived of their rights. Consequently, as a distinct group, their basic human rights are severely breached.

Kim and Lee's (2011) comprehensive framework of areas of exclusion, with particular reference to North Korean refugees, covers three broad areas: the economic dimension, a spatial (welfare) dimension and the social relational dimension. One of their conclusions is that there is a high possibility that NKRs are likely to be excluded in many areas of their lives. According to Kim and Lee (2011: 158), the level of economic exclusion has gone from bad to worse. The study does not specifically illustrate why and how exclusion is imposed on the

NKRs other than the fact that NKRs experience exclusion by being regarded as 'Other' on a daily basis, as found in many studies (Cho & Chung 2006). Yu (2007) sees economic exclusion as the crux of the exclusion of the NKRs. Economic and social exclusion of NKRs (Yu 2007: 151) create and impact on further exclusion, causing a vicious circle of marginalisation. NKRs cannot break this cycle by themselves. Investigating the correlations between various kinds of exclusion and how they in turn create further exclusion are valuable in their own right as it would provide insight into how this cycle may be averted. However, I argue that a most fundamental problem is unwillingness to embrace the NKRs as manifested through nouveau-riche nationalism.

In brief, my critique of the current scholarship on the NKRs considers several simultaneous issues. Firstly, NKRs ought to be recognised as a disadvantaged group rather than the same as Koreans in the South. However, how discrimination affects the process of NKRs' adjustment processes in the broad capitalist and cultural process in the Korean context requires a deeper level of analysis. This has been explored to a limited degree and it is important to analyse the experiences of discrimination from the viewpoints of NKRs as well as the South Korean citizens. Secondly, however, the concept of assimilation rather than integration is deeply engrained in Korean scholarship (e.g., Yoon 2007: 116-7). This partly reflects the general trend and expectations out of many newly settled residents including NKRs. The concept of assimilation generally expects that the newcomers relinquish their old cultures, habits and relations that are oriented toward their country of origin. The concepts of integration or multiculturalism imply that the newcomers attempt to find common ground between their old and new contexts over a period and acculturate to the host society through the process of negotiation. Thus the current multiculturalism in South Korea is a multicultural society without multiculturalism. Thirdly, there is a broad acknowledgement that South Koreans' negative perceptions and attitudes towards NKRs make their quality of lives difficult (Yoon 2007: 135). However, the nature of such negative perceptions is yet to be better understood in the broader social context before addressing the problem proactively.

Yet, as mentioned above, there are some studies which note South Koreans' prejudice and discrimination against NKRs (Kang 2002; Park *et al* 2004; Yu 2007; Kang 2011). Incorporating these insights into the concept of nouveau-riche nationalism, this could unlock a fuller understanding of the exclusion of NKRs in South Korea. South Koreans' prejudice against the NKRs has an extremely adverse impact on the NKRs' formation of identities. They avoid their social interactions or hide North Korean accents, the process of which prevents them from forming social networks for their adjustment to the South Korean society. Consequently, the NKRs proceed to be marginalised (Yu 2007: 162).

Conclusion

Discriminatory social relations are deeply embedded in the Korean social structure, thus strongly influencing the life opportunity of the marginalised in particular, NKRs. Although the economically successful Korean society is highly inspiring and nominally embraces more recently arrived citizens such as the NKRs and has public regard for the 'multicultural family' on the one hand, the dominant discourse remains based on ethno-centric cultural bias. Associated discrimination is such a restraining and confining element that the huge investment for effective settlement of the North Koreans in South Korea has brought about a limited outcome. A detrimental and compounding factor in this social landscape is nouveau-riche nationalism. Modifying Kim and Lee's (2011: 14) conceptual framework of social exclusion, I suggest that the significance of social relations has to be accompanied by

underpinning elements of economic, spatial and other less tangible dimensions of the lives of the NKRs in Korea. As Kang Jin-Woong (2011) notes, Korean society continues to both embrace and discipline the Other. This is not only about sustaining its own wealth accumulated through the principles of capitalism and globalisation, but also about Korean society's conscious effort of continuing to assure its place in the international economic hierarchy.

South Korea has not been officially receiving any immigrants or refugees until recent decades. It is largely due to the prosperity and wealth of the nation achieved particularly since the 90s that South Korea has become a nation receiving immigrants and refugees. It is the rapid development of capitalist economy that brought about the need to receive 'the Other,' but it is also the capitalist principle that dominates in their dealing with the Other. South Korean treatment of these migrants depends upon where they come from and what they can contribute to the South Korean society. In the case of NKRs, South Korea has been arguably rejecting its own people. The political division that created the two countries is rarely questioned.

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Risk and Dangerous Travel Experiences around Australia

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Abstract

The research forms part of a larger project on the concept of tours of non-arrival and survival escapist travel. This paper examines and conveys findings on the theme of risk and personal danger. Apparent 'risk' and personal dangerous travel experiences around Australia were undertaken by the travellers following a catalyst or life-changing event that forced each of them onto the road. Travelling in perilous situations and being unaware of other personal dangers, travelling under dangerous circumstances and with little money, was a part of each trip. The travellers in this research provided an extension of Veblen's (1899 [1934/1970]) notions of emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour. The travellers accomplished a level of 'honour' in long-term independent travel groups. It was not until they had the opportunity to narrate and re-live their journeys that their status became clear to others and to themselves.

Key words:

Australia, danger, grounded theory, independent long-term travel, personal risk

Introduction

The experience of travel can be viewed as a status role in society. A measurement of the station or status one has accomplished in life can be gauged through the journeys one has taken and these journeys may be used in the future to structure one's identity as a pioneer and survivor. Thus, levels of experience in the area of travel can be an assurance of one's legitimacy and standing in society (Hilllman 2010). According to Veblen (1934: 92), 'leisure [and in this case tourism] is honourable and becomes imperative partly because it shows exemption from ignoble labour'. A person's aptitude to articulate membership of the leisure or tourist class brings with it a social position and high status within society (Hilllman 2010; Mason 1998).

Combined with the status role of travel generally, tourists themselves are often divided into high and low status travellers – dependent on the idea that 'risk and adventure' (Elsrud 2001: 601) separate the low status 'tourist' from the high status, non-institutionalised, long-term traveller. Travel risk is deemed to be a focal element in the creation of an independent travel persona (Elsrud 2001; Gibson and Jordan 1998a, 1998b; Lepp and Gibson 2003). This reflection is previously unmistakable in Cohen's (1972) early distinction between traditional and non-traditional tourist roles. Traditional roles are linked with planned and individual mass tourists who are symbolised by the search for familiarity provided by the tourist's 'environmental bubble' (Lepp and Gibson 2003: 609). Non-traditional tourists are linked with

drifters and pioneers - similar to independent, long-term, budget travellers (Jarvis 1994), who pursue uniqueness and adventure (Cohen 1972; Fuchs 2011; Lepp and Gibson 2003; Vogt 1976).

Consistent with this perception, Elsrud (2001) found that independent, long-term, budget travellers' accounts tend to consist of descriptions about their apparently risk-taking behaviours as part of their endeavour to differentiate themselves from traditional mass tourists. Lepp and Gibson (2003) determined that what may be a cause of concern for traditional mass tourists, may in fact, be a resource of stimulation for independent, long-term, budget travellers. In their more recent study, Lepp and Gibson (2008) also discovered that "sensation seeking" intensifies the inclination to seek out and explore non-traditional tourist roles (Fuchs 2011).

The perception of risk and an individual's indulgence in risky behaviour has significance only to the degree that it deals with how individuals reflect about the world and its connections (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005). Consequently, perceptions of "true" (complete) and "undistorted" (collectively established) risk do not exist in tourist imaginings. Haddock (1993) and Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) identify three broad categories of risk: perceived risk; absolute risk; and actual risk. Importantly for tourism and travel, perceived risk refers to 'the individual's perceptions of the uncertainty and negative consequences of buying a product (or service), performing a certain activity, or choosing a certain lifestyle' (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005:212). They argue that those travellers who are adventurous and search for thrilling experiences may feel less perceived danger and frequently undertake perilous and daring travel activities (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005).

In addition to these observations of risk generally, other studies refer to the heterogeneity in risk perceptions specifically within the long-term, independent, budget traveller sector. For instance, Reichel et al. (2007) show that perceived risk of the independent, long-term, budget traveller experience is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, which differs according to the individual's characteristics such as gender, past independent travel experience and choice of other co-travellers. Furthermore, the variance of risk-related opinions and conduct among travellers is also affected by their destination selection (Fuchs 2011; Reichel, Fuchs and Uriely 2009).

However, the current research on, and understanding of, perceived risk and risk-taking behaviour assumes that the traveller actively chose to participate in that behaviour. Indeed, a great deal of research has been conducted specifically on voluntary risk-taking (see for example Elsrud 2001; Lupton and Tulloch 2002; Uriely and Belhassen 2006; Wickens 1997). One of the factors that characterises independent and budget travel as a distinctive travel phase is the extent of risk encountered or perceived (Hunter-Jones, Jeffs and Smith 2007; Peel and Steen 2007). Goffmann (1971) argued that risk and quests are no longer a component of daily life, so risk more and more has to be sought after in travel experiences (Richards and Wilson 2009). Beck (1992) recognised the notion of risk as an occasion for investigating the disjunction between a contemporary "risk society" and previous eras of modernity. By comparison, Douglas (1986) developed a sociological explanation of the consequences of risk with the aim of emphasising aspects of connection between our contemporary culture and that of various other phases of human existence (Wilkinson 2001). 'In risk society *relations of definition* are to be conceived analogous to Marx's relations of production' (Beck 2006: 333). The disparities of definition allow prevailing actors to amplify risks for "others" and diminish risks for "themselves". The definition of risk, in essence, is a

power game. This is particularly true for a global risk society where western authorities or influential financial actors label risks for others (Beck 2006).

However, while perceptions of risk and personal safety may greatly influence travel intentions and behaviours either positively (for the thrill seekers) or negatively (by causing travellers to change intended destinations or activities for example) (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005), the literature does not examine the connection between travel choices that are made regardless of the assessment of risk. When considered together, the inherent status of undertaking travel itself and the potential for additional status credits for an individual based on the degree of perceived risk involved with the journey, questions arise as to the potential for status and social acceptance in instances where the traveller did not undertake the journey to experience the risk, specifically for long-term, independent, budget travellers.

The research on which this paper is based investigated the travel responses of individuals who had experienced a traumatic, emotional, trigger event (an event that acts as a catalyst providing the energising factor) that preceded and underpinned the individual's motivations for travel (Radel and Hilllman 2012). Resulting from this research project, the concept of risk and danger arose as a key theme. This paper specifically examines perspectives of risk and dangerous behaviour in instances whereby the travellers did not, at least initially, set out on a traditional vacation or holiday (and who were not refugees) and who did not acknowledge the inherent risks involved with the journeys prior to their departure. The travellers in this research undertook their journeys as the result of a significant emotional trauma in their lives. Risk-taking and risky behaviour were undertaken and experienced by each traveller throughout their journeys, but this behaviour was neither planned nor sought by any of the participants prior to finding themselves in the situations. This research documents their journeys, risk-taking behaviour and their subsequent survival of the travel experiences. Initially this paper will provide a brief overview of the research project and methodology that was used to collect and analyse the traveller stories. The findings and an analysis of the results from the study are then presented. Finally, conclusions and implications are drawn.

Research Aim and Methodology

The research on which this paper is based formed part of a larger project on "survival escapist travel" (Radel and Hilllman 2012 in press). Survival escapist travel was defined wherein the travellers were moved to *escape* from an emotionally traumatic situation such as a death in the family, major illness or marriage breakup. The travellers learned to *survive* both their immediate travel experiences and their traumatic, life-changing events by progressing through the journey. The unique components of this type of travel were found to be that the survival escapist travellers did not specifically set out as if they were on vacation or holiday and equally, they did not arrive at destinations as is traditionally anticipated within tourism literature.

The methodological design for the research used an inductive theoretical design underpinned by a grounded theory approach (Carl and Hillman 2012; Charmaz 2000; Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Radel 2010). The research design sought to understand the lived realities of participants. Unstructured, qualitative interviews were conducted during field work at sites throughout Australia over the two years from 2010 to 2012. A schedule of approximately twenty open ended in-depth questions was used as a basis for collecting the data. In total twelve respondents were interviewed. As appropriate to the grounded theory approach, new

participants were sought until theoretical saturation was reached. Participants were asked to narrate the stories of their journeys around, and to, all their destinations in Australia. These stories were transcribed and then coded using a grounded theoretical analytical approach (Liamputtong 2009).

Participants in the study were selected using a convenience, snowballing technique dependent on the friendship networks of the travellers. Participants were aged in their mid-twenties to their mid-forties and approximately two-thirds were female and one third male. All the participants were journeying around Australia, which was also their country of origin, and their journeys were of different durations – from four months up to 18 months. They travelled to all parts of Australia, encompassing urban, regional and remote areas experiencing 'multidestination', 'non-institutionalized' (Noy 2004: 79) travel that was not pre-arranged and this affected the travellers' choices of accommodation, transport and activities as well as their perceptions of risk and risk-taking behaviour.

Findings and Analysis

Participants' stories expressed a common theme of personal danger or risk which they faced during their journey (Radel and Hilllman 2012 in press). The travellers experienced personal insecurity and made decisions that could (and in one instance did) result in personal injury. However, unlike the thrill-seeking adventurers portrayed in other previous research, these participants felt powerless to change their circumstances. Ultimately, being away from their "normal lives", but not necessarily being "on holiday", was their opportunity to repair the fragmentation experienced as a result of the trauma which initiated the journey. However, while the journey itself provided the opportunity for recovery from the traumatic event, it also presented participants with significant personal and financial challenges. Participants were faced with a severe lack of resources and often high levels of personal risk from which they gained self-identity and self-worth. One participant explained how she and her friend undertook a journey at night during their travels that they perceived as risky and arduous. However, due to a number of conflicting circumstances that impacted on their survival of the journey itself, they felt they had no choice but to continue.

> We left Port Hedland and headed to Darwin. We drove mostly at night, as it was cooler then. But the negative side of that is that kangaroos and other animals come out to feed and find water at night. So, it is a dangerous time to travel, and you must be alert to stray animals bounding onto the road in front of the car. On the way to Darwin we drove through Fitzroy Crossing, Halls Creek, Turkey Creek, Derby and Kununurra. We had very little money and very little food. We did not stop off to look at Broome, as that meant a 60 kilometre return trip into Broome and back again to the main highway. We simply could not afford the petrol. (Female participant, early 30s, Australian)

As shown by this excerpt, the travellers in this research underwent heightened feelings of risk and danger throughout their journeys. They perceived themselves to be at greater risk because of their vulnerability due to a lack of funds and the itinerant nature of their travels (Reisinger and Mavondo 2005). Another traveller explains her and her travelling companion's nonchalant and risky attitude to widely reported tourist incidents with native wildlife.

> Leaving Darwin we went first through Litchfield National Park. We went swimming and again didn't get eaten by crocodiles! I keep repeating that because all over the [Northern] Territory there are signs warning against swimming, as you might get eaten, and we were listening to the radio and one tourist actually got rather badly gnawed on in Kakadu while we were wandering around! Then we drove on to Kakadu National Park. Again we camped out in Kakadu (up on tables so we wouldn't get eaten by crocodiles!) (Female participant, mid 20s, Australian)

In both of these excerpts, we can clearly see the construction of perceived risk. As Elsrud (2001: 602) suggested, risk may be, at times, 'nothing more than mental constructions and mythologies' which allows the individual to present a picture of themselves as members of a society with status. As Kasperson et al. (1988) argue, immediate encounters with risky conduct or actions can be either encouraging (as with automobile driving) or disturbing (as with cyclones or floods). In general, experience with extraordinary disasters or risk episodes heightens the remarkability and possibility of the danger, thus intensifying the awareness of risk (Kasperson et al. 1988; Reichel et al. 2007) and, indeed, the status of the individual. However, neither traveller had intended to participate in the risky situation. The risk was an addendum to the story rather than the focus. While conscious risk-taking may provide a predominantly robust narrative about the self (Elsrud 2001), the participants in this research were not adventurers creating thrill seeking identities. They were simply characters without resources to affect changes in their circumstances. As previously mentioned, another traveller experienced significant personal injury from a situation in which he thought he was on safe, familiar, social ground only to discover too late the risks within the scenario.

> Anyway, I was in Alice Springs for about three days. During that three days...we were sitting around a campfire, I think it was on the last day, it was the last day. I met a woman there and we were talking very nicely. We were getting attracted to each other. Now, I didn't realise that opposite was hubby and we were getting very lovey dovey, which was naughty of her actually because she knew and I didn't know. And he kicked me in the face, which was like fair enough, in retrospect it was fair enough. But I had a badly swollen face that day, very badly swollen face. (Male participant, late 30s, Australian)

In this instance, the traveller felt misled by the events of the situation and had innocently put himself at risk. The effortlessness with which one can make contact with new people is derived from the conventional wisdom that everyone is keen to establish groups, to share activity, expenses, risks and events (Binder 2009). In other words, interpersonal interactions will produce differing risk assessments, management preferences, and levels of apprehension. As was apparent in the previous example, the male participant did not recognise or manage the inherent risk of the situation due to the commonly understood social contract and norms of behaviour and was naively put at risk through interpreting a situation in an incorrect manner. The journey for him thus included reassessing interpretations leading to risk surrounding affection and jealousy. In one sense, there is never escape from that type of "risk" situation. As Wilkinson (2001: 2) succinctly argued, 'knowledge of risk can never be certain or complete; rather, it thrives upon our ignorance of the future'.

Another traveller's story demonstrated this ignorance of future events and, indeed, a resistance to any personal acknowledgment of the potential risk inherent in situations. In

effect, the risk to these travellers was a direct result of the situation itself rather than any perceived choice the "adventurer" may have made to be in the risky situation.

> We eventually made it to Perth and then set up camp in Fremantle just south of Perth on the beach. We were living in the car at that point and I had about $10 left to my name. But we discovered that, thanks to Fremantle hosting the America's Cup boat race some years before, the public toilets in the main street also have hot showers!! Score!!! Also, we could get 95 cent, all you can drink coffee at McDonalds which was literally right on the beach. Just gorgeous! (Female participant, mid 30s, Australian)

Risk and personal danger forced the travellers in this research to become very self-reliant and perhaps more self-aware as a result of overcoming those trials. While risks experienced during travel are often perceived as "real" (for example disasters, health impacts, accidents (Clift and Grabowski 1997) and law-breaking) the action of risk-taking may not be an "objective reality", but more accurately a mechanism used to create a narrative (Elsrud 2001). Tourists may embark on risky journeys because their society requires from them the capacity to deal successfully with risk as a day-to-day concept. Further, independent, budget travellers may attach specific status and social process to undertaking perceived "high risk" journeys within which they choose to participate. However, increased status and personal growth were also common results in this case where the travellers did not specifically choose the risk. It is clear that, when taking risks, life is pared out instead of simply lived in the impressions of others (Elsrud 2001). The independent nature of survival escapist travel delivers personal growth, inner development, self-actualisation and social transformation with the result that the travellers survived these journeys to begin a life-long search for the continuation of the tour.

Conclusion

Perceived personal "risk" and dangerous travel experiences in journeys around Australia were undertaken by the travellers through the mechanism of a catalyst or life-changing event that forced each of them onto the road and into areas of danger and personal threat they would not have experienced ordinarily. Travelling with little money, travelling under dangerous conditions and in dangerous situations, and being oblivious to other personal dangers all formed part of each traveller's journey.

This type of travel provides an extension of Veblen's (1899, 1934) notions of emulation and status seeking or honorific behaviour. But, the travellers were not aware until *after* the travel that what they had done was to be revered. They had, in all their individual journeys, achieved a high status or level of 'honour' in long-term independent travel circles. But, they had also been 'caught up in the moment' of the journeys and not realised the circumstances and unintended consequences related to risk and personal danger as they travelled. It was not until they had the chance to re-live and recount their travel activities that their status became apparent to each of them and to others.

Further, these individuals chose and in some cases, were forced, to have little or no ownership of tangible assets, and travelled with little or no possessions. These situations were enforced and inflicted by the travellers on themselves and only sheer desperation led to an interaction with government agencies in order to obtain meagre financial support. In contrast to long-term independent budget travellers, the people in this study did not pretend to

have experienced adversity and risk-taking behaviour. They *had* actually lived these experiences. Many of the participants in the research have continued to travel. Their survival escapist travel and long-term, independent, budget travel experiences have left them with the desire to continue "the search". Their journey continues…

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DIY Morality: Choice, body and authenticity

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Abstract

This article is a qualitative exploration of how contemporary morality is understood and constructed using Australian blog data. The central finding is that the bloggers depict morality as an actively created and autonomous do-it-yourself project based in three main configurations of self-responsibility, bodily encounter and authentic-feeling. The findings are suggestive of how self, body, emotions and authenticity may play an important role in contemporary moralities.

Key words: authenticity; blogs; body; emotions; morality; self

Introduction

Concern regarding the deterioration of morality feature prominently in a conservative tradition of moral decline sociology. 'Decline' sociology can be traced to the pioneering work of Durkheim, who laid important foundations for the sociological study of morality and ethics. Durkheim's concerns regarding the deterioration of morality as a corollary of weakening community and traditional sources of authority casts a long shadow over contemporary appraisals of morality in the late-modern consumer West.

Durkheim's influence can be seen in the two dominant camps of modern 'decline' social theory. In the first camp are the 'cultural pessimists' who maintain that with the decline of religion and traditional forms of authority, Westerners have become 'narcissistic' and uncaring as they become absorbed by a 'therapeutic' culture of hedonism, consumption and self-improvement (Reiff 1987[1966]; Bell 1976; Lasch 1979). In the other camp are the 'communitarians' who argue that a breakdown of community and an ensuing individualism has undermined a common moral culture and a shared sense of responsibility toward others (Etzioni 1994; Bellah et al. 1996; MacIntyre 1985). Common to both assessments is the view that morality has little hope in a contemporary social and cultural context in which the individual is allowed to create their 'own set of rules', where 'no' has disappeared from our moral vocabulary, and where foundational moral laws enforced by religious tradition and higher moral authorities have disappeared.

While pronouncements concerning the 'end of morality' proliferate in the West there is a lack of empirical research that addresses what the ostensible social condition of moral 'decline' looks like 'on the ground', that is, in the everyday understandings, practices and experiences of contemporary individuals. The aim of this article then is to examine how late-modern subjects construct, understand and experience morality

in a contemporary climate of moral ambiguity. The article shows how the bloggers construct a 'do-it-yourself' morality that takes three main configurations: choosing, embodied and authentic-feeling.

Methodology

This study is based on a qualitative analysis of 44 Australian blogs or online diaries combined with 25 online in-depth interviews. Blogs are treated as a distinct way of accessing moral stories, offering highly nuanced, idiosyncratic and honest accounts of how morality emerges concretely within the 'sphere of the everyday'. Blogs were selected as a form of personal life record (Thomas and Znaniecki, [1918], 1958:1833) that allowed access to the complex and messy way in which individuals 'write' and 'talk' their everyday moral world into existence from their own perspectives. Blogs are a useful empirical technique for making the morally invisible visible, capturing the immediate and transitory moments that constitute everyday life (Hookway, 2008).

The blogs were sampled from the blog hosting website LiveJournal. The sample comprised predominantly of white, urban, mainly tertiary educated, middle-class and young service professions. The age range for the 44 bloggers was 19–53 with a mean age of 31. Twenty-five of the bloggers were female and 19 were male. The blog data were complemented with online in-depth interviews (conducted via instant messaging programs) to further develop and explore important themes emerging from the textual accounts. While blogs offer an innovative tool for accessing constructions of everyday life, a key limitation is that is produces a relatively homogenous, small and selective sample.

Results and Discussion

DIY Morality: 'Esteeming the Self'

The first DIY configuration is distinctly Foucauldian, resting in a self-stylising ethics based on radical freedom, self-care and personal responsibility. This is a DIY mode that rejects externalised modes of moral authority sourced from 'society' and 'religion' and privileges personal responsibility, self-knowledge and self-care as structures of moral action.

Brantherb and Nightstar were key examples of this approach. Brantherb is a 30-year-old male engineer from Melbourne and Nightstar, a 33-year-old female IT programmer from Sydney. Nightstar explains that morality boils down to a decision between what is 'right' and what is 'easy'; between the easiness of following society and the difficulty of choosing with what 'you believe is right'. Hitting a similar DIY note, Brantherb attests that it is 'immoral to take action that you don't personally, actively, believe'. He declares: 'let your beliefs be based upon your own understanding' and 'don't take action just because you've been told to … that's negating yourself' (interview).

Brantherb and Nightstar give testimony to moral structures rooted in choice, originality and self-creation. Morality is invested within the authority of the choosing self rather than external rules or the authoritative structures of society, law or religion.

The self is not denigrated as untrustworthy or narcissistic, as in decline models, but taken as a vital source of morality. Rather than being 'enforced-from-outside', morality is the 'autonomous responsibility of the moral self' (Bauman 1993: 12); something to be made and created rather than emulated and copied. It is spoken of as a do-it-yourself project.

Brantherb's moral approach had a distinctly Foucauldian flavour. If the opposite of being moral is to 'obey', to be moral centres on what Brantherb calls 'esteeming the self'. He writes:

> Self-esteem is the most important virtue a person can possess. To stand up in front of the cold dark universe and say 'I am. I have knowledge of myself. I am capable of virtue. ME is an entity worthy of the highest rewards it can get for itself.'

Like Foucault's (1986: 50) 'care of the self', 'esteeming the self' works for Brantherb as a particular ethical mode for relating to the other – it implies a social practice and a particular form of responsibility between self and other. Brantherb writes that 'self-respect can be a way of treating people', adding that 'to treat others well is a form of self-respect for me … it's a bit of a stretch I suppose. I guess it's something along the lines of treating people how you want to be treated'. While 'esteeming the self' could be subsumed within decline accounts of narcissism, Brantherb illustrates how 'self-respect can be a way of treating people'; how 'care of the self' can operate within a moral mode focused on helping others 'care for themselves'. In Foucault's (1986: 53) terms, the emphasis on self-care is not an exercise in narcissism but an 'intensification of social relations'.

Other bloggers share Nightstar and Brantherb's emphasis on a self-creating and choosing form of morality. For example, Willowot, a 37-year-old male IT support worker and Raintimetx86 a 40–year-old legal advisor from Brisbane both exemplify an aversion to the notion of morality derived from the external guides of religious authority. Raintimetx86 questions 'why we are so focused on religion rather than on "being good people?", while Willowot contends that religion diminishes the important moral skills of 'thinking for yourself' and 'taking responsibility for my own actions'. Similarly, Steinerpants, a 30-year-old biomedical engineer living in Sydney, says that religion can be tolerated as long as its practitioners do not turn into 'another bunch of assholes who use their religion as a bludgeon instead of a compass'. Steinerpants claims that morality is 'not blindly following somebody else's rules' and 'doing what my own sense of morality tells me is right' (interview). Steinerpants urges for the value of taking responsibility for one's choices and evading the temptation to externalise choice and responsibility to something 'beyond my control'. Again the DIY theme of a self-created and non-conformist morality with a Foucauldian emphasis on self-responsibility is prominent.

Embodied Encounters

The second DIY configuration highlights a self-creating morality based in 'particularised' ethical encounters with the metropolitan stranger, rooted in an embodied and emotional receptivity to the Other. In this configuration, the focus is

on the singular story of Viney, which is used as an exemplary and exceptional case. While Viney's story is atypical – showing care toward the homeless who are typically ignored in contemporary societies – she highlights the importance of incorporating the embodied relationship into an ethics of Otherness (Bauman, 1993) and how an embodied sense of humanness can transform the 'reserve' (Simmel, 1903) that characterises urban encounters.

Viney is a 19-year-old female university student from Sydney. Picking up the DIY moral thread, Viney states that when it comes to matters of morality: 'you can [only] do what you believe is right, not what you think someone else believes is right, i.e., [sic] the congregation or whatever'. She adds, 'all I have is what I believe is right and wrong' adding, 'I've just been taught to ... do good, if it's in your power. And if it's not, do what you can' (interview). Her engagement with 'Carol', a homeless Aboriginal woman on the streets of Sydney, is provided as an instance of Viney's commitment to 'helping people' and 'doing good'.

Moving to the city from a small coastal town in northern NSW, 'where homeless people "didn't exist"', Carol, although somewhat 'intriguing', was a danger carrying 'Other' to be feared and avoided: 'My old friends back home told me they, homeless people were dangerous – they'd steal money from you and rob you for food and most were nuts' (interview). Carol as a homeless Aboriginal woman is a 'recognised stranger' (Ahmed 2000: 30): the stranger that is already known as 'dangerous' and to be 'avoided' – just like 'everyone else did'.

Forced to walk past Carol when taking her usual route home from her casual work at Subway, Viney would ritually avoid eye contact with her and ignore her requests for money. This habitual practice of 'mismeeting' was transformed one day when Viney 'focused' an interaction by verbally responding to Carol's customary request for money: 'No, sorry, not today'. 'And she stops me. Now, she isn't old. I'm guess late 20s – early 30s aboriginal woman. She isn't crazy. She asks me if I'm scared of her'. Viney writes:

> She tells me she's homeless because of domestic violence. She showed me her scars. She told me she had her periods, and she just wanted some money for some pads. It really kinda made me realise that she is just like me. Like she's not just a creature on the side of the road. She has her period, she's hungry, she's cold. She's human (interview).

It is through the 'bodily world of feeling' (Ahmed 2004: 171) – through scars, periods, hunger and cold – that Carol is re-constituted as human. Viney captures how the emotions (can) work at the surface of the body, not to differentiate and to other, but to bring together and humanise. The female body becomes a site of ethical exchange and emotional relatedness. In Irigaray's (1991: 180) terms, the sexed body is a site of 'communion' that crosses the gulfs of racial and class difference. Embodied in menstruation, Viney moves from 'the boundary of the skin', the boundaries of the racialised Other, to the 'mucous membranes of the body' (Irigaray 1991: 180). Viney's story highlights how bodies may confront us in urban spaces not only as aesthetic objects, but as entities of moral value that can connect and open us out to Others. She moves toward the Other in recognition of what they share: female bodies that can feel, hurt and be injured.

Authentic-Feeling Morality

The third configuration of DIY morality is an emotionally-driven form of morality with two variants. The first emphasises the interiorisation of moral authority to the emotions such as 'going with your gut' and 'doing what feels right' while the second links the internal authority of emotion and feeling to values of being-true-to-yourself and authenticity.

Variant 1: 'I do what feels right'
Roofrider, a 33-year-old gay male travel consultant from Melbourne evidences a DIY moral belief in the self and the importance of the inward authority of feeling as a moral guide. Sounding the familiar DIY theme, Roofrider writes in his blog that doing morality is not a matter of following the dictates of God but doing 'things that are in my view right', by following his 'conscience' and 'doing what feels right'. As he succinctly puts it: 'I do not believe in God, I believe in my conscience' (interview).

Roofrider captures a DIY form that is less Foucauldian and more rooted in the feeling and emotional power of 'conscience'. Morality for Roofrider is about being attentive to the power of inward and intuitive feelings and affections. Roofrider takes the conscience as a 'gut feeling', that acts as a sensual and embodied prompt for deciphering right from wrong. He states, 'everyone has a gut feeling if what they are doing is right or wrong' (interview).

This is a type of morality that clearly speaks to Taylor's (1992) argument that moral sources of the self in contemporary society have shifted from external moral voices (i.e., theistic foundations) to the inner authority of the individual. Morality is not about 'being in touch' with God but connecting to an imagined moral source within us. It is this social process of interiosiation that enables Roofrider to imagine and speak of possessing an inner moral sense; an intuitive feeling for what is right and wrong.

Variant 2: 'Being True to Yourself'
In some of the blog accounts a feeling morality is directly linked and strengthened by its connection to values of personal authenticity. Doing 'what feels right' is positioned within a framework of acting according to the 'real', 'true' and 'authentic' you – according to the ethical ideal of 'being true to yourself'. As one blogger put it: 'if you feel one thing and do something else, then you're not being true to yourself'.

Queen_Extremist, a 26-year-old female university student from Melbourne and president of a university student association, highlights feelings as a key source of morality authority but in this variant shows how 'doing what feels right' is linked to authenticity (Taylor, 1992). She writes:

> I know what I feel. I know when something feels wrong to me. I know when something feels right. And I know that it feels terrible when I do something that feels wrong. It's not logical. It's not rational. I don't know if it's the right thing to do or if it's selfish or arrogant. But I don't like being something I'm not. I don't like being false or changing my personality for others. I'm really happy with who I am.

Similarly, Snifflethebouncer, a 22-year old PhD student from Sydney, writes that 'one of the things that matters most to me, with morality, is that you feel genuine about what you're doing' (interview). Feeling emerges again as a strategy to validate being 'genuine', being authentic to the self:

> [Y]ou feel in your heart that it's the right thing. If you feel one thing and do something else, then you're not being true to yourself. If I feel one thing is the right thing to do, but I do something else (to benefit myself, most probably), then I'll feel bad about it, and I'll feel I haven't followed my morals (interview).

These bloggers testify to an 'ethics of authenticity', where the notion of 'being true to yourself' is sourced from the 'romantic solace' of moral feeling. To be authentic means not 'being something I'm not' (Queen_Extremist); not leading a false life (Universal_cloak); and not 'inventing' yourself 'as someone else'. Like reality television contestants, their job is to sort the real from the fake, from those 'playing the game' and those being themselves – to work out who's being 'real' and who's not.

'Being true to yourself' as an ethical ideal appears inconsistent with current sociological accounts of identity and self that emphasise self as fragmentary, multiple and liquid. The blog of Philcarbis (a 37-year-old male technical writer from Melbourne), is interesting here in how he underlines the potential problems of 'being true to yourself'. Philcarbis describes how he has arrived at a point in life where he is compelled to return to the activity of 'working on rebuilding myself'. He writes: 'in this state where I'm not quite sure who I am, what kind of man I am, how can I say for sure what is moral for me?'. Philcarbis flags the bigger question of what the ideal of 'being true to yourself' means in a 'liquid' modern world in which experiences of self and identity are increasingly shaped by individualising processes of 'reinvention', 'updating' and 'makeover' (Elliott and Lemert, 2006:31; Bauman, 2005).

Conclusion

This article has established the centrality of a DIY morality formulated in terms of the driving moral force of self rather than the external authority of society or religion. Three different configurations or versions of DIY morality were identified. The DIY form can be seen to be generally consistent with the theorised moralities of Bauman (1993), Foucault (1986) and Taylor (1992) who focus on the subject as morally capable rather than inherently failed. The first DIY configuration was shown to be distinctly Foucauldian, resting in a self-stylising ethics based on radical freedom, self-care and personal responsibility. The second version of DIY morality discussed it in terms of specific ethical encounters with the metropolitan stranger. Here the blog of Viney was used to highlight a particular mode of responsibility to the urban stranger via a shared embodied reality that confirmed the Other as human. The third type of DIY morality was argued to be an emotionally driven morality, based in two variants. The first variant showed feeling as a key source of moral authority that emphasised 'what feels right' or 'going with your gut' (Taylor 1992) while the second variant showed how embodied feeling is connected to the ethical ideal of 'being true to yourself'. Being true to yourself is a moral strategy that invokes a modernist assumption of a stable and unitary model of self, which is interesting to

consider in relations to theorising of the 'liquidity' of self.

Taken together, these different configurations of DIY morality – the choosing, the embodied, the authentic-feeling – suggest powerful moral strategies for navigating everyday moral action. Rather than being cause or symptom of moral decline the self, body, and emotions, combined with the search for personal authenticity, form the bedrock of the blogged accounts of moral understanding and practice. Further research is needed to determine whether these bloggers are rebels of their time or whether they capture something more widespread in how contemporary morality is reflected upon by ordinary people.

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Emotions and homelessness

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Abstract

Homelessness evokes a broad range of emotional responses yet emotions are an underexplored dimension in the field of homelessness. Drawing on the data from 17 interviews with service providers and policy makers, this paper explores the role of emotions in the representations and relationships of power embedded insocial policy making in the area of homelessness. It argues that emotions such as compassion, fear, shame, disappointment, frustration and anger are central to the policy and service delivery process. Compassion can inform charitable representations of and responses to homelessness. However, negative emotions such as frustration, disappointment and anger can also highlight relationships of power between non-government organisations and government funding bodies, as well as between service providers and service users. Examining the role and function of emotions in the policy making process is a neglected area of research, worthy of further consideration.

Introduction

Emotions are central to the experiences, societal perceptions and responses to homelessness. Emotions, far from being antithetical to reason as in traditional models of social policy, are critical to an ethical and inclusive response to homelessness that seeks to address issues of both recognition and redistribution for people experiencing homelessness (Williams et al 2003; Fischer 2003). For example, efforts to bring about change are bound up with emotions and politics, identity, organising hope, negotiating fear, mediating memories and facilitating community action and development (Barrington 1978; Goodwin et al 2001; Flam and King

2005; Clarke, Hoggettand Thompson 2006; Froggett 2002; Hoggett 2009). The process of policy making requires policy makers to addressfearsthat immobilise them,confronting the prejudices that distort their view of homeless persons. Generating such engagement means breaking through despair and passivity and challenging the underlying social relationships that structure and manage the categories of homed and homeless. A critically inclusive social policy approach to homelessness has an important role in working through the tacit understandings that define such emotional spaces, shifting social values and institutional practices (Hoggett 2000, 2009).

Emotions in the context of this paper are sensations as well as cultural and social constructions. In contrast to trends that dominated thinking about emotion in the years preceding the 1930s and 1940s, which saw emotion as a series of disorganising responses antithetical to rational processes, theorists from the 1960s until today acknowledge that emotions involve highly organised and effective cultural and constructive processes (Schacter and Singer 1962; Mandler 1975; Levi 1984; Lutz 1986). A number of theorists view emotions as transitory social roles, which are a prescribed set of responses to be followed in a given situation (Hochschild 1979, 1983; Averill 1980; Harre 1986; Collins 1990, 2001; Barbalet 2006; Clarke, Hoggett and Thompson 2006). Hochschild (1983) writes that these norms or ‘feeling rules’ benefit the privileged and reinforce the subordinate positioning of the disadvantaged. These norms are learned through one’s history of emotional interactions (Hochschild 1979, 1983). Emotions in this sense constitute the interpretative act of bodily sensations governed by rules of responses consisting of social norms or shared expectations about behaviour, particularly in complex emotions such as compassion or shame (Kemper 2007). As well, sociologists from vastly different theoretical perspectives have long pointed

out the role fear plays in legitimating domination and inducing conformity (Flam and King 2005) and othering processes (Becker 1963; Goffman 1961; Foucault 1979, 1980).

This analysis of the role of emotions as constituting 'everyday life' (Clarke, Hoggett and Thompson 2006) is central to understanding social policy and practice responses to homelessness. However, literature on emotions, homelessness and social policy is limited. Authors such as Robinson (2009, 2011)examine how homelessness is embodied, felt and lived by the researcher and young people who experience homelessness. Farrugia (2010) also notes that power relationships, emotions and normative experiences and practices are central to the embodied subjectivities of young people experiencing homelessness. Robinson argues that young people are '…violated, neglected, and excluded … crushed by the sorrow, shame, and stigma that continue to well from the long-term and repeated hurt and trauma that homelessness entails' (Robinson 2011, p.135).

A more in-depth understanding of emotional knowledge about homelessness, human suffering and the associated social stigma of homelessness isneglected in homelessness research, policy, and service delivery (Robinson 2011, p.142).A consideration of the role of emotions in social policy and service provision in the field of homelessness establishes the primacy of emotion as a significant determinant of well being, appraisal and action. This paper explores how emotions such as compassion, fear, disappointment, frustration and anger are articulated in the perspectives of service providers in the field of homelessness and how these emotions constitute representations of and responses to homelessness, as well as relationships of power between policy actors.

Methodology

This study uses a constructivist framework, to examine how social policy and service provision are conceptualised as both constitutive and constituted by a series of intersecting and unequal social relations. Central to this notion is the idea that language and discourse mediate social realities (Weedon 1987; Burgmann 2003). The utilisation of these perspectives relates to the linguistic turn in policy analysis, which suggests that policy making proceeds by way of shared understandings of problems and invokes the need to understand how selective accounts of what constitutes a problem are legitimated (Fischer 2003).

This study contributes to the array of studies in housing from social constructionist perspectives, many of which have drawn upon some form of discourse analysis (Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi 2004; Hastings 2000). Discourses are contingent upon and inform material practices, linguistically and practically, through particular power techniques (visible in social institutions such as prisons, hospitals, schools, factories, and so on) that produce particular forms of subjectivity (Foucault 1979, 1980). However, while language and discourse is important, this is not to deny the material, affective and cognitive dimension of emotions. As numerous writers have argued, issues related to homelessness such as class, gender and race are not solely constructed discursively (Bryson 1992; Leonard 1997; Walby 2000). Fairclough (1995: 97) argues that discourse is a language text as well as a practice embedded within socio-cultural contexts that function at individual, institutional and societal levels.

This research was approved by the research ethics committee of Flinders University, South Australia. The aim of the research was to explore how service providers and policy makers viewed social inclusion and homelessness. Seventeen semi-structured,face-to-face interviews

were conducted in Adelaide from July-November 2005. The participants in this study were employed in non-government, local and state government services responding to homelessness, as managers, direct service providers and project officers. Six of the participants were women and eleven were men.

The participants were recruited by sending a letter of invitation to relevant organisations, then following this up by email and telephone calls. No incentives were provided to the participants to be involved in the study, they contacted the researcher directly to express their interest in being involved and a time was then negotiated for the interviews. All interviews took place in their place of work and lasted 30 minutes to one hour.Theresearch found that service providers and policy actors talk about homelessness as having very real emotional and material effects upon social life.

Emotions informing perceptions about homelessness

This paper specifically focuses on the findings from interviews to highlight how emotions are central to social policy and practice responses to homelessness. Positive and negative emotions such as compassion, fear, shame, anger, frustration and disappointment are emotions that inform perceptions of homelessness, the policy development process and relationships between stakeholders.

Homelessness evokes a broad range of emotional responses. The representations and experiences of homelessness are highly charged with emotional relevance. Respondent 1 worked in a religiously based non-government organisation and argued that homelessness was a social issue that conveniently evoked a range of emotional responses:

> *…homelessness is always a pretty emotional type of headline...help the homeless etc... We tend to bring it out every winter and then conveniently forget it...* (Respondent 1).

Sympathetic emotions are often the strongest during Christmas, Easter and during the winter, when publicity drives for blankets, food and clothing were often highly publicised. These media representations of homelessness have strong links to how social policy responses to homelessness are conceptualised (Zufferey and Chung 2006). However, if one adopts Nussbaum's view (1996) that compassion in part is motivated by the belief that one could potentially be in a similar situation to the sufferer, fear also acts as a strong motivating factor in acts otherwise deemed as altruistic.

Respondents in this study also noted that stigma and fear of homeless people was a predominant emotion in responses to homeless persons, which informed the 'othering' process. This emotion of fear allowed homeless persons to be conceptualised as excluded:

> *I think it is about fear… I think about the clients here that people are frightened of quite a lot …Everyone is frightened of him, no one is working with him, and there is a failure to make a connection between his medical condition and other issues...I would say it is based on the idea of people being frightened around other people's behaviour* (Respondent 1).

Homelessness presents a challenge to pivotal 'normative' standards of behaviour in the areas of employment, housing and lifestyle, which are embodied emotionally and constitute social policy and practice responses to homelessness (Robinson 2011).

Strongly associated with fear is the multiple effects of shame, which manifests as an emotion experienced by those who donot live up to internalised societal standards and as a means of reinforcing systems of domination and classifications(Kemper 2007). This sense of

internalised shame that some homeless people may experience was depicted in one service provider's description of service users' self- image:

> *..concept of individuals themselves and their self-image…they see themselves as not entitled to be included and they see themselves as victims and not being worthy of or not being able to access the resources themselves and so there is all sorts of systemic structural reasons (housing, health, income), then also the systems of policy and government* (Respondent 11).

These 'felt' emotions of unworthiness and exclusion interrelate with how charities that provide services such as drop in meal services are funded and constrained through donations of unwanted goods, limited access to adequate services and resources and policy constraints that do not acknowledge the complexities of homelessness (Robinson 2009; Zufferey and Kerr 2004).

Service providers argue that for some service users, the sense of shame and marginalisation are a function of both experiences and labelling. Thus, service users are surprised when they are 'cared for', as evidenced in this description:

> *When I talk with (clients) they are often very surprised about the fact that people care about them because it is very isolating to be in a crisis situation so the whole stuff about people feeling excluded from society... the label that we hang of people can be too heavy and we compound it... it becomes part of the common language and it weighs people down so it is good to be able to present an alternate view… that people are going through a bad spell but it won't define them... so it is really encouraging for women to know that and they are always surprised* (Respondent 4).

Parsell (2011) notes that people experiencing homelessness express, like anyone else, a range of emotional identities that are far more complex and to some degree contingent on the

circumstances they find themselves in than popular stereotyping would suggest. As Fopp argues (2009) the voice of homeless people, even if heard in the design of services and policies, is often through a muted and adulterated screen. This can contribute to feelings of disempowerment for people who experience homelessness, as voiced by a service user in Zufferey's (2001:63) study: *It makes you see yourself as pretty useless at times...very negative* (see also Zufferey and Kerr, 2004).

Emotions and power relationships between stakeholders

Service providers and policy actors also expressed negative emotions such as anger, frustration and disappointment at the power dynamics between non-government organisations (NGOs) and government funding bodies. One respondent who had been working in the field for about five years encapsulated these feeling in her remarks about misplaced funds, lack of consultation and the lack of continuity associated with funding demonstration projects:

> *I think initially it is very disappointing because it seems that not a lot has changed and you have a lot of expectations that it will... we have seen a lot of homeless women and there are just not a lot of initiatives directed to them...disappointment* (Respondent 9).

Another manager reflected similar feelings of frustration and disappointment about consultation and participation emanating from a failure to understand the work of the NGOs:

> *I guess again the NGOs get a bit sick and tired of 'talk fests' when we have said the same thing again…which has been said for years* (Respondent 3).

In contrast, a local government bureaucrat criticised non-government activity in the field as lacking a strategic dimension and adopting a 'loaves and fishes' mentality, characteristic of a more compassionate response:

> *what [Agency]has been saying for a few years now is we know what the NGOs do, we think it's good but it's not enough to just feed and wash homeless people, we want results for them..* (Respondent 4).

Overwhelmingly, this study found that the dilemmas raised by service providers and policy actors are imbued with emotions such as fear, shame, frustration and disappointment, which constitute their interpretations, experiences and perspectives on responses to homelessness. The influence of these different emotions in the advocacy and policy making context highlight the dilemmas of practice in the field of homelessness and assist in the recognition of as well as the redistribution of power and resources to people who experience homelessness.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted that emotions such as compassion, fear, anger and frustration are central to advocacy and policy-making processes in the field of homelessness. The policy development process is complex and contested but oftenfails to address the emotional complexities facing people who experience homelessness and frontline workers in the field of homelessness. This research has examined how emotions influence service providers' perceptions of service users and their relationships with them, as well as the tensions between policy actors, namely between frontline non-government workers and government bureaucrats. To address issues of both recognition and redistribution for people experiencing homelessness, ethical and inclusive homelessness policies would incorporate the perspectives of people who experience homelessness as well as those of frontline service providers (Williams et al 2003; Fischer 2003). These diverse perspectives are embodied experiences imbued with emotions (Robinson 2011; Cameron and McDermott 2007). Further examining the role and function of emotions in the operation and contradictions of policy and practice responses to homelessness is a neglected area of research, worthy of further consideration.

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Decolonising Sociology Curriculum: Using an Online Immersive Learning Environment to Deliver Cross-cultural Training

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Abstract

The paper describes an online cultural training workshop based around the complex Aboriginal Kinship systems used in Australia.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the learning environment where the thematic focus is on relationships and interaction, and how immersive learning and narrative teaching styles work together within a social constructivist approach to deliver this outcome. Prior to discussing how both a social constructivist immersive learning environment achieves such outcomes, the paper will describe the online workshop design in the context of decolonizing mainstream pedagogies.

Keywords: Aboriginal knowledge, Teaching sociology, Indigenous issues, decolonising curriculum, immersive learning environments

Introduction

The paper describes a social constructivist immersive teaching project aimed at delivering online cross-cultural training at the university level based on an existing workshop designed and presented to non-Aboriginal staff and students by Lynette Riley. This paper reflects on the pedagogical framework and adopted social constructivist immersive learning environment, and in doing so describes how the project adopts what is referred to in the higher education literature as a social constructivist problem-based immersive learning approach that combines complementary approaches to teaching including:

problem-based experiential learning; an immersive teaching style; a narrative teaching style; and a social constructivist approach. These principles underpin the designing of a program that embeds diverse Aboriginal knowledges in mainstream humanities and social science subjects including sociology subjects, at the University of Sydney, through web services.[1 2]

Decolonising pedagogy

The online Cross Cultural Training workshop is being designed as an experiential learning environment for two reasons. Firstly, there is a long denial of Aboriginal knowledges and their importance in contemporary Aboriginal culture in Australia. Secondly, the experiential format is used in Aboriginal learning and is therefore an appropriate way of conveying these knowledge systems. Much of this knowledge requires many years for Aboriginal children to learn, and non-Aboriginal students are coming in with the cultural bias of up to 20 years of western teaching. Furthermore, this method enables non-Aboriginal students to have a taste of the issues without cognitive overload.

The project reflects where possible the Aboriginal knowledge sharing processes, bringing this into the mainstream teaching of humanities and social science related subjects, such as sociology, law, education and social work. Aboriginal knowledge sharing has been adapted to this experiential learning environment via software design.

Aboriginal knowledge sharing processes are traditionally through interwoven stories, song and dance at a community ceremony or corroboree (Langton 1997). These dances provide for re-enactment and an environment for experiential learning of the subject matter. While web services provide a form of mediation that is representational and more static than previous methods of knowledge sharing (Verran & Christie, 2007), this medium does provide opportunities for user adaption and the generation of material. As such, the project facilitates Aboriginal knowledge sharing in an online environment. Aboriginal students, staff and communities will be telling their stories and it is these stories that are central to the online environment.

In doing so, the online cross cultural training web service will assist non-Aboriginal academics teaching indigenous content as part of mainstream curriculum to incorporate both Aboriginal Standpoint Pedagogy and Aboriginal voices into teaching. The online cross cultural training web service achieves this by incorporating and embedding Aboriginal community participation into the development of this teaching resource, ensuring that it reflects Aboriginal peoples' standpoints (Phillips & Whatman 2007).

This also has the dual purpose of decolonizing mainstream curriculum and allowing us to share Aboriginal perspectives and embed Indigenous knowledges in the curriculum of mainstream disciplines, contributing to the broader project of decolonizing Indigenous knowledges and learning in western higher education institutions. As McLaughlin and Whatman (2007: 2) note, 'highly provocative debates and insights concerning

decolonising Indigenous knowledge and learning in western institutions of higher education emerged in the last half of the century championed by Indigenous scholars and intellectuals'. Battiste (2002) argues that integrating the voices and experiences of Aboriginal people into mainstream education creates a balanced centre from which to analyse European culture and learning. These analyses support an online teaching approach that uses storytelling and interactive gaming.

This is pertinent to disciplines such as sociology. This project will enable non-Aboriginal academics to go beyond simply foregoing our 'pretence to be a [white] "academic expert"' on Aboriginal issues and minimising the risk of undervaluing local knowledge and Aboriginal culture. It will enable educators to teach in a way that respects and allows Aboriginal voices to be highlighted in our lectures and our tutorials (Healy-Ingram 2011: 70). The inclusion of Aboriginal peoples' first-hand accounts of Aboriginal knowledge in sociology curricula will also reinforce the decentering of the white non-Aboriginal sociologist as an expert on 'Aboriginality' via the incorporation of Aboriginal Standpoint Pedagogy into our teaching. It will enable educators to provide non-Aboriginal students with a richer and deeper understanding of the issues that are presented to them in studying Aboriginal content in mainstream sociology subjects. It will also enable educators to reverse the present 'systemic undervaluing of local knowledge and Aboriginal culture, a deeply ingrained unwillingness to "see" more sophisticated Aboriginal knowledge and processes' (Yunkaporta, 2009, 105).

The aim of this project is to develop a pedagogical framework that takes into account indigenous epistemology both in methods and content, so that education will be a process that builds on indigenous cultures and identity (NAEC, 1985). In particular we are working together with Aboriginal students who are 'traversing the cultural interface' (Nakata, 2002, p. 9) and whose stories reveal the consequences of interchanges with western 'ways of knowing'. Also, we will use the stories from non-Aboriginal professionals, who have work experiences with Aboriginal people and understand their perspectives on cultural conflict and importance of Aboriginal knowledge in their fields of expertise. The teaching framework will be developed through discussion with Aboriginal community members, University teaching staff and Aboriginal students. This will provide the design for the online workshop and the game scenarios.[3]

A social constructivist immersive learning environment

The project adopts a social constructivist immersive learning approach that is student-centred. That is, the emphasis is on 'the active role played by the learner as he or she acquires new concepts and procedures' (Lester, Stone and Stelling 1999: 2). To do so, we use an immersive interactive game environment. We do not use a game environment with the objective of simply making learning fun, but as an active constructive experiential medium for teaching non-Aboriginal students about Aboriginal knowledge and culture in a non-confronting manner and to create a problem-based learning environment using simulated sessions.

We have chosen to use an immersive learning environment where the focus is on

relationships and interaction as a fundamental aspect of Aboriginal culture, and where a narrative teaching style is used. Understanding relationships is the first priority in teaching Kinship and narratives is the process used by Aboriginal teachers within the context of sharing Aboriginal knowledge. This also provides the opportunity to use narratives from Aboriginal students, staff and Aboriginal community members to convey a variety of perspectives on Aboriginal knowledge to non-Aboriginal students.

The introductory online workshop provides information for students on how Aboriginal Kinship systems work, and how this affects reciprocal responsibilities and relationships within their cultures. Students are then presented with various situations experienced by Aboriginal people following invasion, such as: where Kinship systems were ignored and their culture denigrated. Students are then asked to consider the various effects of European culture, such as: introduced pidgin English language on Aboriginal systems and cultures.

Coherency within a series of narratives will also be improved by allocating stories to three aspects of Kinship: living on their land in Kinship relationships, how Aboriginal people lost access to their land after invasion in a particular cultural conflict, and the ongoing effect of this loss of land on their people living in various professional systems (such as under the legal system or in mainstream health care).

The next immersive aspect is the context. The different scenarios and professional contexts will be designed to suit the learning goals of the subject that the student is enrolled in by placing them in the position of service provider, or deal with cross discipline issues such as research or policy development. The disciplines covered will include social sciences, education, health, social work and law. The scenarios described here are for students enrolled in mainstream units of sociology, social policy and other social science units. However, scenarios will be developed that are relevant to Law students, Social Work students, students studying Education at the University of Sydney.

The professional contexts for sociology students may be varied depending on the subject. For example, if it is in relation to a research methods subject, then the contexts relating to research and related scenarios would be more appropriate compared with the professional context of a health service provider that would be appropriate for a student studying the Sociology of Health and Illness.

Since most students that we teach will not go on to work in remote communities, we will provide both scenarios relevant to remote communities (such as if a policy officer was working on consulting and delivering a government program to a remote community and had to go and consult that community; or a researcher wished to conduct a study involving a remote community) and a regional or urban scenario (such as assigning the student to an Aboriginal client in health related, social work or legal services). This will enable the student to realise that Aboriginal cultures are still alive today and are practised even in the cities, although often in an adapted form, for instance where family groups replace Clans.

What is important is that students will learn the oral stories their future Aboriginal client will have heard throughout their life, such as the historical problems with governments and government programs or police and courts, as well as the day-to-day experiences of individuals in court.

The final immersive aspect is to allow students to relate as an Aboriginal character within the culture, and to then stand outside and consider how that aspect of Kinship is enacted in their own culture. Students who participate in the Kinship workshop will be provided a scenario to transverse, where the range of comments provided will inform them of different peoples' experience relevant to that scenario. The repository of stories can be continually updated so that the stories available will be varied over each game.[4] The next section discusses these teaching methods further before giving an example scenario.

Teaching methods

There are three methods used in the online workshop to provide for immersive learning which apply a number of social constructivist learning strategies such as a situated learning experience, role playing and adopting problem-based, and creative learning approaches (Huang, Rauch and Liaw 2010: 1173-1175).

The first is in an abstract form, where the workshop presents Aboriginal views and explains what is being done within Aboriginal cultures and social systems to preserve their specific societies and the environments in which they live, and presents how this varies from non-Aboriginal culture. For example, 'Kinship' is used in all cultures to establish the responsibilities you have for those closest to you. In Aboriginal societies Kinship obligations have to work across Family, Clan and Nation groups spread across Australia. This has led to a complex system of rules, such as restricting marriage to distant relations. In larger societies, such as British 'Kinship' obligations are restricted to immediate biological relations and often not linked to marriage rules.

The second is by analogy from known experience, where aspects of 'culture' are selected, and then students are asked how this would affect relations, responsibilities or survival within a particular cultural context. Three examples of this strategy are to:

1. Imagine you are welcoming someone to your 'Country'. What would you explain to them so they are aware of the basic rules and obligations within your society?
2. Remember the place you grew up and all its features. Then imagine if your parents, their parents, and so on also lived on the same land, and could tell you how the land changed over millennia of time, the geography of the land and where and how all the animals on this land lived; how to care for the land and its inhabitants; and through this how to respect the 'Land'. What would your connections and relation to the land be?
3. Consider what are your obligations to you parents and siblings, and how are they in turn responsible for you? What does this mean when your first, second and third cousins and those once, twice removed are considered to be in the same relationship

as your parents and sibling?

The third approach is to use a generic story framework and continually build on this, as in the corroboree narrative structure of traditional cultures (Langton, 1997). A scenario provides the coherency and context of the learning, but different stories can be linked to each character or agent in the scenario, telling different stories that relate to that context and so increasing the depth of their knowledge, while always linking back to their previous experience in this scenario.

Example Scenario

For example, we may provide a cultural conflict scenario based on the professional 'policy' context that puts the student in the role of policy officer from New South Wales Health. They will be meeting with a local Aboriginal community to consult with that community about a proposed upgrade of housing under *Closing the Gap: 10 years of Housing for Health in NSW*, as well as conduct a survey of local housing to assess what needs to be repaired and replaced in Aboriginal community housing within that community (NSW Department of Health 2010). The educator provides material specific to their subject and selects the stories for their students, these stories will then be auto assigned to agents that they match in the game (e.g. Kinship relations, gender, age, etc.). The student will be assigned Kinship levels. On commencing the game, the student becomes an agent in relationship to all the other computer-generated agents in the game. Also such cultural conflict scenarios may start with a generic story that can be used for all such disciplines.

The student will go into the immersive environment and be introduced to their Aboriginal community, maybe with a welcome song. The student will then meet different people in the community. If the student talks/listens to unaligned Kinship relations, or if they stop stories half way through, the next stories they hear will be the 'cultural conflict' stories from a person in that role. These will tell the student how the local Aboriginal community does not trust/talk to someone of their profession/background/job title, etc. To get back 'into culture' to hear stories about the present culture and how it works in relation to their profession, they have to perform a task (others may do this task voluntarily).

The task will involve the following scenario: The student will read some instructions from the teacher, for example, to research the history of housing in the community, or how a particular housing policy may have affected the community in the past. The student will listen to a set of stories, again selected by the teacher on the topic, in this case housing.

The stories students hear in a scenario will depend on which characters they encounter, so they may hear different ones from their friend – imagine the conversations, 'did you hear the one about….'. Each story, or series of stories will be followed by a series of question (added to each story by their author or from the teacher). Then the student may provide a report, what they have learnt, on how housing policy has affected the community.

Alternatively, they may go back then to the original scenario in the community, where people talk to the student about how they live, what they do, what they like, etc. At the end they will be asked to present a new approach to housing policy for the community they have been in.

At various points in the interaction, such as when they finally arrive at the meeting with the community to start the process of consultation about the proposed upgrade of housing, they will be given a series of questions and multiple-choice answers to help them understand if they either have gathered the issues of conflict and ability to understand and hear the community, or they have failed to do so.

Using the principles of constructivist e-learning environment, such as concept mapping, problem-based learning, an educational game, and the ability to monitor progress and provide users with feedback, are important features of our immersive learning environment, which will contribute significantly to how students learn about Aboriginal knowledges in this online environment. Importantly, the knowledge being shared is based on lived experiences and provided by Aboriginal people themselves.

The single-user world will include an interface map or image to allow students to select 'rooms' and 'buildings' representing each of the areas of study (at present we are considering law, education, social work and sociology). Clicking on a room/building, the student selects stories relevant to that profession, but from an Aboriginal perspective.

Conclusion

The ability to provide, a safe place for Aboriginal people to share their stories and cultural knowledge; as well as a place for educators and students to access Indigenous knowledges relevant to different University disciplines is a hard task. We hope this software and the learning environment will provide a format that allows many Aboriginal people to provide their stories for learning and many non-Aboriginal people to learn from stories that provide experience pertinent to their profession.

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[1] This paper is one of a number of papers that are being generated as part of this project. The other papers focus on: the information technology dimensions and design features of the project; the use of story-telling as narrative in online environments; the project methodology; and the adopted narrative teaching style.

[2] At an institutional level, the project is a collaborative strategy between Aboriginal academics in the Koori Centre and non-Aboriginal academics in the Division of Law, Arts and Social Science, Education and Social Work. University project partners include the University of New South Wales and Edith Cowan University.

[3] Different scenarios will be based on three interconnected influences: (1) Kinship

relations, (2) cultural conflict, and (3) professional systems, which will give both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students the opportunity to select scenarios with information relating to a range of professional contexts, such as policy, research and service provision, in urban and rural Aboriginal communities. For example, the student who is learning about the protocols that the non-Indigenous researcher needs to follow in engaging with Aboriginal communities or organisations will be directed into a cultural conflict scenario. Whereas another student, involved in developing personal relationships within an Aboriginal community, would be directed into a scenario based on Kinship levels. On the other hand, the student who would be considering how government departments may engage in research with Aboriginal communities and organisations may be offered a scenario based on the relevant professional system. This will ensure that students gain a better understanding of the different scenarios and contexts that exist in cultural learning. Some scenarios are given below.

[4] We are still designing how to move from narratives linked to the focus material into virtual worlds.

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Beyond Closing the Gap and Neoliberal Models of Success and Well-being

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Keywords: Indigenous social policy, neoliberalism, Closing the Gap

Abstract
The paper reflects on the theoretical and empirical considerations underpinning a study that will provide an in-depth 'place-based' study of an Aboriginal community's 'success' in developing a range of services, infrastructure and programs to overcome Aboriginal disadvantage and promote well-being. The theoretical and empirical aims of the study are to advance knowledge about the relationship between Aboriginal societies, self-governance and well-being, talking back to policy on Aboriginal service delivery and programs across a range of Council of Australian Governments (COAG) priority building blocks identified for Closing the Gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians.

The present paper takes the first step in this project giving consideration to the meaning of Aboriginal success and Aboriginal well-being in contemporary federal Indigenous policy contexts.

Introduction

The propensity for neoliberal policy metrics to be applied to Aboriginal communities and organisations has been evident since 1996 when the Howard government came into power and has underpinned the federal governance of Aboriginal affairs in Australia since. Arguably too, over the last 16 years, as Finlayson (2007: 2) notes that, 'There is too much emphasis on failure in the reporting of Indigenous circumstances'. Finlayson (2007: 2) goes on to note that: 'This has three significant adverse effects: continuous reference to failure masks important successes; reiteration of failure is dispiriting to Aboriginal people; and, the persistent reporting of failure reinforces stereotypical views of Indigenous people in the general population'. Alongside this, there has been an increasing obsession with practical outcomes and success stories at the federal level. Like the associated rhetoric, contemporary federal Aboriginal laws and policies, like many of their historical predecessors, are imposing a neoliberal orthodoxy with an associated set of policy prescriptions on say notions of Aboriginal success and Aboriginal well-being. Examples of such policies include the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response*, recently reconfigured and now known as *Stronger Futures*, and *Closing the Gap*. The federal government's policy of *Closing the Gap* is aimed at facilitating success in changing statistical indicators across seven building blocks of overcoming disadvantage

and promoting well-being, for example. This neoliberal vision leaves limited scope for the acknowledgement or support by governments of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' aspirations for governance and economic development, which often differs from the mainstream, and is actually constraining in many cases Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's interests in developing their customary economy (Hunt and Smith 2006: x).

The purpose of the paper is to engage in a critique of and problematise core neoliberal concepts embedded within contemporary federal Aboriginal policy discourse. Its aim is to demonstrate how, as other scholars have commented, 'success [and well-being] can mean quite different things to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people' (Finlayson 2007: 2). In providing this critique, the intent is to show how in the context of contemporary federal Aboriginal policy, such as *Stronger Futures* and *Closing the Gap*, success and well-being operate to render such policies as colonising apparatuses of a dominant assimilating whiteness, rather than empowering Aboriginal people and promoting collective agency. In making this statement, this does not mean that Aboriginal agency does not exist. Despite a thirty-year history of failed federal policy and a far longer history of failed state policies, there are many stories of Aboriginal organisations and communities in Australia having achieved significant inroads in areas from addressing disadvantage through to reviving Aboriginal languages.

In keeping with my body of work to date, the complementary dimensions of a governmentality approach, Foucault's toolkit, settler colonial studies, and critical whiteness studies shape the theoretical analysis provided. I have found the governmentality literature particularly useful in considering neoliberalism in the context of the federal governance of Aboriginal affairs in Australia (Brown 2003, Rodgers 2006, Jessop 2007 & Lemke 2007). Also, while not discussed in the paper, the adopted method involved a sociological discourse analysis of federal policy speeches and documents. It is the analysis of this data that led me to make the claims made here.

Neo-liberalism, Closing the Gap and the logic of development

> The challenge ahead of us is significant. Addressing the failures of the past requires taking stock of the true extent of inequalities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia. These gaps are most visible in the key areas of life expectancy, infant and child mortality, early childhood education, literacy and numeracy skills, school completion rates, and employment outcomes (Australian Federal Government, 2009).

Aboriginal empowerment is a national challenge for Australia. This is about enabling Aboriginal peoples and their community's to build their own economic, social and cultural capacity while demonstrating a political commitment to and social ethic of Aboriginal empowerment. Arguably though, in the present policy climate, this is increasingly difficult to achieve. This can in large part be attributed to the current climate in federal Aboriginal affairs and the dominant 'social inclusion' policy paradigm

underpinning federal Aboriginal policy.

While contemporary federal Aboriginal policy may appear to mainstream Australians as innocuous, well intentioned and to be an Aboriginal-centred policy, two current Australian federal policies – the Northern Territory National Emergency Response recently rebadged as Stronger Futures, and commonly referred to as the *Northern Territory Intervention,* and the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) National Indigenous Reform Agreement Closing the Gap, commonly referred to as *Closing the Gap* – are proving to be just as problematic as their predecessors. That is, broad in their definition and wide in their application, as all-encompassing policies, policies of social inclusion such as *Closing the Gap* and the *Northern Territory Intervention* apply a top-down agenda to addressing Aboriginal disadvantage and promoting Aboriginal well-being.

In reflecting on the policies of social inclusion, Martin (2005: 125) points out that 'an all encompassing policy framework is inappropriate if it does not recognise the diversity of worldviews, aspirations and circumstances of Aboriginal people across Australia'. For this very reason, *Closing the Gap* and the *Northern Territory Intervention* can be considered problematic. Secondly, and in a related way, *Closing the Gap* and the *Northern Territory Intervention* remain disconnected from Aboriginal knowledge systems and what Grieves (2009: 1) refers to as the 'wholistic' philosophical basis of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture.

Closing the Gap is pre-occupied with metrics in terms of overcoming statistical differences between 'Indigenous' and 'non-Indigenous' Australians across a number of indicators and in terms of full participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the mainstream economy. For example, *Closing the Gap* involves the adoption of a comprehensive and integrated approach across seven strategic platforms or what the document refers to as 'Building Blocks'. The seven 'Building Blocks' are: early childhood, schooling, health, economic participation, healthy homes, safe communities and governance and leadership. *Closing the Gap* also expounds the belief that: 'An Improvement in the area of one Building Block is heavily reliant on improvements made on other Building Blocks'. The broader policies and objectives of the strategy are the same for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander societies and urban, regional and remote communities. *Closing the Gap* in urban and regional Aboriginal communities focuses on: 'Boosting Indigenous demand for and take-up of services, strengthening Indigenous leadership and family and community well-being, individual capacity and responsibility for decision-making about their own lives, together with changes to health, education, housing, early childhood development and employment…' (Closing the Gap 2009: B-60).

Parallels can easily be drawn between the assimilating white apparatuses of welfarism established in the Northern Territory in the 1950s under the *Northern Territory Welfare Ordinance 1953* and contemporary federal Aboriginal affairs policy. One of the key similarities between past social welfare policy approaches and present social inclusion policy approaches is that their starting point is deficit and disadvantage, and they remain

preoccupied with statistical indicators measuring everything from Aboriginal poverty to school attendance and completion. Secondly, they involve governments and bureaucrats prescribing initiatives, programs and services for Aboriginal people and communities to overcome disadvantage and promote well-being and economic development.

While a comparison between social welfarism and social inclusion are worthy of further consideration, this paper focuses on the neoliberal values implicit in Aboriginal policy, specifically the terminology of success and well-being. Success and well-being have very different meanings from a neoliberal standpoint and Aboriginal standpoints (Greer & Patel 2000: 307). For example, in its submission to the Senate Committee Inquiry into the Stronger Futures legislation, the Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Women's Council, for example, defined well-being as the following:

> Central to the well-being of Indigenous people in remote communities is the active adherence to law and culture, and that by providing the means to those who live on country to maintain social obligation and responsibilities, independent child rearing practices, sorry and ceremonial business, and a myriad of complex social responsibilities which were traditionally controlled through a range of measured physical and non-physical forms which are based in Aboriginal practices indeed practices which stem from eastern traditions.

Conversely, neo-liberal conceptualisations of well-being, as Harvey (2005: 2) notes, posit that '…human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade'. More specifically, human well-being as defined in neoliberal terms refers to a 'basic needs approach' and 'utility maximisation' (Fukuda-Parr 2003: 304). As Fukuda-Parr (2003: 304) notes: 'The basic needs approach places people at the center of development, but the emphasis on specifying ''basic needs'' in terms of supplying services and commodities points to a commodities basis rather than a capabilities basis in defining human well-being'.

In the context of the *Northern Territory Intervention*, it is the so-called liberating of Aboriginal freedoms in the context of liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and maximisation of individual utility in the context of a basic needs approach, for example, that is having dire effect on Aboriginal communities based in townships, town camps and homelands on Aboriginal land under the *Northern Territory Intervention*. Aboriginal people are being alienated from Aboriginal communal tenure in the neoliberal pursuit of creating efficiently functioning market based economic and social systems established, for example, via leasehold agreements and encouraging individual home ownership and individual entrepreneurial initiatives (see Howard-Wagner 2010a & b, 2011 and 2012).

In contemporary federal policy contexts, Aboriginal success has neoliberal connotations. Success is associated with Aboriginal entrepreneurship, corporate governance and Aboriginal economic development in ways that reduces statistical differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians across a range of statistical indicators. The

focus on corporate governance in terms of transparency, etc., is extremely limited. The risk of going down this path is that federal governments and bureaucrats will become pre-occupied with developing criteria and indicators for Aboriginal program, organisational and community success, so that other Aboriginal programs, organisations and communities can replicate these approaches.

In both policy contexts, we see an increasing obsession with practical outcomes and success stories and, in countering failure, market-based solutions being applied to social problems (Boven, Hart and Peters 2001: 7). Success, for example, is measured in terms of closing the gap in statistical differences between 'Indigenous' and 'non-Indigenous' Australians across seven building blocks or a range of metrics and focuses on improving metrical indicators in terms of those differences.

Furthermore, the argument presented here is that the measuring of failure and success according to statistical outcomes, as well as policy projections aimed at closing statistical differences, is commensurate with a neoliberal agenda. Here success and failure operate as a binary neoliberal logic in the measurement of the Aboriginal population.

This warrants further consideration being given to the disjuncture between notions of success and well-being in federal policy initiatives, programs and service delivery and Aboriginal peoples expectations and understandings of success and well-being.

One pertinent question that needs to be asked here is 'Why do governments keep re-inventing the wheel?'. If we return to the very report that the Northern Territory Intervention was premised on – *Little Children Are Sacred*, then the message that was constantly repeated throughout that report was 'empowerment'. Why do *Closing the Gap* and *Stronger Futures* stand as a binary opposite to Aboriginal empowerment, rather than empowerment being central to closing the gap? Aboriginal empowerment also underpinned recommendations in the *Report of the Inquiry in Aboriginal Deaths in Custody*, the *Bringing Them Home Report* and various other reports generated from inquiries since the 1980s.

This too ignores the body of literature on practice stories in the United States, Canada and New Zealand, such as the work by Stephen Cornell and Joseph Kalt. The Indigenous Community Governance Project conducted by Janet Hunt and Di Smith explores the nature of Aboriginal community governance in diverse context and locations across Australia (Hunt & Smith 2006). What the work being conducted in the United States and Australia demonstrates is that indigenous governance is a central feature of Aboriginal community and organisational success stories in Australia and native Indian community and organisational success stories in the United States. Hunt and Smith (2006: x) note that governance capacity is 'a fundamental factor in generating sustained economic development and social outcomes'. The sharing of indigenous stories and knowledge is proving to be a powerful way of developing new practices for indigenous economic, social and cultural development in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Cornell 2006).

When given consideration in federal Aboriginal policy contexts, the Harvard Project and the Indigenous Governance Project get turned into prescriptive models and programs on governance and transparency training. They get translated into prescriptive neoliberal models of good corporate governance, rather than strengthening Aboriginal social and cultural capital and empowering Aboriginal organisations and communities to reinvigorate or develop their own governance structures. What occurs by developing such prescriptive policy approaches is that models are inscribed on Aboriginal communities and organisations. Governments aim for a particular type of organisation or community via say *Northern Territory National Emergency Response* or *Closing the Gap* and simply addressing particular statistical outcomes and targets, as well as imposing particular models of governance on Aboriginal organisations and communities, like ATSIC and Aboriginal land councils such as the Northern Territory Land Councils. So, why is it that governments are not focusing on the histories and practice stories of positive Aboriginal initiatives, organisations and communities and looking at these in terms of considering how to overcome Aboriginal disadvantage and promote Aboriginal well-being? If we focus on entrepreneurship do we loose sight of those Aboriginal initiatives that are not about economics or social metrics but about cultural issues, such as language programs, which are central to Aboriginal well-being, as indicated in the above quote?

Furthermore, federal policy is disconnected from the growing body of Australian and international scholarship both theoretical and empirical on indigenous capacity building and the broader arguments about development (e.g. de Soto 2000; Pearson 2005; Hunt 2005 & 2007; Henry 2007; Langton 2007; Behrendt 2007 & 2010; Sen 2008). The literature, for example, is contributing limited knowledge to our understandings about developing indigenous peoples' capacity to address disadvantage and promote well-being. How developing indigenous peoples' capacity is related to developing economic and social capital in indigenous communities from an indigenous standpoint. As well as, how relationship between governments and indigenous communities evolve in the process of developing indigenous capacity from an indigenous standpoint.

More importantly, rather than empowering Aboriginal people, neoliberal notions of success and well-being operate as mechanisms of disempowerment, dispossession and subjectivisation and thus work to undermine Aboriginal agency and further the practices of colonisation in contemporary context (Gibson 2000: 291; Neu 2000: 268). One basic way neo-liberal notions of success and well-being operate as mechanisms of disempowerment, for example, is by virtue of the fact that they limit both Aboriginal peoples' access to their own symbolic, social, cultural, economic and political capital, as well as their ability to identify and address their own problems in accordance with their own epistemological and ontological notions of success and well-being. In delivering services in accordance with its own neoliberal notions of success and well-being, the benevolent state remains in a position where it determines the parametres of Aboriginal community development, organisational operations and service delivery. In adopting this neoliberal approach, the measurement of success and well-being is limited to the individual Aboriginal citizen's ability to attain an education, have good health, own their own home and obtain employment that propels them into the role of consumer within the market economy. As I note elsewhere, the privileging of neoliberal beliefs, practices and

epistemologies perpetuates deep and longstanding settler colonial practices of superiority, intervention, control and management over Aboriginal people (Howard-Wagner and Kelly 2011). The colonising effects of neoliberal beliefs and practices need to be exposed.

While Aboriginal people resist the imposition of such models, speaking back to and presenting their own definitions of well-being and success – as evidenced in the Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Women's Council submission to the Parliamentary Inquiry into the Stronger Futures legislation, this is not solely an Aboriginal problem. Sociologists have an imperative to critique and speak back to *Closing the Gap* and the *Northern Territory Intervention,* as well as the federal governance of Aboriginal affairs more generally. This can be part of our endeavours to engage in a critical analysis of neoliberal governmentality; whiteness, power relations, Aboriginal agency and resistance; settler colonialism; and/or, evidenced-based policy approaches.

Conclusion

Arguably then, the federal government's reference to concepts such as success and well-being have an underlying neoliberal meaning and intent as a liberating individual entrepreneurial agenda. Therefore, a more fruitful exercise would be to try to understand the neoliberal meaning of success and well-being and how measuring success and well-being according to neo-liberal indicators re-constitute Aboriginal service delivery in Australia. As well as, the social and cultural implications of such a significant re-shaping of measurements of success and well-being.

It is not about placing responsibility for success and well-being on Aboriginal individuals or the community but rather the redefinition of success and well-being in accordance with the precepts of neo-liberalism that is problematic. Aboriginal well-being is advanced by liberating the individual Aboriginal citizen's entrepreneurial freedoms, for example (Harvey 2005). Thus, my critique is not of the principle of *Closing the Gap*. I critique the immediate and long-term harm that defining and measuring the gap as well as success and well-being in this way may have on Aboriginal beliefs and perceptions of success and well-being. Defining success and well-being in this way could be re-shaping Aboriginal programs and governance in such a way that both ignores the ontological dimensions of Aboriginal success and Aboriginal well-being as defined by Aboriginal people and undermines Aboriginal institutions, authority and empowerment. It is thus the socio-cultural, socio-political and socio-economic implications of *Closing the Gap* as a neo-liberal policy that warrants further investigation by sociologists.

By all accounts, neoliberalism changes the rules of the game in the context of Aboriginal community success and Aboriginal well-being. Rather than Aboriginal autonomy and empowerment being measures of success, reduced gaps in statistical differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in areas such as health, housing, education and employment become representative of success. Does pursuing

Aboriginal service delivery in line with *Closing the Gap* undermine the very features of Aboriginal organisations that made them the success that they have been in overcoming Aboriginal disadvantage and promoting well-being prior to such policy shifts? How has *Closing the Gap* re-shaped the practice and programs of Aboriginal organisations? How does *Closing the Gap* reconstitute Aboriginal people into successful neo-liberal subjects? Is *Closing the Gap* creating new types of Aboriginal subjectivities? How are Aboriginal people being urged to regard themselves as neo-liberal subjects and particular types of actors?

Having set out some of the existing limitations within current Aboriginal social policy, such as *Closing the Gap* and critiqued associated exhortations, the next step is to begin a study of Aboriginal community success in overcoming disadvantage and promoting well-being. This paper is the starting point of this research. In expanding the scope to consider such issues, this research aims to contribute to the research-policy nexus and challenge paradigmatic perceptions in relation to contemporary policy understandings of Aboriginal success and well-being, as well as further our knowledge about Aboriginal self-determination and capacity-building in Australia. These studies could speak to policy through evidence-based empirically and theoretically rich research, providing new knowledge about building economic, social and cultural capacity in Aboriginal communities while maintaining a political commitment to and social ethic of Aboriginal empowerment via a case study of a local Aboriginal community's 'success' in addressing Aboriginal disadvantage and promoting well-being.

There are many case studies of Aboriginal community success – that are not aimed at closing the gap in the statistical difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people or a neoliberal model of well-being, but rather Aboriginal well-being, Aboriginal empowerment, and/or respecting Aboriginal culture which lead to improvements in Aboriginal well-being and works toward overcoming Aboriginal disadvantage. Such international and national programs include: Hollow Water Community Holistic Circle Healing Program in the Canadian Hollow Water Aboriginal community; the Circle Sentencing program in New South Wales; the Cherbourg Critical Incident Group in the Wakka Wakka nation in Queensland; the Purnululu Aboriginal Community Independent School in Purnululu; the Family well-being programs started by members of the Stolen Generation in Adelaide and adopted to meet local needs in a number of Aboriginal communities around Australia; and, the various Aboriginal Health and Medical Services established by local Aboriginal communities around Australia. In the case of these examples, Aboriginal communities or groups from within Aboriginal communities work with government departments and organisations and non-government organisations to achieve the outcomes that they wish to achieve, such as reducing the incidence of child abuse, reducing the incidence of recidivism, educating and sharing knowledge and culture in Aboriginal communities, and addressing Aboriginal health issues, for example.

Space restricts me here from focusing on some of the ways in which governments have worked with Indigenous populations to create policy, which are grounded in shared values and understandings of success and discussing the process of consultation and negotiation from a comparative politics perspective to create an even starker contrast

between the practices of the Australian federal government in the 21st century as compared to say, those of the Canadian, New Zealand and New Zealand governments for example. Nonetheless, the longer version of this paper will do so.

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Who Tends to Trust in Australia?
An Empirical Analysis of Survey Data

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Abstract: (121 words)

This article defines trust as confidence or belief in the reliability of individuals or institutions, and conducts an empirical investigation into social trust and political trust in Australia by drawing on evidence from the 2007 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA). The findings show that individuals' objective attainment (e.g., education, occupation and income), subjective evaluation of status, and social network resources are significantly associated with social trust and political trust. Respondents who have a university degree, rank their own status highly, and have access to helpers' favour or large social networks are more likely to trust people in general as well as Members of Parliament and public officials. Moreover, social trust and political trust are positively associated to a modest extent.

Key words: Social trust, political trust, personal success, social networks, Australia

Word count: 3,302

Who Tends to Trust in Australia?: An Empirical Analysis of Survey Data

Introduction

As "one of the most important synthetic forces within society" (Simmel 1950: 326), trust has stimulated scholarly interest from multiple disciplines such as sociology, economics, politics, psychology, and anthropology. It has been widely recognised that trust contributes to economic growth, social integration, co-operation and harmony, democratic stability and development, personal life satisfaction, good health and longevity (Delhey and Newton 2003), and that without the requisite level of trust, human interactions that constitute social life would not be possible (Welch et al. 2005). Although the concept of trust is tricky and multifaceted, it can be classified in different dimensions such as rational-based vs. norm-driven and generalised vs. particularised trust (Nannestad 2008). The most theoretically developed concepts of trust, to name a few, include "encapsulated interest" (Hardin 2006), "social intelligence" (Yamagishi 2001), and "moralistic" (Uslaner 2002). While the first two concepts reflect rational-based and particularised trust, the third embodies norm-driven and generalised trust; and to some extent all stress the relational nature of trust. However, in the literature of trust there has been "a wide gap between much of the theoretical and conceptual work on trust and the bulk of empirical studies" (Nannestad 2008: 415). Either through surveys or experiments, empirical research was "seldom designed to distinguish between different concepts of trust and their implications" (Nannestad 2008: 416).

This article does not intend to go into detail about various subtleties of the concept of trust; rather, it aims to conduct an empirical investigation into trust in the Australian context by drawing on evidence from the 2007 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA). For conceptual simplicity, trust is defined as confidence or belief in the reliability of individuals or institutions, which is close to the concepts within previous research (Giddens 1990; Delhey and Newton 2003; Secor and O'Loughlin 2005). This study explores the origins of two main types of trust, social trust (i.e., interpersonal trust) and political trust (i.e., trust in politicians or public institutions), and attempts to find out what kinds of people are more likely to have higher levels of social trust and

political trust as well as whether social trust and political trust are significantly associated. In the following sections, I first review relevant theoretical perspectives and then propose propositions on the associations between individual socioeconomic characteristics and trust. Next, I describe variables and measures. Finally, I summarise findings and provide discussions.

Theoretical Perspectives and Propositions

A review of existing studies reveals that there are two broad schools of thought about the origins of trust, that is, individual theories and societal theories (Delhey and Newton 2003). The individual theories tend to regard trust as a kind of individual property that are either associated with individual core personality traits that are developed through the socialisation process (Erikson 1950; Allport 1961; Uslaner 1999, 2000), or individual social and demographic features such as gender, age, education, income and class. By contrast, the societal theories view trust as a property of a social system and stress the association between trust and social circumstances or organisations such as social networks, communities, cultures, and institutional contexts (Delhey and Newton 2003). This article adopts a sociological perspective and draws on the findings of previous research from both schools of thought on the origins of trust. It attempts to explore the role of both personal success (including objective attainment and subjective status) and social networks in determining individuals' trust (Figure 1). Accordingly, relevant propositions are formulated.

[Figure 1 about here]

Individuals' personal success can be measured or evaluated objectively or subjectively; both aspects are assumed to be significantly associated with trust that is developed over time through people's life experiences. On the one hand, it has been suggested that trust tends to be expressed by the "winners" in the society, who enjoy advantages in terms of money, higher levels of job and education (Newton 1999; Whiteley 1999; Borgonovi 2012). Putnam (2000) points out that "have-nots" are less trusting than "haves", probably because the latter receive more honesty and respect from others. Those with lower socioeconomic status or suffering from poverty, unemployment and

social exclusion are inclined to be more distrusting. Education is found to be conducive to promoting a more open and tolerant society and is strongly associated with greater trust (Borgonovi 2012). On the other hand, there is a close connection between trust, happiness and life satisfaction (Inglehart 1999; Putnam 2000). Arguably, trust is highly relevant to individuals' subjective feelings about their own status. If individuals are happy with what they have earned or attained in the society (although the earnings or attainment can be low if measured objectively), it is still possible that they would have a high level of trust. Conversely, even though objective achievement may be high, individuals are likely to rank their status low and have a lower level of trust if they feel relatively deprived through the actions of other people. These thoughts thus lead to:

Proposition 1: Individuals' personal success is likely to be positively associated with their levels of trust.

Trust is a relational concept and can be understood as a property embedded in the social relations that occur among people. Welch et al. (2005) define social trust as "the mutually shared expectation, often expressed as confidence", and "reciprocally beneficial behaviour" in people's interactions with others. It is found that direct participation in social networks of everyday life matters for social trust (Yamagishi and Yamagishi 1993). Two main mechanisms are assumed to help explain why individuals who are better positioned in social networks tend to have a higher level of trust. First, a dense or closed network represents more reciprocal relationships that rely on and promote trust. People in these dense or closed networks may share more similarities in terms of their socioeconomic backgrounds, a stronger sense of membership, stronger solidarity, mutual recognition and obligations, and norms. Coleman (1988) sees network closure as a distinctive advantage of social capital because it maintains and enhances trust, norms, authority, sanctions and so on. Second, resources embedded in social networks can be accessed or mobilised for purposive or expressive actions (Lin 2001), which may be conducive to strengthening trust and reciprocity among network members. For example, information generated through weakly or loosely tied networks helps people to find a job (Granovetter 1973). Favour or influence obtained in strongly

tied social networks helps job applicants to affect employment processes for their own benefits (Bian 1997). Advice or emotional support provided by "discussion networks" (Marsden 1987) as well as varying assistance offered by everyday support networks (e.g., in the community, the neighbourhood and the workplace) help people to be happier and rely more on each other. In these terms, a proposition can be developed:

Proposition 2: Individuals' social network resources are likely to be positively associated with their levels of trust.

Trust can be differentiated into two main types in contemporary society: social trust (interpersonal trust) and political trust (trust in political institutions or politicians). It has been argued that while these two forms of trust are similar in some ways, they are conceptually distinct (Putnam 2000; Newton 2001). Social trust can be based upon immediate, first-hand experience of others, whereas political trust is more generally learned indirectly and at a distance, usually through the media (Newton 2012). However, the relationship between social trust and political trust has not been clearly revealed in existing studies, with scholars tending to believe that neither form of trust is merely an individual character trait. Moreover, both social trust and political trust show how people evaluate the trustworthiness of the world they live in, and this evaluation is affected by structural and individual factors (Newton 2001; Secor and O'Loughlin 2005). While some research has found that social trust and political trust vary together, this correlation is only true to a very modest extent (Bean 2005). Thus, this exploratory study puts forward:

Proposition 3: Social trust and political trust are positively associated with each other, and both are affected by individuals' personal success and social networks.

Variables and Measures

Data from AuSSA2007 are used for testing the above propositions. This national survey was carried out in Australia in 2007 with a sample of 6,666 respondents selected at random from the Australian Electoral Roll. Structured self-completed questionnaires were mailed back by 2,781 respondents,

yielding a response rate of 42 percent. Binary logistic regressions are employed for statistical modelling. Below I describe variables and present descriptive statistics in Table 1.

Dependent variables

Social trust and political trust are two main concerns in this study. These two concepts are measured by referring to previous social survey studies.

Social trust. As reviewed by Nannestad (2008), survey-based studies of social trust normally use as their measurement instrument the trust question: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" This question has migrated from the American General Social Surveys (GSS) to the World Values Survey (WVS) and to the European Social Surveys (ESS) and has been used in other surveys as well. The responses are recorded either on a binary scale (GSS and WVS) or on an 11-point Likert scale (ESS). In the AuSSA2007 questionnaire, the question about social trust is: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (1) There are only a few people I can trust completely; and (2) If you are not careful, other people will take advantage of you". A 5-point Likert scale is used, with respondents expected to choose from "Strongly agree", "Agree", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Disagree", and "Strongly disagree". In addition, "Can't choose" is provided. In this study, I construct two dummy variables of social trust based on the above items (1) and (2) respectively, coding "Disagree" and "Strongly disagree" as "1" and the others as "0". The first variable is "Most of people can be trusted completely" and the second is "People won't take advantage of me".

Political trust. I construct four variables of political trust. The first dummy variable is about people's trust in Members of Parliament (MPs), based on the question: "How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that people we elect as MPs try to keep the promises they have made during the elections?". A 5-point Likert scale is provided for respondents, ranging from "Strongly agree", "Agree", "Neither agree nor disagree", "Disagree", "Strongly disagree" to "Can't choose". Answers of "Strongly agree" and "Agree" are coded as "1" and the other items as "0". Moreover,

there are three dummy variables about people's trust in public servants or officials. Respondents were asked how much they agree with the statement: "Most public servants can be trusted to do what is best for the country". Likewise, a dummy variable is constructed with "Strongly agree" and "Agree" coded as "1". Again, with reference to the question: "In your opinion, how often do public officials deal fairly with people like you?", I code answers of "Almost always" and "Often" as "1" and the others including "Occasionally", "Seldom", "Almost never" and "Can't choose" as "0". Regarding the question, "Do you think that treatment people get from public officials in Australia depends on who they know?", I code "Definitely does", "Probably does" and "Can't choose" as "0" and "Probably does not" and "Definitely does not" as "1".

Independent variables

Individuals' objective attainment, subjective status and social network resources are three main types of factors that are assumed to be associated with the levels of their social trust and political trust.

In terms of *objective attainment*, four variables are constructed. "Years of schooling" (covering years spent in any educational institutions) and "Having a university degree" are straightforward and measure educational participation and educational attainment respectively. It can be argued that years of schooling characterise the quantity of education inputs, while a university qualification measures the quality of the education individuals received (Borgonovi 2012). Occupation is constructed as a dummy variable with "Professionals" and "Managers" coded as "1" and other occupational categories such as "Technicians and trade workers", "community and personal service workers", "clerical and administrative workers", "sales workers", "machinery operators and drivers" and "labourers" coded as "0". Finally, income is constructed as a categorical variable that includes three levels of individuals' gross annual income ranging from low ($0-$36,399) to middle ($36,400-$77,999) to high ($78,000 and above). Low-level income is taken as the reference category.

S*ubjective status* is measured by a continuous variable which is based on the status score a respondent evaluated himself/herself. The question asks: “In our society there are groups which tend to be towards the top and groups which tend to be towards the bottom. Below is a scale that runs from the top to the bottom where the top is 10 and the bottom is 1. Where would you put yourself on this scale?”.

In terms of *social network resources*, three variables are constructed: (1) Ability to influence decisions. The related question is, “Some people because of their job, position in the community or contacts, are asked by others to help influence important decisions in their favour. What about you? How often are you asked to help influence important decisions in other people’s favour?” A dummy variable is constructed by coding “Never” as “0” and the others including “Seldom”, “Occasionally” and “Often” as “1”. (2) Access to helpers’ favour. Respondents were asked: “Are there people you could ask to help influence important decisions in your favour?” The answer of “Nobody” is coded as “0”, while other answers including “a few people”, “some people”, and “a lot of people” are coded as “1”, indicating that the respondent has access to helpers’ favour when needed. This is consistent with Lin’s (2001) conceptual work of accessible social capital. (3) Size of social network (ref. = small). Respondents were asked, “On average, about how many people do you have contact with in a typical week day, including people you live with?” It is noted that this kind of contact is on a one-to-one basis, including everyone with whom the respondent chats, talks, or discusses personal matters (strangers are not included). It can be face-to-face, by telephone, mail, or via the Internet. I construct a categorical variable based on this question, coding 0-9 persons into the category “small size”, 10-19 persons into the category “middle size”, and 20 and more persons into the category “large size”.

Control variables

Gender, age, age squared, marital status, religion, labour force participation, work sector (public vs. non-public), union membership, place of residency (urban vs. rural), and migrant status

are control variables included in statistical models. Due to space constraint, no detailed description is offered here but their descriptive information is presented in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here]

Findings and Summary

As shown in Table 2, respondents' objective attainment, subjective status and social network resources are significantly associated with social trust and political trust to some extent. Models 1 and 2 predict the associations between independent variables and trusting people in general. Education plays a noticeable role in being positively associated with respondents' confidence in "Most people can be trusted" and "People won't take advantage of me". In particular, having a university degree would significantly increase respondents' odds of trusting people by about 100%-150% compared to those without a university degree (odds ratios=2.062 & 2.501). With reference to low income earners, respondents who had middle or high income tend to have a lower level of trust (odds ratios=.639 & .586). Subjective status helps increase respondents' confidence in responding positively to "Most people can be trusted" and "People won't take advantage of me". The odds ratios are 1.147 and 1.140, showing that the odds of trusting people would be about 14% higher if a respondent subjectively ranks his/her own status one point higher out of the 10-point scale. Regarding social network resources, access to helpers' favour and having a large social network would significantly increase respondents' odds of trusting people by about 40-55% (odds ratios are between 1.415-1.544).

[Table 2 about here]

Models 3 to 6 show the association between independent variables and political trust. Education (including years of schooling and university degree), having a professional or managerial occupation, and having access to helpers' favour are all likely to significantly increase respondents' trust in terms of "Public officials deal fairly with people". Subjective status is the only predictor which has significantly positive associations with all four variables of political trust (all odds ratios

are larger than 1), showing that the higher the subjective evaluation of status, the higher the possibility of trusting MPs and public officials. Interestingly, compared to respondents with a small social network, those with a large social network tend to disagree that, "the treatment people get from public officials doesn't depend on who they know" (odds ratio=.707). In other words, it can be inferred that the larger the social networks a person has, the more likely that he/she would trust in the power of "who you know" in dealing with public officials. This implies a negative association between social network resources and the level of political trust, which differs from Proposition 2.

Therefore, except for the unexpected negative association between income and social trust as well as that between the large social network and the abovementioned political trust, the overall findings lend support to propositions 1 and 2 in that individuals' personal success and social network resources are inclined to be positively associated with social trust and political trust. Regarding the effect of control variables, a few points are noteworthy. For instance, men are likely to be more distrusting than women of people in general but more trusting of MPs or public officials. Older people are more likely to respond positively to "People won't take advantage of me" and "the treatment people get from public officials doesn't depend on who they know". Having a religion or being an urban resident is negatively associated with the belief that "People won't take advantage of me", but is positively associated with a dimension of political trust. Working in the public sector has a positive association with trust in public officials but not with trust in MPs.

[Table 3 about here]

Finally, the relationship between social trust and political trust is revealed in Table 3. It demonstrates that these two types of trust are significantly associated to a modest extent. As shown in Table 2, social trust and political trust share some associated factors in common, such as education, subjective status and access to helpers' favour. Hence, Proposition 3 can be supported.

To sum up, the analytical framework proposed in this article has won empirical support in the Australian context. It shows that individuals' personal success combined with social network resources work together to enhance the levels of social trust and political trust. The implication is

that both individual and societal theories of trust reviewed earlier have explanatory power under certain circumstances. However, as an exploratory study, this article has some limitations due to data constraints. First, similar to other surveys, the 2007 AuSSA data do not provide measures to distinguish between different concepts of trust and their implications (Nannestad 2008). Second, the findings indicate associations between independent variables and levels of social trust and political trust, but do not explain what exact roles that different independent variables play. For example, it remains unclear through what pathways education operates to increase the levels of trust. Is it because the better educated are more likely to hold positive views or be tolerant than the poorly educated, or is it because the better educated are less likely to express their distrusting or intolerant views even though they hold these views and in reality may not act differently from the poorly educated (Borgonovi 2012)? To address these issues, qualitative studies such as in-depth interviews or improved survey design may both help.

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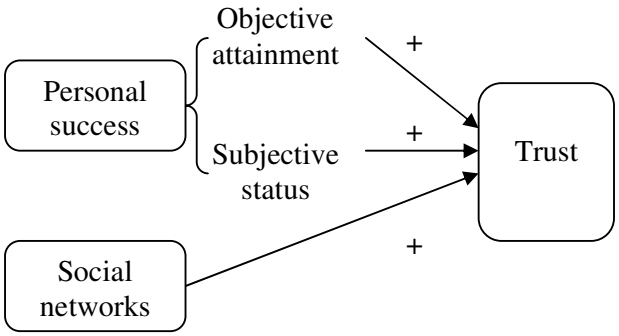
Figure 1 Proposed effects of personal success and social networks on trust



Note: "+" means a positive effect

Table 1 Descriptive statistics of variables, AuSSA 2007

Variables	Mean (S.D.) or %	Number of cases
Dependent variables		
Social trust		
Most people can be trusted	17.7%	1751
People won't take advantage of me	13.9%	1755
Political trust		
MPs keep their promises made during the election	27.0%	1733
Public servants do what is best for the country	30.1%	1734
Public officials deal fairly with people	43.7%	1756
The treatment people get from public officials doesn't depend on who they know	20.1%	1757
Independent variables		
Objective attainment		
Years of schooling	13.8(3.6)	1757
University degree	26.0%	1757
Occupation (professionals/managers=1)	38.0%	1757
Income		
Low	48.2%	1757
Middle	36.0%	1757
High	15.8%	1757
Subjective status		
Status score (1-10)	6.1(1.5)	1757
Social network resources		
Ability to influence decisions	63.9%	1757
Access to helpers' favour	61.8%	1757
Size of social network (ref.=small)		
Small (0-9 persons)	29.9%	1757
Medium (10-19 persons)	26.9%	1757
Large (20 or more persons)	43.3%	1757
Control variables		
Gender (male=1)	51.0%	1757
Age	48.8	1757
Age^2	2631.9(1600.1)	1757
Marital status (married/de facto=1)	72.9%	1757
Religion (have=1)	67.3%	1757
Labour force participation	68.6%	1757
Public sector	25.0%	1757
Union member	54.0%	1757
Urban resident	68.0%	1757
Migrant	20.3%	1757

Table 2 Binary logistic regressions in predicting social trust and political trust, AuSSA 2007

Predictor variables	*Social trust*		*Political trust*			
	Most people can be trusted (Model 1)	People won't take advantage of me (Model 2)	MPs keep their promises made during the election (Model 3)	Public servants do what is best for the country (Model 4)	Public officials deal fairly with people (Model 5)	The treatment people get from public officials doesn't depend on who they know (Model 6)
Objective attainment						
Years of schooling	1.044!	1.035	.993	1.017	1.034!	1.043!
University degree	2.062***	2.501***	1.203	1.231	1.637**	1.291
Occupation (professionals/managers=1)	1.150	1.387!	1.069	.832	1.321*	.949
Income (ref.=low)						
Middle	.639**	.762	.725*	.958	1.091	.814
High	.586*	.648!	.853	.785	1.295	1.005
Subjective status						
Status score	1.147**	1.140*	1.201***	1.091*	1.154***	1.137**
Social network resources						
Ability to influence decisions	.772	.828	1.193	.995	.817	.873
Access to helpers' favour	1.544**	1.490*	1.224	1.253!	1.310*	1.207
Size of social network (ref.=small)						
Medium	1.347	1.393	.968	1.185	1.158	1.071
Large	1.505*	1.415!	1.118	1.043	.924	.707*
Control variables						
Gender (male=1)	.747*	.374***	1.423**	1.253	1.077	1.285!
Age	1.009	1.068*	1.016	.991	.980	1.077**
Age^2	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000!	.999**
Marital status (married/de facto=1)	1.322	1.143	.939	.876	1.373*	.974
Religion (have=1)	1.045	.639**	1.355*	1.155	1.017	1.007
Labour force participation	.963	.923	.886	1.032	.737*	.815
Public sector	1.020	1.000	1.054	1.421**	1.652***	1.842***
Union member	1.014	1.196	.977	1.217!	.938	.878
Urban resident	.872	.749!	.978	1.297*	.919	1.152
Migrant	.719!	.846	.863	.887	1.185	1.119
Constant	.024***	.006***	.044***	.096***	.127***	.012***
Nagelkerke R^2	.099	.165	.063	.046	.145	.072
Number of cases	1751	1755	1733	1734	1756	1757

Note: Odds ratios are reported in the above models. !p<.1, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 3 Correlation of social trust and political trust, AuSSA 2007

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) People can be trusted					
(2) People won't take advantage of me	.485**				
(3) MPs keep their promises made during the election	.065**	.071**			
(4) Public servants do what is best for the country	.112**	.091**	.307**		
(5) Public officials deal fairly with people	.163**	.200**	.144**	.207**	
(6) The treatment people get from public officials doesn't depend on who they know	.158**	.187**	.091**	.152**	.326**

**p<.01 (2-tailed)

The Unsealed Dirt Track for Women in Computing in New Zealand

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Abstract

Women are under-represented in New Zealand's computing industry, and those who do take up computing careers experience conditions of discrimination and marginalisation. More women joining the industry would help alleviate the ongoing skills shortage which impedes growth in the sector. This paper reports on a multi-sited ethnographic study of computing work in New Zealand in which data were collected using semi-structured interviews with twenty-nine computing professionals. A wide gap between men's understanding of reasons for the low number of women in the industry and women's lived experiences of computing work was revealed. Women reported experiences of marginalisation which, as this paper argues, place women in an outsider-within location in the industry. Men were mainly unaware of the practices which marginalise women, and although they often expressed views that more women would be 'nice', the data raised doubts that the industry really does want more women.

Keywords: Women, computing, marginalisation, outsider-within, New Zealand

Introduction

Computing work in New Zealand is characterised by male domination and female marginalisation. Men occupy 72% of professional computing roles overall (Statistics New Zealand 2008), whereas women are clustered in lower-status occupations such as business analysis, database administration, and training and are notably under-represented in the most populous and esteemed roles of programming and systems analysis (Hunter 2011-2012). A glass ceiling and apparent pay discrimination experienced by women across and within computing occupations provide further evidence of women's marginalisation (Hunter 2011-2012). Similar marginalisation of women in computing occurs in Australia (Byrne and Staehr 2005), the UK (Griffiths, et al. 2007), and the USA (Hill, et al. 2010).

Another feature of computing work in New Zealand is a continuing skills shortage which seriously inhibits progress in the industry (Department of Labour 2002; Department of Labour 2006; Immigration New Zealand 2012). More women entering the profession would clearly help address this problem. New Zealand's computing industry needs more women, but the work remains unappealing to many women. The minimal efforts by industry to attract more women lead us to ask, does the computing industry really want more women?

The plight of a group of women who were needed but not really wanted was explored by Collins (2009: 13) who used the phrase "outsider-within" to describe the contradictory location black women traditionally experienced as domestic workers for wealthy white

families in the USA. These women typically developed strong insider relationships with the families they cared for, but could never truly become part of the family and remained permanently exploited outsiders within the family. Collins' (2009) representation of women positioned as outsiders-within is in many respects pitiable. The women are frequently undervalued; their skills are mostly unrecognised, and although seen, they are not heard. Usually working alone and with no representative group, they have no voice and no prospects for advancement. But, as Collins (2009: 42) notes, the picture is not all bleak. These women are survivors who navigate their position creatively and with dignity. As unobtrusive observers of the inside, they are in a powerful position to cultivate connections with other similarly-located women and seek liberation.

Based on results of a study of computing work in New Zealand, this paper argues that women are located as outsiders-within in this work. Although their level of exploitation plainly does not match that of Collins' women, women in computing are also undervalued and unheard. But they too have the potential for united action against their marginalisation. This paper makes two useful contributions to the research literature on women in computing by: (1) offering a new interpretation of women's experience in computing work, and (2) reporting data gathered from men in computing, an aspect usually omitted from such studies.

Research Method

The research method used for this investigation was a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) involving 29 face-to-face semi-structured interviews with computing professionals of both genders. Data were collected during a larger study of computing work in New Zealand for which ethical approval had been obtained from the University of Auckland – see Hunter (2012).

Participants were recruited in Auckland and Wellington over the period 2007 to 2010 using convenience, snowball, and opportunistic sampling methods, as judged necessary to capture data sufficiently representative of the industry. Many different ages, qualifications, roles, levels of responsibility, and work settings were represented amongst the participants. Interview transcriptions were examined repeatedly as relevant themes were gradually identified and eventually refined.

Findings – Men's Views

The interview question which prompted the most revealing and expansive narratives regarding gender in computing work was: "Is it easier being a man or a woman in computing?" This section reports findings from male participants.

Does Gender Make a Difference?

Approximately half the men believed gender made no difference in computing work:

> Women were treated very well, … I don't think it made any difference (James)
>
> I really don't think it makes a damn bit of difference (David)

Some men felt that gender made no difference because conditions for women had recently improved:

> I don't think there's so much of a problem for women now. Employers will view them just equally (Leyton)
>
> It's easier now than it was, to be a woman (Luke)
>
> I'm not aware of any differences; it's possibly easier for women in these days of PC correctness (Ralph)

In contrast, approximately half of the men observed that computing work was easier for men, and some offered reasons for this:

> It's still a whole lot easier being a man. It still can be very much a boys' club (Tim)
>
> I think there's quite a tendency for IT guys to be quite sexist and that can be quite scary for women (Sam)
>
> The profession had a lot of benefits for women ... but in terms of promotion most of them didn't do very well (Bob)

More Women would be Nice; Why Aren't There?

The men interviewed were often regretful of, and perplexed by, the low number of women in computing. David could not understand the lack of women:

> It would be nice to have more women; I don't know why … you probably have to ask them.

Maurice was equally mystified:

> I don't actually understand it. I would have thought it was an industry where they could easily match or even better [men]. I mean there are some industries which require strength and bulk, if you're in the building trade, you know guys on a building site have to lift huge chunks of stuff or shovel cement, but actually in the ICT industry it's got nothing to do with your gender.

Men often commented that there are no barriers for women:

> There are certainly no obstacles for women coming into computing (Mark)
>
> I don't think it's any sort of bias (John)

When asked why women are underrepresented in computing work, men often attributed the low number to women's preferences rather than any inherent problems in the industry:

> I don't think it's an issue of the industry. It's an issue of women don't seem to want to be in this industry. … I don't believe the industry is shutting out women, I think women are just not really that interested (Andy)

For example, indifference toward technology was a common explanation for the lack of women:

> I suppose there's that gender thing that things that are particularly technical and totally inhuman and non-responding to anything but a number … doesn't appeal to women (Mark)
>
> Guys have been interested in the technology sort of thing more than the women (John)

Findings - Women's Reality

This section reports findings which contrast the reality for women with men's lack of recognition of barriers for women.

Experiencing Resentment from Male Colleagues

Successful women in computing are often closely scrutinised and vigorously resented by male colleagues (Griffiths, et al. 2007; Glastonbury, Murray cited in Wilson 2003). Keri described an occasion when she corrected a simple programming problem, vastly reducing processing

time. Keri was subsequently resented by her male superiors who had been unable to rectify the problem:

> They had two systems programmers sitting in their own special office who, you know, played the lord over everybody else, but this most basic thing they didn't know. And of course they didn't like me after that.

Needing to be Twice as Good as Men

Women in computing are typically expected to meet higher standards than men in order to be considered adequate (Trauth 2002). Hilary has experienced this inequity:

> Women have to be twice as good as men to be considered equal… An analogy would be the guys were always on the nice tar sealed road and I and the other women were on the unsealed dirt track, and it was just a little bit harder for us to get along, to look as good, to move as quickly.

Hilary further explained the challenges for women aiming for career advancement; they must constantly outperform men and must never make a mistake:

> If they're going up the career ladder that eats up such a lot of your time and energy because you're just having to do more, quite often, just to be treated the same as men. All the women I know who are high achievers are constantly working really hard to do that because they get no favours. They're never allowed to have a bad day at the office. Guys can have a bad day at the office. A woman has a bad day at the office; everybody's talking about it for ever afterwards. So there's still an expectation on our performance that isn't the same as on a man's performance.

Other women also explained how hard women must work to prove themselves:

> It's extremely hard to be a woman in technology, extremely hard. There's discrimination for the women who are hard core geeks, the real programmers… The women are just going to have to work harder to prove themselves (Julia)

> I think just proving that you are just as good as the guys, and once you've done that they will treat you as an equal (Anna)

Judged either Emotional, or Technical and Boring

Women who work in male dominated professions are often caught in an impossible conflict between social expectations of appropriate feminine behaviour and appropriate professional behaviour (Fletcher 1999; Tannen 1990; Trauth 2002). If the women behave in accordance with stereotypical expectations of femininity, for example emotionally, this is seen as inappropriate professional behaviour; but if they behave according to professional custom, for example rationally, they are regarded as unfeminine. Either way, the woman is considered deficient; she is judged as a woman rather than a professional (Fletcher 1999; Tannen 1990).

This dilemma for women is seen in Tim's description of technically capable women as boring and introverted, i.e. unfeminine:

> Some of the women have been really technically competent but they've had almost no personality. Whether women who go into the more technical side of the business are the ones who are more introverted…

Tim has noticed women reacting emotionally to problems, which he and other men condemn for its lack of rationality:

> A couple [of women] that I've worked closely with suffer from being more emotionally attached to a problem than being factual and detached about it. .. They will react emotionally to something and the guys will just switch off and you'll lose their respect.

Some of the women described having a tendency toward emotional reactions and regarded this a failing:

> If someone critiques my business requirements, I take it a little personally even though I

> shouldn't… But you take it too emotionally as well, it makes you upset (Sharon)

Another dimension to the role conflict for women was identified by Sam (male). Women in general are not regarded as credible, but this applies even more so to women who are physically attractive:

> A girl, particularly a good looking girl, is not believed to start with.

Being Overlooked

Within male dominated professions, women often struggle to have their ideas heard and their contributions recognised (Hemenway 1995; Tannen 1990). Hilary found that men often disregard women's suggestions:

> It was not superbly obvious but there were subtle things of a recommendation being made, a comment being made, if one of the guys made it, it was taken more seriously than if a woman made it. You actually had to fight for equal recognition.

Luke was one of the few men who noticed women being overlooked. In his workplace people tend to ignore the female manager, deferring to him instead:

> There are three managers here in Auckland and one of them is a woman. I've noticed that people might talk to her but they don't really take any notice until they talk to me.

Being discounted is also demeaning for women in lower level positions. Marion, a data-entry operator, described a typical meeting in her workplace:

> They [men] just looked down on you as if you didn't know what you were talking about. They made you feel as though you were stupid. Because you were a woman they didn't hear you speak or anything.

Marion also noticed men receiving credit for women's work:

> Two people can be exactly the same but preference is made to the male, even if the female is the one who's trained the male. The female might be the one who ends up doing the job but the male gets the accolades for it.

Measuring up to Male Expectations

Another dilemma for women who aspire to management roles in computing is that they are judged according to male expectations of leadership. David was one of the few men who had experienced a female leader. He respected this woman because she met his criteria for leadership - technical expertise, courage, vision, and business insight.

> She was leading the programme at [XYZ] to replace our mainframe and that was not a project for the faint of heart, I can assure you. There's a lot of function points hiding in that baby I can tell you. And she had the total respect of the IT management team and the business. From a competency perspective she was right up there; she had the business acumen; she had a really good grasp of the technical subject matter and the vision of what it was we were trying to do. So, you know, she was off like a robber's dog.

Any woman not meeting male expectations of leadership will have problems. Julia's boss was a woman whose effective people-management skills did not compensate for her lack of technical knowledge in the eyes of the men, and she was not respected:

> I had a very cookie female boss, and she was probably the epitome of what male geeks don't like in a woman, she was so non-technological. She was very good at the people stuff and I guess that's what managers are for really. She was good at making sure everybody was happy, and trained up and working along nicely. But didn't have a clue about technology ….

Discussion

Women's underrepresentation and marginalisation in computing is partially revealed in statistical records of the industry, but additional aspects of marginalisation are revealed by this study. Women reported being resented by men for their successes, having to work harder and meet higher standards than their male colleagues, being judged as women rather than professionals according to male expectations, and having their contributions overlooked.

Few of the men interviewed for this study, even those who believe computing work is easier for men, recognised any of these barriers for women. While three men detected circumstances likely to be off-putting to women (a boy's club, sexist attitudes, a glass ceiling) most men thought that if women choose not to join the industry, this is because they are disinterested in technology. They do not recognise phenomena within the industry which marginalise women, nor do they recognise their own part in these phenomena.

Many men claim to want more women in computing, but do they really want them? Women's accounts of their experiences in the industry suggest that their contributions typically go unnoticed and if noticed, are usually undervalued. Judged as women, rather than computing professionals, they are not considered legitimate members of then profession. Women may perhaps be tolerated in lower-level, lower-status, roles, but they are not welcomed as leaders. These factors place women in an outsider-within location in computing work.

So far women have not effectively united and demanded proper recognition for their work. The organisation Women in Technology (WIT) was formed in 1996 to provide support and training opportunities for women in computing but disbanded in 2009. If women are to break free of their outsider-within location in the manner Collins (2009) suggested, men need to change, but women need to demand this change.

Conclusion

This paper has reported results from a study of gendered employment practices in computing work in New Zealand. A wide gap between men's understanding of reasons for the low number of women in the industry and women's lived experiences of the industry is revealed. Most men failed to recognise that women participate in computing work as undervalued and barely-accepted members of the industry. Women are located as outsiders-within in the industry; the liberation proposed by Collins (2009) is long overdue.

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A social-ecological perspective to promote physical activity at the residential level: a thematic approach

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Abstract

Physical inactivity is the second major public health issue leading to death and disability after tobacco smoking. A growing body of researchers have examined ways to promote physical activity (PA) and to improve subsequent health outcomes. Health policy, social policy and design policies in isolation are often failing to increase levels of physical activity. The question arises whether a social-ecological approach, being a multi-dimensional approach, would improve the built and social environment of neighbourhoods to promote physical activity. The method adopted to address this aim is based upon available academic literature, with focus especially on the public health, planning, transport and urban design fields. The results demonstrate that in spite of some contradictory evidence, many studies confirm that good urban design qualities play a pivotal role in improving the built and social environment, therefore enhancing physical activity in neighbourhoods. A social-ecological approach is therefore a viable approach in promoting physical activity at the neighbourhood level because this approach has the strength to analyse various crucial issues in an integrated way.

Key words: Built environment, Physical activity, Social-ecological approach, Urban design, Public health.

Introduction

The number of people worldwide who are either overweight or obese is increasing at an alarming rate (Cameron et al. 2003; WHO 2008). Obesity levels range from less than 5% in China and Japan to more than 75% in urban Samoa (WHO 2003). Obesity is recognised as a major threat to public health and is a real concern for both governments and communities. It is argued that the built environment plays a critical role in the increase or decrease of physical activity, which has a direct impact on decreasing the level of obesity within a community (Jackson 2003). The built environment encompasses a broad range of physical and social elements which comprise the structure of a community and may have influence upon the overall levels of overweight and obese individuals. Public health researchers are going beyond individual models of behaviour to more inclusive ecologic models that consider both the physical and social environments as determinants of health (Humpel et al. 2002; King et al. 2001). Researchers from urban planning and transportation are also expanding their horizons and looking at the effects of their practices on human behaviour and health (Handy et al. 2002). There is need to undertake comparable research on the relationship between the built and social environments, especially considering health at a neighbourhood level.

The aim of this paper is to develop a thematic approach to promote physical activity at the neighbourhood level. A thematic framework will be developed using urban design principles and social factors to promote physical activity.

Theoretical framework

During the last decade, there has been a marked increase in literature which examines the relationships between the built environment and physical activity, especially in the realm of public health (Samimi et al. 2009). Lopez and Hynes (2006) argued that urban design considerations, such as density, poor street connectivity and the lack of sidewalks are associated with decreased physical activity and lead to an increase in weight.

Various transport studies conducted by Saelens et al. (2003) have indicated that people living in traditional neighbourhoods, with a grid iron pattern layouts, high densities, mixed land uses and with short block lengths were more likely to conduct their trips either through walking and/or cycling to transport, than people living in sprawling developments. 'Commercial land use and access to shops and walking destinations have been proposed as components of a neighbourhood's "walkability" shaping physical activity choices and obesity risk' (Black et al. 2010: 489). This shows that mixed use developments and built environments with good legibility and permeability provide more opportunities for people to walk and exercise.

Land use patterns, transport systems, safety and site design are several elements of the built environment that relate to physical activity. There is growing consensus among researchers and policy makers that the social and physical environment plays an important role in promoting physical activities and walking. A number of studies have discovered direct or indirect links between the built environment and physical activity. This paper analyse if the built and social environment can promote physical activity, a social-ecological approach is deemed to be suitable because this allows and emphasizes cross-level analysis of health problems and related intervention strategies.

Methodology

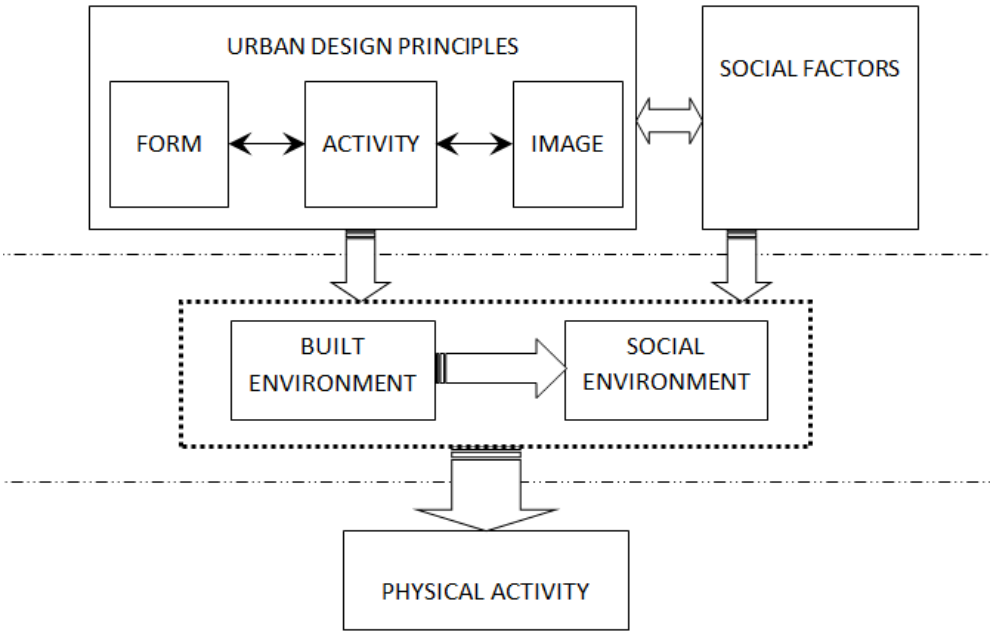
To encourage physical activity one needs to look into multi-level and multi-component interventions targeting physical and social environments of the place (Giles-Corti 2006), therefore, this study is framed within a theoretical social-ecological approach. This approach provides a basis for physical activity research and practice, focussing attention on multiple issues, such as the social and physical environments, and policy implications (Giles-Corti 2006). Most recent physical activity research incorporating the built environment is underpinned by a well-founded ecological approach. Traditionally many research theorists have considered only one perspective, either individual behaviour or cultural or environmental influences. Currently many researchers have started using this approach in disciplines such as health, urban and regional planning, social science and transportation (Handy et al. 2002).

The basic objective of the social-ecological paradigm is to explore the inter-relations among environmental conditions and human behaviour, and wellbeing. Many researchers believe that there is a complex inter-relationship between physical and social factors, capable enough

to influence wellbeing within the community (Stokols 2000). A key 'strength of a social-ecological approach to health promotion is that it integrates strategies of behavioural change and environmental enhancement within a broad systems-theoretical framework' (Stokols 1995). This approach intends to modify both physical and social environments and allows the understanding how design elements can create built and social environments that enhance physical activity. Our research is limited to two layers - built and social. The scope of this paper is only to analyse built and social layers, to improve physical activity using urban design principles and social factors, and to provide a thematic approach which aims to enhance physical activity at the residential level.

Urban design principles develop this thematic approach to promote physical activity, intrinsically because urban design is multidisciplinary and multifunctional, and this approach allows an understanding of the situation in an integrated way rather than in isolation (refer Figure 1). The details of this method are explained in next section.

Figure 1. The conceptual framework



There are three main urban design principles - form, activity and image (Montgomery 1998). Essentially, form is responsible in creating a built/physical environment, which allows performing varied activities and this directs people to create an image of place or mental mapping of the place. Social factors together with design elements create both the built and social environment. To achieve a consideration of social factors, the built environment needs to incorporate appropriate design elements.

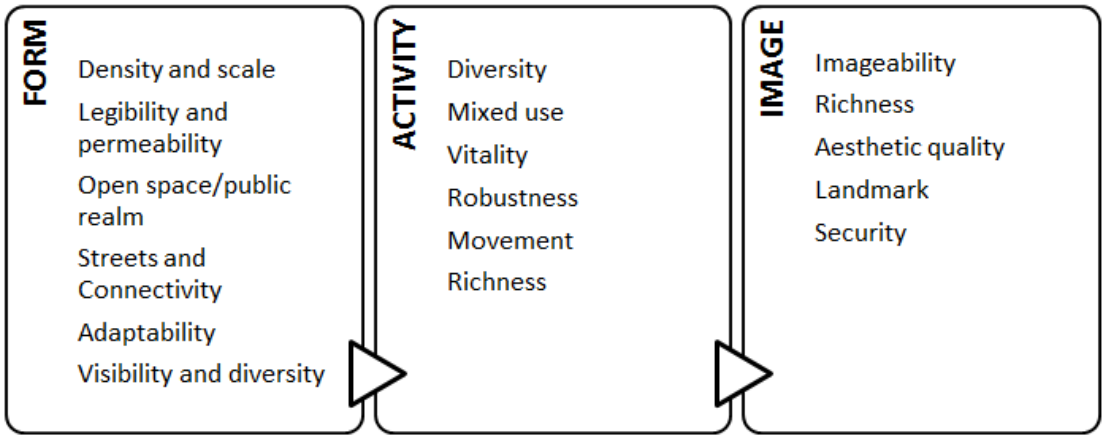
This investigation is mainly based upon findings from previous research conducted in the disciplines of health and urban design. Mostly studies have explored independently the relationship of physical activity either with social or physical environment. Whereas, the aim

of this research is to develop a framework to promote physical activity by integrating both built and social environments using urban design principles.

Identification of urban design principles

There are many definitions for urban design. The definition considered for the purpose of this paper is: "*Urban design is multifaceted discipline dealing with a range of social, economic, transport, infrastructure and cultural aspects that have an ongoing impact on the functioning and form of the urban environment*" (Kozlowski 2006: 36). There are many urban design principles which help to improve the built environment and encourage residential activities, social inclusion and physical activities to create liveable place (Llewellyn-Davis 2000). It is well recognised in the built environment field that essential elements in place making involve activity, image, and form. Montgomery (1998) identified these as the main principles of urban design. Some of the sub-design principles which create, form and improve activity or image of the place are identified in figure 2.

Figure 2. Urban Design Principles of Place Making



Sources: Bentley, et al., 1985; Montgomery, 1998; Karuppannan and Sivam, 2011.

There are eight urban design principles within the categories of form, activity and image that are identified which will improve the built and social environment and encourage physical activity. Table 1 presents the identified social factors as well as design principles to encourage PA. The table also presents the reasons for the consideration of design principles.

To promote PA the built and social environment needs to develop using identified urban design principle (refer Table 1). The role of the built and social environment in enhancing PA at neighbourhood level is explained in the following section.

Table 1. The relationship between social factors and design principles

Identified social factors to improve social environment	Design elements that supports social factor enhancement	Relationship
Sense of community	Diversity Richness Safety Aesthetic	Built environments with diversity of housing types, with activities that are safe for pedestrians, cyclist and motorist, generally encourage walking, cycling and eventually community participation. It is found that neighbourhoods with a high percentage of low income residents were found to be at risk of poor health because they did not have the same amenities as high income suburbs. Increasing people's sense of neighbourhood safety is one of the important factors to increase physical activity among people. A Sense of community would encourage many people to participate more effectively in group activities.
People participation in community and social facilities	Accessibility Mixed land use	The neighbourhood that have sidewalks, good pedestrian movement patterns, mixed land uses, public open spaces and an ample public realm, having traditional grid iron street patterns with small blocks, which foster connectivity, are accepted as having a better urban form for physical activity at neighbourhood level. This type of built environment provides opportunities for residents to foster social inclusion and improving social capital.
Opportunities for formal and informal gathering	Social infrastructure Public open space	Location and provision of open space within 10-15 minutes walking distance with good accessibility encourages people to visit public open spaces. Indeed this improves the opportunities for informal and formal gathering.
Social interaction	Accessibility and connectivity Public open space	Again, it is observed that good public open spaces provide a stage for social interaction. Generally the utilisation of open space is high if it located strategically within 10 to 15 minutes (walking distance), and where good accessibility exists by both public and private modes of transport. Well-equipped and adaptable spaces for varied activities attract everyone irrespective of age, gender and race. High levels of social capital and social cohesion within a neighbourhood encourages residents to support one another to engage in PA as well as to maintain a social environment which encourages PA..

Sources: Montgomery, 1998; author.

Built and social environment

Encouraging people to engage in PA to improve their health can be supported through a change in both built and social environments. The built environment plays an important role in influencing physical activity particularly in walking and cycling to/for transport or recreationally (Giles-Corti 2006), and in increasing positive social interactions and social trust (Karuppannan and Sivam 2011).

The provision of open space is well recognised as a major contributor to the quality of health, as well as quality of the urban environment, within urban areas (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989). Public parks need to accommodate various types of activities for residents to engage in PA, not just open space with basic landscape features such as benches for residents to sit, relax and socialise. While designing and creating effective built environments, richness should be given importance. Neighbourhoods with optimum density, good street pattern; good

pedestrian network; sidewalks, open space, mixed use developments, and good connectivity, provide opportunities for physical activity and walking (Brennan Ramirez et al. 2006). Therefore, residents living in these types of neighbourhood are more likely to walk and bike for public transportation/ recreation and shopping relative to residents living in less vibrant areas with a single dominated land use and low density.

The public realm is not only limited to open space and squares, but includes street activities. Social cohesion and informal social control are the two major threads of collective efficiency, which underpin human health and well-being (Oka 2011). This argument is supported by other researchers such as McNeill, Kreuter & Subramanian (2006) who state that the development of social cohesion allows residents to work together with their neighbours and encourage residents to support one another to engage in PA as well as to maintain social environment which encourage PA.

This analysis of literature has demonstrated that there is a very strong relationship between the built environment, social environment, design principles and social factors which promote PA. Specific design elements in the social and built environment encourage residents to walk, cycle and embrace physical exercise in the public realm. This occurs through a strong understanding of social infrastructure, location, history and connectivity, building a strong sense of community and promoting social inclusion and social trust.

Thematic approach to promote physical activity

Appropriate built and social environments are required to enhance behavioural and social interventions which improve social support in community settings. Urban policy needs to advocate for a comprehensive integrated approach which aims to modify the physical and social environments, and foster improvement in subsequent healthy behaviours (Giles-Corti and Donovan 2002). This social-ecological approach has the strength to analyse many layers of issues to develop an integrated framework for implementing urban policies, improving overall individual and community well-being.

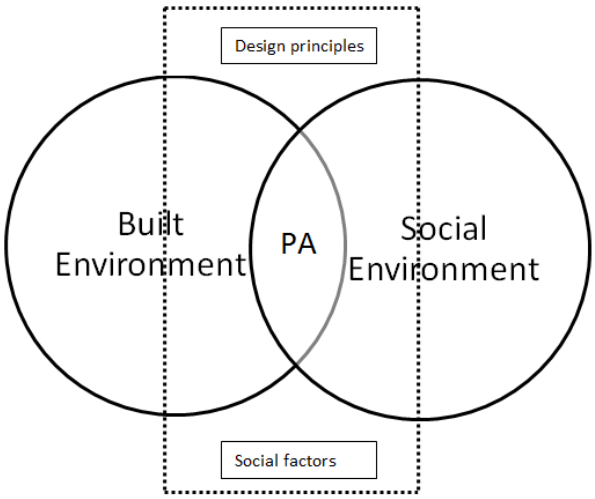


Figure 3. Thematic framework to promote physical activity at neighbourhood level

The conceptual framework presented in figure 3 promotes physical activity at the neighbourhood level. This approach is an integrated approach that looks in both people (social aspects) and place (built environment) and it establishes that places are successful if design considers both people and places comprehensively. Many papers clearly demonstrate the need to create supportive social and built environments which promote PA, it is therefore necessary to carefully consider this integrated approach which incorporates various design elements and social factors.

Conclusions

It is not an easy task to stimulate people to engage in PA. The complex and dynamic relationship between people and their built and social environments needs to be addressed comprehensively from an interdisciplinary perspective and through cross-disciplinary efforts. In other words, modification in physical design alone is not enough to change people's behaviours to promote PA.

To promote physical activity at the neighbourhood level, both the social and built environments are required to be modified, to be made people-friendly using design principles and social factors. Urban designers, anthropologist and public health professionals must work collaboratively to find ways to create communities supportive of physical and social environments that promote PA. These cross-disciplinary efforts will provide opportunities for the incorporation of scientific knowledge into urban design practice.

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Gender Wage Inequality and Employment Growth in Regional Queensland

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Abstract
Employment in regional Queensland over recent decades has been characterised by significant growth in industries such as the resources sector and by fluctuations in employment opportunities in sectors such as retail, manufacturing, and hospitality. These differences in industry performance have created regional labour markets vulnerable to inequalities in opportunity and outcome. The research within this paper presents a statistical analysis of whether an equitable level of high-wage positions are being created for female workers in areas of regional Queensland experiencing high growth in employment between 2003 and 2009. The study uses a hypothesis arguing that an outcome of reasonable gender equality is being achieved if high-wage opportunities for females are growing at the same rate as opportunities for males in the same wage levels. A statistical analysis is presented using linear regression modelling across 10 non-metropolitan areas of Queensland experiencing relatively high workforce growth in order to compare the effects of workforce growth on comparable employment opportunities for males and females earning above $83,000 and $104,000 each year. Across all 10 regions, the research finds that for every 20 additional employees added to the workforce, an additional 1.2 females are employed compared to an additional 9.58 males employed in positions earning over $83,000 each year. As such, the research presented by this paper concludes that high-income gender inequality has existed in regional Queensland over the six years analysed by this study.

Key Words: Regional Queensland, Employment, Gender Inequality, Income, Gender Pay-Gap, Resources Sector

Introduction

The conflicting performance of different industries in Queensland over the past decade has resulted in diverse employment opportunities. For those workers employed in industries such as the resources sector, demand and wages are significantly higher than in industries experiencing economic downturn, such as manufacturing, tourism and hospitality (Ferguson 2012).Significantly higher wages and conditions offered in certain industries have the potential to create inequalities in communities where not all workers are employed in the same industry or have the same skills or background to capitalise on increased employment demand. However, there has been a lack of statistical research measuring whether inequality is occurring in these communities and its extent across Queensland.

This paper uses ABS data to analyse whether female workers are achieving high-wage positions in areas of regional Queensland that are experiencing high growth in employment. The study consists of linear regression modelling analysing how high employment growth in

ten regional areas of Queensland has influenced growth in the number of females earning high-wages compared to males over the six year period of 2003-2009. Whilst the number of females earning relatively high wages in each of these ten regions has historically been low, this paper presents a hypothesis contending that an outcome of reasonable equality has been achieved if high-wage opportunities for females are growing at the same rate as those for males in each of the ten regions experiencing high employment growth.

The ten regional Queensland areas included in the study are Belyando, Boonah, Cairns, Caloundra North, Dalrymple, Emerald, Gladstone, Gympie, Kingaroy, and Mackay. Each region experienced workforce growth over 20 per cent between 2003 and 2009 with the exception of Boonah (19 per cent) and Dalrymple (13.3 per cent). These ten regions were chosen because each area has experienced a relatively high growth rate over the six year period and because all areas chosen present a reasonable geographical coverage of non-metropolitan Queensland.

This paper presents a brief literature review of wage inequality and industrial growth in Queensland, followed by the research methodology, a presentation and analysis of the data, and a conclusion to the research presented.

Wage inequality in Queensland

Gender wage inequality in Australia is often defined by reference to the gender pay gap, which most broadly is the difference in aggregate average earnings of males and females (OFSWQ2010). At February 2012, the pay gap in Australia was 17.4 per cent, where female employees on average earned $250.50 less than the $1437.40 earned by male employees per week (EOWA 2012). In Queensland,the gender pay gap is higher than the national average and measures 21.4 per cent at February 2012, increasing by 2.3 per cent over 12 months (EOWA 2012).The Queensland Government (OFSWQ 2010) provides three reasons why a gender pay gap exists:

- There is a lack of permanent part time positions and flexible working arrangements, which limit the ability for a person to combine employment with family responsibilities.
- Females are over-represented in casual positions, which are often lower paid and which do not provide opportunities for career training and development.
- Males and females continue working in different occupations and industries, with female dominated industries continuing to attract a lower salary when compared to male dominated industries.

Efforts by governments, trade unions and employers to close the pay gap have been unsuccessful, with the Federal Government (EOWA 2012) finding in May 2012 that the gap has increased by 1.5 per cent over the past 18 yearsand by approximately 2 per cent since December 2007. The Federal Minister for the Status of Women, Kate Ellis, has claimed that the gap exists due to a failure of companies appointing females into executive and non-executive director positions (Williams 2011).This argument is supported by research undertaken by the Committee for Economic Development of Australia (CEDA 2011), which finds that companies have an ‘irrational bias’ against promoting females to leadership roles. However, research undertaken by Hakim (2010) found that the gap can partially be explained by the 10 to 30 per cent of women who choose to remain outside the workforce for the purpose of raising a family, and that 40 to 80 per cent of women choose ‘adaptive’ positions in the workforce allowing a focus on family rather than a complete commitment to a career.

Regardless of why gender based wage inequalities exist, research suggests that the pay gap has negative consequences to the Australian economy. The National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling (NATSEM 2009) found that Australia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) would increase by approximately $5.5 billion for every percentage decrease in the gender wage gap. Eliminating the gap altogether would increase Australia's GDP by $93 billion. However, NATSEM base their modelling on an aggregate increase to femalepay, thereby increasing GDP accordingly. The research does not consider a lowering of the gender pay gap due to an aggregated decrease in male wages, or the situation where male-held positions are eliminated in favour of female-held positions at the same rate of pay.

Whilst an increase in female rates of pay has been shown to increase GDP, limited research has been undertaken to analyse how national and international economic performance impacts upon gender wage equality. Statistics released by the Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Agency (2012) show that the pay gap started increasing in December 2007. This period coincided with the crash of international financialmarkets at the onset of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), and directly followed the election of a new Australian Government in November 2007.

Seguino (2009)writes that the impact of a global economic downturn on female employment will depend on how many jobs are "lost in female or male dominated sectors of the economy," and that female job losses would be expected to rise where public sector budget cuts are made due to the disproportionate amount of women in areas such as education, health, and social services (Seguino 2009: 3). In the UK during the GFC in 2008 for instance, female unemployment grew at a rate of 2.3 per cent, double that of the male rate of 1.2 per cent (TUC 2009).

Given the apparent instability of female employment during a time of economic uncertainty, it is appropriate to analyse the impact that emerging industries and labour markets have on female participation and equality. The current economic situation and the divergent fortunes of industrial sectors in Queensland have produced labour market conditions which could give rise to various forms of inequality.

It is therefore necessary for research to consider whether increased employment opportunities in certain areas of Queensland are resulting in equal outcomes for males and females. Such research is required for policy-makers to consider which regional policies can be implemented in order to encourage equality in regional labour markets and the employment outcomes of all workers.

Methodology

To select the 10 regional areas in Queensland that had experienced employment growth over the period 2003-2004, Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (2002-2009) small area labour market statistics were used.Each of the 454 (ASGC01) areas were analysed to determine employment growth between the years where comparable income data was available(2003-2009) by calculating average growth rates for employed persons and workforce in each regional labour market. Ten areas were selected for research which experienced high growth rates in employment and which represented reasonable coverage of non-metropolitan Queensland. Each region experienced workforce growth over 20 per cent between the years of study with the exception of Boonah (19 per cent) and Dalrymple (13.3 per cent).

Wage data was sourced through the ABS publication *Estimates of Personal Income for Small Areas*(2009) for the period 2003-2009. Statistics of the number of males and females earning a relatively high-wage over $83,200 and $104,000 in each year was extracted for each of the ten regions of study. Each of these wage figures are not represented by an upper bracket (i.e. $83,200 represents all workers earning above $83,200, including those beyond $104,000). A linear regression model was then conducted for each area using the following variables:

WFGrowth	Workforce growth in persons
FWAGE83	Number of females earning over $83,200
FWAGE104	Number of females earning over $104,000
MWAGE83	Number of males earning over $83,200
MWAGE104	Number of males earning over $104,000

WFGrowth was placed as the dependent variable against each of the remaining independent variables for each region. The linear regression model shows the additional number of males and females employed for each additional person entering the workforce for each particular region. A linear model is also presented to display the aggregate measurement of all regions.

In 2003, just 12.6 per cent of workers earning over $104,000 for all areas were female. Despite this significantly low proportion of females earning a high wage, this study hypothesises that reasonable equality in wages has been achieved if every one person increase in the workforce for each region results in an equal percentage increase in the number of females employed in both of the high wage variables when compared to males in the same bracket. Such a measurement would indicate that an equal number of male and female workers are equally being employed at high wages as employment opportunities rise in each region. From this measurement, the research will be able to analyse whether male and female high wage opportunities are growing at the same rate for each of the regions experiencing high employment growth.

Data presentation and analysis

Table 1 presents workforce growth between the period of June 2003 and June 2008 for each of the ten regions studied.Between June 2003 and June 2008, the aggregate workforce growth rate across Queensland was approximately 15 per cent (OESR 2002-2010). With the exception of the region of Dalrymple, each region chosen for this study achieved significantly higher workforce growth rates when compared to the Queensland average. Whilst this study will not analyse the specific reasons for such high growth rates in each area, growth rates in areas such as Gladstone and Mackay may be explained by their proximity to mining employment opportunities. The growth in areas such as Caloundra and Cairns may be explained by the availability of opportunities in secondary industries providing goods and services to the mining and agricultural industries.

	Year	2003-04	2004-05	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	% Increase
Belyando	WFGrowth	5,631	5,965	6,128	6,147	6,389	7,133	26.67
Boonah	WFGrowth	4,344	4,644	4,721	5,032	5,097	5,173	19.08
Cairns	WFGrowth	4,412	4,522	4,496	4,765	4,958	5,389	22.14
CaloundraN	WFGrowth	9,177	9,810	9,974	10,629	10,768	11,633	26.76
Dalrymple	WFGrowth	1,912	2,014	2,115	2,113	2,085	2,168	13.39
Emerald	WFGrowth	7,994	8,469	8,700	8,727	9,071	9,701	21.35
Gladstone	WFGrowth	15,042	15,937	16,371	16,422	17,068	18,527	23.17
Gympie	WFGrowth	7,207	7,721	8,134	8,155	8,739	8,821	22.39
Kingaroy	WFGrowth	5,843	6,260	6,595	6,612	7,086	7,058	20.79
Mackay	WFGrowth	35,318	37,417	38,438	38,557	40,075	45,349	28.4
Total	WFGrowth	96880	102759	105672	107159	111336	120952	24.85

Table 1: Worforce Growth

Following the above identification of high employment growth areas, this paper asks what impact have these high growth rates had on the employment growth of females in high wage positions when compared to the growth of males in similar positions. As per the study's methodology, female growth in high wage positions are assumed to be growing at a comparable rate to the number of males in high wage positions where a 1 person increase in the workforce for each region results in an equal increase in each of the high wage variables for FWAGE83 compared to MWAGE83, and for FWAGE104 compared to MWAGE104.

Independent: WFGrowth

	Dependent Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
Belyando	FWAGE83	0.128	0.016	0.972	8.213	0.001
	FWAGE104	0.078	0.007	0.982	10.526	0
	MWAGE83	0.552	0.099	0.942	5.603	0.005
	MWAGE104	0.682	0.098	0.961	6.964	0.002
Boonah	FWAGE83	0.027	0.009	0.827	2.946	0.042
	FWAGE104	0.006	0.002	0.812	2.781	0.05
	MWAGE83	0.178	0.048	0.881	3.722	0.02
	MWAGE104	0.065	0.013	0.927	4.936	0.008
Cairns	FWAGE83	0.051	0.007	0.968	7.688	0.002
	FWAGE104	0.017	0.003	0.937	5.353	0.006
	MWAGE83	0.277	0.058	0.922	4.774	0.009
	MWAGE104	0.109	0.021	0.933	5.202	0.007
Caloundra North	FWAGE83	0.028	0.002	0.988	12.549	0
	FWAGE104	0.009	0.001	0.984	10.912	0
	MWAGE83	0.157	0.036	0.91	4.392	0.012
	MWAGE104	0.083	0.008	0.981	10.132	0.001
Dalrymple	FWAGE83	0.044	0.024	0.672	1.815	0.144
	FWAGE104	0.025	0.01	0.79	2.575	0.062
	MWAGE83	0.342	0.102	0.859	3.349	0.029
	MWAGE104	0.196	0.071	0.81	2.76	0.051

Table 3: High Wage Employment Growth (M/F)

Tables 3 and 4 display the results from each linear test using the each independent variable according to wage and gender. The B Coefficients for each test signifies the impact that a one person increase in workforce for each region will have on the number of females or males employed earning over $83,000 or $104,000 each year. It is already evident from the data that females in higher wage positions are growing at a substantially lower rate than comparable positions for males in each region. For instance, for workers earning above $83,000, the B coefficient for females ranges from 0.011 in Gympie to 0.128 in Belyando.

The region of Belyando produced the highest results for females across all regions covered with 0.128 females employed in positions earning above $83,000 created for every additional person increase in the workforce, and an additional 0.078 females employed in positions earning above $104,000 for every additional person increase in the workforce. Gympie produced the lowest results for females, with just 0.011 females employed in positions earning above $83,000 created for every additional person increase in the workforce, and an additional 0.005 females employed in positions earning above $104,000 for every additional person increase in the workforce.

Independent: WFGrowth

	Dependent Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
Emerald	FWAGE83	0.083	0.012	0.96	6.816	0.002
	FWAGE104	0.031	0.005	0.945	5.756	0.005
	MWAGE83	0.709	0.096	0.965	7.362	0.002
	MWAGE104	0.114	0.057	0.706	1.992	0.117
Gladstone	FWAGE83	0.061	0.008	0.967	7.621	0.002
	FWAGE104	0.021	0.003	0.955	6.451	0.003
	MWAGE83	0.736	0.14	0.935	5.257	0.006
	MWAGE104	0.449	0.059	0.967	7.627	0.002
Gympie	FWAGE83	0.011	0.003	0.856	3.318	0.029
	FWAGE104	0.005	0.001	0.96	6.827	0.002
	MWAGE83	0.127	0.025	0.93	5.077	0.007
	MWAGE104	0.057	0.009	0.953	6.288	0.003
Kingaroy	FWAGE83	0.025	0.005	0.93	5.06	0.007
	FWAGE104	0.01	0.003	0.888	3.856	0.018
	MWAGE83	0.173	0.027	0.955	6.451	0.003
	MWAGE104	0.15	0.032	0.92	4.702	0.009
Mackay	FWAGE83	0.044	0.007	0.959	6.744	0.003
	FWAGE104	0.016	0.003	0.954	6.328	0.003
	MWAGE83	0.521	0.115	0.915	4.536	0.011
	MWAGE104	0.382	0.074	0.932	5.143	0.007

Table 4: High Wage Employment Growth (M/F)

The results for males were substantially higher than females, with a range in the B Coefficient for FWAGE83 of 0.127 in Gympie to 0.736 in Gladstone. For FWAGE104, the range was 0.057 in Gympie to 0.682 in Belyando. For males, Belyando was an interesting case, where more positions for men were created above $104,000 when compared to those created above $83,000.

Table 5 shows high wage employment growth across all ten regions for males and females. Every additional person increase to the workforce across all regions resulted in an additional 0.051 female position earning above $83,000 each year, and an additional 0.479 male position earning above $83,000 each year.

Independent: WFGrowth

	Dependent Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
Totals	FWAGE83	0.051	0.005	0.979	9.632	0
	FWAGE104	0.02	0.002	0.984	11.12	0
	MWAGE83	0.479	0.065	0.965	7.381	0
	MWAGE104	0.347	0.037	0.978	9.327	0

Table 5: Total High Wage Employment Growth (M/F)

The hypothesis used for this study has not been met. Increases in the number of high-income positions created for women are not growing at an equitable rate compared to the number of high-income positions created for men in any of the ten Queensland regions studied. Across all regions, every twenty person increase in the workforce will result in an additional 1.02 females employed in positions earning above $83,000 each year and an additional 9.58 males employed in positions earning above $83,000 each year. A female worker therefore has approximately a 1 in 11 chance of being employed in a position earning over $83,000 across the ten regions studied when compared to males.

Conclusion

The research presented by this study has shown inequality in the number of high-wage positions being created for females in high growth areas of Queensland when compared to those created for male employees. For every 20 additional employees added to the workforce across all labour markets studied, there were an additional 1.2 females employed and an additional 9.58 males employed in positions earning above $83,000 each year.

This study has not considered the reasons for such a difference in outcomes for males and female workers in high wage brackets. The research presented above can form the basis for further studies considering the social reasons for why such inequality is occurring and its impact on the above regions and the broader Queensland economy.

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The Dimensions and Intensity of Belief: Interviews with Emerging Adults

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Abstract

Identity consolidation and growing confidence in one's sense of self and independent judgement are the tasks of emerging adulthood, the modern life-stage from late teens to late twenties (Arnett, 2004). This paper suggests that these processes can involve a person's engagement with religious ideas and/or the issues and worldviews that religion entails. Individuals who have defined themselves in terms of a belief system, whether religious, non-religious or anti-religious may make socially visible commitments of their position. This paper reports early findings from in-depth interviews with a purposive sample of 51 emerging adults in Brisbane with a subsample of thosewho identify[2] as being Christian, Muslim or 'Nones' (Agnostic, Irreligious, Atheist). Following on from the author's previous conference paper 'Individualised Religiosity' (Khokhar, 2011)interviewees are categorised as high, moderate or low intensity believers. It describes commonalities across the high and low believers of each subsample. The paper concludes that intensity appears to operate in both religious and non-religious individuals.

Key Words: *Emerging Adulthood, Identity, Religiosity, Intensity, Belief.*

Introduction

'Emerging Adulthood', a life-stage of modern society covering the years from late teenage to late twenties,involves crucial aspects of personal and social identity formation (Arnett, 2004). Individualsundergo a transitionfrom a familial-focused to a peer-focused social network, and explore and consolidate personal identity and social networks. Religion can be a crucial aspect of these social transitions but it can also be an arena for the individual to work through issues of identity and self-awareness apart from them. Emerging Adults (Arnett, 2004:177)

[2] These categories are derived from the subjects' own description of their beliefs; from which the researcher has utilised. As far as possible, at no time during the data collection was the subject labelled vis-a-vis or issued a leading statement or question.

are of particular interest to study these processes. An individual prioritises these tasks during this time in life. Focusing on young adults is also important in itself given the historical overemphasis on subjects within the childhood or senior age range (Barry, Nelson, Davarya & Urry, 2010:311).

This paper examinesbelief profiles and identity construction among a purposive sample of emerging adults in Brisbane. Three subsamples were targeted. Christians, Muslims and Nones[3]. Christians were chosen because at 61.1%, they comprise the largest single religious group in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011); Muslims, due to the religion'sposition in the public awareness; and finally, 'Nones'. This final category is not a group with an identity or defined boundaries. 'Nones'comprise those who claim no religious preference in census returns and have been characterised as the fastest growing-and most overlooked 'religious group' in Australia (Lim & MacGregor & Putnam, 2012:599).Interviewees includedatheists[4], agnostics and the irreligious. Recruitment of interviewees was achieved by personal approaches, snowball techniques and by approaching churches and mosques.

Interviewees were between fifteen and twenty-nine years old and had resided in Australia for at least ten years.The data collection instrument was a semi-structured, in-depth interview, supplemented with a short-survey of standard religiosity items and exploration of the interviewee's immediate social relations through using an ego net name generator and follow-up questions. Initial data analysis involved identifying the intensity of belief for individuals in all three subsamples.

How do we categorise belief systems: literature review

[3] This category language is limited at present and shall be developed further during forthcoming in-depth analysis.

[4] Very briefly; atheism is the general disbelief in the existence of deities (Benedict, 2008:46); irreligiosity is an indifference towards developing some position with regards to matters of religion; agnosticism is a considered position of scepticism maintained towards both theist and atheist assertions (Benedict, 2008:9-10).

Researchers have variously sought to categorise individual's attempts to devise meaning systems (see Khokhar, 2011 paper on Individualised Religiosity).At its simplest, categories of belief could involve a simple binary choice(Sherkat, 2008:439), such as 'subject believes in God' or 'subject does not believe in God'. The difficulty such a rudimentary classification system creates is multi-fold: What is meant by God(s)? Is personal (and group) behaviour also to be considered? The data analysis for this project required a more refined system of classification; one that better covered the belief profiles interviewees were offering.

Sherkat (2008:439) identified five types of positions concerning belief in God: 'atheism, agnosticism, belief in a higher power but not a personal god, belief in a god with some doubt, and certain belief in a god.' While more all-encompassing, this typology overemphasises beliefs while overlooking practices; especially the group variety (Turner, 2012:650).Bouma (2006:63) draws attention to individuals whose identityoverlaps more than one belief category. Storm (2009:702) describespeople in possession of a 'fuzzy fidelity'; those neither very religious nor specifically non-religious. These studies portray religiosity as a multi-faceted phenomenon (Turner, 2010) extending to people without any religious belief 'Nones' (Rideout, 2010).

'The Spirit of Generation Y' study (Mason, Webber & Singleton, 2005:1) is one of the most important recent research projects examining the spirituality of young people in Australia. This study set out to detect patterns and types of spirituality in existence among young Australians. It was a large-scale population survey. The researchers discovered three types of 'worldview': Traditional (tied to some world religious tradition), Humanistic (based on prioritising human reason) and New Age (involving Wiccan, Paranormal, Eastern belief aspects).

Categorising respondents by belief intensity

Analysing my interview data I used Open Coding, from Grounded Theory Methodology (Birks & Mills, 2011) as the initial foundation to formulate categories and allocate[5] individuals to them.If a young person identified as Christian, then they were given this 'label', irrespective how high their intensity of belief and/or practices was. When considering what intensity category to place a person into, both their own perspective as well as their positioning relative to other respondents in the study was looked at.Furthermore, the difference between using the above pattern and my own is that I have made greater allowances for individual exploration and tailoring of belief systems. Finally, my research permits for greater comparison of the social dimensions of belief development and maintenance across the different belief categories[6].

Interviewees from all subsamples were assigned into three intensity categories: high, moderate and low. 'Intensity' involves both personal and social aspects. At the personal levelhigher 'intensity' interviewees showed greater rigidity in their adherence to some belief system.At the social levelthe higher the individual's intensity the greater their influence in an interviewee's social activities.

An index of intensity was created by looking at interviewees profile across four areas:

- certainty in their beliefs,
- willingness to individualise their beliefs,
- maintenance of a social network of like-minded peers/friends, attendance at some congregation (where applicable), and
- rigidity of adherence to some view of reality and corresponding ethical outlook.

[5] This process of open coding necessitates the researcher allowing for unforseen categorisation; at this early stage, this process is yet to be completed.
[6]. Due to this research project being in its early stages, definitions and categories utilised here shall be subject to future revision.

Interviewees who showed all four of these traits were categorised as High Intensity, those with none or one were Low Intensity, those with two or three were categorised as Moderate.

Table 1.0- Overall numbers for each Intensity Category within each Belief Type:

BELIEF TYPE CATEGORY	CHRISTIAN (17 Total)	MUSLIM (12 Total)	NONES (15 Total)
INTENSITY TYPE CATEGORY			
HIGH	10	5	5
MODERATE	5	4	8
LOW	2	3	2

Descriptions of Intensity types

Interviewees who were High Intensity (across all three Belief Types) were memorable. Both Christians and Muslims of High Intensity were largely uncompromising in their adherence to their respective religious dogmas; they maintained close friendships of like-minded people, and viewed their world through religious-tinted lens.For example, Esta*[7] (n.26) was categorised as a High Intensity Christian. She said:(On her beliefs): *I'm Catholic. Practising Catholic! I guess I really believe I have a personal relationship with Jesus.*/(On God):*I think it's like a person's choice wanting God and I want to put Him in the centre.*/(On friends):*My friends have changed over time as well. My closest friends now would be the people I work with and live with. They're really encouraging with my faith.* / (On parents): *Yeah. Definitely! They (her parents) both believe in a God.* / (On religion's purpose): *Yes. Definitely. I think…I think it really puts in-or it gives me personally- a bit of a vision, a higher purpose.* / (On

[7] *All names of participants have been changed to preserve anonymity.

herethical views): *Yeah, definitely. I think harming the innocent in whatever situation. It often gets argued it's for the greater good; for abortion or women's rights or euthanasia.*

Haadi (n.8) was categorised as a High Intensity Muslim. He said: (On his beliefs): *I believe in the religion of Islam and God… that there is only one creator who controls everything, who sustains everything*. /(On God):*He knows everything and is everything-what we're thinking and what our intentions are…Even though you choose through free will, he already knows what is going to happen.*/ (On friends): *I would say that I've had friends that are non-Muslim. But they weren't really close friends*. /(On parents):*I'd say they are both very religious.*/(On religion's purpose): *Definitely, because if we didn't have religion. I mean, depending, as a Muslims we have our own moral character; how we're supposed to be...The thing was if there was no religion, okay, where did the morals come from?.*/ (On his ethics): *-In Islam it teaches you that if something is wrong it stays wrong.*

Nones of High Intensity (usually Atheists) were also distinctive. They were certain, even strident at times, in their belief assertions, and also rated like-minded peers as closest. Among High Intensity Nones, scientific materialism was the dominant ontology.Ethically: the more they adhered to atheism, the more likely they were to reject any ontologicalfoundation for morality instead opting for a more generalised ethical framework based on feelings of emotion and reciprocity.

For example:**Jimmy (n.2; High Intensity, None)** said: (On his beliefs): *I take a fairly scientific view of the world so I see humans as biological organisms… people are sacks of chemicals and bones.*/ (On God*): I think it's part of mythology that people create to explain you know who we are why we here.*/(On friends*): I don't think I really have any strongly religious … to tell you the truth but most are either atheist or agnostic* /(On religion's purpose):*well it means that there is no set meaning in life and that you create your own*

meaning in life…That's probably one of my core beliefs/ (On his ethics): *In terms of right and wrong …I think things that generally further the human race's ability to survive*(are good).

High Intensity Commonalities

There were similarities detected across Christians, Muslims and Nones of higher intensity (see Appendix One for an example of the aggregated weighing utilised).There are a number of possible explanations for this. At the higher end of the intensity continuumless leeway is available for entertaining the merits of alternative views. The effects of belief on social life is highlighted by the degree to which High Intensity Individuals; Believers and Nones, are all strongly situated in the midst of a like-minded social network of friends. The stronger the individual's belief system, the more likely it was that they maintained relationships with people of similar views while dissociating from people whose views clashed with their own. Occasionally, a High Intensity Believer maintained two distinct groups of friends; one set religious and one not religious. Terms such as 'acquaintances' were used to describe this latter set.**Haadi (n.8; High Intensity Muslim):***I would say that I've had friends that are non-Muslim. But they weren't really close friends. But they were acquaintances… but as time goes on you lose contact with them*.

For the majority of high intensity interviewees itappears that their beliefs orient themto friendships with like-minded people. In some instances they described that, as their beliefs shifted towards a particular level of intensity, they had sought out more similarly-minded social contacts, which in turn, affected their intensity level. The exception to this is those individuals interviewed whose beliefs changed radically and abruptly as a result of some perceived 'otherworldly' or transcendental experience. In these instances, subjects' perceived encounters with supernatural phenomena served as a catalyst to create sudden belief change, irrespective of any social contexts.

Low Intensity Individuals and Beliefs

Low Intensity Christians and Nones shared certain characteristics, both socially and in their purported worldviews: uncertainty of belief, varied friendships and non-attendance at religious congregation (only the first two are discussed here). The most salient feature is the absence of certainty in all subjects' beliefs. Whether through having reached a point of moratorium after a period of reflection or as a result of having engaged only a little with issues of personal belief, all interviewees in this category were unwilling to assert a definite position. For example **Fred (n.45; Low Intensity,Christian)**: *I'd say 'I'm a Christian at heart'. However, there are some things or sometimes I find things hard to believe…other times not so hard to believe. It's…I don't know. I've got a few doubts I suppose. But at heart, I suppose, I do believe but…I'm a bit mixed up.* **Marty (n.39; Low Intensity,None)**: *I know that I don't know then! I don't know what category to put myself in; where I'm going or what I'm doing. I think I've tried and have an open mind about the different things I come into.*

Religious belief was not an important friendship denominator for those in the Low Intensity Category. Both Christians and Nones had a myriad of different friendships spanning a wide variety of belief types and intensities. However, LowIntensity Christians tended to avoid other Christians who were judgemental. **Fred (n.45; Low Intensity, Christian)**: *I try to remain neutral because I believe that everyone has a right to their own belief system. And I just try to stay out of that stuff as much as I can. If someone comes up to me and they try to push their belief system onto me then I won't want anything to do with that conversation, though I will still talk to them.*

Low Intensity Nones reported a similar aversion. They would avoid anyone thought to be judgemental, including, opinionated Believers and Atheists. **Charlotte (n.10; Low Intensity,None):***…somebody from the university church approached me….And I told her I was a bit curious about the church. And she encouraged me to come along. But she was a bit*

too strong in her encouragement; … One time she called me up and said 'we want to come around to your house and baptise you!' and I was like 'I don't really want that!' So I think that was a big influence in my rejecting religion.

Conclusion

This paper examined emerging patterns of belief from data obtained from interviews with Australians in Emerging Adulthood. Subjects' views were assessed both independently and against intragroup and intergroup members' beliefs.The findings indicate that the intensity of a subject's views operates independently of religion; that is, it operates among both Believers and Nones. For the former, group processes played a stronger role in shaping intensity; whereas for the latter, with the decreased presence of group norms, the role of individual reflection was emphasised more. Future studies in this area are required to develop a more nuanced understanding of the belief varieties found among young adults; including the relationship between gender and intensity, and minority ethnic grouping and intensity.

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Appendix One:

TABLE 2.0- Aggregated Weights For High Intensity Christians, Muslims, Nones

- Y=Yes
- N=No
- M=Mix of Yes and No
- U=Subject Uncertain of own position.
- N/A= Not Applicable

	Subject's Alignment with Criteria.					
CRITERIA SET	Esta Christian	Nathan, Christian	Mizbah, Muslim	Haadi, Muslim	Jimmy, None	E.W.C., None
1.Certainty of Beliefs Professed-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2.Individualised Thoughts Regarding God-	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
3.Most friends of a Similar Mindset-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4.Parents Similar Views On Religion-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5.Belief in Religion's Purpose-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
6. Religion informs own World View-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
7.Attends Regular Congregation-	Y	Y	Y	Y	N/A	N/A
Aggregated Weight	*6/7*	*6/7*	*6/7*	*6/7*	*4/6*	*4/6*

Knowledge Mobility and Willingness to Engage

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Abstract

Knowledge mobility is an ever growing phenomenon worldwide. The expanding European Union has hosted many programs for academic mobility exchanges since the late 1980s. At the same time, the leading immigrant-receiving countries, including Australia, have enhanced their immigrant recruitment techniques to attract highly educated and experienced people in the last two decades. Academic migrants become well-recognised agents of knowledge transfer, knowledge interchange and, ultimately, knowledge creation.

This research explores diverse aspects of intercultural dialogue to reveal conditions for successful cultural knowledge transfer and creation. The value of this research is seen in engaging a group of academic migrants to share their experiences, views and perceptions of intercultural communication, with a goal of producing a better understanding of the symbolic processes in which people from different cultures create shared meanings. This paper analyses evolving empirical manifestations of emerging cosmopolitanism in everyday intercultural interactions. I argue that postmodern cosmopolitan milieu facilitates intercultural integration and enables knowledge transfer and creation of shared cultural meanings. Empirical research on academic mobility and intercultural dialogue was conducted on the premises of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, and LUISS Guido Carli University in Rome, Italy. These two distinguished international institutions present perfect sites for examining modern intercultural encounters in a cosmopolitan academic milieu. I argue that cosmopolitan dispositions create mutually beneficial conditions for effective transfer and creation of all types of knowledge.

Key words: Academic mobility, knowledge transfer, cosmopolitanism, cultural dispositions, power distance

Introduction

Knowledge mobility is an ever growing phenomenon worldwide (OECD, 2012). Growing numbers of academic mobilities create new opportunities not only for economic development, but also for cultural enrichment and ultimately knowledge creation (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2005). An objective of my research is to examine academic intercultural encounters and interpersonal experiences with a view of locating cosmopolitan values that enable successes in professional communication. Mobile academics were found to display certain cosmopolitan dispositions in everyday discourses, situations and experiences of interpersonal interactions. Cultural habitual standpoints describing “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986: 243) that

individuals display in relations with others, were found to be the crucial components of successful intercultural dialogue. This research aims to present empirical testing and discussion of the growing cosmopolitan values and dispositions in everyday social interactions. The central argument of this article is that various expressions of cosmopolitan dispositions facilitate and promote intercultural dialogue, knowledge transfer and creation of shared cultural meanings.

Knowledge Mobility

Academic mobility as an international phenomenon has become the more evident after mobility programs were introduced in the evolving and expanding European Union in the late 1980s. Now the European Union hosts many programs for academic mobility exchanges, such as *Erasmus, Socrates, Marie Curie, Tempus* and others. The most prominent and widespread of them is *Erasmus.* Together with its newer addition - *Erasmus Mundus* - it now truly involves the global academic community.

The *Erasmus* Programme which stands for *EuRopean Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students* started in the united Europe in 1987 as a program for student exchange. It was established by the European Union (EU) and forms a major part of the EU Lifelong Learning Programme 2007–2013, and is the operational framework for the European Commission's (EC) initiatives in higher education. The Erasmus Programme was replaced by the Lifelong Learning Programme 2007–2013 on 1 January 2007 (EC, 2011a). The *Erasmus Mundus* Programme is an additional Programme that is oriented towards international and truly globalised education. Whereas the *Erasmus* Programme is open to Europeans, the Erasmus Mundus is open to non-Europeans. This is a programme in which I have been fortunate to participate on a postdoctoral exchange from Australia to Italy.

In the last reporting year (2009/10) there were 213 266 Erasmus student mobilities of which 177 705 students studying abroad and 35 561 students doing traineeships (placements) abroad. Among staff, there were 37 776 Erasmus staff mobilities of which 29 031 held teaching assignments abroad and 8 745staff had training periods abroad. In total, 2 982 Higher Education Institutions sent students and staff on Erasmus mobility. The total number of Erasmus student mobilities for studies and placements combined in 2009/10 was 213 266, an annual increase of 7.4%. From 1987 – when the programme was established – to 2009/10 almost 2.3 million students have benefited from the Erasmus programme. Almost all the 32 participating countries experienced growth in outgoing and incoming student mobility. Erasmus supported a total of 37, 776 mobility periods for teaching and non-teaching staff from Higher education institutions, and staff from enterprises. This represents an annual increase of 3.8% from the previous academic year. Teaching assignments were conducted by 76.9% of the staff mobilities (EC, 2011a).

The Erasmus Mundus programme has included Australia in what previously was European-only scheme of academic mobility. Australian scholars have been gradually developing their participation in this programme in the six-year period from 2004/05 to 2009/10. By now a total of 86 people (65 males and 21 females) from Australia participated in the exchanges (EC, 2011b). In the first four academic years the level of participation was rather low: 9 people (all males) 2004/05, no one in 2005/06, 8 people (7 males and 1 female) in 2006/07, and 11 people (9 males and 2 females) in 2007/08. Then the numbers have jumped to a relatively high 25 exchanges (20 males

and 5 females) in 2008/09 and 33 people (20 males and 13 females) in 2009/10. If we look at the gender breakdown, males considerably predominate in every academic year. Females made a significant breakthrough only in the last reporting year (EC, 2011b). It is striking that academic mobility from Australia is a gendered phenomenon.

Empirical Research

Empirical research on academic hyper-mobility was conducted on the premises of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence and LUISS Guido Carli University in Rome, both in Italy. These two universities are perfect sites for examining the experiences of mobile academics of the modern times in a cosmopolitan milieu. The EUI is an international educational institution overseen by the European Union. LUISS Guido Carli stands for Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali (Free International University for Social Studies). Both the EUI and LUISS have consistently strived to attract big numbers of international students and staff. These two Universities are truly synonymous with academic mobility internationally and represent a vivid example of liquid academic hyper-mobility (Kirpitchenko, 2011). Their academic environments provide an excellent opportunity to explore how social and intercultural interactions develop among academic professionals from all over the globe.

For this study, research data were collected utilizing the qualitative techniques of participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews. My lengthy stays at the EUI and LUISS provided me with ample opportunities for participating in all types of educational activities: lectures, classes, seminars, conferences and recreational events. As a crucial part of my fieldwork research I conducted valuable insider's research by taking part in diverse doctoral and post-doctoral training activities as a participant and observer. I was offered unique advantages in experiencing academic research environments enriched from cross-fertilization of research traditions and academic approaches which are unique. I gathered plentiful qualitative data on students' learning experiences by participating and observing academic presentations, discussions and debates.

The EUI and LUISS are leading research and teaching institutions devoted exclusively to social sciences. They especially emphasize comparative studies and international links which are of particular interest for academic migrants. Both are renowned academic institutions which promote academic mobility by recruiting their full-time teaching staff, fellows and research students from all countries of the European Union and many other parts of the globe. These two universities presented exceptional opportunities for exploring academic intercultural dialogue through first-hand interaction with mobile academic participants. I conducted formal interviews with twenty-five post-graduate researchers, post-doctoral fellows and professors from twelve Eastern European countries who were randomly selected for my fieldwork research.

Willingness to Engage

This paper presents discussion based on collected empirical data on cosmopolitan dispositions among mobile academics. An objective of this discussion is to examine empirical evidence of the growing cosmopolitan values and dispositions in everyday social interactions. In this paper, I will discuss some of cosmopolitan dispositions that became salient in my empirical research. These

cosmopolitan dispositions can be described as *willingness to engage* or *deeper interpersonal engagement* in which I include the notion of *minimal power distance*.

The notions, described as *willingness to engage* or *deeper interpersonal engagement*, have been featured as profound sentiments among my respondents. This study relies on the grounding work of Hannerz (1996: 104) who defined *cosmopolitanism* as an "orientation, a willingness to engage with the other ... intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity". This noteworthy definition has been appropriated by many scholars of cosmopolitanism. For example, Calcutt, Woodward & Skrbis (2009: 172) believe that "cosmopolitanism includes Kantian universalism, cross-cultural competence, and either a willingness to tolerate or engage with otherness". While the idea of "tolerance of otherness" brings to mind negative connotations of intercultural conflict and resistance, its counterpart idea of "willingness to engage with others" has more resonance for my study.

Among my respondents the desire to be involved with others often sparked out of a perceived greater isolation and emotional detachment that almost every respondent felt at the beginning of their stay abroad. For example, Gabrielle lamented that her status was a Visiting Researcher did not provide her with a ready opportunity to take a very active part in the educational activities. She explained: "My expectations were higher ... I wanted to be more actively involved. For example I began attending seminars... Then I went to [another university] for six months and I was really involved there. I was a part of the working group and so on. It was much easier there". Similarly, Anna admitted: "For me it really disturbed me to be lonely and be by my own. Maybe that's why I don't like my Ph.D. work because I think it gets very-very lonely. It is a lonely project and lonely thing. ... I like to be with a group of friends".

In relation to successful strategies for intercultural communication, Anna said that it was very important for her to have support of her friends and her family and people around her. She continued: "So you are not left on your own, it is important to have good friends and people who can support you - your friends or someone you can talk to: your professor, or supervisor, or maybe somebody else your boss, somebody who can advise you what to do, so you are not left on your own. This is very important not to be lonely because you'll get depressed and want to give up, or feel like giving up". Stefan also said that during a long time of his academic career he was left alone and he would have liked more team work.

Positive changes that everyone desired were described in terms of developing closer connections to other people and having a network of people to rely on and help each other. It was an interesting observation that in general respondents found that communication between people becomes easier as hierarchical relations become less pronounced. A level of hierarchy in a society can be measured by a notion of *Power Distance* which was proposed by Hofstede & Hofstede (2005). Power Distance index measures the degree of equality or inequality that exists in a society and it is one of the principal indicators to measure societal cultural differences. Hofstede & Hofstede (2005) noticed that hierarchical relations could be differently pronounced depending on the societal culture. Hierarchy tend to be overly emphasised in the societies which do not allow significant upward mobility of its citizens. Other societies which promote equality and opportunity for everyone, also tend to deemphasize hierarchical relations.

Power distance index preconditions relation to authority and it is one of the key traits that is embedded in the culture of the individual. Relation to authority was also one of aspects of work

and study relations that many respondents were keen to comment throughout the interview without being guided by direct questions. Authority in the cosmopolitan environment was "not very pronounced" in Gabrielle's words. She continued that you could address any authority figure by their first name unlike in her home country where the Dean was "almost the God or someone very close to it". It was also Sophie's experience that in the course of her PhD program everyone among professors was her colleague. Louisa had the same opinion that professors were closer to students and there was no strict separation between the professors and the students. Everyone was trying to be friendly: "Here ... professors put themselves on the same level with you, [and] it makes it easier to approach and talk to them."

Susan said that in her home country it was not easy to communicate with professors: "It was very like you really felt that they are superior and they wanted to be superior to students and they kept their distance. … There was certainly a hierarchy". Here professors were gentler. Similarly, in his home country, Alex always felt subordination and certain dependence because supervisors established the hierarchy when "they are your supervisor and you are nobody". In his view, in the cosmopolitan institutions there was a dialogue between students and professors: "When you are discussing your research project for example, you can debate and argue and defend your position. Your supervisor here guides and does not dictate." Similarly, Nick said that he was very lucky because he was given lots of independence and autonomy in his research work and could work with his supervisor in a collegial and friendly manner.

Informal style of communication was noted in many daily aspects: from the dress code to the way authorities are addressed. Jane, Ellen and Gabrielle also believed that the relationship between students and professors were very formal in their home countries. In a new environment, it was not as easy for Gabrielle to address her supervisor simply by the first name. She still preferred calling her supervisor "Professor such and such". Gabrielle said that she unconsciously always put a boundary between herself and authority. In the learning process many noted that less reverence was demanded to the expert opinions. It was shown in the fact that students were encouraged to speak up in class and express their own ideas, whereas in a more hierarchical class settings students learned by memorizing and reproducing what authorities said on the subject. Many respondents praised this cosmopolitan openness and acceptance of diverse cultural expressions in academia.

Conclusion

This paper presented a discussion of empirical manifestations of some of the evolving cosmopolitan dispositions in academic intercultural interactions. This paper argues that emerging cosmopolitan values are preconditions for successful knowledge exchange. Empirical evidence revealed that the capability of mobile academics to be successful in knowledge exchange depended to a great extent on the person's habitual dispositions, propensities and inclinations rather than situations presented to them. Some participants learned to thrive in the new cosmopolitan culture and found it even to be more comfortable and enjoyable for them. Sophie noted: "It is a different culture but it is probably in some ways better than [at home] in terms of acceptance and appreciation people have toward you. … You feel different but I don't think it is a hindrance". Jessica noted that there were always cultural differences, but what mattered was which of them had any significance after being mediated by cosmopolitan dispositions.

All types of learning programs on cross-cultural communication tended to be highly regarded. Cosmopolitan cultural training was discussed by many as a way of mediating intercultural differences and promoting cultural intelligence. Susan spoke very highly of the cross-cultural training she received on "how to manage people from different cultures and what kind of difficulties we might face". In her opinion, lack of cross-cultural training "creates many problems. … and many problems arise because of the cultural differences and people do not even realize it." Discussion of conscious and unconscious cultural dispositions in a supportive teaching program had a great effect. Intercultural training aimed at developing effective communication skills across cultures is a new thriving field of study and research (Ang and Van Dyne, 2008) and this study testified to its increased significance.

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Understanding Aging, Death and Dying: The Effects of Proverbs and Metaphors on Individuals and Experiences

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Abstract

Proverbs and metaphors can be used as a mechanism for understanding and constructing meaning of an individual's experience. Aging, death and dying are examples of contexts within the life course trajectory in which proverbs and metaphors are commonly used. Society, culture and therefore language play an important role in the way individuals derive meaning from and portray their experiences of aging and death. Treatment seeking behaviours and the way in which patients and interdisciplinary health care practitioners communicate and interact can be understood through analysis of the use of proverbs and metaphors. The use of proverbs and metaphors can assist in effective communication to improve a patients understanding of the complexity and severity of their condition. Proverbs and metaphors also convey attitudes and beliefs towards aging, death and dying, which can impact on an individual's acceptance of their situation and the quality of care that an individual receives as a result of understanding the underlying needs of the individual.

Key words: Health, Aging, Death, Language, Society.

Introduction

In many languages, proverbs are used to impart advice or a particular moral. Proverbs generally support specific social values and are often utilised in order to ascribe meaning to particular cultural contexts (Fanany & Fanany 2003). Aging, for example, is one concept in which proverbs are used to contextualise an individual's understanding of the life course particularly the "gains and losses of aging" (Cole, Achenbaum & Carlin 2008: 235). This suggests that individuals may use proverbs to enable themselves to acknowledge or give self-justification to the individual, shared or collective experiences inherent to aging.

Likewise, metaphors are used to construct meaning complementing an individual's worldview. Metaphors "create new similarities by changes in word meanings" (Ortony 1998: 5), however, metaphors can referto a single word as well as to a broader concept or idea. The role of metaphors may be significant within an aging population to give meaning to situations or behaviours while addressing the social or cultural context in terms of cognitive understanding or as an emotive device (Holland & Quinn 1997).

The use of language is "central to the lived experience of age and aging" (Coupland, 2004: 70). This suggests that linguistic devices such as proverbs and metaphors mediate the emotional impact of the written and spoken word being used as a coping mechanism for dealing with life experiences and changes associated with aging. In addition, Hepworth notes that metaphorical imagery acknowledges preconceived ideas or "stereotypical assumptions" of aging (2004: 13). By understanding the use of these sociolinguistic mechanisms, this enables researchers to address an individual's fear of aging and its inevitable consequence of death (Coupland 2004).

The Significance of Understanding the Use of Proverbs and Metaphors in Health Care

The use of proverbs and metaphors in both verbal and visual form have become instrumental in enabling individuals to create their own personal understanding of the life course and to empathise with the life course experience of others (Cole & Meyer 1991).Individuals use many different proverbs and metaphors to describe and represent their aging experience which is frequently expressed in terms of a journey. Kenyon suggests the "homo viator metaphor" (1991: 19), or the metaphorical life journey, has multiple characteristics which are used as "a basis for judging the usefulness or effectiveness of a particular metaphor" (1991: 20). These characteristics identify the personal meaning that an individual gains from their experience, the opacity of the experience or the risks, choices and consequences of events both seen and unseen. The duration of the individual experience or journey of aging is also of importance to the characterisation of "homo viator" metaphors. This is because death is a fundamental element of aging which can be anticipated; yet despite prognostication by health professionals the timing of ones death cannot be precisely calculated. "Homo viator" metaphors can also be characterised by their dynamism as the individual's aging experience is constantly changing; while no two experiences are the same, they may possess similarities which underpin the implicit meaning of the metaphor (Kenyon 1991).

The understanding of the underlying characteristics of proverbs and metaphors which individuals use to describe the aging experience or life journey can be used to develop a further awareness of how the use of linguistic structures can influence behaviour, responses and perceptions from a social and cultural standpoint. The life course trajectory of the aging population is "marked by open experience thresholds", which suggests that the experiences of an individual highlight life transitions, identity changes and crises without the need for identification or ritualization of life passages (Cole, Achenbaum & Carlin 2008: 242). Proverbs and metaphors, in this sense, can be used to represent an individual's perspective of the life course and their experiences of the aging trajectory. The proverbs and metaphors individuals use in general communication may be indicative of the treatment seeking behaviours and the needs of the aging.

While the use of proverbs and metaphors may not be transparent linguistic structures in which to convey health information, the meanings of the proverbs and metaphors are often implicit in the way they are used. The use of sociolinguistic mechanisms of this kind can be associated with multidimensionalattitudes towards aging. These attitudes towards aging can have far reaching impacts on the elderly as well as

interdisciplinary health care providers; therefore it is necessary to understand how proverbs and metaphors are used within health care settings, to ensure the needs of the aging are not disregarded through an inadvertent misunderstanding of communication (Almeida, Charles & Neupert 2008; Coupland 2004).

The benefits of such knowledge rest with the ability to interpret the proverbs and metaphors used by aging and dying individuals, in order to understand the illness experience of the individual from a culturally competent, interdisciplinary perspective. The understanding and usages of proverbs and metaphors, within aging and dying, goes beyond their literal application in everyday conversations. Proverbs and metaphors can be utilised as a process for intervention to meet the needs of the aging and dying through policy, education, treatment and future research (Schroots, Birren & Kenyon 1991).

Cultural precepts are frequently overlooked when providing for health needs of the aging, particularly within end of life situations. In Western society fear of death and gerontophobia, that is the fear of old age, often creates a dichotomous culture between the older and younger generations (Kübler-Ross 1969). This dichotomous culture has developed with the demise of awareness of the life cycle, as intergenerational traditions are lost and changes in the family structure have resulted in identity crises where individuals struggle to find meaning through life experience (Cole, Achenbaum & Carlin 2008). It is this need to ascribe meaning to situations and experiences that makes the use of proverbs and metaphors appealing to individuals as the syncretic nature of these linguistic devices means they can be adapted to suit the requirements of the situation.

Proverbs, Metaphors and Experiences of the Individual

The way in which language is used has a vast impact on an individual's experience. When speaking about death and dying, the words, death, dead and dying are often avoided, in favour of metaphorical language such as "lost", "no longer with us" and "life threatened"(De Spelder & Strickland 2011: 10-11). The use of metaphors when discussing death and dying often has varying impacts, not only on the individual but also on the societal understanding of death and dying. Metaphors that "devalue or depersonalise" an individual's experience of death and dying not only undermine the experience, but also heighten the societal fear of death, and can be viewed as a form of death denial, in which discussing the reality of death is avoided or taken lightly (Kübler-Ross 1969). It can be noted that the use of language highlights the intensity and proximity of an individual's experience with death as well as how the death is experienced. For example, the metaphors used to discuss death may imply the circumstances of the death and the phases of grief and recovery. The use of metaphors in this way may also offer signs of the individual's attitude towards death and dying and the underlying cultural context (De Spelder & Strickland 2011).

The use of metaphor can also impact on the way in which patients are treated within the health care system. For health care professionals, metaphors are useful communication tools to enable patients to understand the severity and impact of their health. Metaphors can be used to enhance a patient's understanding of the circumstances; however in order for metaphors to be used as effective communication

devices, particularly with complex health concepts, it must be ensured that the metaphors used are relevant to the patient, taking into consideration any social and cultural beliefs, and are used to confirm the patient's understanding (Osbourne 2005). An integral aspect of relevance in this context is the existence of these metaphors as part of the cognitive framework of the individual involved. This may create a special problem in our increasingly multicultural society where there is an increasing likelihood that care providers and patients may originate from different cultural groups. For this reason, cultural competence for health care professionals should include ways of addressing death across cultures because it is no longer possible to assume that the provider and patient will share the same cultural background, which includes the use and understanding of metaphor.

The use of metaphors, can be reciprocal as patients attempt to explain their experience with health care professionals.It may be necessary to clarify the underlying meaning of the metaphors used. It is important to establish a mutual understanding of metaphors used in health issues so that health care professionals can be empathetic to the needs of the patients and to enable patients to establish their own personal understanding of their circumstances in order to facilitate acceptance and support mechanisms. The downfall of the use of metaphors as a mode to convey health information, however, is that it may fail to confront the depth and the importance of the situation thereby not meeting the expectations or the needs of the patient. For example health care practitioners may fall short of adequately explaining the rationale for institutionalised care, due to the negative connotations associated with this, and therefore use metaphors to indirectly address the issues to avoid conflict, confrontation or emotional situations (De Spelder & Strickland 2011). Since metaphor is, by definition, 'calling a thing by the name of something else'[1], the person involved may perceive metaphor use by health care professionals as a way of avoiding talking about the real situation.

The institutionalisation of the elderly is one experience that is addressed by both proverbs and metaphors. The proverb "you can't shift an old tree without it dying" (Speake 2004: 274), for example, identifies societal opposition to traditional wisdom and highlights the loss of social value of the elderly, however it also expresses the loss of independence and the institutionalisation of the elderly. Traditionally, the elderly and dying were not institutionalised in aged or palliative care; they were instead cared for by family members; although with political and social changes many elderly people are able to remain independent despite common misconceptions suggesting that the elderly are a societal burden. The shift toward domiciliary and community care services enables the elderly and terminally ill to be treated in familiar surroundings in their homes, rather than be moved to institutionalised care services (Palmer & Short 2007).

Moving to a new environment, such as institutionalised care services, can deeply impact on an individual, particularly emotionally where individuals may find it difficult to readjust to different living arrangement. Relocation to institutionalised care can be a stressful event for the elderly as they need to redefine their social identity as well as overcome feelings of loss, insecurity and vulnerability in order to derive meaning from the experience (Hillier & Barrow 2007). The perception of aging and dying, therefore can impact not only on a patient's willingness to access care, but also their acceptance and adjustment to their situation. The proverbs and metaphors

that are available in a given language provide a means by which individuals can contextualise their own experience and also allow for empathy towards the situation of others. This is an important function of proverbs, and metaphors in general, as shorthand means to encapsulate the common experience of the cultural group that uses specific items and connects individuals to the collective understanding of others.

It is worth noting that this collective understanding is changing for people in the English-speaking world, as new cultural norms take on greater significance than older ones, such as those embodied in the proverbs studied here. In the case of aging, death and dying, emerging norms appear to be significantly different from older ones, leading to conflict between two different conceptualizations. Many people have been exposed to both and are likely to have internalized the relevant elements of each as a native speaker of English and a member of the Australian community. This highlights the need for continuing attention to be paid to dominant metaphors, especially as these have the potential to affect the way in which people perceive their own experience of old age, death and dying, but also how younger people, who may not be at that stage of life, view and interact with those who are. This is especially relevant for those in the health care professions as it is their role to provide the most effective and appropriate care possible for their patients or clients, in terms of their psychosocial experience as well as treatment.

Conclusion

Within health care settings it is important to understand the role and function of proverbs and metaphors in patient-carer communication. Many people use proverbs in general conversation as an expressive device to identify their feelings and beliefs through using commonly understood phrases. Proverbs however are not limited to use by the patient; they can also be used by health care professionals to impart wisdom, particularly, in reference to the life cycle and through promotion of healthy aging. These traditional sentiments are often effective in reminding the hearer of his or her connection to the larger culture and suggesting that others in fact understand and share the same experiences. While some proverbs form the basis of health promotion initiatives currently, it is important that health care professionals understand the underlying meanings of proverbs and their usage in syncretic contexts in order to understand the patient perspective. Similarly with metaphors, the meaning of the metaphor is dependent on the context; therefore it is important that the function of metaphors is understood in communicating with patients. As metaphors can take on multiple meanings it cannot be assumed that the patient and carer derive the same meaning from the metaphor, despite the context, especially in an increasingly multicultural society. By understanding how proverbs and metaphors are used by patients, health care professionals can work towards bridging the communication gap which occurs due to generational differences, particularly when caring for the aging and dying. This is an area where proverbs are especially relevant as these traditional expressions have the potential to span generational differences as their meaning tends to remain stable over time within a given culture. Improving the quality of communication between health care professionals and patients may also improve the quality of patient care through a deeper understanding of patient needs.

Footnotes

1. This is a paraphrase from Aristotle (*Poetics*), showing how longstanding the issue of metaphor really is.

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Victims or Villains? Exploring the media's representations of Muslims in the national press in Britain and the alleged failure of multiculturalism in Europe.

Abstract:

A recent spate of "multicultiphobia" in Europe has seen German Chancellor Angela Merkel recently pronounce the failure of multiculturalism, a sentiment further echoed by British Prime Minister, David Cameron and the then President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy. It has been suggested the continued existence of radically different practices by Muslims highlights an "illiberality" about multiculturalism, since the latter is alleged to license these practices. This paper presents findings of content and critical discourse analyses based on the researcher's doctoral thesis examining the media's representations of Muslims around the period of the London bombings. It presents a single case study which considers the media's representations of the Dutch politician, Hirsi Ali, in the British press. The positive depiction of Hirsi Ali as a successfully integrated former Muslim is indicative of why multicultural states find Islam problematic to tolerate. While Muslim "differences" are recognised, their negative representation signifies that there exist limits to what can be tolerated in multicultural states. It is argued that alleged failure of multiculturalism is a reflection of multiculturalism's inherent liberality rather than illiberality. The fact that radical alterity beyond the spaces allotted by liberalism cannot be tolerated represents the failure of multiculturalism.

Introduction:

A recent spate of "multicultiphobia" in Europe has seen German Chancellor Angela Merkel recently pronounce the failure of multiculturalism, a sentiment shortly echoed by British Prime Minister, David Cameron and the then President of France, Nicolas Sarkozy (Ryan 2011). In the UK, whilst multiculturalism has been formally enshrined into state policy, we have recently witnessed a definitive discursive and practical retreat. Flagging this retreat are numerous examples including newspaper articles calling on immigrants to make it clearer that they have opted for the values of their host society, governments requiring applicants for citizenship to take courses in the national language and what are said to be the values of the host country as a condition of naturalization, citizenship tests and ceremonies (Phillips

2007). In addition, a new language of interculturalism, integration and social or community cohesion seems to have replaced multiculturalism in the British context.

This paper seeks to examine the alleged failure of multiculturalism looking at the perception of problematic attempts by European states to encompass and accommodate Muslim citizens. As Meer and Modood (2012a:33) argue: '…[As] Muslims are perceived to be in contravention of discourses of individual rights and secularism, and is exemplified by the way in which visible Muslim practices such as veiling have in public discourses been reduced to and conflated with alleged Muslim practices such as forced marriages, female genital mutilation, a rejection of positive law in favour of criminal sharia law and so on. This suggests a radical "otherness" about Muslims and an illiberality about multiculturalism, since the latter is alleged to license these practices.' As Modood and Meer(2012a) argue, the accommodation of religious minorities is problematic by definition as religious conservatism, particularly on issues such as gender equality, sexual orientation and progressive politics turn offside those who might otherwise defend them. The argument follows that it is difficult for religious minorities 'as victims when they may themselves be potential oppressors' (Meer and Modood 2012a). In sum, there appears to be a discord in the tolerance and recognition extended to minority groups in multicultural states where their practices are seen to negatively encroach on individual rights. This paper diverges from this idea advanced by Meer and Modood that there is an 'illiberality about multiculturalism'. Instead, it argues that the alleged failure of multiculturalism is a reflection of multiculturalism's inherent *liberality* and the tensions within it.

Emma Kowal (2008) writes that 'dealing with difference within the nation-state is the defining task of liberal multiculturalism.' In her postcolonial analysis of anti-racism, she explores the two conflicting impulses of liberal multiculturalism, which are 'to eliminate inequality and to maintain essential difference' (Kowal 2008). For Kowal, the conundrum lies with the idea of liberal "melioration" which are differences that can be fixed or improved, by virtue of education or, as is argued in this paper, exposure to liberal conceptions of the good life. Once educated or exposed, the rational individual would seemingly choose the liberal mode of inhabiting the nation. Eliminating inequality lends itself to the idea of remedialism. Yet as Kowal points out, not all of us can be steered 'back toward sameness'

and, in the Orientalist tradition of dealing with otherness, an inability to be brought towards the centre 'tilts us towards radical difference, threatening to capsize the remedialist project' (Kowal 2008). Therefore, radical alerity can be defined as difference that exists despite the best efforts of liberal remedialism.

This paper presents findings of content and critical discourse analyses based on the researcher's doctoral thesis examining the media's representations of Muslims around the period of the London bombings. It presents a single case study which considers the media's representations of the Dutch politician, Hirsi Ali, in the British press. The positive depiction of Hirsi Ali as a successfully integrated former Muslim is indicative of why multicultural states find Islam problematic to tolerate. While Muslim "differences" are recognised, their negative representation signifies that there exist limits to what can be tolerated in multicultural states. The fact that radical alterity beyond the spaces allotted by liberalism cannot be tolerated represents the failure of multiculturalism. Thus, this paper advances the idea that the failure of multiculturalism is that it is ultimately a bounded discourse whose limits are those of liberalism and, as Kowal argues, is inherently conflicted.

Methods:

The focus of this study's critical discourse analysis was the British news media's representations of Muslims, specifically through an examination of social actors, social action and argumentation. The work of KhosraviNik (2010) operationalizes Foucault's (1978) macro-level insights that explore the role of discourse and epistemic knowledge creation at a more micro level, so that sentence and texts can be analysed. According to KhosraviNik (2010), the analysis of self/other relations requires that attention is paid to not only the social actors that are present within a text, but also those who are not present and to analyse how these actors are being represented. He also recommends analysing the types of social actions that are being depicted and attributed to social actors and the argumentative strategies employed to represent them. (KhosraviNik 2010) As such, 503 articles were analysed from May 7 2005, two months prior to the London bombings, to August 7 2005, one month after the London bombings, from *The Daily Mail, The Sun, The Mirror, The Guardian* and *The Times.* These newspapers were selected as they have broad nation-wide coverage and audiences and represent a cross spectrum of newspaper

ownership and political leanings. These articles were systematically examined employing KhosraviNik three levels of analysis. They were also analysed according to recurring themes that were emanating from the data as it is important to consider the broader context in which social actors are being represented.

Overall findings:

Discussion ranging from Islam's propensity for violence, to the violent actions of its adherents was commonplace, with the recurring motifs of jihad, radicalisation, crime and Islamism frequently mentioned. Many of the articles weighed into the debate concerning the nature and involvement of Muslims in terror activities. In terms of KhosraviNik's social actor analysis, articles on the one scale tended to explore the role of Muslims, directly or indirectly blaming them, or Islam itself, for terror acts or radical tendencies; while others tended to describe Muslims as also being the victims of specific acts of terror or for being within the sphere of the broader influence or specific actions of negatively represented radicals/fundamentalists/Islamists or terrorists. The villain/victim dichotomy was an interesting trope deployed in various articles to detract from perhaps what could be considered blatant practices of discrimination. Frequently, a discriminatory allusion was prefaced with the suggestion that not all Muslims are like that, or that the majority of Muslims are law abiding and dutiful citizens. Yet, the underlying sentiment prevailed that nonetheless, a few bad apples tended to spoil the whole barrel, or at least had the latent potential to do so. The vulnerability of youth, again, represented more as victims of the terrorist villain is a by-product of this discourse. In addition, the dichotomous relationship between good and bad Muslims was an interesting phenomenon. The isolated Muslim role model who was a shining light of integration in British society, contrasted against the propagators of hate who should either be denied entry or expelled from Britain was prevalent within reports. The existence of the latter category of person prompted discussion that Britain was too liberal a society and that these individuals were taking for granted British tolerance and naivety. Significant discussion ensued about Britain finally waking up to the latent discontent that had been festering in ghettoised communities.

Muslims were overwhelmingly negatively depicted. These representations impaired the degree to which Muslims were seen to be included into the national imaginary. The primary reason for the exclusion of Muslims was represented as a social value conflict between two supposedly mutually exclusive communities which lead to the events that unfolded on the 7th of July 2005. Secondary to this difference in values, were other marked differences specific to the Muslim community which renders them highly visible and therefore, unassimilable in Britain. While assimilation was not necessarily a normative assertion advanced in the media given the general acceptance of multiculturalism, grievances about radical alterity were often a feature of debates. The social actor analysis illustrates that Muslims were generally represented as subjects and victims or agents and villains. Liberal Muslims or former Muslims were also represented as agents as they had made a choice of choosing the West over an Islamic mode of inhabiting the nation. Thus, reportage can be observed as tending to either pity or condemn radically different Muslims. The subtle differentiation of good and bad Muslims as well the more overt distinguishing of Muslims from non-Muslims can be seen to impact on the representation of identity and claims to identity and belonging of British Muslim citizens. Despite the qualifications, attempts not to generalise, caveats, disclaimers and other liberal media techniques, it can be nonetheless ascertained that bad Muslims are unwelcome in the nation. Given the propensity of Muslims to turn bad because of what is reported as questionable aspects of their religion, the lack of room for critique within their religion and a lack of Muslims themselves understanding their religion, a metaphorical question mark is placed over the entire identity category. This ambiguity prevents the unconditional belonging or undisputable and instantly recognisable claims to identity by those who see themselves as the gatekeepers of identity category.

Case study: Hirsi Ali

The Muslim female subject position, while generally more positively represented, was almost unanimously associated with the idea of victimhood. Women were often shown to be making the most of certain advantages afforded to them by western society that they ordinarily might not have had in the oppressive societies they or their families have come from (Sieghart 2005). The insinuation remains that they occupy a subordinate space that

can be improved with the degree to which they are able to westernise. Women were often portrayed as being voiceless or unable to speak English, confined to the private sphere or hidden. Where women were portrayed as agents, it was generally if they chose to denounce their faith or behave in a more Western way, whereas more practicing women were viewed as subjects. Within the timeframe of the dataset, while there were a number of prominent male figures mentioned, only two females were singled out to be represented as individuals among the faceless, nameless masses of other women. These two figures were Hirsi Ali, the Dutch politician, and Sheher Akther, a twenty year old who was killed in the bombings This paper focuses upon Hirsi Ali and her prominence This could perhaps be attributed to the fact that she can be seen to have made the successful transition into liberal society, shunning the backward ways of the culture she came from.

In a lengthy interview with Andrew Linklater in *The Guardian* following the death of Dutch film maker Theo Van Dijk, Hirsi Ali is described as both a 'fiery critic of both multiculturalism and her own religion, Islam' (Linkalter 2005). The article presents her personal story of transition, from a woman who had previously worn the hijab and supported the fatwa against Salman Rushdi, to a woman who is 'now dressed in the open-necked uniform of a glamorous European politician' and finds herself 'in much the same predicament as the British writer she once wished dead' (Linkalter 2005). Linklater details the threats made against the politician's life in response to some controversial claims such as her description of the Prophet as a 'pervert (for taking a child as one of his wives) and as a tyrant' as well as her depiction of Islamic patriarchy in the short film she wrote entitled Submission. According to Linklater, the film featured the stories of four women 'pleading with God for release from domestic, social and marital bondage' (Linklater 2005). This controversial film, which was directed by Van Gogh, resulted in his ultimate murder and death threats against Hirsi Ali. Depiction of the film is often discussed both in terms of some supposed failure in Islamic culture to accept self-critique, evaluation and for the illiberal tendency to allow for unfettered freedom of speech. In addition, it is interesting to note that this eleven minute Dutch film and Hirsi Ali herself feature so prominently in the national press in Britain. It can be construed that the sympathetic representation of the Dutch politician as an enlightened former Muslim who liberated herself from the patriarchal grips of her religion was mainly to contrast supposed Islamic culture to Western culture. Discussion of the murder of Van

Gogh is framed together with Hirsi Ali's personal story of female genital mutilation and forced marriage. This simultaneous representation serves to present an image of Islamic violence, oppression, irrationality and intolerance.

Aside from the gender issues presented in the Linklater article, the depiction of Van Gogh begging for mercy and reason and the refusal of his bearded assassin to relent together with avid description of his cold-blooded murder presents the image of intolerance and ruthless vengeance. These negative motifs stand in direct contrast to the liberal ideals on which the West attempts to purport itself and which Hirsi Ali – the self-confessed Apostate – has embraced by accepting the Dutch way of life. The pronouncement that the murder of Van Gogh could shake an already fraught policy like multiculturalism is significant. The implication here is that multicultural policies are only successful if people eventually assimilate and accept liberal ideals**.** Multicultural tolerance only extends as far as people who are tolerant and reasonable. The example shows how Muslims are capable of choosing irrationality and intolerance when they feel their religion is affronted. Again the personal story of Hirsi Ali is used to reinforce this idea. In what is described as her 'frolic in the pastures of Dutch liberal education', Linklater (2005) shows how at 'university, Hirsi Ali's world-view was turned upside down'. In her interview with the journalist, she advances: 'It was like being in paradise…Imagine. Everybody is reasonable. Everybody is tolerant. Everybody is happy. Your biggest worries are, "Will I get my points?" and "Do I have a boyfriend?" and "Did I party well last night?" And then you have vacations' (Linklater 2005). The depiction of Hirsi Ali as the "good" immigrant yet bad Muslim is an interesting juxtaposition. Her obvious gratitude and preference for the Dutch way of life, which is similar to the British way of life, stands in contrast to much of the discussion of "bad" immigrants or good Muslims who are shown in various polls presented in various newspaper articles, that they are unhappy about various aspects of British life. This begs the question of whether good Muslims can also be good immigrants (Sieghart 2005).

Discussion and conclusions:

A commonly accepted goal of multiculturalism is to recognise and tolerate differences among citizens (Taylor et al. 1992). Discussing its contemporary relevance, or lack thereof, the council of Europe Whitepaper on Intercultural dialogue advanced:

> In what became the western part of a divided post-war Europe, the experience of immigration was associated with a new concept of social order known as multiculturalism. This advocated political recognition of what was perceived as the distinct ethos of minority communities on a par with the 'host' majority. While this was ostensibly a radical departure from assimilationism, in fact multiculturalism frequently shared the same, schematic conception of society set in opposition of majority and minority, differing only in endorsing separation of the minority from the majority rather than assimilation to it . . . Whilst driven by benign intentions, multiculturalism is now seen by many as having fostered communal segregation and mutual incomprehension, as well as having contributed to the undermining of the rights of individuals _ and, in particular, women _ within minority communities, perceived as if these were single collective actors. The cultural diversity of contemporary societies has to be acknowledged as an empirical fact. However, a recurrent theme of the consultation was that multiculturalism was a policy with which respondents no longer felt at ease (Council of Europe 2008: 18).

This underlies the idea that discourse framing multicultural societies supposedly equally recognizes the values of minority communities on a par with the "host" majority. Yet, in reality, this has never been the case. As the case study discussion of Hirsi Ali illustrates, in multicultural societies, the values of minority communities can be tolerated so long as they do not impinge on individual rights or liberal values. What is confusing with the Council of Europe document and the idea advanced by Meer and Modood mentioned at the outset of this article that multiculturalism breeds illiberality. Ironically, its alleged failure indicates that multiculturalism is in fact fundamentally *incompatible* with illiberality and that the fundamental limits of multiculturalism are those of liberalism. Will Kymlica (2012:215), one of multiculturalism's most preeminent scholars argues that multiculturalism is a term so sullied in western contexts that "interculturalism", while an imperfect remedy for failed multiculturalism, offers "a compelling political narrative that can potentially sustain a flagging commitment to diversity". This rebranding of multiculturalism to interculturalism, as Kymlicka admits himself, in a policy sense, is not practically any different to multiculturalist policies. Meer and Modood (2012) unconvinced by the appeal of interculturalism, argue that 'the less macro-level European interculturalism that focuses on neighbourhoods, classroom pedagogy, the funding of the arts and so on is not a critique of multiculturalism but a different exercise. Unfortunately, it is sometimes offered as, or used

to play, an anti-multicultralist role. It is politically deconstructive of the alleged essentialism of multiculturalism, but lacks a constructive politics of its own except for a celebration of cultural mixing and the local. It leaves an empty space where there should be national discourses, policies and belonging.' This vacuous space that Meer and Modood (2012) refer to was previously filled by multiculturalism. Yet, as this discussion of a failed multiculturalism points out, multiculturalism was not a national discourse, but rather a *nationalist* discourse.

Ghassan Hage (1988:92) wrote that 'the difference between the tolerable and intolerable is a question of a number… What too many represents is the possibility of becoming beyond control… Those who are not tolerated are precisely those who trespass beyond the spaces allotted to them and develop a will of their own.' However, in fact, the difference between what is tolerable and intolerable is a question of liberality. Those who are not tolerated are those who trespass beyond the limits of liberalism. The fact that certain groups, like the media, occupy a privileged position within the national space ensures that they have the power to categorise and determine whether enough national capital is accumulated to denote belonging or whether this belonging is conditional (Hage 1988). Liberalism is the currency to be accumulated as national capital in western contexts. Multiculturalism can be seen as a nationalist practice that simply rebrands nationalism as something that is inclusive and which promotes diversity. It simultaneously upholds the original host community's values, tolerating minority values so long as they are not seen to impinge on those of the majority. Categorisation, in this case distinguishing between those who are liberal and otherwise, facilitates this process by marking the identities of those viewed and designated as "other" within the national space and it instills in these individual a state of conscious visibility whereby s/he moderates his/her behaviour so as to acquire more national capital in the process of national belonging. Hence, it facilitates the automatic functioning of power. Thus, multiculturalism can be viewed as a form of governmentality, used to maintain social control (Hage 1988, Foucault 1978). The reason for its failure is the fact that it can no longer do so.

This paper illustrates the role of discourse in delineating acceptable and unacceptable modes of inhibiting the nation in Britain. The fact that radical alterity exists does not

represent a failure of multiculturalism. However, its failure represents its inability to tolerate such difference. As such, the initial agenda underlying multiculturalism needs to be revisited, particularly as there are increasing pressures to rebrand it.

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First, Create Goodwill: Social Change and maternity services

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Abstract

Globalisation, 'reflexive modernisation', a growing awareness, real or otherwise, of contextual risk and recruitment crises in some professions have prompted neo-liberal post-welfare states (Australia, Canada and the UK) to apply new mechanisms of corporate governance to the public sector. Marketisation, managerialism and consumerism have posed challenges to the existing boundaries of the health professions by calling for new interdisciplinary and collaborative practices. The disruption to market privileges enjoyed by elite professional groups as a result of these discourses has revealed that professional boundaries are not natural enclaves organised around a specific object of knowledge (positivist knowledge or knowledge as 'a given') but are contested spheres of practice – cultural artefacts produced by a 'labour of division'. This paper reports on the responses of midwives and obstetricians in fifteen Australian public maternity units to the challenges of collaborative, caseload models of care that put midwives in the position of lead maternity carer. The evidence revealed ten commandments of social change where a coalition of 'change champions' stands out asa pivotalintervention in building cultures of respect and recognition.

Keywords: Audit culture; maternity care; professional boundaries;

The 'cultural work' of boundary maintenance

Weber (1987) argued that the incommensurability characteristic of the professions distinguished them from other specialised occupations and quarantined them from market competition. However, withmarketisation of public sector agencies, multidisciplinarity has become a key strategy in rationalising resources and delivering services and the old professional boundaries and privileges were questioned. Rather than being organically derived from a special skill or 'natural' division of labour, professions and professional boundaries were revealed as culturally created through a 'labour of division' (Fournier 2000). In this sense Abbott's (1988) concept of 'cultural work' depicts strategies by the dominant group in representing knowledge as a series of abstractions defying codification, standardisation or popularisation and additional strategies such as projecting a public service ethos over pecuniary self-interest and labelling competitor groups as amateurs or 'snake oil merchants' in stigmatizing the 'other' and creating a sense of anxiety and fear in the public. However, marketization, the audit society and the financial strictures facing post-welfare statessince the 1990s, particularly the global financial crisis,have brought these market shelters into question.

Marketisation, the 'audit society' and the post-welfare state

The 'labour of division' and professional jurisdictions seemed unremarkable so long as governments saw no reason to dismantle protective market shelters. Since the 1960s and in the wake of globalisation, however, the old-style medical, legal (and other) professionals of the 1930s whose status, class and supreme cultural authority assured a naïve and trusting lay public (Freidson 2001) and whose authority was sustained by training other groups as para- professionals (such as midwives and nurses) (Willis 1983), came under siege by the 'audit society' (Power 1999:53) or the 'evaluative state' (Neave 1988). The 'audit society' is symptomatic of marketisation, that is, the extrapolation of a market logic to governance of public sector agencies, such as hospitals. It refers to a culture 'engaged in constant checking and verification … in which a particular style of formalized accountability is the ruling principle' (Power 1999) applicable to both private and public sectors. It works not by direct controls but indirectly by appealing to the 'incentive structures of regulatees and for effective structures of voluntary self-regulation' (Rose and Miller 1992). In its political ramifications Giddens (1990) refers to this as the 'disembedding of social relations' in late modernity where authority relations begin to disintegrate if they pose anachronistic barriers to market efficiencies. It became obvious that the political power to exclude other groups to protect their own members via the formation of boundaries or exclusive jurisdictions was less about superior performance and more about protective State legislation (Foucault 1975, 1977, 1980). So-called specialized skills became a political instrument to exclude others to justify market privileges and rationalise elevated social status. Far from being a 'given', therefore, professional knowledge can be revealed as dependent upon and constituted by the 'professional gaze' (Foucault 1975). Professional knowledge is really:

*…performative and malleable, as an achievement … rather than as a discovery and reflection of the 'true nature' of some independent reality [and] suggests the possibility for the professions to reconstitute their field and knowledge in line with the version(s) of reality popularised by recent discourses celebrating the value of the market and enterprise (*Fournier 2000:180)

A case in point is obstetrics and midwifery where challenges to entrenched interests at the institutional level feed through to the interactional level; the new discourses demand the constitution of a new kind of worker bearing a new professional identity.

Discourses of 'the new professional'

The 'new professional' represents an ideal worker who is flexible, multi-skilled, and reflexive. They are a team-worker and lifelong learner who can slot easily into innovative service arrangements while adding new skills to provide unmet needs (Power 1999:5; Dent and Whitehead 2002). In the health field, for example, the nurse-practitioner and the case-load midwife are constituted from bureaucratic challenges to the political power held by the dominant professions. Emergence of midwifery-led units, the 'horizontal substitution' (Nancarrow and Borthwick 2005) of GP tasks by nurses and introduction of evidence-based medicine as the new 'gold standard', all stand as institutional correctives to medical idiosyncrasy, arbitrary authority, alarmingly-high rates of avoidable adverse events and increasing costs of health care (Lane2005). Under the 'old professionalism' members were socialised

into separate 'silos' through professional education, training, and clinical practices leading to vertical lines of authority and accountability (Degling et al 2000). But these arrangements were far too resistant to market efficiencies that demands collaboration among equals with different and complementary skills and knowledge (Tully and Mortlock 2004).

Collaboration – what does it mean?

Collaboration has become a key resource in the marketplace (Keleher 1998) especially for pregnant women who cross the low to high risk boundary (Downe 2010). It means working in a 'true partnership' with others to accomplish a task that no individual can achieve alone. Assertiveness and trust rather than aggression are key elements (Keleher 1998; Miller 1997; Lane 2003) meaning that hierarchy and competition are contra-indicatedin favour of egalitarianism, shared power, mutual respect and a co-operation (Evans 1994:22). According to Australian and US studies, midwives aspire more to this ideal than obstetricians although a New Zealand study found that 64% of midwives reported excellent collaboration with obstetricians and 72% reported that obstetricians supported the concept of continuity of midwifery care. (Only 38% found obstetricians unsupportive)(Skinner 2010).

Most collaborative ventures, however, have been less salubrious (McIntyre et al 2012; Simpson et al 2006; Pinki et al 2007). In Australia, parallel studies of four maternity units in Victoria (across tertiary, metropolitan, regional and rural levels) from 2005-7 confirmed the findings in the literature that collaborative care arrangements were generally difficult to institute (Lane 2005; Lane 2006; Reiger 2008; Lane&Reiger 2009). Obstetricians were generally loathe to relinquish control over decision-making; exercised veto-power over midwifery decision-making and resented models that demanded collaboration but left them to shoulder legal accountability and lacked respect for midwives who refused to upgrade their skills. Midwives resented the lack of respect on the part of doctors for their skills and knowledge; their systematic social exclusion from morning handovers; doctors' poor communication skills; medical arrogance; doctors' insensitive use of medicalized language; the escalation of fear tactics to achieve patient and midwifery compliance and knee-jerk interventionist tendencies. Achieving collaboration, therefore, is a difficult task.

Creating collaboration from the ground-up: creating cultures of good-will

I argue in the remainder of this paper that genuine, horizontal interdisciplinary collaboration is possible, not through creating collaborative structures (although certain protocols need to be put into place) but via ten major interventions, the most important of which wasengaging *the good will* of all participants in building personal and professional confidence and identities. In this regard, Fraser's and Honneth's(2003) theories of social justice are apposite, particularly the concepts of recognition and respect, as well as timing and the contingent alignment of external political, economic and historical factors.

Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used to analyse transcripts of evidence given before governmental reviews of maternity care arrangements over the period 2008 – 2010 and from interviews with thirty maternity professionals (senior obstetricians and

senior midwifery managers) from fifteen select caseload units in South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales conducted between 2009-10. N-Vivo was used to create categories for comparison across sites and professional groups. Ethics clearance was obtained from all host institutions. Interviews typically took 60 minutes but often longer at the discretion of the participant.

Discussion

The study shows that collaboration relies on human goodwill and conscious strategies to engage the professions in mutual dialogue and cross-disciplinary learning. It defies top-down legislative decree. Collaboration emanates from ground-up or organic processes although these need to be catalysed by a coalition of 'change champions' in the launching phase. It is important that senior clinicians monitor and censor openly hostile and disrespectful critics yet in only three units out of fifteen -labelled **Collaborative Reflexive**– did this occur. **Collaborative Routine**and **Collaborative Transitional** units describe units that variously displayedantipathy towards collaboration. Given word limits, I will discuss only the Collaborative Reflexive units; those that consciously aimed to integrate the skills and practices of midwives and obstetricians. It should be noted that oppositional philosophies were often still substantially in place. However, they did achieve what Fraser calls 'parity of participation'; participants from both professional groups drew upon a 'unity of purpose' (the welfare of women – as they put it - *'a keep normal normal, minimise intervention, pro midwifery philosophy'*)as an operational vehicle (rather than, say,developing a unified identity) at least two years post-inception.

A clarity of roles and spheres of practice

Successful units were clear about jurisdictional boundaries and spheres of practice but they differed in how they drew them yet all were informed by trust and respect for the skills and professionalism of the other.. One, for example, channelled all high and low risk cases through the Midwifery Group Practice on the grounds that continuity of care by a named midwife was a mark of excellence. Another senior obstetrician cited an inverted pyramid as his preferred model: one where the midwives formed the first line cadre and he only saw high risk cases.

Re-valuing cultural identities

The ability to foster calm, confidence and control allowing the mother to deliver with minimal medical intervention is a much maligned, if not entirely misrecognised, skill by positivist obstetrics. In achieving parity of participation, therefore, strategies needed first, to encourage midwives themselves to acknowledge their own non-commensurate skill and second,enable them to express this publicly. Midwives' active contribution to regular multidisciplinary meetings achieved this and replaced a conventional blame and shame culture of hierarchy, denial and competition with a mutual learning culture.

Practising interdisciplinary, respectful cultures: the morning handover and the regular weekly interdisciplinary review

The major vehicle to enacting cultural change was the interdisciplinary morning handover where all staff were invited and where as many as 30-40 attendees discussed current cases and issues arising. As the Head of Obstetrics said, … you need a lot of continued input to give [a new idea] some momentum ..so its essential to come in every single day for that handover and be there every time to steer the meeting. If the tone became too accusatory or if the tone was confrontational we [the coalition of senior obstetricians and midwives] tried to temper and moderate it.

Midwives were overtly encouraged to contribute and the Professor of Obstetrics censored Visiting Medical Officers (those in private practice who worked at the hospital on certain days) who openly undermined the MGP. For example, *a senior registrar typically used language such as 'You won't believe what they've,[the birth centre] have done'. You have to say, 'Hang on, let's get rid of that crap sentence you've just said. Just tell us the facts, don't tell us I cant believe this'.*

Using language of respect and recognition

Instead of criticising midwives at the morning handover, the senior obstetricians and midwives modelled a positive blend of criticism and encouragement: For example, a critique might be expressed as: *I'm interested in what you're doing here. I have some concerns that there is a big risk. A lot of people would not have done that. They might have chosen to do so and so. I think you will find there is strong evidence for intervening a bit earlier and the reason I don't want you to do that is* …..As he also admitted, *Often, one feels very strongly that what the person had done was blatantly dangerous but there is no point in saying that.*

Socialisation of new entrants

Although contrarian senior registrars were seen as a lost cause, the new registrars were socialised into a respectful interdisciplinary culture ensuring they too would be rewarded for similar behaviour.

A culture of detachment

Key agents of change realised that maternity care divided into hierarchies and had decided to engage with the high-end risk careers, such as fetal medicine. As one senior obstetrician put it: *They [fetal medicine specialists] are so used to seeing absolutely the worst end of stuff – the most complicated awful pregnancies- that minor deviations in pregnancy really don't worry them so much.* They not only refused to exaggerate problems but remained independent of market forces and collegial condemnation thus allowing them to put bold cultural changes into place with impunity.

Change champions

The coalition of change champions emerged as a key element in transforming old structures of hierarchy into new structures of collaboration and interdisciplinary recognition.. As one Director explained:*What has changed has been the development of a strong core of [four] people who share an aim and who come from a very similar 'keep normal normal, minimise intervention, pro midwifery philosophy'. We have almost developed a sort of separate culture within a culture and it is within that culture that MGP is being promoted and we are disseminating that to the broader culture.*

The ‘old culture’ was sclerotic because it was driven by *history, fear and power.* Obstetric staff had been taught that birth was inherently dangerous and only safe in retrospect; they feared complications, of being sued and of being critiqued by their colleagues as having erred in judgement. Finally, *they [the old guard] were the people who were fond of arguing that you never get sued for doing a Caesar, for intervening too early*.

An always-learning culture

Members of successful units believed they could always learn from others. As one senior clinician said:*I don’t claim to be an expert. I am still learning. I think its language and tone and manner – you don’t need to belittle people. I try to say things like: I am interested in what you’re doing here.*

The merit principle

Achievement (in the Fraser and Honneth(2003) sense of recognition for merit) was seen as collaborative and collective. As one senior obstetrician said, ….*There’s two ways of being an obstetrician - you can be the knight in shining armour or you can be quietly in the background.Some like the former – “you were in such an awful mess but I was here and saved the day” – clutched the baby back from the brink. The woman doesn’t know any better and the consultant gets the champagne-chocolates-whisky whatever. Actually you’ve managed it correctly if the woman comes through labour and didn’t realize that you actually did anything*. For this clinician, the essence of maternity professionalism was to be positive, supportive and virtually invisible to encourage the woman to realise her own strengths, but they would never promote themselves as the hero of the birthplace.

A planetary re-alignment

One senior obstetric clinician described the conditions surrounding successful collaboration as:…*very much a planetary alignment situation here – it’s absolutely astonishing what we are doing – astonishing and exciting to be achieving what we are achieving here, including an 18% caesarean section rate compared with 46% in public women’s units*. This clinician referred to both external political factors, internal organisational factors and interactional/professional factors that came together fostered by the foresight, vision and determination by a cabal of senior clinicians from different philosophical backgrounds.

Conclusion

I have argued that the audit culture of neo-liberal post-welfare states has called for interdisciplinary and collaborative practices. The problem has been how to orchestrate such practices among professions historically trained within separate and hierarchical ‘silos’ with competing objects of knowledge. This paper has reported on the responses of fifteenAustralian public maternity units to the challenges of collaborative, caseload models of care that put midwives in the position of lead maternity carer. The evidence produced ‘ten commandments’ of social change in maternity care, the most operative of which was the importance of a coalition of ‘change champions’ in building cultures of respect and recognition among all staff.

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Children, Toxic Chemicals and Australia's Intergenerational Obligations

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Abstract

The high volume and widespread use of industrial chemicals, the backlog of internationally untested chemicals, the uptake of synthetic chemicals found in babies' in utero, cord blood, and in breast milk, and the lack of a unified and comprehensive regulatory framework, all underscore the importance of developing policies that protect the most vulnerable in our society – our children. Australia's failure to do so raises profound intergenerational ethical issues. This paper tells a story of international policy, and where Australia is falling down. This paper highlights the need for significant policy reforms in the area of chemical regulation in Australia. We argue that we can learn much from countries already taking critical steps to reduce the toxic chemical exposure, and the development of a comprehensive, child-centered chemical regulation framework is central to turning this around.

Key Words: children's health, chemical regulation, disease prevention, public health policy, intergenerational ethics.

Introduction

We are birthing a generation of 'pre-polluted' children. Environmental toxicants such as methyl mercury, brominated flame-retardants, perfluorochemicals, dioxin, pesticides, and parabens are regularly detected in the blood and tissue of newborn babies, children and in the breast milk of women of reproductive age (Toms et al, 2008, 2009; Mueller, et al. 2008; Woodruff, Zota & Schwartz, 2011). Exposure to these toxicants have been directly linked with increasing childhood diseases - intellectual impairments, allergenicity, autism, cancer, neurological and behavioral disorders, congenital malformations, asthma, and preterm birth (Landrigan & Goldman, 2011). The widespread use of chemicals found in children '…underscore he inadequacy of current regulations to protect children from suspected and confirmed environmental toxicants…' (Lanphear, et al, 2006:1611).

While Australia has taken some significant steps, ratifying a number of international conventions pertaining to the rights of the child and chemical regulations, this has not translated into specific legislation to protect children from environmental hazards *(*Sly et al, 2008). Yet the Australian government has made it clear that children's health is a priority for action. The vision for Australian children put forward by the Government is clear: 'By 2020 all children have the best start in life to create a better future for themselves and for the nation' (COAG, 2009:18).

The question then is how do we - policy makers, regulators, society - address the formidable challenges that chemical exposures present our current children and future children?

This paper highlights the need for significant policy reforms in the area of chemical regulation in Australia. Given the substantial evidence linking children's exposures to environmental hazards with adverse health outcomes, we argue, that it is an ethical imperative for us to do so. We begin by outlining the unique susceptibility of childhood toxicants and the incidence of disease in children known or suspected to be of environmental origin. We then consider some key

principles, based on ideas of intergenerational equity, that might guide the development of a more comprehensive, child-centered agenda for protecting Australian children from toxic chemicals.

Global Chemical Exposure & Children's Health

Children and young people today live in an environment that is vastly different from that of a generation ago. Technological advances, new industrial processes, changes in food production and processing, increased mobility, intensified urbanism, global warming, and increased consumption of media, processed foods and drinks, alcohol, personal care products and cosmetics have not only radically changed the life-patterns of children and young people (Wyn, 2009) but also significantly increased the amount of industrial chemicals they are routinely exposed to (WHO Telethon Institute for Child Health Research, 2009).

We are living in a time of high volume industrial chemicals. Global chemical production escalated from around one million tonnes a year in 1930 to some 400 million tonnes being produced annually today (Nguyen An, 1997). Over 80,000 chemicals are now registered for use in Australia, 75% of which have never been tested for their toxicity of the human body (Bremmer & Hanna, 2009). Researchers recognize that the backlog of internationally untested chemicals is a global issue (Sly et al, 2008). And because the production and dissemination of chemicals is also a multifaceted business, children are being polluted not by a single agent, but by multiple agents from multiple institutions and businesses - none of which are unified by a coherent national monitoring program.

Chemical exposures & children's unique susceptibility

Pathways for exposure include food and food packaging, surfaces and the soil, water and air, building materials, cleaning products, personal care products and cosmetics. They enter the human body via inhalation (breathing), absorption (through skin or eyes), ingestion (eating, swallowing and via breastmilk), and can cross the placenta.

Children are known to be uniquely vulnerable and susceptible to environmental hazards compared to adults. Pre-nates, infants and children are particularly vulnerable due to their smaller body size and less mature systems for detoxifying and excreting toxins. Children digest more food and water and breathe more per kilo of body weight than adults. They have a higher surface area to body mass ratio than adults, and the skin of children is more permeable, resulting in enhanced absorption (Lanphear et al, 2005; Vorhees & Bellinger, 2005). Physiologically, children also dwell closer to the ground increasing exposure to ground residues, while babies and toddlers also experience sustained exposure due to their restricted mobility (Sly & Flack, 2008).

Health Impacts

Exposures to environmental chemicals play a significant role in increasing developmental and environmental illnesses experienced by our children including cancers, congenital malformations, diabetes, allergenicity, generalised immune disorders, obesity, autism, asthma, and neurological and behavioural disorders (Weiss, 2000; Rumchev et al. 2004; Lanphear et al, 2005; Grandjean & Landrigan, 2006; Simpson et al. 2005; Vorhees & Bellinger, 2005; Heindel, 2007; Weselak et al 2007).

Many of these diseases, triggered or exacerbated by toxic chemicals, evolve through multistage, multiyear processes that may be initiated in utero and infancy (Landrigan et al, 2005). Repeat exposures throughout early developmental phases of children's lives can result in acute, early onset or delayed disease symptoms, with some conditions not emerging until later in life (ibid).

A growing body of epigenetic research also points to transgenerational effects of environmental chemicals on the chromosomal or germ line, meaning heritable changes in gene expression are taking place (Baccarelli & Bollati, 2009).

The preventability of disease caused by environmental toxicants

Chemical exposure is largely a result of human activity, thus it is a preventable risk factor for many diseases (Pruss-Ustün & Corvalan, 2006). This principle was illustrated by the significant reduction of lead in children's blood following its removal from petrol and consumer products such as paint, the regulation of tobacco laws, and the banning of polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) and asbestos. Recent bans include the placticiser diethylhexyl phthalate (DEHP) and the pesticide endosulfan, reversing earlier rulings that said it was safe if used correctly. Reforms have shown to be effective in reducing the burden of disease, enhancing quality of life, increasing national productivity (Landrigan & Goldman, 2011) and yielding significant savings (Trasande & Yinghua, 2011).

As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) Australia has a longstanding mandate to protect children in our society. The Convention recognises the dangers of environmental chemicals and places an onus on governments to ensure maximum development of children. Since then many global policies have focused on the needs of children's environmental health, including the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development; the 1997 Declaration of the Environmental Leaders of the Eight on Children's Environmental Health; the 1999 WHO policy on Children's Health and the Environment, and the 2002 UNICEF Berlin Commitment. More recently, the 2010 Busan Pledge for Action on Children's Health and the Environment advocates for the recognition, assessment, and consideration of hazardous environmental influences on children's health. The pledge recognises that threats to the health of children are likely to be compounded by climate change and a depleted ozone layer, and raises concerns about the sparse safety requirements needed before marketing new chemicals to children (Gavidia et al, 2010).

The 2006 Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (SAICM) was also a landmark initiative in international cooperation to protect human health and the environment. The Approach provides a policy framework to achieve the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation which declared, 'By 2020, chemicals will be produced and used in ways that minimize significant adverse impacts on the environment and human health'. As a signatory, Australia has agreed to work towards effective governance of chemical management by means of transparency, public participation, and accountability, and to protect children and the unborn child from chemical exposures that impair their future lives (SAICM, 2006).

These international agreements, along with pressure from industry groups, have been at the forefront of establishing innovative regulatory programs to address the toxicity affecting children and reduce the burden of disease. The European Union (EU), the United States, and Canada have taken some significant steps in this area. Amidst these international reforms however, there is recognition that Australia is not keeping up and there is growing call to reform the current Australian regulatory chemical framework (Sly et al, 2008; NTN, 2010; WHO Telethon Institute for Child Health Research, 2009).

Children's Health Policy in Australia

The gaps in both our knowledge about chemical exposure to human health and the chemical management framework in which we regulate chemicals in Australia are evident. Australia has no specific legislation protecting children from environmental hazards (Sly, 2008).

In the recent review of Agricultural and Veterinary Chemicals (AGVET) Minister Joe Ludwig acknowledges the problems with the chemical regulatory system, stating '…the system is not working as effectively as it should and is looking at options for reform to better protect human health and the environment…'(APVMA, 2010:2).

Responses to the review recognise a number of gaps in the AGVET framework. Most notably, many pesticides no longer permitted for use in the EU are still widely used in Australia (NTN, 2010), and chemical assessments made by other countries, with more comprehensive chemical frameworks, are not being utilized by Australia's chemical regulators (Choice, 2010).

Other gaps in Australian research and policy include :i) over 75% of the chemicals on the market have not received testing for safety to human health or the environment, and testing for multiple-chemical exposures is severely limited (Bremmer & Hanna, 2009), ii) negligible biological monitoring of chemical exposures in the human population takes place. Regulatory agencies therefore do not have a clear picture of what chemicals Australians are exposed to and in what concentrations, iii) research about *in utero* exposure is insufficient, iv) there is a widespread assumption that illnesses resulting from chemical exposure will be accurately identified and managed by health practitioners. Limited training in the area of environmental health and toxicology takes place (Sly et al, 2008) and, v) toxicologists are in short supply in Australia, thus limiting risk assessment research and policy development (Priestly et al, 2007).

In short, the size of the problem is largely unknown. Diseases are infrequently diagnosed, research is limited, and exposure standards do not take into account the special susceptibilities of children. Researchers note however that 'the absence of data does not equate to absence of problem' (Sly et al, 2008:18).

Building better outcomes for Australian children–Intergenerational Equity

Protecting our children (now and future generations) means fundamentally creating a new framework in Australia to protect children from environmental hazards. A polity of intergenerational equity is central to this call. At the heart of intergenerational equity is the acknowledgement that we are society in which the generations are bound together in relationships of obligations and entitlements that extends far beyond the current lifetime (De-Shalit, 1995).

Ethicists ask the question 'What do we owe future generations?' The notion that current society has obligations to the future and that we are failing to face up to those obligations, is at the heart of current global warming policy discussions (Buchanan, 2009). Buchanan (2009:1237) argues,

> 'Not every policy choice must elevate the concerns of future generations over those of current generations…but a conscious acknowledgement that we are making decisions for people who cannot speak for their own interests creates a moral imperative to give voice to the voiceless'.

In a similar vein, the decisions policy makers make today in relation to the production of chemicals will affect the health and interests of future generations. Current arguments about 'economic harm', 'scientific uncertainty' or 'tolerable daily intakes' for delaying responses to chemical exposure are a tolerance for human harm which diminish the welfare of future generations.

Shifting the burden of proof of safety onto industry sends a clear message that corporations and industry must research the health and environmental risks of their products, before harm occurs. This reverses the current practice in Australia where consumers (and government) bear the costs and a stringent burden to demonstrate 'unreasonable risk' from a chemical to enact restrictions.

Moreover, this policy shift must also be construed in the light of the precautionary principle. Birnbaum, Director of the US National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences argues that the benefits of the precautionary principle in relation to chemical exposure are,

> '…years, decades, a lifetime of improved health. It can lead to reductions in early mortality and morbidity…decrease the instances of fetal or childhood exposures causing diseases in adulthood… improve the quality of life. And from an economic point of view… it can decrease the expenditures on healthcare while improving individual productivity in the schools and the workplaces throughout life' (CCCEN, 2009:11).

The precautionary principle also acknowledges that risk management incorporates considerations beyond science, as absolute scientific certainty is neither achievable nor provable. Extending the Precautionary Principle already incorporated in many of Australia's State and National laws into chemical regulation puts social values and ethical and environmental factors alongside current scientific knowledge, in order for regulators to effectively protect children.

Conclusion

The Australian Government has made it clear: 'Children deserve the best start in life, and it is in Australia's long-term national interest to want the best for them now and to help them develop to their fullest throughout life' (COAG, 2009:13). And yet, the specific vulnerability of children and the vast chemical exposures they are experiencing constitutes a source of inequity between generations.

While infant mortality has been an important indicator of progress, another more significant factor for our children today, is the measuring their ability to reach and maintain their full potential. Developing an integrated, national, child-centered chemical assessment and regulating framework that focuses on children's wellbeing, not industry needs, on equity within and between the generations, and takes a long-term outlook of the safety and health of children in Australia is essential.

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The Individual and Everyday Surveillance

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Abstract

Surveillance is common in modern society, with individuals subject to many forms of data collection and monitoring in everyday life. Many of these forms are through information and communications technologies (ICTs), which hold an ever increasing place in modern living. To understand this trend, surveillance theories have shifted from Foucauldian influenced panoptic surveillance towards post-panoptic approaches. However, there is little consideration given to the individual's experience of surveillance within these theories. This is problematic, as in order to sufficiently address the implications of surveillance, the individual's experience of surveillance must be considered (Friesen, Chung and Feenberg 2006). This article explores the panoptic and post-panoptic approaches to surveillance, and the ways in which ICT surveillance is integrated into everyday life, and highlights how there is a gap in surveillance studies literature regarding how the individual experiences surveillance. More recent post-panoptic approaches such as the surveillant assemblage (Haggerty and Ericson 2000) are identified as holding few additional contributions to this gap. Instead, it is Foucault's writings that are more insightful, despite being sometime dismissed in surveillance studies. The article concludes by suggesting that a greater recognition of the positive contributions of surveillance theory would be more productive for surveillance studies than a paradigm shift.

Key words: Surveillance, experience, ICTs, panopticism, post-panopticism, everyday life

Introduction

Surveillance is an integral part of the social world, and is an area of ever increasing scholarship. The recent interest in surveillance coincides with the rapid development of electronics and computer technology, a key factor in the spread of surveillance (Higgs 2001). Computers, and in particular information and communication technologies (ICTs), have expanded the functions and applications of surveillance to new levels. Surveillance practices have generated a number of social implications, such as issues relating to security, discrimination and categorisation (Lyon 2002). In exploring surveillance however, certain approaches are privileged over others. Foucault's panopticon and Orwell's Big Brother once dominated surveillance research (Boyne 2000). However, post-panoptic perspectives are increasingly the focus of surveillance research. Yet all these approaches adopt a structural focus to exploring surveillance, ignoring the individual's perspective, and thus not adequately addressing the implications of surveillance (Lyon 1994:2). In order to sufficiently address these implications, the subjective, individual experience of surveillance must be considered

(Friesen, Chung and Feenberg 2006). This article explores the panoptic and post-panoptic approaches to surveillance, and the ways in which ICT surveillance is integrated into everyday life, and highlights how the individual's perspective is not well considered in surveillance studies. More recent post-panoptic approaches such as the surveillant assemblage (Haggerty and Ericson 2000) are identified as holding few additional contributions to this gap. Instead, it is Foucault's writings that are more insightful, despite being sometime dismissed or misread in surveillance studies. The article concludes by suggesting that a greater recognition of the positive contributions of surveillance theory would be more productive for surveillance studies than a paradigm shift.

Technology and Surveillance Perspectives:

Foucault was amongst the first to note the role of technology in the development of surveillance. Foucault conceptualised surveillance as being panoptic, drawing on Jeremy Bentham's prison model as an analogue to conceptualise how surveillance and power are distributed in modern society (Danaher, Schirato and Webb 2000:53). For Foucault, surveillance is conducted by the few on the many, with the many unaware or unsure of this surveillance and thus driven to self monitor and modify their behaviour (Green 1999). How these surveillance strategies create changes in the individual's behaviour is Foucault's (1984:190) main interest. Foucault's use of the panopticon has drawn attention to the relevance and importance of surveillance and its use of technology in modern society (Wood 2007). As a result, many theorists have drawn on elements of Foucault, creating a panoptic approach to surveillance (Boyne 2000).

ICTs have added new dimensions to the scope and ability of surveillance, with wide social structural impacts (Rule 1973:34-36). For example, databases allow large amounts of data to be stored and accessed on demand, which allow individuals to be cross checked and categorised without their knowledge (Orito 2011). These databases are linked to other forms of documentation to create a profile of the individual's life, referred to as a data self, data double, or data image (Haggerty and Ericson 2000:611). This serves many functions, such as to specifically target consumers through advertising (Turow 2005).

Although panoptic theories of surveillance have accomplished much in surveillance studies, Foucault failed to account for ICTs and technical advances such as the internet. Post-panoptic theories have sought to fill this gap, such as Haggerty and Ericson's (2000) attempt to reconceptualise surveillance as an assemblage. The assemblage considers surveillance to be a dispersed and rhizomatic phenomenon, being conducted by an unrelated multiplicity of groups and practices (Palmas 2011). The conglomerate of surveillance entities instead seeks to break the individual into a desired set of discrete data, called flows. These flows represent the many streams of information that contribute to databases, circulate in information networks, and form an individual's data self.

The technical developments and implications of surveillance have encouraged many theoretical explanations. However these theories often favour analysing broader social and technical trends, without considering the individual in the analysis. Haggerty and Ericson (2006) attempt to include more of the individual by examining flows of personal data in the assemblage, but they again ignore the effects of surveillance on the individual's lived experience (Wood 2007:256). Many of these perspectives also assume surveillance to be a uniform social phenomenon, and do not attempt to explore how those under surveillance react or respond to it. While the technical and structural aspects of surveillance are clearly

highlighted, how the individual's experience fits in these structures is obscured. Such considerations are especially important, given the spread and implications of surveillance in contemporary Western society.

The Everyday Integration of Surveillance:

Surveillance has had an enormous impact on society, being central in the development of modernity (Giddens 1985), and is today implicated in many daily processes in Western life. Global finance (Turow 2005), government bureaucracies (Rule 1973; Gilliom 2005) and business and advertising (Campbell and Carlson 2002) have all benefited from surveillance. Customers have also benefited, with surveillance practices enabling individuals to conduct a wide range of social activities from home, such as shopping and banking (Ashworth and Free 2006). Everyday aspects of an individual's life, such as shopping, healthcare and business are all steeped in surveillance processes.

However there are implications with these everyday forms of surveillance. Despite any potential benefits, surveillance practices are a source of social friction between those conducting surveillance, and those subject to it. Examples of this tension can be seen in surveillance conducted by private business. With the growth of online commerce, "cookies", or stored pieces of internet data are used to harvested data or monitor an individual's use (Bennett 2001). The use of cookies presents several privacy issues. Users are often unaware of how much data are being collected, and have little choice in using cookies, as they are integral to the internet, and act without the user's knowledge (Kristol 2001). Efforts to collect such data include unseen technical means, coercive measures or seducing an individual to disclose through the promise of a reward (Elmer 2003:237). The user data gathered by cookies are then stored, analysed and traded by advertising companies, who then can tailor specific advertising to target groups (Fuchs 2011). The importance of data collection is often framed in relation to structural processes, such as in relation to businesses or bureaucratic administration. These perspectives ignore the negative effects data collection may have on the individual.

The absence of research into the individual's experience of surveillance is also clearly visible when examining privacy. Privacy is often perceived as the polar opposite and solution to surveillance (Bennett and Raab 2006:337), and has resulted in extensive research about the relationship between the two. This includes empirical studies on the degree of governmental surveillance (Dinev, Hart and Mullen 2008), the consequences of state sponsored surveillance (Ditzion 2004), the impact on identity (Warner 2005) and consumers' concerns regarding online privacy (Dinev and Hart 2006). Regardless of its orientation towards privacy, much of this literature has focused on the technical and structural aspects of surveillance and privacy, while ignoring the individual's position. This has resulted in many assumptions. For instance, Gilliom (2005) finds that structural concerns such as privacy are not even considered as an issue by those subjected to invasive welfare surveillance. Instead, subjects focus on the issues relating to their daily lived experiences, such as the difficulties of being able to adequately provide for their families. Such insights are few in surveillance studies, where the focus is predominantly placed on the uses and applications of surveillance strategies, understanding the impact of surveillance strategies on social structures, and on investigating the changing patterns of surveillance.

With the widespread growth of surveillance systems into everyday life, resistance is becoming more widespread. This is a result of the structural consequences of surveillance

systems. Lyon (2006:369) suggests such systems inspire feelings of fear and isolation in individuals, prompting action against surveillance. Yet individuals' subjective feelings and experiences have been rarely explored in the surveillance literature, despite being the aim and motivation for surveillance strategies (Freisen, Chung and Feenburg 2006). Like surveillance, resistance is a negotiated and contested experience (Lyon 2007). For example, Gilliom (2001) describes a variety of measures welfare recipients use to resist invasive surveillance, including changing living arrangements, and not declaring paid work. This kind of research is rare in surveillance studies, with research tending to focus on privacy, or grass root anti-surveillance campaigns (Lyon 1994:177-178). These perspectives ignore individual experience and rely instead on social assumptions, such as that surveillance is counter balanced in society by preserving the private sphere (Bennett and Raab 2006).

Reintegrating the Individual

With the continuing growth of everyday surveillance, understanding the experiential aspects of surveillance is becoming increasingly important. Post-panoptic approaches like the surveillant assemblage have aided in understanding the role of technology and everyday surveillance, however, they have yet to fully incorporate the individual into the analysis. Individuals are considered as collected pieces of data, or flows, that are removed from any individual context to be reassambled as a 'decorperealized body, a data double of pure virtuality ' (Haggerty and Ericson 2000:611). The collected data, regardless of how accurate or representative it is of the individual, is the basis of any institutional or bureaucratic function (Haggerty and Ericson 2000:614). While documenting the rhizomatic structure of surveillance today, the assemblage divorces an individual from their context. The experience and lived reality of surveillance for those who are under it is not clear. Instead, unanswered questions remain regarding how individuals make sense of, resist or even embrace surveillance in their everyday lives.

Curiously, Foucault offers more on the individual than any of the post-panoptic positions. Caluya (2010) suggests that many of the post-panoptic positions misread Foucault, using panoptic surveillance as a singular concept, without considering Foucault's broader theories of power. Ball (2006:93) confirms this suggestion, indicating that the work of many surveillance theorists take this reading, and assume panoptic surveillance as structural and top down. This is the opposite of what Foucault suggests. For Foucault, surveillance is a part of the micro-physics of power, an example of but one of many methods and techniques by which power is exercised in society (Foucault 1977:26-27). This power exists in every facet of social life, and is not accumulated in any one individual or group, but flows through everyday life. It is not repressive, but performative and productive, shaping the way an individual thinks and acts (Collier 2009:81). In this way Foucault recognises the individual in greater detail than post-panoptic theories, providing a framework for understanding aspects of an individual's experience Drawing on Foucault, patterns of resistance can be better understood, such as those described by Gilliom (2001). Therefore, the dismissal of Foucault maybe premature, given the insights his theories provide.

What is perhaps needed is recognition of the positive aspects of existing theory, and not a paradigm shift. The move towards post-panopticism came as a response to the perceived problems of panoptic surveillance, this being that it was overly structural and top down, and that it failed to consider ICTs. The first problem stems from a narrow view of Foucault's work and how it is applied, not as an inherent problem with Foucault's ideas. The second is

also understandable, given Foucault's genealogical method focused on historic antecedents, making studying emerging technology difficult (Wood 2007:251). While post-panopticism has made significant contributions in recognising the changing patterns of surveillance with ICTs, especially the rise and dispersion of data surveillance practices, the question of the experience of surveillance still remains. The answer to this question may lie in recognising the contributions made by Foucault in understanding surveillance, power and everyday life, while considering them alongside the advances of the assemblage.

Conclusion

Surveillance studies literature has remained focused on understanding surveillance from a structural perspective, with the individual's perspective less well developed in the research. This is despite the growing integration of surveillance into the everyday lives of citizens. Post-panoptic theories have still failed to explore the individual, missing the insights that Foucault's broader theories have on the subject. It is perhaps worth considering how the advances of post-panopticism may be combined with Foucault's analysis of power in everyday life. If the implications of surveillance in social life are to be adequately understood, a conceptual toolkit is needed that addresses the structural, technological and individual in the analysis.

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Situating Meaning: Reception Theory and North American Perceptions of Australia[1]

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Abstract

The power of media messages to influence imaginaries of people and places around the world tends to be taken for granted. In this paper, wegive a sociological twist totheoretical approaches to the production/ reception dialectic intrinsic to the circulation of media messages. Usingdata from a survey and a series of interviews with North American visitors to Australia, we evidence howinformation encoded in North American media messages influence the frameworks of knowledge people assemble about Australia and its people. We find that reception cannot be captured by simplistic notions of acceptance or opposition to these messages, but must also take into account thedegree to which people passively or actively engage with media forms, a process that is largely determined by the social location of the audience.

Keywords: reception theory; media; social reproduction; tourism; imaginaries

Introduction

> I remember the first time I saw a picture of Perth. It might sound silly, but I was really surprised to see that it was so city-like. […] I guess I was expecting something a little bit more outback. Not as modern. Something more pioneer/settler type things. Not as sophisticated Maybe? I was expecting more tumbleweeds, more desert? (21 year old Canadian exchange student, March 2012).

The research reported here is based on surveys and interviews with a group of North American study abroad students located at the University of Western Australia for the first semester of the 2012 academic year. The opening quote, taken from one of the interviews, reflects some of the perceptions picked up through our study. By focusing on the ways in which representations of Australia through tourism advertising and other media forms is received by some of the consumers of these products, the research offers a relatively rare glimpse into the relationship between production and reception of media messages. In so doing it picks up on Salazar's (2012) recent call for grounded research on the ways in which tourism marketers and national image makers influence a broad public. It also follows more than three decades of critique of the simplistic notions of an Australian 'national type' and

what it means to be Australian highlighted in White's influential account of *Inventing Australia* (1981).

The Production of Reception Theory

Identifying a need to break the tendency towards 'psychologising' audience reception of text and the ideas they carry, Morley (1974)enacted a reconceptualization of media audiences as part of culturally patterned structures and clusters involved in the act of decoding media messages. He elaborated a chain of communication that connects two main elements – the sender/producer and the receiver/consumer, each with their own internal structure, positioned differently in the communicative hierarchy. Morleyargues that though media discourse tends to flow in particular ways, it is 'neither closed nor finally determined' (Morley 1980:9). 'Structured polysemy' is how Morley conceptualised the message (p.10), reflecting a world in which the dominant cultural order is neither univocal nor uncontested (Hall 1973). This offers a means for better understanding the confluence of media power and individual responses to this power (Morley in Jin 2011:128).

We follow Morley's and Hall's persuasive commitment to structured polysemy in reporting on the perceptions of Australia (re)produced amongst North American people, mainly by marketers and film makers. Reception theory is a productive umbrella term to use. Arising from German literary theorists (see Iser 1971; Jauss 1982) reception theory conceptualises literature as 'a dialectical process of production and reception' (Holub 1984:57). The power located at the centre of this process shapes consumer responses on a continuum from full acceptance of the dominant ideas encoded in the message, to an oppositional positioning challenging the allegedly hegemonic "wisdom" of the message's producers (Hall 1973). The social location of the receiver-consumer is clearly vital to her positioning on this continuum, one that is simultaneously material and abstract, and which shapes both readiness and ability to respond in meaningful ways to mediated representations of reality.

While social location reflects a number of variables, for this study it is quite literally geographic as each of those surveyed and interviewed were recently transplanted from North America to Perth. As will be shown, this shift in physical positioning created the conditions for ideational shifts about the place they had moved to, revelations built from surveying the perceptions of Australia the students brought with them; perceptions that have arisen from representations of Australia emanating from various media products selling and imagining the nation in US and Canadian marketplaces.

Production: Inventing and Disseminating Ideas of Australia

Visual representations on big and small screens play a key role in generating imagined geographies of Australia and ideas of what it means to be an Australian. However, the nature of the connection between what is produced and the reception and further generation of ideas about people, nation, land and community is often unclear. Australian historian Richard White (1981), as one of the first to approach this topic, pointed to the various ways Australia is *invented* by national image makers. Arguing that'Australia'isbest understood as a set of ideas that we "carry around in our heads"(p.13), he focussed on the production of national imaginings, but dealt little with the questions about the active circulation of these dominant ideas following their initial invention. Implicit to his analysisis that ideas were readily, and

often unreflectively, internalised by their audiences. Whilst White attends to the issue of the agency of 'ordinary' people to take part in the production of an Australian imaginary, in later work, he sidesteps the issue of whether there is any symmetry between producers' intentions and audience interpretation(1997:15).
Greiner (2001) made some headway into shifting focus to the reception of prevailing ideas about Australia in centring her analysis on popular advertising imagesproduced for North American audiencesat the turn of the 21st century. Linking shifts in the visibility of Australia in American media in the late 1980s to the release of the *Crocodile Dundee* films (1986 & 1988), as well as the television series *The Crocodile Hunter* (1997-2004), along with commercials for Fosters beer, and the very popular Australian-themed, dining franchise called 'Outback Steakhouse' (see also Robinson 2011), she demonstrates a prevailing tendency towards portraying Australians as:

1) leisure-loving, adventure seeking residents of the outback;
2) anti-intellectual and lacking culture;
3) defiers of authority; and
4) living in "the lucky country" (Greiner 2001:186-89).

Australian branding often appeals to existing, recognisable understandings of the nation, selling the continent to would-be tourists using a limited range of key themes, especially "strong male characters, beautiful and wild landscapes and indigenous cultures" (Federici 2011:306). Paradise and adventure, coupled to outback landscapes were also strong tropes throughout 1990s advertising of Australia (Wiatt 1997). EmblematicAustralian landscapes common in marketing materialsemphasisedhot, sunny locations in 'the outback', the bush, sandy beaches, and pristine wilderness, it also highlighted unique fauna and beautiful scenery (Federici 2011:311-312). The typical Australian was usually depicted as a strong, white,male figure thattended to be simple, straightforward and unsophisticated (Federici 2011:306; Robinson 2011:549). Federici(2011:306) argues that depictions of the simple, strong, male figure reflect the continuing significance of "proletarian bush life" depicted so significantly by Ward (1958) in *The Australian Legend*(see also, Robinson 2011:549-550).

Scholars interrogating media representations of Australia eitherassume consumers receive these representations with little reflection concerning their reliability, and accuracy (Wiatt 1997; Federici 2011; Frost 2010), or they speculate on how the images are received rather than engage in systematic social research or canvassing of the views of consumers(Greiner 2001; Robinson 2011). For this study we push into the other side of the producer-receiver dialectic, presenting a snapshot of a group of North American exchange students' ideas about Australia and the people living in the Great South Land.

Reception: The 'Representing Australia' Study

The research reported here systematises impressionistic data Forsey has been collecting through more than ten years of teaching Australian Studies to classes that have always included large numbers of overseas students. In March 2012 we surveyed students taking a unit in Australian Studies taught by Forsey. We invited them to briefly describe their general perceptions of Australia, the visual imagery they most associated with the nation, and their understandings of the typical Australian. We received 77 survey responses, a 76% response rate,44 of whom were from North American universities (30 from US, 14 from Canada). In addition to initial survey information, Low also conducted a series of interviews with 19 of the unit's participants, 11 of these were on exchange from North America, by which time

they had been in Australia for an average of three weeks. The interviews helped "dig deeper" into the survey responses, inviting students to reflect upon the sources of the impressions of Australia they carried with them from their home nations.

The initial question asked students to describe Australia in 3 words or phrases. The most common responses, displayed in Table 1 below, show a strong correlation with the key themes of media production already identified.

Table 1. Numerical Breakdown of answers to Question 1 (North American Students): 'Use up to three words or phrases to describe Australia as you perceive it to be'

Rank	Category	Count
1	laid-back / relaxed / easy-going	20
2	hot / warm	19
3	Outback imagery (rugged arid, dry etc.)	13
4	beautiful	10
5	beaches and beach activities	7
6	sunny / good weather	7
7	friendly	6
8	kangaroo(s)	6
9	exotic	5
10	large geographical size	4
11	marsupials other than kangaroos	4
12	expensive	3
13	wild	3
14	Australian accents	3

The second survey question asked students to briefly describe the imagery they most associate with Australia (see Table 2). The most popular response of 'kangaroos', reflects anubiquitous trend in depictions of Australia directed to an international audience (Higginbottom et al 2004; Wiatt 1997). Almost as numerous were descriptions of dangerous fauna such as sharks, crocodiles and insects, followed by desert imagery. Each of thepopular responses reflect a strong trend evident in tourism productions and in depictions of Australia on the big and small screens, where Uluru, the Sydney Opera House and the Great Barrier Reef prevail.

Table 2. Numerical breakdown of answers to Question 2 (North American Students) 'Can you please briefly describe the imagery that you most associate with Australia? In other words, when you think of Australia, what images come immediately to mind to you?'

Rank	Category (c) or Word (w)	Count
1	kangaroos	26
2	dangerous fauna	21
3	desert / arid imagery	20
4	aboriginal people or artefacts	18
5	beaches	17
6	outback	15

7	koalas	13
8	surfers or surfing imagery	13
9	Ayers Rock / Uluru	11
10	sun / sunny	11
11	other non-dangerous unique fauna	10
12	Sydney Opera House	9
13	Great Barrier Reef	8
14	other ocean imagery	7
15	sports imagery other than surfing	5

The third question asked students to reflect on their impressions of the typical Australian. The responses highlighted ahealthy,athletic people, who are tanned andvery "laid-back".

Table 3.Numerical breakdown of answers to Question 3 (North American Students) 'Can you briefly describe what comes to mind when you imagine the typical Australian? In other words, when you think of someone as Australian, what images or ideas come immediately to mind to you?'

Rank	Category	Count
1	athletic / in good shape / plays sport	31
2	tan	23
3	laid back / easy going	22
4	friendly / helpful	18
5	enjoys the beach / surfing	17
6	fun / adventurous / energetic	11
7	accent	10
8	hot weather attire, shorts, hats, singlet, sunglasses, casual clothing	10
9	unsophisticated / rugged / humble / irreverent	9
10	blond hair	6
11	Caucasian	6
12	outdoorsy	6
13	drinks beer	4
14	sense of humour	4
15	Crocodile Dundee / Steve Irwin	4

Clearly Australians are perceived as hospitable, simple White folk who spend a good deal of their time outdoors.

Captured in our surveys are reflections of the frameworks of knowledge the students have assembledabout Australia. In the follow-up interviewsthe individualsclearly implicated various media representations of the continent in the formation of their knowledge of Australia and its people. Some were able to name specific influences, such as *The Crocodile Hunter*:

> I grew up watching him. He's a figure that's readily available in my mind. When I was young I knew nothing about Australia except that The Crocodile Hunter was

> there…It might not be *accurate* but it's something that I haven't forgotten (21-year-old male from North Eastern US).

A 21-year-oldfemale from Canada readily identified Crocodile Dundee as the biggest influence on her perceptions and understandings of Australia, "I guess for the tanned look…you think of the beach and you think... 'people must be out in the sun all the time. And their hair must get lighter and the skin darker. And they must be athletic'.

Others indicated difficulties in identifying specific influences but located the sources of their ideas about Australia in the media generally. For example, a 21 year old young woman from a Canadian university observed that in the back of her mind Australia always seemed like a great place to go to, 'because of the sun, because of the people, because of the interesting things you could see there.' She could not identify exactly where she got these images from, but was very clear that they did not arise from any personal experiences.

One thing that is clear, is thatthe North American exchange students who were interviewed described an unreflexive absorption of the media and tourism images that had prodded them towards Australia.

Situated Meaning

At a time whenscholarly attention is focused on explicating the role of agency and reflexivity in social action, we can lose sight of the significance of structuring forces in shaping various attitudes, preconceptions and behaviours. The research demonstrates the extent to which Australia continues to be imagined overseas, or at least in North America, in very predictable ways. Three decades of critique of the simplistic notions of an Australian 'national type' and a notion of what it means to be Australian highlighted in White's seminal text (1981), seem remarkably "untouched" by the following generation(s) of national image makers. In this examination of a particular type of North Americanaudience, we see few signs that these dominant images have beenopposed, contested or questioned by their receivers. Rather, the type of reception we have detailed is located much closer to the other end of Hall's continuum, as students for the most part accepted the hegemonic discourses produced by various image-makers.

However, the frameworks of knowledge do shift and can be shifted. As indicated, the interviews were conducted a week or more after the initial survey. In some instances they revealed signs of reflection on some of the preconceptions about Australia given in the survey responses that indicate the beginnings of a perspectival shift.As one 22-year-old from a North West US university put it:

> It's not actually like I have a blank slate now because I've already attended two lectures [in Australian Studies]. It's supposed to change the way that we think about Australia. I guess we have been discussing stereotypes and symbols of Australians, … And I know that my view of Australia is severely skewed. Just talking about Crocodile Dundee and Steve Irwin, I was kinda like... I know I'm wrong...

Predictably, most of our North American informants demonstrated a tendency to passively absorb representations of Australia in their home countries, acquired a degree of reflexivity only when preconceived ideas were challenged by experience. Whilst the agency of the individual clearly shapes relationships with a text, we should be wary of according too much

agency, or reflexivity, at least until there is some disruption of the dominant imagery propelled their way.Before leaving home theinterviewees for this study had no need or cause to engage in reflexive processes of interrogating their own preconceptions about Australia. Shifts away from the dominant images of Australia transmitted to them over many years occurred only when the students began to re-organise their ideas about the continentin response to their changing relationship with it. Perhaps this more apparent than usual within the group of people we surveyed as their motivation for coming to Australia included involvement in university sanctioned study thatpromptsreflection about their imaginaries.

Reception of media forms by individuals is relational and situational; it is fundamentally shaped by one's location in relation to that being represented.It isthe depth of this relationship, coupled to the need to engage meaningfully and/or critically with dominant messages that determine wherepeople are positioned on the continuum from opposition to acceptance. The study marks a useful beginning point for research exploring the significance of preconceptions held by educated travellers of the places they are to visit. This offers a means for a better informed pedagogy, which can be particularly significant for nations where continued romantic or desultory cultural representations, often associated with the ongoing effects of colonialism, can be challenged in productive ways.

Footnotes

1. This paper benefited from presentations and discussions among participants at the Second Global Knowledge and Local Identities Collaborative Workshop, held at the University of Western Australia, 5-6th June, 2012.

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The journey narratives of response to the 2008 Apology to the Stolen Generations

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Abstract

This paper reports an analysis of 373 print and online news media reports from the period February 13-14, 2008. This study focused on the hundreds of verbatim expressions – contained within these reports – of those people cited responding to the Australian Federal Apology to the Indigenous Peoples of Australia delivered in Parliament by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd. Mainstream, independent and local media reported the event with vigour, and in the process, framed the responsive comments of many members of non-Indigenous and Indigenous Australian communities.

The analysis reported is presented within a framework that is a shift from traditional media or political discourse analysis. This paper looks beyond the representation of narratives in media reports to the narratives themselves as the material for the focus of this study. The heuristic framework recognises the role of the emotions in politics. And it is stories that engender these emotions. This follows Martha Nussbaum's belief that "without emotional development, a part of our reasoning capacity as political creatures will be missing" (2001:3). Also present within this paper is Hannah Arendt's (1958) concept of political action transacted in words, as the narratives in

play reflect the political character of public response to the Apology and any collective will towards action in support of the Australian reconciliation project.

The research on which this paper is based is part of a larger narrative inquiry into the post-Apology (to the Indigenous Peoples of Australia, 2008) period and the nature of political action and participation in Australia.

Keywords: apology, Australian reconciliation discourse, political action

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Narratives of response to the 2008 Apology to the Stolen Generations

Introduction

In the last decade, political apologies have become a familiar tool of international political practice. From the 1995 Japanese Diet resolution, expressing condolences for victims of wars, to the 'Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples' (Rudd 2008), displays of contrition have been demanded and sometimes given in the form of an apology for a variety of historical-political actions. These public and collective apologies are contemporary phenomena of a changing international political environment – termed by Nicholas Tavuchis (1991) in his sociology of apology as the 'moral economy'. Jennifer Lind's work observed that in international relations, "apologetic remembrance (or "contrition") reduces threat perception and promotes reconciliation" (2010:9). In post-colonial societies, apologies are said to be the "handmaiden of reconciliation" (Rotberg 2006:45).

The analysis reported here is presented within a framework that is a shift from traditional media or political discourse analysis. This paper looks beyond the representation of narratives in media reports to the narratives themselves as the material for the focus of this study. The heuristic framework in place recognises the role of the emotions in politics and the role of stories in the engendering of emotions. This follows Martha Nussbaum's belief that "without emotional development, a part of our reasoning capacity as political creatures will be missing" (2001:3). The narrative inquiry (Clandinin 2010) at work here then reveals the political character of public response to the Apology. There is a "moral resonance in narrative language"

(Benhabib 1990: 185) that can be accessed through narrative analysis, and which can indicate a particular "emotional stance" (Kleres 2010:189) towards an event.

This paper contributes to the examination of the political effects of collective apologies by outlining the response to an apology delivered by then Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd on the 13th of February 2008 to the Indigenous Peoples of Australia (the Apology). The political action of collective apology is beyond the public expression of words by a single person; it encompasses the dialogical action of the public discourse of the time. When Rudd verbally delivered the Apology in the Australian Federal Parliament, he was instigating – and in the midst of – political action. The responses to the Apology are part of this political action of collective apology.

Hannah Arendt proposes that political action, "in so far as it remains outside the sphere of violence, … is indeed transacted in words" (1958:26). Arendt's claim is that political action creates collective agency through the dialogical interaction afforded by engagement, speech and expression. Further, this paper supports Deborah Bird Rose's notion of 'ethical dialogue', where the Apology is "a dialogue that requires difference" (2004:21). This is the level of political action that this paper examines. As discussed in this paper, the journey narratives of response to the Apology may present us with an understanding of any shared will to act in response to the Apology and/or in support of the broader Australian reconciliation project.

The examined responses come from those who, through responding to the Apology in the presence of news media reporters on the 13th or 14th of February 2008, were bought into a political space of action and who contributed to and participated in the discourse. This narrative inquiry examined 373 news media reports, focusing on those containing verbatim expressions, and found many examples of language and

metaphor constructs that reflected journeying. The responsive character and dialogical nature of the journey narrative discussed in this paper confirms the connection of the Apology to reconciliation discourse, where journey is a strong metaphor (Augoustinos 2001). The stages of journey identified within the narratives can conversely indicate a social perception of how far along the 'road' to reconciliation we are.

The journey narratives presented here are reflective of a tragedy/romance literary genre (Frank 2010:140) and, though fragmented, are identifiable by their structure, content and metaphor (Kleres 2010). Within the meta-frame of the journey narrative, there are three stages identified, each indicating a different emotional stance:

1. The journey's *ending*: in this type of narrative response, the journey has ended with the Apology (joy, relief)
2. The journey *underway*: the Apology is part of an ongoing journey towards reconciliation (disappointment, doubt, hope)
3. The journey's *beginning*: the Apology is just the beginning of reconciliation (anticipation, hope, relief).

Apology: an enacted story

The study of apology discourse can underpin a reading of the symbolic meaning of a particular apology and of the social and cultural environment in which it occurs. Nicholas Tavuchis describes apology as:

> … a special kind of *enacted story* whose remedial potential, unlike that of an account, stems from the acceptance by the aggrieved party of an admission of iniquity and defencelessness. It is this about a fall from social grace related to someone – the only one – who has the power to restore the

> offender to that state. And what is that condition, if not a micro-metaphor for secure membership, connectedness and identity? (1991:18)

Apology is qualified by the intra-personal dialogue and interaction that Tavuchis describes. In other words, dialogical interaction is a condition of authentic apology, one that is both genuine and effective. This structural qualification of apology holds for person-to-person apology as well as group-to-group (collective) apology. As part of the 'enacted story' of the 2008 Apology, the journey narrative of response reveals a dialogical engagement with the Apology that qualifies its potential to act socially and politically.

Apologies can vary in power and affect. Yet, as Robert Rotberg claimed in his study of apology after intrastate conflict, those that "[flow] out of meaningful investigation and careful research [have] stronger moral and practical claims" (2006:36). This is due to the grounded nature of temporally (and morally) situated apology. The public airing and examination of the grievances for which a public apology is given garners support and commitment for remediation and makes the apology meaningful. In this way, collective social acceptance of the need for apology – and responsive participation – extends the social capacity for apologetic and remedial action.

Narratives of response in place

The Apology event was reported through news reports containing the narratives of response and necessarily involved the work of frames, whereby journalists and editors situated the spoken responses within a structured narrative frame in an attempt to contextualise the event and provide meaning for their wider audience (Entman 1993; Norris 2003) In turn, narrative frames allow for the construction of meaning – and the

choice of meaning – to be observed (Wetherell 1999; Frank 2010). Those people who did participate in the narration of the Apology's immediate reception and impact did so primarily by speaking to reporters from within their own narrative frame of understanding. Their words were spoken in response and then, when published, their own response to the Apology was put to work within the frame of the news report. The process of choosing words to speak is difficult to observe but examining these spoken responses outside of the report's frame turns our interpretive attentiveness to the broader political effects of this event.

Because a genuine apology speech act is a "*relational* symbolic gesture" (Tavuchis 1991:14), it requires acknowledgement, response, or acceptance – even forgiveness – to qualify the act. In this sense, as the apology discourse persists and resonates, this dialogue of apology is still reverberating in the Australian socio-political space. To better understand this dialogue, discussion now turns to the journey narrative framework as found in the verbatim quotes within media reports immediately responding to the Apology. This narrative is not discrete and contained; it crosses the 'fault-lines' of discourse and is continually shifting over and under the edges of other narrative frames. This paper, however, aims to provide insight into the journey narrative framework and consider its implications for political action in the context of collective apology and the narratives we construct while participating in public dialogue.

Journey narratives: 'the spirit of apology'

1. Journey ending

A collection of responses analysed present a sense of having 'arrived' at the event of Apology. These responses see it as the culmination of a process previously put in

place. Many of the narrative fragments in this frame are optimistic and carry an element of forgiveness with positive acceptance of the apology. Common phrases reflecting this include, 'live to see the day':

> I never imagined I would ever see the day. (Sally Fitzpatrick)[i]

This narrative seems to accept that the Apology is in itself all that could possibly be taken from the day, that the need for an Apology is met simply as it is spoken.

> We can now walk away from here feeling that we are respected and on the other hand we can go away from here with a little bit more respect for parliament. There has been a lot of disrespect between Aboriginal people and parliaments of Australia for too long. (Brian Butler)[ii]

After the journey's end, there is opportunity for the tale of the journey to be told. This optimistic and agential evaluation of Apology sees the narratives of Indigenous history become further known and even more intertwined with the dominant settler histories of Australia. The 'real story' is more than just part of an apology dialogue; it is the central lens for both the qualification of the apology its reception.

> I watched it this morning and it felt really historic. My daughter is Indigenous and I did get emotional over it, although I'm not from that Stolen Generation. I was really interested in the wording of it, and I did think it had some substance, but let's just wait and see. … Today is really symbolic because it's an acknowledgement of what has not been taught in Australian history, and this means for her, for

> my eight-month-old daughter, she will learn about what happened, she will learn the real story. (Anonymous)[iii]

In this narrative frame of journey's end, the story of the Apology is a time and space for the Australian history that the Apology honours.

> Well, prior in our history, there has never been anything that would even signal to Indigenous people that the non-Indigenous people of this country are very sincere in terms of the grief, loss and suffering that has occurred to us. (Jackie Huggins)[iv]

Within these responses, clear metaphors and descriptions of how people feel are available.

> It just brought the biggest wave of joy right through my body … That's why I shed a tear, you know, to know the past is the past and we're going to move on. (Michael Kirby)[v]

> It's a very emotional time and I'm so pleased that he has said sorry. (Muriel Bamblett)[vi]

Such responses were also recorded in past tense, as 'testaments' to the Apology's emotional impact.

> It brought back memories of what happened to our people when Kevin Rudd was talking about saying sorry to families. I didn't think it was going to be that powerful. But I thank Kevin Rudd for what he said in his speech and thank him for all Aboriginal people. (Elder Beryl Gambrill)[vii]

In other responses, emotion is presented as a way of understanding and committing to the apology. This kind of expression showed that relating empathically to the comprehensible grief of having a child taken enabled commitment to the Apology's sentiment.

> The words that really rang true for me as a mum, a new mum . . . was what it would mean to have my child taken from me. That would be absolutely devastating so my thoughts just go out to the people who have been affected, the stolen generations and their families. I'm proud to be here. (Stephanie May)[viii]

This is reflective of (populist) healing narratives that see grief/emotionality as a 'stage' of recovery from great loss. Reports of this nature look hopefully and optimistically to future reconciliation. Talk of healing represents a *personalisation* of the Apology and moves its symbolism from the political to the social sphere. In these responses, the Apology, far from being a politicised and utilitarian act, is experienced as a state of personal relationship achieved through empathic engagement with the discourse.

2. Journey underway

Where responses are framed in the 'journey underway' frame, they often indicate a more pessimistic evaluation of the Apology than the 'journey's end' frame. These narrative fragments mention reparation and further actions that are required within the journey. Within this narrative, the Apology is 'not enough' in itself; lack of compensation meant the government had only made a token gesture.

The responses in this 'journey underway' frame look to further action to authenticate the Apology, whether monetary or emotional.

> This is not a statistical matter this is a very human matter… It's [compensation] undoubtedly an ongoing issue ... it won't go away. (Fred Chaney)[ix]

Michael Mansell was reported most frequently amongst the data set examined for this paper. He is presented as providing the 'litigant voice' and his narrative is more complete than others in the available data. Mansell was cited in 17 reports[x], and throughout these, he relays two major concerns: that there is information missing from the apology, and that without compensation, the act of apology is incomplete. There was also some commentary within this particular narrative frame on the empty symbolism of promises unaccompanied by any real change.

> We're going to put our hope in an apology resulting in some kind of positive action (but) we haven't seen that occur in the Northern Territory and I am so wary of tokenism. (Terry Mills)[xi]

Aside from the pessimistic content about the possibility of reparations and compensation, there is optimistic mention of a healing process that is underway. A hopeful interpretation of the apology as a restorative mechanism is offered. This group of responses reference the way in which the apology will take personal effect.

> It's impossible to feel any cynicism (about an apology) if you can understand how much it means to people who have lived through these events. (Marcia Langton)[xii]

3. Journey beginning

The 'journey beginning' narrative is presented through utterances that reflect on the historical process of the [socio-political] action taken through the formal Apology speech. Reflections in this space emphasise a forward-looking mindset as they acknowledge the events of the past. This narrative is positive, optimistic and hopeful, and yet recognises with some pragmatism that the difficulties ahead will reflect those of the past.

> It is never too late because what we've been saying all the time is that we have to have a start and that start, I think, clearly comes with the apology and then we apologise, we forgive, we accept and then we work together to move onto the very entrenched problems that Indigenous communities and Indigenous people face in our country. But we have to work together really hard now to close the 17 year life gap, life expectancy gap and to work on all the areas around Indigenous social disadvantage. (Jackie Huggins)[xiii]

The Apology is presented within this narrative frame as part of a linear movement toward reconciliation.

> Now the stunning symbolism of the apology has lifted the spirits of the country, and the possibility of a real and lasting reconciliation with Indigenous Australia is tantalisingly close. …Tears of joy are being shed and great things seem possible. (Graham Ring)[xiv]

The ‘journey beginning’ narrative presents the Apology as a sincere beginning – or allegorical ‘first step’ – within the larger action of the (renewed?) Australian Indigenous-settler reconciliation process. When the Apology is seen as the first step, the rest of the ‘journey’ involves working together to realise the positive outcomes contained as a ‘promise’ within the Apology, to follow the allegorical path to its destination.

> Let's be honest, we just move on now into the future for Australia because this is the first step of many, just to make sure that we have a new beginning … And we've got to go forward into the future together … I think it is just an acknowledgment of what happened in the past because that's the hardest thing. (Patrick Johnston)[xv]

While many narratives recognise the suffering in the past, ‘journey beginning’ narratives at their most fundamental level face forward in anticipation.

> We're not going to stop suffering just because of what was said today but, we still are suffering … It's just good to know that the Government and the nation have seen what has gone wrong, and are trying to move forward and rectify that. (Ti Hannah)[xvi]

What does the journey narrative mean for the Australian reconciliation project?

Stories, however categorised through time, make sense of events and experiences and carry our cultures, holding the symbolic meaning of experience for narrators and their audiences. These stories not only provide meaning for our experiences, they come to frame and limit experience, providing the possible meanings and ways of narrating

experience as people come to achieve self-understanding by interpreting their own lives as if they were narratives (Simms 2003:80). These self-interpretations are inherently dialogical, as they depend on a socialisation of the self as contextualised within a complex social situation and with an awareness of other's interpretations and meaning constructions (Todorov 1984:30).

Most shared social narratives are subtle. They quietly set our norms of experiences and interpretation within their frames and structures. Yet there are some narratives, such as the journey narrative of response to the Apology, that have the potential to draw us consciously and empathically into dialogical relationship, where as Deborah Bird Rose describes "simply to listen is to be drawn into a world of ethical encounter: to hear is to witness; to witness is to become entangled" (Bird Rose 2004:213).

In the tangled discourses of Apology, following the thread of the main narrative of response may give shape to the form of remediation sought and provide impetus for reconciliation. As narratives of response provide evidence of the nature of social and personal experience and the meanings made/formed from these experiences, their presence makes interaction implicit. Dialogical narratives are the substance of relational (as opposed to transactional) interaction. When reported publicly, these personal utterances act socially and politically to engage others and motivate them to act dialogically within the reconciliation discourse of Australia. The emotionality of the narratives is an enabler of political and social action, and in particular, compassion and connectivity are positioned as legitimate social motivators for reconciling societies, where empathy performs ethical work through dialogue (Nussbaum 2001:299; Bird Rose 2004).

The journey narrative supports and enables certain constructions of Aboriginal, non-Aboriginal/settler and inclusive Australian identities as travellers who co-inhabit and

traverse the social and political space of reconciliation. The journey narrative's content and form – even its fragmentation – in response to the Apology, was representative of the reconciliation discourse in Australia recorded in the days immediately after the Apology. The journey narrative surely remains dynamic and live within post-Apology discourse. Its dialogical impetus has the potential to interact within the broader social discourse of reconciliation to engage the 'moral imagination' of discourse participants and to shape the ongoing reconciliation project.

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Using social practice theory to understand everyday life: Outcomes for health and wellbeing

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Abstract

The importance of moving beyond methodological individualism and epidemiological foci on risk behaviours in health research is well recognised, particularly concerning health inequalities. In bringing social theory to the study of health, researchers have used Giddens' and Bourdieu's conceptualisations of 'social practice' to understand the dynamics between agency, structure and illhealth. However, social practice theory(ies) have more to offer than has currently been capitalised upon. This paper delves more deeply into the theory of social practice to provide alternative ways of understanding human action in relation to health and wellbeing, and to further reconcile structure and agency in the lived experience of everyday life.

Drawing on research studying everyday life in a master-planned estate, I use social practice theory to investigate aspects of daily routines not normally considered in 'health behaviours' research. In particular, the research focuses on housing, transport and employment as well as exercise and other traditional health 'domains'. As such, health and wellbeing are instead considered the outcome of participation in a set of social practices. The working hypothesis is that better designed and managed neighbourhoods recruit residents into new practices, or reconfigure existing ones, resulting in observed increases in health and wellbeing. In concluding I argue the value of using contemporary social practice theory in health research is that not only does it consider key features of built and social environments as elements of social practices, it also cuts through the idea that individuals are solely responsible (and can therefore be blamed) for their own health status.

Keywords: Social practices, master-planned estate, neighbourhood design, structure and agency, sustainability

Introduction

The importance of incorporating structure and agency in health research to move beyond methodological individualism and epidemiological foci on risk behaviours has been well recognised, particularly in relation to understanding health inequalities(Williams 1995; Frohlich et al. 2001; Williams 2003; Bernard et al. 2007; Cummins et al. 2008; Maller and Strengers 2011). To further progress the incorporation of such ideas from mainstream social theory into the study of health, some researchers (e.g. Frohlich et al. 2001; Delormier et al. 2009) have used Giddens'(1984) and Bourdieu's(1990) conceptualisations of 'social practice' to understand the dynamics between agency, structure, context and illhealth and to move beyond the limitations of behavioural research. Social practices are variously defined by different authors (for useful

overviews see Reckwitz(2002) or Warde(2005)). Although the elements of which practices are comprised also vary according to particular theorists, most understand a practice to be a routinised behaviour which involves interconnected elements ofbodily and mental activities, objects/materialsand shared competencies, knowledge and skills(e.g. Reckwitz 2002; Horne et al. 2011). Further, practices are interconnected with other practices (e.g. practices of cooking and practices of shopping for food) and are in a mutually constitutive relationship within wider political, economic, legal, and cultural structures of varying formality (Røpke 2009). As Giddens(1984)argues, each practice is shaped by the wider realm of power relations, infrastructure, technologies and society, while each practice also acts to shape these wider aspects of social systems.

Frohlich and colleagues (2001) draw on both Giddens' (1984) and Bourdieu's (1980; 1992 in Frohlich et al. 2001) understandings of social practices to articulate the concept of 'collective lifestyles'. In the context of rising obesity rates, Delormieret al. (2009) propose a theoretical frameworkfor theexamination of eating patterns as social phenomenaoperationalisingGiddens' (1984) definition of social practices, understood as an interplayof 'agency' and 'social structure'.However, aside from work such as the above, social practice theory(ies) have more to offer health research and the sociology of health than has currently been capitalised upon. This paper delves more deeply intorecent developments insocial practice theory to provide alternative ways of understanding human action in relation to health and wellbeing, and to further reconcile structure and agency in the lived experience of everyday life.

Drawing on a longitudinal research project studying everyday life in a master-planned housing estate (MPE), I presenta post-humanist version of social practice theory, whichI intend to use to investigate daily routines and their outcomes for health and wellbeing. Normally considered as external factors or context, post-humanist social practice theory elevates materials, objects and infrastructures to the status of active elements that co-constitute practices(Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki 2002; Shove et al. 2007; Shove et al. 2012). Further, social practice theory includes material and social elements not normally paid attention toin traditional 'health behaviours' research, which tends to focus on the attitudes, behaviours and choices (or 'the ABC') of individuals (Shove 2010).As Frohlich et al.(2001: 783-784) and others have observed, often in traditional health research 'behaviours are studied independently of the socialcontext, in isolation from other individuals, and as practices devoid of socialmeaning.'

Consistent with the theory, in this paper, health and wellbeing outcomes are considered the product of residents' recruitment to, participation in, or performance of, a set of social practices which constitute their daily life. The working hypothesis is that better designed and managed neighbourhoods could recruit residents into new practices, or reconfigure existing ones, resulting in observed increases in health and wellbeing. In studying practices rather than individual behaviours and choices, the research therefore unites social structures, place, daily routines and health and wellbeing.

Theories of social practice in consumption and sustainability research

In other domains of sociology, particularly in relation to studies of consumption and sustainability, Shove(Shove 2003; Shove et al. 2007), Warde(2005)and others, have used social

practice theories as developed by Schatzki(2001; 2002) and Reckwitz(2002; 2002)to broaden and enrich understandings of why people do what they do, and to offer alternative explanations of human 'action' other than behavioural understandings. In these post-humanist extensions of the theory, social practices are clearly the entity of study rather than individuals or their choices. There are three main features of theories of social practice as advanced in this, and other sustainability research, broadly defined. Firstly, in post-humanist strains there is an emphasis on materiality whereby things, technologies and even infrastructures (Strengers and Maller 2012)are accounted for as active elements of practices with their own agency(Reckwitz 2002; Shove and Pantzar 2005).

Secondly, there is a clear distinction drawn between social practices as entities and social practices as performances, although the two are inherently bound together(Schatzki 1996; Warde 2005; Shove and Pantzar 2007). A practice as entity refers to the interrelated elements, or nexus, of a practice, as a recognisable 'doing' that is relatively stable (Schatzki 1996). Practice as performance describes the carrying out or performing of a practice, which ensures its continual reproduction(Schatzki 1996; Warde 2005; Shove and Pantzar 2007).

Thirdly, this distinction enables researchers totheorise about practice change, as it is through performance that practices evolve(Warde 2005; Shove and Pantzar 2007).In contrast, authors such as Frohlich et al. (2001) comment that practice theory, or more specifically, Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, is said to struggle to account for change due to the mutually constitutive relationship between practices and wider social systems, which are difficult to separate and analyse independently. Using the distinction between entity and performance however, renders this theorisation possible. As Warde (2005: 141) explains, practices 'contain the seeds of constant change… as people in myriad situations adapt, improvise and experiment'. In this way, practices can be said to have 'trajectories' which are made up of minor modifications in past performances and the particular combination of elements at any one point in time (Warde 2005).

There is much more to elaborate on than the scope of this paper permits, in particular more detail about what contemporary strains of social practice theories can offer health research and how they improve upon predominant behavioural understandings.However, the above features of contemporary social practice theory bring to the study of health and wellbeing a clear way of acknowledging the materiality of spaces, places and things in everyday life, and understandings of how through performance and the incorporation of new elements into practice, daily routines may change over time.

The next section provides a brief outline of theMPE and the longitudinal research project designed to study the health and wellbeing of residents, including how social practice theory is being applied.

Studying 'social practices' instead of 'health behaviours' in a master-planned estate

Selandra Rise is a 1200-1500 lot MPEin the south-east corridor of Melbourne, Australia built by a land developer with a number of other organisational partners including the local council, a state government statutory body and a national planning body.Typically, it is this type of MPE

that is being built and marketed by the high-end or large scale developers who seek to distinguish themselves from others in the marketplace by focusing on making 'places', or communities of place, rather than traditional 'dormitory suburbs' containing detached homes, roads and little else (Rosenblatt et al. 2009). As a demonstration project Selandra Riseaims to implement best practice planning for health and wellbeing and community creation. A number of different housing options are offered from detached homes on various lot sizes to apartments and town houses as well as an on-site 'retirement living' community. A snapshot of the local government area and key features of the estate are provided in Box 1.

Box 1. Key locality and design features of the Selandra Rise master-planned estate

Selandra Rise locality and context (source City of Casey 2010)

- Located in the City of Casey, 40km southeast from Melbourne CBD
- Young population - 30% under 18 years of age, only 11% over 60 years
- High cultural diversity and language groups - 30% born overseas (e.g. UK, Sri Lanka, India, New Zealand, Asia, Eastern Europe)
- Employment largely in retail, manufacturing, construction and agriculture
- High level of car-dependency

Selandra Rise design features

- Named by the local community (developer sponsored competition)
- 3 village precincts including retirement living
- Onsite schools and a kindergarten
- Open space includes parklands, local creek, community garden, sports ovals and facilities
- A local 'Selandra Community Place' where residents can socialise and learn about sustainable living and participate in social programs
- Two local town centres – including a café, specialty stores, a supermarket and a home office hub

Aside from those in Box 1, a number of other initiatives are planned with the intent of creating a local community and supporting health and wellbeing, including:

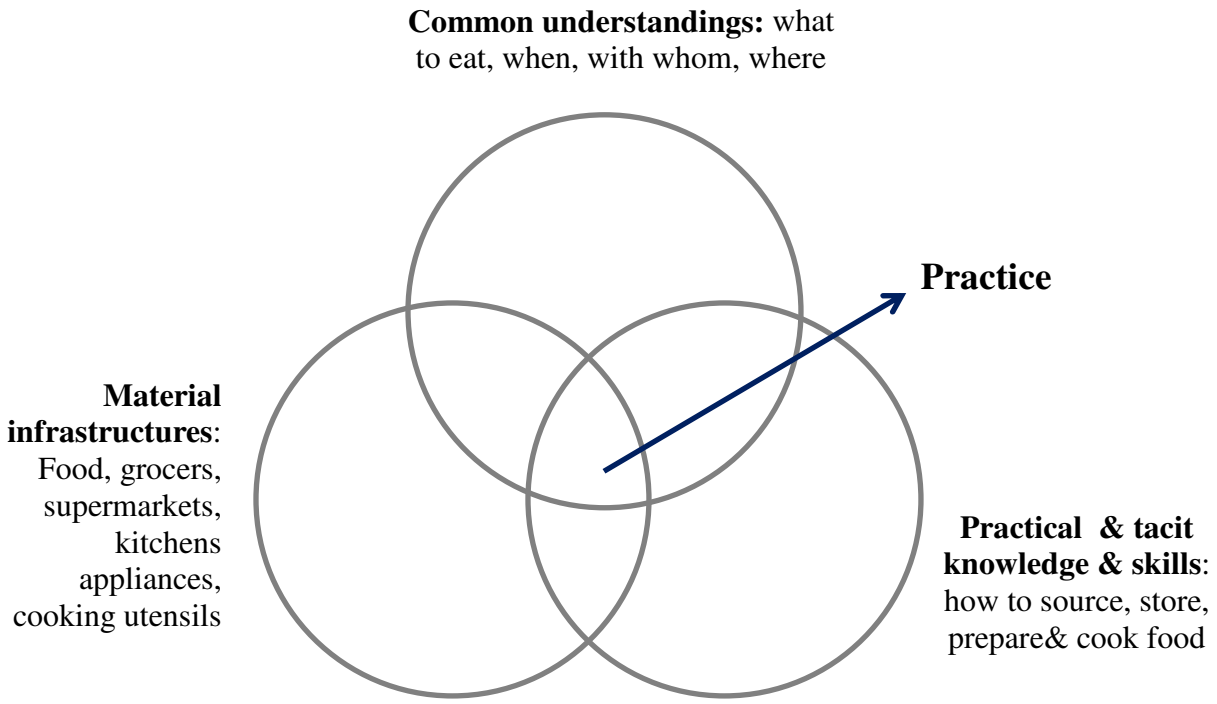
- Encouragement of local businesses in the town centre
- Early delivery of shops, a school and transport
- Community gardens and a focus on local food access
- Emphases on walkability, cycling and multi-use parks

The research project is designed to study the effect of this planning on the health and wellbeing of residents,and runs over five years from 2010–2015. Instead of focusing on 'health behaviours', social practice theory is being used to investigate aspects of daily routines not normally considered part of the behavioural model, but often included in the social determinants of health.In particular, the research focuses on community engagement, housing, transport and local employment as well as diet, exercise and other traditional health 'domains'. Further, a key aspect of the research is to use the concept ofsocial practices to reveal the connection between, or

more importantly unite, spatial and social features of the estate andoutcomes for health and wellbeing.

The particular elements comprising a practice are interpreted in a number of ways by different theorists. However, in this paper I define a practice as being constituted by a number of different elements, including material infrastructures (e.g. buildings, parks, technologies), common cultural understandings about how and why to do things, and practical knowledge (both tacit and explicit) and skills (Reckwitz 2002; Strengers 2009; Strengers and Maller 2011) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1.The (social) practice of eating to illustrate the elements of a social practice (adapted from Strengers 2009; Strengers& Maller 2011)



The benefit of using social practice theory is that it provides a way to bring design and spatial features of the built and natural environment (as material infrastructures) to the fore, and recognise their role in co-creating practice rather than being external 'factors' or 'context'. I propose that a neighbourhood that provides different (better) material infrastructures relevant for health and wellbeing, and also tackles the other elements of practices,could recruit residents into new practices or reconstruct/reconfigure existing ones, resulting in observed increases in health and wellbeing.

The same cohorts of households are being studied longitudinally both before and after they move to the estate (i.e. pre and post design) to compare how practices might change over time. Conducting in-home interviews, households discuss their daily routines and how they interact with the materiality of their current neighbourhood as well as their aspirations for their move to Selandra Rise. The research isbased on the notion thatdaily routines are created by residents performing a series of habitual social practices (Shove 2012).

Currently,myself and a colleague have conducted face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with 21 future residents (and often their spouse or partner, 32 people in total). Participants were primarily recruited using the developer's customer databases and attending organised events. We conducted the majority of interviews in residents' current home before they had moved to Selandra Rise and at the time of writing, these data are still in the process of being analysed. The residents interviewed were mainly young couples (under 35 years of age) who were buying their first home. They were culturally diverse with half claiming 'Australian' heritage and half reporting they were from other cultural backgrounds. There were a range of education levels but nearly all worked full-time across a range of professions.A survey, as well as visual andother methods,are planned to be delivered in the coming months.

Although it is too early in the research to present findings, the analysis will focus on gaining thick description of practices and how they change, or not, on moving to Selandra Rise. For example, the practice of riding a bike to work involves: common understandings about what to wear when riding a bike, ideas about sweat and cleanliness, and what is an acceptable time to arrive at work; practical knowledge includes how to get to work safely, way-finding and navigating a bike through traffic, and time management about when to leave, and; material infrastructures may include the bike, bike-paths, footpaths and roads, a backpack and signage.
The aim is to construct a picture of practices before and after moving to the estate, looking for how practice elements have changed or not in relation to living in a new, 'better' neighbourhood and the outcomes for health and wellbeing.

In accordance with the aims of the estate's developers, studying social practices rather than behaviours can be used to reveal the connection between, spatial and social features of the estate, what people do when they live there, andoutcomes for health and wellbeing. In applying this line of thinking, and taking into consideration the features described previously, a number of practices can be detected as underlying the design focus of Selandra Rise. With the emphasis on walkability, and places and equipment for physical activity, exercise practices are perhaps the most obvious. Exercise practices supported by the physical (and social) infrastructure include walking, riding bikes, working out and gardening. Due to the focus on material changes to the estate as described above, as well as other programmatic features, social practice theory is ideal for evaluating how residents' health changes on moving to the estate as it solves common problems associated with the duality of agency and structure, and the externalities of 'context'. In addition, through distinctions made between practice-as-entity and practice-as-performance, it is possible to theorise about the trajectories of residents' practices and how they might change over time. In summary I encourage others to look to social practice theory(ies) for new ways of understanding health and social phenomena, and seek to create interventions for social change that targetsocial practices and not the attitudes, behaviours and choices of individuals.

Conclusion

Social practice theoryhas much to contribute to current understandings of health and wellbeing, both in health sociology and public health more broadly. Viewed from the outside by other disciplines public health is often lauded as being highly successful in regard to changing individual behaviours to produce positive outcomes, namely reductions in rates of illness and

disease. However, there is too little critique of the narrow theoretical framing of human action, or 'behaviour', in these scenarios, which essentially is derived from rationalist choice models and reduces what people do to a series of conscious choices and largely ignores the complexities and intricacies of daily life.

In consumption and sustainability research, the work of more recent social practice theorists has been developed by a number of authors so that not only can it be applied empirically, but it can also bring new insights to health research, in particular in addressing questions of materiality and the role of things and technologies in everyday life, as well as the potential forpractice change. The value of using such contemporary strains of social practice theory in health research is that not only do they consider key features of built and social environments (otherwise known as 'context' and often treated as external factors, or even ignored, in health behaviours research), as active components of social practices, they also further cut through the idea that individuals are solely responsible (and can therefore be blamed) for their own health status.

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Everyday Makers with a Difference? : Contemporary Forms of Political Participation

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ABSTRACT

The issue of political participation has received a great deal of attention in recent years from academics, journalists and politicians across most liberal democracies. To a large extent this reflects concerns about the decline in voting (in systems where voting is not compulsory), involvement in election campaigns, party membership and other mainstream political activity. However, normative concern with the decline in participation by individual citizens belies a broader fear of citizen disaffection with mainstream democratic institutions, and a potential for increased radicalism that disrupts 'stable' democratic systems. This paper challenges the way in which we conceptualise contemporary examples of political participation. It has two parts: an introduction to

conceptual criticisms made of contemporary participation research, including the contribution of Danish political theorist Henrik Bang's model of Everyday Makers; and the application of Bang's model to six contemporary case studies of participation, three from the UK, one transnational and two from Australia. The cases considered are: Marsh, O'Toole and Jones' work on young people and politics in Birmingham; Taylor's study of feminist activists in Manchester UK; Vromen and Coleman's work on GetUp in Australia; the case of UKUncut; Jackson and Chen's research on Occupy Sydney; and Halupka's research on Anonymous. These cases are not seen as representative, rather they serve to illustrate our argument that the category of Everyday Maker, while interesting and useful, needs disaggregating.

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The issue of political participation has received a great deal of attention in recent years from academics, journalists and politicians across most liberal democracies. To a large extent this reflects concerns about the decline in voting (in systems where voting is not compulsory), involvement in election campaigns, party membership and other mainstream political activity. However, normative concern with the decline in participation by individual citizens belies a broader fear of citizen disaffection with mainstream democratic institutions, and a potential for increased radicalism that disrupts 'stable' democratic systems (see Norris, 2002). This paper challenges the way in which we conceptualise contemporary examples of political participation. It has two parts: an introduction to conceptual criticisms made of contemporary participation research, including the contribution of Danish political theorist Henrik Bang's model of Everyday Makers; and the application of Bang's model to six contemporary case studies of participation.

Conceptualising Political Participation: Critiquing the Mainstream Literature

Over the last decade mainstream approaches to political participation have been questioned, particularly in the sociology of youth sub-discipline (for example, Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Harris and Wyn, 2009; Harris et al 2010; Vromen 2003). More specifically, O'Toole et.al. (2003a; 2003b) and Marsh et.al. (2007) identify four, related, problems with the majority of scholarly research: first, it operates with a narrow, arena, conceptualisation of 'the political' and, hence, of political participation; second, it makes no effort to investigate people's own conceptions of the 'political', rather the researcher's conception is imposed on respondents; third, this narrow conception of political

participation, reductively and erroneously, equates the non-participation by young people in a range of activities specified by researchers with political apathy; fourth, they contend, following Bang (2003; 2005; 2010), that changing governance practices and the emergence of 'reflexive individuals' may have had a profound impact on the extent, objects and repertoires of political participation.

Bang and Political Participation

In our view, the concept of Everyday Makers is one of the most interesting developments in recent conceptual work on political participation, and others share our view (see, among others, Collin, 2010; Furlong and Cartmel, 2012; McFarland and Micheletti, 2010; Li and Marsh, 2008). For this reason, the rest of this piece explores his arguments.

Bang argues that the nature of politics, and thus political participation, has changed in late modernity. In his view, the mainstream literature doesn't address the current tensions between engagement norms and duty norms (this distinction revolves around whether people get involved out of a sense of duty or because they want to engage to make a difference), on the one hand, and between having a project identity and a legitimating or oppositional one (this distinction revolves around whether individuals define themselves as for, or against, a party/government/ideology or as specifically concerned with a given issue/project at a particular time), on the other hand. So, for Bang, mainstream authors mistakenly think that, because people have no oppositional identity, then they must have a legitimating one. In contrast, he argues that people have engagement norms and a project identity, rather than duty norms and a legitimating/oppositional identity.

In Bang's view, citizens have reacted to the increased change and complexity associated with late modernity in innovative ways; they are certainly not apathetic, because they have engagement norms and a project identity, nor content with the status quo, as much of the mainstream political participation literature would claim, because they reject duty norms and do not have a legitimating (or indeed oppositional) identity. Rather, they are increasingly reflexive, drawing on their own experience and engaging on their own terms. Some have become what he terms Expert Citizens, who use their skills to speak on behalf of, rather than listening to, ordinary citizens. In many ways, the emergence of the Everyday Maker is a response to the Expert Citizen.

Bang identifies five key characteristics of Everyday Makers:

1. Their participation is ad hoc and part-time, and thus not generalizable across issues. It is not routinized, or driven by organisational membership, rather it is project or cause specific.
2. Everyday Makers have minimal interest in party-based and organised politics and avoid state-based participation, such as consultation exercises. As such, they are different from Expert Citizens who operate in partnership and collaboration with the state.
3. Their participation is grounded in their lived experiences and thus is immediate and local.

4. They are non-ideological, but have a project identity. They are not interested in idea-driven social and political change, but rather in in issue or cause-driven projects.
5. They are involved in politics for fun and to express themselves. For this reason, creative forms of action, expression and multimedia use are often at the core of participation for Everyday Makers.

Searching For Everyday Makers

Here, we want to look critically at the concept of Everyday Makers, drawing on a series of empirical examples from our work and the work of others. Our main point is simple. In our view, it is important to recognise that there are many participating citizens who demonstrate some, but not all, of the characteristics of Everyday Makers. To be fair to Bang, he doesn't say that all Everyday Makers will exhibit all characteristics, but, at the same time, he doesn't discuss variations between Everyday Makers along this dimension, yet these seem to us to be very important.

As such, we need either to distinguish between different types of Everyday Makers, or, alternatively, to recognise that we need more categories. We illustrate this point with brief consideration of six cases, three from the UK, one transnational and two from Australia: Marsh, O'Toole and Jones' work on young people and politics in Birmingham; Taylor's study of feminist activists in Manchester UK; Vromen and Coleman's work on GetUp in Australia; the case of UKUncut; Jackson and Chen's research on Occupy

Sydney; and Halupka's research on Anonymous. These cases are not seen as representative, rather they serve to illustrate our argument that the category of Everyday Maker, while interesting and useful, needs disaggregating.

i) Young People and Politics in the UK

Marsh, O'Toole and Jones (2007) found evidence of Everyday Makers in a qualitative study of young people and politics in the UK. Few of their respondents were involved, or even interested, in formal politics, but some became involved in local issues which concerned them. For example, two of their respondents, women in a hostel for the homeless, led a protest to the local council against the state of the local park, where they wanted to be able to take their young children, and, similarly, one young Asian man reported his, and his family's, involvement in driving drug users out of another local park, to make it safe for his younger siblings. So, in Bang's terms, their activity was local, ad-hoc and, certainly, non-ideological. However, although some of the young respondents exhibited characteristics of Everyday Makers, many, especially the more disadvantaged ones, were crucially involved with the state (claiming benefits, living in homeless hostels etc.), so that politics for them was, to a large extent, about their interaction with the state.

ii) Feminists in Manchester

Taylor's (2008) study was about the understanding(s) of politics and the political activity of women who frequented a particularly café/coffee bar in Manchester. Again these respondents exhibited some of the qualities of Everyday Makers. Unlike many of Marsh

O'Toole and Jones's respondents, they did not engage with the state, other than by voting. Their political activity was more local, organized around producing music events and organizing action, for example, 'picketing' and 'occupation'. against newsagents who prominently displayed 'Lads magazines'. It was certainly expressive and done for fun. However, on the other hand, Taylor emphasizes that her respondents had a strong ideological commitment that underpinned their activities. They were strong feminists and self-identified as on the left.

iii) GetUp

GetUp is unique in Australian politics, with over 500,000 members (Vromen and Coleman, 2011). They do not construct themselves as an insider group, but as a movement intent on progressive mass mobilization to create political public policy change. Their networked approach to online organising uses distinctive rapid response and repertoire switching methods. High profile campaigns have been on issues as diverse as electoral enrolment reform, mental health policy, climate change, live cattle exports and same sex marriage.

GetUp members have some of the characteristics of Bang's Everyday Makers, as they are issue or cause-oriented and favour ad hoc, individualised, often online, micro-political participation, instead of traditional collective action. They participate for fun and this activity is creative, particularly through social media use, YouTube-sharing and stunts. However, GetUp members are trying to create political change and their actions, such as petitions and email campaigns, are often focused directly on the state, with participation more a form of lobbying, than of protest. They are distinctly ideological in the terms of

the construction of the *progressive* actor as an 'other' to both conservatives and traditional party-based politics. However, this position is mitigated, because it is driven by issues, rather than an overarching commitment to societal change.

iv) UKUncut

UK Uncut was established as an anti-cuts group in October 2010 after a meeting of 10 people in a North London pub). It subsequently used a variety of direct-action tactics to protest against the cuts, including occupying and closing down stores in a number of UK cities and, later, occupying bank branches for a few days and establishing libraries etc. in them. UKUncut's message was initially straightforward, focusing on corporate tax-avoidance, arguing that, if these tax loopholes were closed down, such large cuts would not be necessary.

The group has no central organization, only a website that is used to publicise actions. It uses new media, especially Twitter, as a way of deciding on, and organizing, action. As an example, the website identifies 24 actions in 22 different cities (none in London), between 16th April and 18th May 2011 (http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/actionslist). It also claims a presence in 55 UK towns. During the March 2011 march, UK Uncut occupied Fortnum and Masons and 138 people were arrested.

There is no academic study of the organization to date, but there has been an in-depth *Guardian* study, one product of which is a video, produced as a result of a reporter following UKUncut over a three month period at the beginning of 2011

(http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/uk-uncut). The *Guardian* interviews with UKUncut activists clearly indicate that: most are not involved in mainstream politics; much of their activity is local; and their activity is done for fun. Thus, they exhibit many of the characteristics of Everyday Makers. However, contra-Bang's view of Everyday Makers, they are directly engaging with the state and attempting to influence policy and their involvement has a clear left-wing ideological dimension.

v) Occupy Sydney

The transnational Occupy movement started on Wall St, New York as a protest against growing economic inequality and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the richest 1% of individuals and corporations. Under the meme of "We are the 99%", groups of people began to camp out, or occupy, central public spaces such as town squares often in the financial districts of major cities around the world. The first Occupy actions in Sydney were held in mid-October 2011 and 1000 people marched through Sydney on November 5, 2011. Art and creative actions were a significant part of Occupy Sydney, and they had an extensive and sophisticated social media presence though a webpage and blog, numerous YouTube videos, Facebook and a very regular Twitter feed. As such, they exhibited many of the characteristics of Everyday Makers. Certainly, Jackson and Chen's (forthcoming) study of the November 5th marchers indicates that most were young (half under 34), the majority were not experienced political activists and over a third did not identify with any political party position, although another third were Green party identifiers. Overall, the use of ad hoc forms of participation and high levels of creativity, together with the inclusion of participants new to political action suggests that this was a form of Everyday Making.

However, the Occupy movement can hardly be seen as non-ideological. Indeed, Jackson and Chen found that the marchers were predominantly concerned about wealth inequality and corporate influence on public life. This is not surprising as, both in Australia and internationally, Occupy was clearly driven by a set of broadly left ideological concerns, although not necessarily aimed at institutional change,

vi) Anonymous

Anonymous is a decentralized, online community, acting covertly in a coordinated manner, usually toward a loosely-agreed goal. The group has no centralized leadership or easily identifiable participants, and anyone with the technical skills and links can participate (see Halupka and Starr, 2011). Originally, the community primarily focused on creative entertainment and was mostly associated with the website 4chan. However, from 2008, the Anonymous collective became increasingly associated with collaborative, international, hacking campaigns, undertaking protests and other political actions, often in retaliation to campaigns against digital piracy.

As participants can dip in and out of particular transnational hacking campaigns that more often target corporations than states, Anonymous clearly meets a number of Bang's Everyday Maker criteria. But, the transnational character of its membership and campaigns means it is not localized and, overtime, it has developed a more coherent political ideology (Halupka and Starr, 2011). For example, Anonymous has: undertaken transnational campaigns online and offline around the world against the Church of

Scientology; acted in support of Wikileaks, by hacking particular organisations, such as Amazon and PayPal, that had dissociated from the site; and, in 2011, hacked Stratfors, an international security think tank's, subscriber base, redirecting their membership fees as donations to a variety of charitable causes. On the basis of these example campaigns, it is clear there is a broad ideology underpinning the activities of Anonymous members, which is broadly anti-authoritarian, anti-censorship and anti-capitalist.

Discussion

Importantly, none of our six cases exhibit all five of Bang's characteristics of Everyday makers. All six cases provide examples of ad hoc participation that doesn't involve traditional notions of organisation-led, fee-paying membership. Campaigns emerge and dissipate, depending on the relevant political issue and opportunity for action. At the same time, five of the six cases demonstrate that participation is increasingly fun and creative for those involved, with activists using gimmicks, artistic imagery and the internet. The one exception here were the disadvantaged among the young people in Birmingham who were often reacting to the structures of formal politics in their everyday lives and had less agency to focus on creative campaigns. In addition, the local and everyday is clearly an important motivator and context for much contemporary participation, however both transnational movements, such as Occupy, and internet-based participation in geographically disparate virtual communities, such as in GetUp and Anonymous, doesn't really fall into this category.

This immediately highlights the two most ambiguous and problematic of Bang's five characteristics of Everyday Makers: that such individuals, and Bang suggests there are a

lot of them, are no longer focused on the possibility of achieving state-initiated political change; and that they not overtly ideological. Only in one of our cases were political participants definitely not focused on state-initiated political change; the Manchester feminists, whose activism was mainly targeted at the media and local retail outlets. Elsewhere the picture is mixed. Certainly, the lives of the more disadvantaged of the Birmingham young people were crucially affected by their relationship with the state and the manner in which they negotiated that relationship was, in our view, 'political'. In the other four case studies the pattern was more complex. So, for example, while most of Anonymous hacking campaigns were directed at major corporations, or conservative civil society actors, such as think tanks and churches, some involved computer systems in Federal and State or Territory Governments. In contrast, while most of GetUp's activity is designed to influence government policy, that is not always the case. More broadly, most participants recognized that the state had the ultimate political decision-making authority in relation to the issues with which they were concerned; so their activity was most often in the 'shadow' of the state.

Of course, the concept of ideology is a contested one. However, it seems to us that UKUncut, Occupy, GetUp and the Manchester feminists are ideologically-driven. UKUncut and Occupy are on the left in broad terms, while GetUp is largely driven by a progressive and green agenda. The Manchester feminists were clearly just that, feminists. Anonymous is more difficult to classify, but, although there is a strong emphasis on individual freedom, this seems to relate more to anarchism, than to neo-liberalism. The

young people in Birmingham were, inevitably given the nature of the sample, diverse, with a limited number driven by an ideological position, most often environmentalism.

Overall, we would argue that Bang's work on political participation has done much to extend the debate. Our analysis here, based on a number of qualitative case studies, argues that there are different types of Everyday Makers. All represent a break with more formal types of participation, but they do not all share the same characteristics. More specifically, two features of Bang's characterisation of Everyday Makers need more thought: their engagement with the state; and the extent to which their engagement has a more traditional left-right ideological dimension and, as such, is generalizable from single issues more broadly.

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Does the inclusion discourse add value? A critical appraisal of the Australian social inclusion policy agenda

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Abstract

The election of a national Labor Government in 2007 saw 'social inclusion' emerge as Australia's overarching social policy agenda. Being 'included' has since been defined as being able to 'have the resources, opportunities and capabilities needed to learn, work, engage and have a voice'. Various researchers have adopted the social inclusion concept to construct a multi-dimensional framework for measuring disadvantage, beyond poverty alleviation. This research program has enabled various forms of statistical modelling based on some agreement about what it means to be 'included' in society. At the same time it is acknowledged that social inclusion remains open and contestable and can be used in the name of both progressive and more punitive programs and policies. This ambiguity raises questions about whether the social inclusion framework, as it is presently defined, has the potential to be a progressive and transformative discourse. In this paper we examine whether the Australian social inclusion agenda has the capacity to address social inequality in a meaningful way, concluding with a discussion about the need to understand social inequality and social disadvantage in relational terms.

Keywords: social inclusion, social policy, inequality, research, knowledge

Introduction

The term 'social inclusion' has become the guiding framework for Australian social policy since the election of the Rudd/Gillard Labor Government in 2007. The concept reflects a stated commitment to improving social and economic participation by marginalised Australians. Being 'included' has since been more specifically defined as being able to 'have the resources, opportunities and capabilities needed to learn, work, engage and have a voice' (Australian Government, 2010). This definition, which draws on a human capital approach to conceptualising inclusion, is similar to the UK Labour Government's approach in the late 1990s. In twentieth century European formulationsthe concept showed much promise as a tool for reframing constructions of poverty and addressing disadvantage (Buckmaster and Thomas 2009). Yet policy adaptation of the concept indicates this has ambition has not been fully realised. Levitas's (2005) critique of the UK Labour Government's implementation of the social inclusion policy agenda showed that in practice the government adopted a social integration approach to inclusion

through privileging paid employment, as the principle measure of social inclusion, while neglecting a more redistributive approach to addressing social inequality.

As we will show in the first part of this paper Australia has followed a similar path in privileging paid work as the primary mechanism for promoting inclusion, particularly through its welfare-to-work policies. In our view this approach has three main problems, outlined in the paper. The first is that this framework conceives of inclusion/exclusion in categorical, rather than relational terms, a conception that has been promoted by a measurement research framework. The second is that the main thrust of the policy agenda remains silent on other ways in which people act as social citizens, as in participation in educational, care and volunteering activities. And the third problem is that in philosophical terms the agenda is utilitarian, making the majority happy while making the minority conform to the norms of the majority through sanctions, nudges and surveillance (Standing, 2011: 154). In examining these issues our aim in this paper is to engage in both a philosophical and practical review of the Australian social inclusion agenda, a task that we believe is long overdue and one that we hope will contribute to a more imaginative and well-rounded set of policy ideas and programs. Reframing the discourse of social inclusion/exclusion in terms of a relational model of social justice and social citizenship provides a more robust approach for both policy makers and social policy scholars to advance discussion and action in relation to addressing social inequality in Australia.

A brief history of social inclusion in Australia

The origins of the term social exclusion may be found in the French socialist governments of the 1980s. In the UK, social exclusion was endorsed as a policy concept in 1997 when the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, set up the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) and loosely defined it as a 'shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown' (SEU 1997). The concepts of social inclusion and social exclusion gained increasing prominence in Australian social policy from the early 2000s, initially at a state, rather than a national level. Following New Labour's lead in the UK, the South Australian Labor government established the Social Inclusion Unit in 2002 with the expressed commitment of tackling social exclusion by examining the complex and interrelated causes of disadvantage. At the national level, the incoming Labor government announced its social inclusion agenda in 2007 and shortly thereafter established a Social Inclusion ministerial portfolio and a Social Inclusion Board in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in December 2007.

According to the first annual report of the Social Inclusion Board, the Government said that it was committed to a social inclusion agenda that is 'about building a stronger, fairer nation in which every Australian gets a fair go at the things that make for an active and fulfilling life'. Being socially included was said to mean:

> ...that people have the resources, opportunities and capabilities they need to: learn (participate in education and training); work (participate in employment, unpaid or voluntary work including family and carer responsibilities); engage (connect with people, use local services and participate in local, cultural, civic and recreational activities); and, have a voice (influence decisions that affect them) (Australian Government, 2010: 15).

This definition reflects an 'earn or learn' approach to social inclusion. Equallysignificant are the silences in the above definition. There is no mention of addressing growing social inequality in Australia, particularly income inequality. The emphasis is on economic participation. This view deflects attention away from inadequacies in the welfare state, particularly the disparities and inequities within the income support system and the health and education systems. These criticisms are dismissed in Australia and the UK with the mantra that 'work is the best form of welfare'. Underlying this sentiment is the notion that socalled 'welfare dependency' is pervasive, thereby reinforcing an individualist construction of the problem of poverty as being associated with the receipt of income support. As Saunders (2003: 5) notes about social inclusion: "In the wrong hands, social exclusion can become a vehicle for vilifying those who do not conform and an excuse for seeing their problems as caused by their own 'aberrant behaviour". A construction of the social problem of deprivation also legitimates the populist discourse of 'active' rather than 'passive' welfare. In this policy context those experiencing poverty are conceived as'capable actors' at risk of 'moral hazard' because of their reliance on state welfare.

These moral binaries reinforce a categorical rather than a relational approach to social inclusion, which is a central problem with the operationalization of the social inclusion agenda in Australia. Silver and Miller (2003) insist on using a relational approach in conceptualising inclusion/exclusion, in the sense that it is not enough to focus on the unemployed, the homeless or the poor. They argue we must use the concept to also focus on the so-called 'included', as this brings into the frame the way in which dominant groups in society benefit from low wages, unemployment and inflated rents in capital city housing markets. Tilly's (1999) contribution on understanding social inequality is relevant here. According to Tilly (1999) two powerful social processes are fundamental to reproducing inequality: exploitation and opportunity hoarding. *Exploitation* is the process by which powerful connected people have control over resources and use those resources to enlist others in production of value while excluding them from the full value added by their efforts, using any of a number of means, such as legislation, work rules, and outright repression. *Opportunity hoarding* occurs when members of a categorically based network confine the use of the value-producing resource to others in the in-group (Voss, 2010). If the political and policy gaze is on the 'excluded' then we miss the possibility of seeing the dynamic between the insiders and outsiders, the dominant and dominated.

Moreover, in sociological terms we reduce the capacity to develop a 'sociological imagination' around addressing public problems because we miss the organisational mechanisms that produce and sustain inequalities (Tilly, 1999).

Research and policy directions

In Australia, a categorical approach to the 'included' and 'excluded' has been reinforced through research frameworks measuring the population defined as 'socially excluded'. A prominent example is the Social Exclusion Monitor developed by the Brotherhood of St Laurence with Melbourne University (Horn et al, 2011). The aim is to track over time what proportion of the population suffers from varying degrees of social exclusion, based on analysis of secondary survey data compiled into a set of indicators. The indicators are similar to those used in western European countries, which accept that social exclusion is multi-dimensional, but beyond that there is no agreement about which indicators are more salient or causal (Silver and Miller, 2003). While this approach is certainly an advance on simply relying on income poverty as a measure of social and economic deprivation, the framework still has the potential to reinforce a technical and de-politicised approach to understanding and addressing complex social, political, economic and cultural processes.

Certainly there is a place for measurement in understanding the scale and significance of a given social problem, but we need to ensure that this does not become a substitute for understanding how processes of discrimination, rejection, isolation and poverty are experienced in relational terms. Equally, we need to ensure that this measurement exercise does not discount the ways in which those put in categories of 'excluded' have their own understandings of processes of inclusion/exclusion. This comment reflects a more general ethical sentiment about being careful that we do not only construct low-income Australians in terms of their deficits, or abstract lives into statistical categories.. In overcoming this limitation we need to insist on research approaches that research up and down the income ladder to capture the relational understanding of inclusion/exclusion defined above.

In articulating a research approach that captures social relations, there are some common principles, such as a rich appreciation of context, a commitment to articulating and clarifying ethical questions and a healthy scepticism towards dominant metaphors and accepted policy truths – the dominant representation of things and people. One relatively recent example that embodies these principles in the field of social inequality in Australia is *The Lowest Rung*: *Voices of Australian Poverty* by Mark Peel (2003). The text is accessible, it is written in a lively and engaging manner and it touches on the values of ordinary people and their struggles to survive in difficult times and spaces. The writing is highly accessible and is infused with an emotional vocabulary that presents a rich understanding of how people make sense of their lives and their predicament. The research presents a complex portrait, avoiding simplistic, conventional representations of 'the poor' as either victims or villains. And finally, it is piece of research that challenges accepted policy and political truths.

The social policy agenda introduced under the banner of social inclusion since 2007 has not significantly reframed the debate. The moralising social policy agenda of the previous Howard-led coalition government remains largely intact. A dominant focus on behaviour modification – a suspicion of recipients 'cheating the system' and 'behaving badly' –

remains and continues to influence contractual arrangements between welfare recipients and the state. The main policy assumption continues to be that being unemployed means one is not participating socially or economically – thus the equation of paid work with inclusion. The view endorsed by policy makers and politicians is best captured by what Veit-Wilson (1998: 45 in Byrne, 2005:4) describes as a weak version of inclusion:

> In the weak version of the discourse, the solutions lie in altering these excluded people's handicapping characteristics and enhancing their integration into dominant society. 'Stronger' forms of this discourse may also emphasise the role of those who are doing the excluding and therefore aim for solutions, which reduce the powers of exclusion.

The weak version resonates with what Levitas (2005) defines as the social integrationist and moral 'underclass' discourses of social inclusion, while the strong version reflects a redistributive egalitarian discourse that embraces notions of social justice and social citizenship. Levitas (2005: 178) explains that social inclusion is a 'powerful concept, not because of its analytical clarity which is conspicuously lacking, but because of its flexibility'. This means it can be used in widely different ways.

> The term social exclusion is intrinsically problematic. It represents the primary significant division in society as one between an included majority and an excluded minority… Exclusion appears as an essentially peripheral problem, existing at the boundary of society, rather than a feature of society, which characteristically delivers massive inequalities across the board and chronic deprivation for a large minority. The solution implied by a discourse of social exclusion is a minimalist one: a transition across the boundary to become an insider rather than an outsider in a society whose structural inequalities remain largely uninterrogated (Levitas, 2005: 7).

The minimalist version of social exclusion undermines the theoretical potential of the concept to provide a comprehensive account of the sources of disadvantage and exclusion. So in answer to the question we set in the title of the paper we do not believe that the inclusion discourse, as it is presently conceived in policy making in Australia, adds value to our understanding of social inequality and the mechanisms that sustain these inequalities. In the next and final section of the paper we attempt to sketch a conceptual framework that is more consistent with a relational view of social inequality – a framework that has the potential to strengthen the meaning of social exclusion and social inclusion.

Strengthening the weak inclusion discourse: back to the future?

To get beyond a 'weak discourse' version of social inclusion the Labor Government in Australia might do well to revisit and revitalise some of its social policy principles from the 20th Century, such as social citizenship and social justice. Reframing a strong or

redistributionist discourse of social inclusion/exclusion would provide a more useful approach for social policy scholars and policy makers to advance discussions and debates about social disadvantage in relational terms. Drawing on the tradition of critical inquiry, we propose an approach that captures the relational and stratified nature of divisions within society by acknowledging the included alongside the excluded and the relations of power that underlie the divisions between them. One element of the approach is recognition of individuals as capable actors with social citizenship rights. A rights based discourse helps to cement the idea that all people have social entitlements, guaranteed by the state, and that these cannot be made conditional on accepting precarious employment (Standing, 2011).

Marshall (1950) is the usual starting point for a discussion about citizenship rights. He theorizes citizenship as comprising three stages of broad historical evolution towards civil, political and social rights. Social citizenship includes economic security and equal access to health, education and genuine employment opportunities. Social citizenship rights are largely about quality of life issues and where legislated on, are codified within the welfare state and social security law. Social citizenship is also about human dignity, guaranteed by the welfare state to ensure that individuals have the material wherewithal to take part in society. For Standing (2001:30), "real freedom requires a system of social protection that allows people of all backgrounds to be able to make choices". It might also be said 'real' choices can only be made when essential resources are made available to all.

Here is a fuller version of citizenship than that offered by the 'industrial citizenship' of welfare-to-work policies and the associated instrumental approach to the value of education in human capital terms. At the heart of these approaches to citizenship is a respect for moral adulthood, autonomy and fairness in terms of distribution of goods and resources and acknowledgement that respectful recognition of people's choices and contributions is itself a matter of justice. Devalued social identities makes denying people a fair share of resources politically palatable (Fraser, 1997). Coupled with an emphasis on social rights and citizenship we need a relational approach to social justice, that not only makes the connection between cultural and economic justice explicit, but which also makes the connection between privilege and poverty apparent and tangible, rather than 'natural' and acceptable. An individual responsibility discourse in social policy has done much harm to a conception of collective risks and political agency. Nancy Rosenblaum (cited by Young, 2011: 40) argues that part of the reason a self-sufficiency discourse thrives in present conditions is because we have a declining faith in our own political agency and 'the less confidence we have in our own democratic political agency the more we demand of others'. Consequently, citizens come to passively regard the complex workings of society whose effects are fortunate for some individuals and unfortunate for others, as solely the result of individual effort, and therefore, not a matter of justice for which all citizens should take collective responsibility (Young, 2011).

Recent developments in political philosophy offer a model of social justice focused on seeing connections between privilege and poverty in a way that seeks to uncover structural injustice and imply a moral imperative that justice is everyone's responsibility, which stands in stark contrast to a liberal discourse of self-sufficiency, productivity, reward and individual pathology. Young's (2011) work on a 'social connection model' of justice is one such example:

> The social connection model of responsibility says that individuals bear responsibility for structural justice because they contribute by their actions to the processes that produce unjust outcomes (Young, 2011: 103).

From this perspective it is disingenuous to suggest that persons living in neighbourhoods with poor schools, few shops and dilapidated housing, kilometres from the closest job opportunities have an equal opportunity with other persons in the same metropolitan area. Similarly, from a social connection model of justice we would conclude that any worry about irresponsibility ought to be directed to all citizens, not just to those who are made more visible by state surveillance. We might also conclude that those citizens who are not poor, at least at this point in time, participate in the same structure of advantage and disadvantage, constraint and enablement as those who fall below the poverty line at some point. After arriving at this conclusion it becomes that much harder to absolve ourselves from having responsibility for social injustice (Young, 2011). This relational approach to social justice also acknowledges that the line between vulnerable and resilient or included and excluded can change very quickly, particularly in times of global economic uncertainty. In short, this version of justice would do more to promote the human capability to see 'the them in us and the us in them' (Levitas, 2005:16). Some basic level of respect and trust, and the fostering of wellbeing and capabilities, rather than increasing the scope of invasive surveillance assemblages would also be a useful starting point in developing more meaningful forms of social inclusion.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the concept and practice of social inclusion policy in Australia from a critical standpoint where substantial differences are seen to exist between government pronouncements on social inclusion and a narrow emphasis on paid employment in actual social policies and programs. Our analysis points to a series of missed opportunities to give tangible and productive substance to musings about increasing participation in social and economic activities. At present, the dominant policy focus is on individual deficits, flawed behaviours and decision making, with disadvantage conceptualised as a form of 'just desert' (Kenny 2011), rather than the outcome of economic and social relations that benefit some and disadvantage others. An individual conception misses this relational dimension, and in terms of equating paid employment with inclusion, it conveniently ignores the harsh realities of the working poor who 'earn' their poverty with multiple low paid and insecure jobs (Novak 1997). We argue that social inclusion must be more meaningful than this and refurbishing the connection to

social justice and social citizenship is a worthwhile policy and political aim (Scott 2006). The social citizenship envisaged here is as Tilly (1996) notes 'thick' in terms of complex, variegated rights and responsibilities as opposed to 'thin' citizenship, loaded with responsibilities, conditional allowances and few opportunities for genuine inclusion.

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Sensory dimensions of decision-making and the trouble with Telehealth

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Abstract

Government rhetoric about the new National Broadband Network (NBN) positions it as a panacea to access to resources and opportunities in Australia. While the NBN appears to be an elegant solution to geographical, technological, and economic inequalities across Australia, it brings into question whether the technologies that operate over this network can provide an equality of quality. This paper examines the use of videoconferencing in healthcare, and its implications for expert judgements. It argues that while Telehealth makes medical care available where it may otherwise have been limited, there are concerns over its reliability due to the limitations placed on the sensory information available to consulting doctors. This paper is based on qualitative interviews that were conducted as part of a larger study with 92 participants in 4 occupational groups.

Key words: Expertise, senses, Telehealth, rural health

Introduction

Government rhetoric about the new National Broadband Network (NBN) positions it as a panacea to access to resources and opportunities in Australia. It connects rural and remote areas with the cities, and Australia to the world. In doing so, it claims to positively contribute to the health of Australians, particularly those in rural, remote, and disadvantaged communities, by increasing medical access and effectiveness in an efficient way. While the NBN appears to be an elegant solution to geographical, technological, and economic inequalities across Australia, it brings into question whether the technologies that operate over this network can provide an equality of quality. In other words, can this technology actually provide access to the expertise that it says it does?

This paper examines the use of videoconferencing in healthcare, and its implications for expert judgements. To examine this issue, I first explore the role of the senses in expert doctors' understanding. Taking the example of Telehealth, I then examine the problems experts experience when perception is limited to isolated sensory modes. I argue that while technologies such as Telehealth make medical care available where it may otherwise have been limited, there are concerns over its reliability due to the limitations placed on the sensory information available to consulting doctors. This paper is exploratory, and aims to briefly highlight some issues for further discussion and research.

Methods

The findings reported here are drawn from a broader ethnographic study on the sensory practices and processes of four occupational communities including doctors, musicians, adventurers, and Morse code operators. My focus was particularly on hearing within these communities, though I remained aware of the broader sensory context. The study took place over an 18 month period, and involved in-depth semi-structured interviews with a total of 92 research participants. The data reported on here specifically draws from the interviews with 15 doctors. The participants were not limited to speciality or locality. Interviews lasted between 30 and 240 minutes, and were recorded and later transcribed with the consent of participants. Ethics approval was obtained for this research.

The senses in expert understanding

Often thoughts of knowledge (and its study) focus on discursive, theoretical, and scientific examples. Classical sociologists writing on knowledge such as Mannheim and Mills held an interest in the currents of thought that affect 'reality construction' in the public and private spheres (McCarthy, 1996: 3). Equally, the natural sciences tend to be recognised most freely as knowledge (B. Smith, 1988: 1), and have also come to be the object of sociological enquiry (Knorr-Centina, 1999; Kuhn, 1962; Latour and Woolgar, 1979; Rouse, 1987). However, these knowledges do not capture knowledge making and knowing practice in its entirety.

Increasingly, taken-for-granted knowledges are coming into focus, and are demonstrating that knowledge is messy, located (Turnbull, 2000), specific to small social groups (Knorr-Centina, 1999; Wenger, 1998), personal (Glaser, 2001), and much of it not simply extracted or written down (Duguid, 2005; Klein, 1999; Polanyi, 1966). The senses represent one area of knowledge that has tended to escape attention, particularly in occupational contexts (Hockey, 2009: 478). For example, while the role of social actors in the production of scientific knowledge has been highlighted, scholars have remained largely silent on the social processes that shape sensory perception as if scientists' 'observations' (ie seeing, hearing) are objective, neutral, and unbiased, as empiricist philosophers have argued (Hume, 2000; Locke, 1975).

While often taken for granted, the senses are acquired and specialised, and particularly for experts, they are vital tools for decision-making. As Ingold argued, the 'skilled practitioner consults the world, rather than … rules, propositions, [or] beliefs … for guidance on what to do next' (Ingold, 2000: 164). However, professional judgements in fields including medicine are often assumed to be absolute. As American physician Jerome Groopman observed: 'Most lay people imagine a pathologic diagnosis to be objective and definitive. But often … very competent pathologists can view the same specimen and arrive at different conclusions' (2000: 204). This variation in outcomes is due to the vital role of intuition and sensory perception in medical decision-making.

In interviews, doctors described the judgements they made on a day-to-day basis as responses to subtle and highly nuanced sensory cues. What began as a structured patient examination became the 'foot of the bed' or the 'hi doc' test. This expert ability to perceive health and illness relied on the senses. As one doctor interviewed explained: 'If you eyeball a patient from the end of the bed, you take in a whole lot of stuff subconsciously about their breathing, their colour, all of these things'. It was also observed that a decision to operate on a sick child could be based on sensory judgements, rather than the more recognisable running of tests or the survey of a patient history. As one surgeon explained: 'Sick kids look sick. If they look sick then they will need a surgical intervention, and you might not know necessarily what you are doing, but they just don't look right'. An example of the limits of theoretical knowledge was also given. One doctor recalled that despite five years of medical training, he was unable to identify a jaundiced patient when it was first encountered. While he knew that jaundice was an indicator of pancreatic cancer and knew its presentation was a yellowing of skin tone, he had not yet learnt to perceive yellow. He reflected that you can learn about certain pathologies and their indicators formally, but it is 'on the wards that you start to acquire an understanding of what a "flushed face" means, or whether someone is "blue".'

In a contemporary culture of risk aversion, alarm bells may be easily rung by comments that a child may be operated on as a result of little more than a surgeon's feeling. In a sense, understanding how surgeons can conduct surgery requires 'us to hold together two ideas that professionalism often presents as contradictory: expertise and instinctive decision-making' (E. Smith, 2008: 19). As the example of the missed diagnosis emphasises, while potentially uncomfortable and infrequently acknowledged, the sensory aspects of expert judgements are necessary for speed and precision in decision-making. A bigger risk to patient outcomes, then, is that limitations are placed on the sensory information available to a consulting doctor.

Technology as a limit on expert judgements

Given Australia's location, and its populations in rural and remote areas, there is a push towards technologically-driven opportunities that facilitate economically viable, equal access to services and expertise. Telehealth is one of the pillars of the new *National E-Health Strategy* which is positioned as a service delivery tool to improve rural and remote, and disadvantaged community access to health care (2008: 12). It is particularly being used to facilitate the monitoring of rural and remote patients with chronic health conditions where access to continuous specialist care can otherwise be limited (Moffatt and Eley, 2010; Wakerma et al., 2008). While it is heralded as an environmentally friendly, cost-effective approach to preventative medicine and rural and remote medical services (Conrad, 1998; Darkins and Cary, 2000; Finkelstein, Speedie, and Potthoff, 2006; Mitchell & Pezzullo, 2010; Noel, Vogel, Erdos, Cornwall, and Levin, 2004), it is not without controversy (Ellis, 2004; Liaw and Humphreys, 2006). An aspect of this technological solution that appears to have been paid little attention is the change to the sensory experiences that it introduces, and the implications of these changes for medical practice.

Doctors who participated in this study expressed significant concern over their capacity to make their highly nuanced judgements as experts in their fields when using Telehealth systems. Their concerns were due to reduced visual and aural inputs, with other sensory experiences removed entirely. One doctor, for example, was critical of technologies that could record a patient's heart sound so it could be emailed to a consulting cardiologist, on the grounds that taken out of context this kind of information was well-nigh useless. Another doctor interviewed had been using Telehealth as part of his patient care strategy in the area of Drug and Alcohol for a few years, and spoke at length of his experiences. The located and responsive aspects of expert knowledge bring into question the efficacy of technologies such as videoconferencing that mediate and alter experiences. To demonstrate the issues Telehealth introduces, I will give the reflections of one user at length.

One of the problems identified with Telehealth was the limited resolution of the video, and its impact on what could be visually perceived. The doctor explained that with the limited resolution 'you can't get skin textures and colours accurately'. Limited bandwidth also negatively impacted perception, as 'the rate of change for facial expression is inadequate, and you can't see pupillary response very well'. The net result of these attributes of the videoconference was that 'all of these subtle things that you don't know you're actually looking at can't be accessed'. He described his visual experience as 'a bit like DVD up-scaling'. This analogy was brought to mind because he had to 'try and upgrade to high definition by sort of filling in the gaps for this person'. This allowed 'increased resolution of the person because you have seen them before'. For this doctor, this was like talking to a friend on the telephone, and being able to 'see' them, despite the visual input. However, this could be dangerous in a context of making an assessment of a patient who was less known than a good friend and perhaps more variable.

Another concern with Telehealth was that the technology also compressed sound, with the implication that not all the needed information was transmitted. This could mean that attributes of a person's voice like an 'edge' may not have been perceivable. The doctor described a woman who used amphetamines: 'When you see her in the flesh, there are other tones, often higher tones, that don't seem to come across in Telehealth'. Equally, the correction of sound levels (which aim to ensure a consistent, easily perceivable audio input), also have the impact of excluding certain critical information. He was aware that he missed 'little' sounds such as sighs that could be picked up 'when they're in the room'.

While the videoconference transmits a picture and a spectrum of sound, other sensory inputs were identified as omitted entirely. He shared: 'You don't have smell, you don't have touch, you can't listen, and also, you don't get eye contact'. He continued:

> With what I do you need the subtleties. They can look at you on the screen, but you can't get that, whatever the experience is. When someone looks at your eyes, they are actually looking at your iris, but if they are making eye contact, they are looking just behind, almost as if they are looking at your retina.

In other words, satisfactory listening and eye contact were simply unavailable, despite the transmission of a picture and sound.

In response to the problems of Telehealth, a nurse was in the room with the patient at their end of the videoconference. After the appointment, the doctor was able to speak with the nurse who could 'say whether he was really twitchy, or looked really crook, or he was uncomfortable – stuff that I wouldn't pick up on'. While the idea here was that the doctor still had 'eyes in the room', they were not his expert eyes or ears. Additionally, perception was also limited by this altered social context, as patients did not relate to the absent doctor as they normally would. The doctor explained: 'There have been times, too, where the nurse has been in the room with them, and they will have a conversation as if you're not there, so you're really not part of a three-way dialogue'. Because of these complications – that the assisting nurse did not possess the same sensory expertise to form judgements, and that the presence of a third party changed the social interaction – he had more faith in improving the technology than working with a team.

Reflecting on his experiences, the doctor ultimately had concerns about his capacity to assess correctly the health of a patient:

> If someone was to say "you have made these decisions about whether someone was suitable to have take away doses of methadone based on your feeling about how you interacted with them" and then they go away and overdose, there would be a question about whether you should have relied on that assessment.

While descriptions of health care provision over format as 'monitoring' and 'management' suggest that life and death decisions may not be made on the basis of these interactions, this professional's experiences demonstrate the range of contexts the technology is being used in practice, and the potential issues that can emerge from its use. Accurate and safe decision-making can be a question of having all of the sensory inputs available, and the observations of this user strongly suggest that these necessary sensory inputs are being compromised. Such technologies can have a use when used as a supplement (not a replacement), but are more suited to some contexts than others. For cases where fine sensory discriminations are being made, they can be very ineffective.

Conclusion

The sensory aspects of knowledge are vital to decision-making, to the extent that gaps in sensory information are gaps in understanding. New technologies such as videoconferencing are being embraced in areas such as health for their capacity to provide services in an affordable way. However, this technology is better suited to some applications than others. In the example of Telehealth, the capacity to make judgements about the health and wellbeing of patients is potentially undermined because the technology does not allow for fine sensory discriminations. There are good reasons why such technologies are being embraced, such as the ability for care to be given when none would be available otherwise, but the implications of its use and possible strategies to increase its effectiveness deserve further attention. In its current manifestation, the observations of doctors using this technology suggest that

we would be kidding ourselves if we thought that Telehealth was affordable *and* delivered 'equal' outcomes.

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Governing through race: setting the terms of exclusion

Abstract

Foucault's 1976 lecture in the series published as *Society Must Be Defended* (2004) argues that the historical theme of race as a war between races in the 18th century became something different in the 19th century, namely race as a governmental technology of power, or State racism. This paper surveys public representations of 19th and early 20th century understandings of the 'Aboriginal problem' and notions of a 'dying race', and notes the way this intellectual production displays a shift from sovereign to bio-political powers.

Keywords: Australian Aborigines; power; racism; bio-politics; science

Governing through rights: freedom and unfreedom

In the case of the Northern Territory Intervention, much of the Commonwealth Government's rationale to managing the 'bare conditions of life' of Aboriginal peoples draws on claims to represent children's rights; alternatively, the Intervention was criticised for its 'illiberal' approach to rights (Northern Territory, 2007; Reynolds, 2010). Children's rights discourse has itself been critiqued in sociological literature for its normalising effects, and for the way it limits conceptualising of childhood. Gadda notes:

> the development of childhood and children's rights discourses can be understood as the effects of power relations. Although they seem to be liberating, they are in fact a way in which to keep control over subjects, i.e. children, parents, non-Western citizens. Control in this way is no longer exercised through repression, but through the stimulation of an ideal, i.e. childhood (Gadda, 2008).

Commentaries in legal philosophy have also noted that a problem with contemporary human rights discourse is its professed universality (Rorty, 1992). Foucault similarly observed that 'it would be hypocritical or naïve to believe that the [system of rights] was made for all in the name of all…it would be more prudent to recognize that it was made for the few and that it was brought to bear on others' (Foucault, 1977:276). The problems associated with universalizing children's rights has also been commented on recently by researchers working with children in a range of non-Western settings and the manner in which, in such settings, rights discourse may actively impede appropriate solutions to the immediate problems confronted by children: '(i)ntervention by people with preconceptions of the character of a 'good childhood' in accord with which they would like to shape others' experiences can cause unintended distress and disruption (Reynolds, et al., 2006: 292).

Along similar lines, Wells (2011:15) argues that new demands for rights to 'health, welfare and life' produced resistance and struggles over the child's special capabilities and vulnerabilities, and in fact superseded older conceptions of political rights. Bio-political powers produce a caveat or a gap – 'a biological-type caesura' (Foucault, 2004:255) – which fragments a population along what appears to be a biological domain. The production of race as an object of government is concerned with making interventions that promote a specific 'form of life' (Hindess, 1996). In other words, government is obliged to take consideration of race as it appears in the construction of population as a problem, requiring certain actions to secure its health, growth and prosperity. Such actions may involve authoritarian means of governing. As Dean (2002:25) explains, the liberal conception of government as arising from knowledges of civil society 'feeds the authoritarian dimension of liberal government':

> liberal government encompasses both the constitutionally defined legal-political order and a liberal police established by a knowledge of spheres, processes and agencies outside this domain, eg. civil society, economy, population, etc. In order to understand the authoritarian potential of liberal government we need to comprehend both aspects of the liberal order (ibid).

To understand the conditions of possibility for instances of authoritarian liberalism, such as the exercise of powers to control and manage the 'bare life' circumstances of remote Aboriginal peoples, we consider here the relations between governing and the 'knowledge of spheres' in the population. This relates to a period in the post Darwinian-period in the early 20th century, a period which has been characterised as a shift away from 'bloody frontier

battles' to more concerted attacks on Australian Indigenous cultural practices and forms of community life (Broome, 2005:185-206). The aim is to assess the contribution of this kind of intellectual production to the manner of governing Aboriginal people, including uses of authoritarian forms of power, giving particular attention to the normalising effects of the European 'developmental story' in relation to 'other races' and the production of categories of 'civilized' and 'uncivilised'. Implications of 'race science' as a governmental product can be seen in the way children were managed in manifestly authoritarian ways, particularly in the different 'racial typologies' underpinning widespread acts of child removal in this period.

Race science

From the early modern period, the slave trade, the subjugation and extermination of indigenous peoples, and ideologies of 'Christians versus heathens', shifted in the 19th century to notions of civilized Europeans versus uncivilized savages, particularly in conjunction with the rise of physical anthropology and evolutionary biology. As McCarthy (2009: 24) concludes, there was a continuous interplay between colonialism and racism. It is however to important to acknowledge the historical specificity of the translation of race science, and the local, practical engagement with the particular circumstances of the Australian colonial setting (Anderson, 2009). Scientific views of the superiority and inferiority of races became more prominent among the European settlers in Australia, as a rationale for 'clearing away' those referred to as 'full bloods'. Evolutionary thought and accompanying theories about biological evolution were as startling in Australia as elsewhere in the world, and the implications of evolutionary theory for social policy were widely discussed and debated (Goodwin, 1964). Often these debates focused the relative importance of economic freedoms

under liberalism: for example, conservatives took so-called Social Darwinist ideas to assemble arguments that interference by the state with the 'natural growth processes' of the economy could lead only to 'stagnation and race deterioration'. 'Radical collectivists', on the other hand, argued that societies rather than individuals were the critical developing organisms, and that the primary responsibility of the State 'as custodian of the community's wisdom and power was to regulate relations between citizens and to seek with every available means the highest possibly national destiny' (Goodwin, 1964: 415). In Goodwin's review, 'race deterioration' and 'national destiny' referred to settler society, while the effect of evolutionary theory on Aboriginal Australia was completely ignored.

More recent attention to theories of population shows that 19th century evolutionary science accommodated a range of perspectives on the origins of Australian Aborigines and their likely destiny. There is evidence that environmentalism influenced early 19th century ethnographers' views on the condition of Aboriginal people, indicating that their supposed lack of sophistication and civilization was due to the inadequacies of their environment. Towards the end of the century the view that Aborigines were different in their 'natural' capacities and were remnants of an about-to-be extinct race became more prominent (Hindess, 2001: 103). Much of the focus of scientific attention was on the origins and significance of racial differences in Indigenous people as these might affect the future of the 'white race' in the new settlement in Australia. In the lead-up to World War 1, many scientists were convinced that Aborigines were the remnants of an earlier invasion which had either eliminated or absorbed the first inhabitants. This provided them with the groundwork

on which to speculate about the white race in the antipodes. Anderson (2002) observes that the doctors who were drawn to Aboriginal studies were more interested in discerning racial types and tracing human genealogies than recording the 'pathophysiological mechanism' that led to Aboriginal deaths after contact with the white invader. What was largely missing from the scope of scientific interest was the effects of governance practices on the health of Aboriginal peoples, so that rising morbidity and mortality rates among these populations often served to confirm Enlightenment presuppositions about inferior, 'doomed' races and the 'developmental story' of the Europeans.

The 'developmental story' in public discourse

We pick up the story in Queensland at the turn of the century, as the Anglican church reviews its mission work and its adaptation to colonial conditions, which covered the 'heathen races' of the Western Pacific and well as the aborigines of Australia and New Zealand: 'we are sure that, as the backs die out, and our treatment of them becomes only a memory, these and similar efforts by other Churches will stand out to our vision with increasingly happy relief against the dark historic background (*The Brisbane Courier*, 3/8/1900, p.4). The missionary effort, while ultimately unsuccessful in 'saving the race', had nevertheless strengthened and ennobled the British:

> It has been said that the British peoples in these Southern seas are of more consequence than all the native races put together. Be it so. The British peoples will strengthen and ennoble themselves by nothing so much as their unselfish toll for the

> child races cast upon their care. The materialism which would evade the 'white man's burden' is the crassest folly (ibid).

In Western Australia, the Roth Royal Commission Report findings received considerable newspaper attention. It seemed that the 'white man's burden' now focused on two main issues - the administration of justice and the prostitution of 'native women'. The first, except for 'one unsubstantiated charge of murder by a constable', focused on the practice of 'chaining natives by the neck' when they were held in custody. Substantial monetary allowances were paid to police for prisoners' upkeep 'accounting for the large numbers of Aborigines kept in police custody for as long as possible'. Roth reported: 'with regard to long sentences passed upon native prisoners, they are not considered beneficial. The blacks are far better in their uncivilized than semi-civilised state, and are a great deal of trouble after they come out of gaol' (*The Western Mail*, 4/2/1905, p.32). In the development story, native races like Australian Aborigines were viewed as 'child races', of less consequence that the British people, and should be left in their 'uncivilized' state.

Discussion of eugenics made its appearance in newspaper commentary early in the century, insisting on the need for public awareness of science as a way of improving the human species. The *Adelaide Advertiser* (12/3/1910, p.12) spoke of 'uncivilised as well as civilised peoples' using practices to safeguard against 'racial deterioration…underlying factors in the strange social organization of the aborigines of this continent with their totemic restrictions of what passes for marriage, and are also found in operation among peoples as dissimilar and distinct as Polyneasians and American Indians'. During the 1920s, Australian newspapers reflected a range of views on race, eugenics and civilisation while at the same

time affirming the terms in which these matters would be considered. For example, race was spoken about in terms of 'blood', as Director of the Queensland Museum Herbert Longman put it in 1927: 'The long record of civilization showed a succession of dominant peoples. The virile white Northern European or Nordic race probably owed much to an infusion of blood and culture from the Mediterranean, that remarkable centre of early progress'. Citing Havelock Ellis, 'a normal child was never yet born of two feeble-minded parents' (*The Queenslander*, 28/4/1927, p.18). The naturalist E H Pulleine explained at a lantern lecture to the Women's Non-Party Association in Adelaide in 1926 that the blood grouping of Aborigines was just the same as that of the European, 'and they were much nearer to us than the Chinese or Indians…the reason for their rapid extinction was the contact of a most civilized and the least civilized races' (*The Register* (Adelaide), 5/8/1926, p.13). At the 1926 Perth congress of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, F. Wood Jones claimed it was useless to try to administer Australia for the benefit of the aboriginal, as had been done in other lands 'since he was not capable of taking advantage of the civilising influences of Anglo-Saxon rule'. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 26/8/1926, p.10):

> Nevertheless there was a debt. They had doomed him to lingering and certain death, wherever they had come into prolonger contact with him. If the aboriginal had not thrived so well on religions dogmas, or on alcohol, cast-off garments, and venereal disease, as on the exercise of his own pursuits in his own hunting ground, the fault was his. He had misused blessings, or had been too low in the scale of humanity to take advantage of them (ibid).

Professor Wood's conclusions on the 'doom of the aboriginal' were based on the proposition that aboriginal man had been taught 'civilisation and Christianity' for long enough to show that

> white civilisation and continued existence were incompatible where the aboriginal was concerned. One generation of contact was enough to seal his fate… It was impossible that the aboriginal would ever live as a healthy, helpful race…the only way he could be saved was to establish properly organized and properly administered reserves (ibid).

The implication of all this was that core governmental programs for improving of the productiveness of the Australian native race such as education and healthcare would be fruitless and ineffectual.

A letter writer to the *Sydney Morning Herald* (26/4/1928, p.6) pointed to current Aboriginal protests against being ejected from the La Perouse reserve ('the apex of our greed') and the attempt by a union in Port Darwin to prohibit employment of Aborigines in mines and stations ('a severe commentary on the unions and their methods'). The writer observed that Australia supported sanctuaries for birds and animals – 'we have dogs homes, horses homes, cats homes, but no homes for aborigines – none that is secure':

> One is told that they are so inferior a race that they are not to be considered…And the plea that they are so inferior is but another proof of our arrogance. The Australian aborigine certainly lives and thinks on a different plane than do the white races. But that is not necessarily proof of inferiority. In their unspoiled state they have as high a

> code of honour as we have, and certainly keep it more strictly than do most white people (ibid).

In a similar vein, the *Brisbane Courier* ran a story titled 'Superiority Complex and the Colour Complex' (2/1/1929, p.21) in which the author Llewellyn Lucas described an epidemic of 'idealising the dark-skinned races…either it is a fashion for a mild humanitarianism – a patting of the clever dog on the head - or it is a significant surge showing a turn in the great racial tides'. Lucas recounted the 'terrible war over the negroes' in America which had 'spilled much "white" blood':

> there is perhaps no reason why the white race should maintain its supremacy, or why all the races might not in time merge, but the Australian aboriginal is surely a relic of the past, to be treated kindly and humanly, like a child, and protected from degenerate whites by law (ibid).

Conclusion

In the space of a century of attempts to govern Aboriginal families and children, population became an important object of knowledge. Science entered the room of governing, and was required to provide an impartial assessment of 'the Aboriginal Problem' and the scope of freedom and rights of that part of the population. The interpretations were contested, but nevertheless require us to take seriously the evidence of the governing actions of science itself as a definer of normal life, normal growing up, and also a corollary, the legal determinations of normal families and the limits of their freedoms and rights. Such an interpretation adds weight to arguments about the critical role of biopolitics, as distinct from

law, in furthering or limiting children and their families' participation in decisions about their upbringing.

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Conduct of conduct: bio-politics and Australian childhood

Abstract

This paper presents an overview of the rise of a bio-politics of governing families and children in Australia and its relations with liberal political reason. Drawing on Foucault's published lectures, it maps out the ways in which liberal governing seeks to define the nature and scope of norms and freedoms in a population through the practices of the human sciences. Bio-politics is shown to introduce new ways of calculating and intervening upon certain parts of the population and to create normalising relations with sovereign or judicial forms of governing.

Introduction

In this paper I wish to draw on the perspective of governing through freedom to look at aspects of governing problem children in Australia. Foucault's published lectures on *Security, Territory, Population* (2007) and *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008) map out the ways in which forms of liberal governing seek to define the nature and scope of freedoms in a population through the practices of the human sciences. Liberal political reason accepts that governing involved reflection on governing practices rather than simply asserting a power, or as Donzelot (2008:122) puts it, 'recognising that truth is told elsewhere than at the centre of the State'. By this he does not mean that the State disappears: the end of governmental reason is no longer the State and its wealth but society and its economic progress, and government no longer seeks to curb freedom but to regulate it towards these outcomes: 'there is no freedom that is not produced, that is not to be constructed, and this construction takes place through interventions by the State, not by its disengagement' (ibid). Importantly, governing takes a pulse from the production of objects of knowledge in the human sciences, including knowledge of population through the production of statistics (the 'science of state'), the making up of categories of persons, and the knowledge produced in technologies of administration that are applied to those parts of the population needing to be managed (Hacking, 1983).

Knowing neglected and criminal

In the case of children the problem was one of how to govern such an important area of life, on such an extensive scale. The rationalities of governing taking form in the following half-century of maturation of children services and public policy favoured family intervention and monitoring, this to

the point where in 2003 one in five children born in Victoria in 2003 would be notified for suspected child abuse or neglect during their childhood or adolescence (Victorian Department of Human Services, 2003: vi). One in four children in Queensland are now 'known to children's services'. (Source).

The answer can be looked for in the kind of governance arrangements set in place which, while seeming to fail to relieve poverty and health issues, nevertheless did achieve some success in developing a system of knowledge production of poor families and children. It established a governance relation and mapped out a domain of population in the same moment. A rationality of 'securitisation of populations' may not of itself produce poverty relief and a reduction of family violence, but it built a grid for assessing the 'habits and mode of living', as the first legislation for a children's court described it (Victoria, 1906), of that part of the population whose performance in a range of life circumstances might be regarded as problematic. Governing agencies set about reforming their approaches to problem populations in response to the failure of earlier policies of policing and institutional placement. The Victorian Neglected and Criminal Children's Act (1864) established barrack-style institutions for both categories of children but the Industrial Schools quickly filled with poor children (Jaggs, 1986). They also failed to promote the 'family principle' of providing a 'patriarchal, homely, and affectionate' environment (Victoria, 1872).

Policing reformed the practice of identifying the 'habitual criminal', through improved detection such as photography and finger-printing, but also through the tracking of parents and children that also reformed the methods of parents maintenance payments. An important relay from the 1890s was the children's depot (a clearing house for the neglected and offending child) used to observe children before they were relocated. After the depot, it was 'habit', 'habitual', or alternatively what we could describe as 'habitus' that came under the gaze of the agencies and was its object of knowledge. I argue (McCallum, 2007) that this 'coercive normalisation' with the children's courts from the early 1900s, and their auxiliary in the children's court clinics in Victoria after 1947, extended that gaze through linkages between courts and police, and charity workers and probation officers, and the newly found psychological expertise, expanding the number of families and children under various kinds of supervision. However, the carving out of each element of this domain of the 'conduct of conduct' was accompanied by the threat of prison (ibid: 118).

There are already plenty studies which show evidence of a pattern of relations that seem to correspond to the notion of 'conduct of conduct' explored by Foucault in his *Security, Territory, Population* lectures (2007), in which he takes philosophical advantage of the two meanings of the concept of conduct:

> Conduct is the activity of conducting (*conduire*), of conduction (*la conduction*) if you like, but it is equally the way in which one conducts oneself (*se conduit*), lets oneself be

> conducted (*se laisse conduire*) and finally, in which one behaves (*se comporter*) under the influence of a conduct as the action of conducting or of conduction (*conduction*) (ibid: 193).

Although Foucault has attracted most attention in these parts of his lectures to the rise of studies of governmentality, it is also clear that his immediate move to 'revolts of conduct' and the concept of counter-conduct provides a rich source of enquiry into power relations that previously was less valued (Davidson, 2011:25). To govern an individual or group is 'to act on the possibilities of action of other individuals', or 'to structure the possible fields of actions of others', which presupposes that power acts on a certain field of possibilities. Foucault's work on power and freedom is highly suggestive about how we go about theorising the governing '…of children, or souls, of communities, of families, of the sick', of anything, and has to do with necessary relations between the how power works and the practice of freedom: '(p)ower is exercised only over free subjects and only insofar as they are "free"' (Foucault, 1994: 341-2). It is not so much a face-to-face confrontation of power and freedom but a much more complicated interplay, in that freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power. Where there is no freedom there is no relationship of power. So, for example, slavery is not a power relationship but a physical relationship of constraint.

Over such a broad historical canvas, it is not possible to provide detailed evidence here of the minutiae of relations of power that are invested in the family/child/government nexus. However, one such historical example of the specificity of powers relations examined as conduct of conduct, and of the necessary relations between power and freedom, is provided in early 20th century attempts in Australia to govern the habitual criminal through indeterminate sentencing, a system which in turn devolved as a method for assessing child criminality. Modelled on the provisions of the UK Prison Act (1898) and the Prevention of Crime Act (1908), this began as a program for adult prisoners heralded in the Royal Commission into Victoria Police in 1906, as an economical method of keeping trace of the habitual criminal. Locating these offenders was an inefficient use of police resources, dependent on photographic and physical measures of offenders stored in the central police files. The Chief Commissioner of Police laid out a classificatory system whereby it was possible to recognize the habitual criminal in quantifiable terms: 'on his third conviction, you would have fair evidence that he is going to live a life of crime' (Victoria, 1906; para 1253). It offered a program of reform in which the criminal came to know, keep trace, and act on his own habit: 'so a man knowing the system as he would from having it put before him while in gaol, and knowing that he was determining his own fate, would naturally get out of the more serious class, and go down to the other' (Victoria, 1906: para. 1253). The chief of prisons lauded the economy of indeterminate sentencing as it had the effect of 'creating the desire on the part of those who may be affected by its provisions to go beyond it reach' (Victoria, 1906b). Adult prisoners given an indeterminate sentence were held at the Governor's pleasure, while children could be detained until the age of 18, at which point they could be transferred to an adult prison.

Children and 'counter-conduct'

But what of 'counter-conduct', a theoretical variant of the concept of resistance? Foucault describes counter-conduct as 'struggle against the procedures implemented for conducting others', and a term quite different from 'misconduct' or the actions of a 'dissident' (Foucault, 2007). Counter-conduct enters power relations as a relation of force, in any social configuration, pattern of behaviour, bodily gesture, a certain attitude, a way of life (Davidson, 2011: 29). Based on analysis of anti-pastoral communities in the Middle Ages, Foucault draws out both political and ethical components of counter-conduct – resistance to the need for a shepherd in organised religion, and also 'a whole new attitude', way of doing things and attitude' 'a whole new way of relating to ... civil life'. Davidson emphasises Foucault's remarks on what makes homosexuality, for some at least, so disturbing – the homosexual 'way of life' being much more than just a sexual act, that puts into play 'relations in the absence of codes or established lines of conduct', 'affective intensities', 'forms that change' (ibid: 33).

A demonstration of the case for counter-conduct caught in specific power relations might be found in Carrington's (1993) ground-breaking study of the social processes that criminalise children, particularly girls and Aborigines, once these children enter the welfare and justice systems. According to Carrington (1993:111), most conduct that ends up in the Children's Court is in vital respects no different from that observed outside the legal system. They are behaviours routinely managed by teachers and parents without recourse to the law: truanting, parental defiance, shop-lifting, sexual promiscuity, fare evasion and 'offensive behaviour'. But in the specific context of the welfare and justice systems, a complex web of governmental technologies ostensibly to save children from 'bad families' produced what Carrington called a 'delinquency manufacturing process' (ibid:1). Court proceedings shift quickly from considering the nature of the offence to the nature of the child. Even in the small number of contested cases, judgments about what to do with the child slide between strictly legal considerations and the 'manner, character and family' of the child. Conduct, or more specifically counter-conduct - ' a pattern of behaviour, bodily gesture, a certain attitude, a way of life' - rather than events described in law, are drawn into relations of force and enjoined in struggle.

Thus, girls appearing in court on welfare matters were more likely to receive a custodial sentence than those appearing on criminal offences. Sentencing was based on the logic of 'preventative intervention' rather than judicial logic. 'Deficit discourses' were utilized in the identification of pre-delinquency, and such a classification seemed to be sufficient to justify the committal of welfare cases to institutions. 'Deficiencies' were held to be located in the individual children or their families, so that children and families were held responsible for school failure. Cultural differences and marginality were criminalized, and family poverty translated into family pathology. Because

pathologies are calculated in these discourses as 'deviations from the specificity of the norm', they have an intense criminalizing effect on social marginality. Reports presented to the Court show the use of a range of deficit discourses – moral, psychological, social – in coming to an assessment about individual girls studied in the survey. They then had practical effects on the way children were chosen, placed and punished by juvenile justice and child welfare authorities alike (ibid:127).

Similarly, in child protection in the UK, Parton (1991) shows that in the 'grey areas' outside of the gaze of the court, where the work is done on sifting out children and families at 'high risk', disciplinary mechanisms became central and defined the day-to-day practice of child services. High risk is a description of the 'habit', 'habitual' and 'habitus' of children under the newly implemented risk management strategies. Parton's study deals with a politics of these knowledges and the problem of the professional groups surrounding them in the UK at the height of the New Right agenda in the late 1970s and 1980s, where the notion of dangerousness became the yardstick for allocating scarce government resources (ibid:203). From this period, rather than being simply one of a range of children's services, child protection became the main priority of social work. In Australia, it was during this period that medicine relinquished its grip on specialist knowledge of family life, passing the baton to professional social work. Child protection in the UK became embroiled in these politics, and policy shifted towards establishing a clear demarcation between a care system and a voluntary system of children's services for children in need. This policy direction was adopted later in Australia, with new legislation from 2005 introduced in both Victoria and New South Wales (Victorian Department of Human Services, 2002; New South Wales, 2008).

The spaces described in Carrington's and Parton's research could be seen as elements of a genealogy of a space in the late 19th century called the 'children's depot'. The spaces allow a gaze onto the child that was to determine the 'disposal' of the child - industrial school or reformatory school, 'boarding out' (out of home care) or residential care, or prison (juvenile justice facility). The object of knowledge was 'habits and mode of living' which for the purposes of this paper I have chosen to adopt the term conduct: 'dispositions, attributes, capacities, habit, bearing, comportment, manners, gesture' (McFall, Du Gay and Carter, 2008).

Conclusion

In the space of a century of attempts to govern families and children, population became an important object of knowledge. Science entered the room of governing, and was required to provide an impartial assessment of children broadly on a scale of 'normality'. One interpretation of these historical events is to take seriously the challenges to social work and its knowledge of populations as instances of counter-conduct – as a refusal of the ways in which conduct of individuals and populations would be governed. This interpretation would need to also take seriously evidence of the governing actions of science itself as the determinant of normal life, normal growing up, and also a corollary, the

functioning of science in legal determinations of normal families. Such an interpretation adds weight to arguments about the critical role of bio-politics, as distinct from sovereign power and civil rights, in furthering or limiting children and their families' participation in decisions about their upbringing.

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Legitimating the Fight against Drugs in Sport: The Australian Government and the Australian Football League

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Abstract:

Sport is often presented as a valuable social institution important for community wellbeing and athletes as positive role models for youth while use of performance-enhancing drugs (PEDs) is constructed as a danger that threatens sport. Less well considered are the relationships *between* dominant groups and the impact these have on the anti-doping debate. I consider whether a Weberian-inspired consideration of legitimacy applied to the anti-doping debate brings organisational power relationships between elite sports governing bodies into the analysis. Underpinning this discussion is the claim that legitimacy is multi-dimensional and includes the subjective component of the social audience influenced by organisational responses to particular issues or events (Pakulski 1986; Suchman 1995). This also highlights the dynamic social context in which social problems, such as doping, take place. I explore legitimacy in the debate around anti-doping policy between the Australian Federal government and the Australian Football League (AFL).

Keywords:Legitimacy, Weber, Australian Football League, anti-doping, policy

Introduction

Weber (1969) noted the interconnected nature of legitimacy and moral authority in the organisation of modern social life. He stressed the importance of legitimacy for legally formed and procedurally regulated types of authority characteristic of modern societies (Weber 1969). Any system of authority aiming to maintain social order requires that members of the community perceive claims to legitimacy to be valid. In other words, legitimacy refers to the extent to which an organisation is seen to be 'duly constituted and to have valid authority in a relevant area' (Donovan et al. 2002:276). Belief in the validity of claims is important as it confirms the authority of claim-makers to determine and control behaviour that is appropriate for the particular community concerned. However, the diversity of stakeholders in modern life, including in sport, means that there are different notions of how legitimacy operates in particular communities. As Pakulski (1986:37) points out, legitimacy is a dynamic analytical concept that is not necessarily clear or easily applied:

> Legitimacy appears to be relative, gradational, dynamic and 'multi-dimensional.' The same rulers may be accepted as legitimate by some, and rejected as usurpers by others … Bases of legitimacy may change and they may be analysed on such 'dimensions' as credibility, prestige and deference and in such aspects as economic decisions, political activities, propaganda, etc.

In modern democratic political systems, legitimacy includes a subjective component influenced by the quality of governance and delivery of expected outcomes (Connor 2009; Pierre and Røiseland 2011). Modern sport governance, with elite groups such as FIFA and the IOC enjoying monopoly positions with their legitimacy rarely questioned, complicates the development of a legitimacy based explanatory model (Connor and Kirby 2011). Nevertheless, sports governing bodies (SGBs) must also address the subjective or 'Janus faced' nature of legitimacy 'in that it must be both asked for and received (or denied)' (Connor and Kirby 2011:8). Bette and Schimank (2001:52-3) suggest that in the commercial context of modern sport, continued doping scandals carry the potential to give elite sports a 'bad reputation':

> … without the interest of the audience, neither mass media nor economic or political sponsors are interested in elite sports … For them, only the interest of the public is of importance which manifests itself as viewing figures, circulations, publicity value etc. *[sic]*. It is these environmental actors and the audience who pays to get into the stadiums where the money comes from. Sport associations need these resources to reproduce themselves and to grow … the doping problem could result in a crisis of legitimacy which seriously harms elite sports and its associations.

There is currently little evidence to suggest that audiences are turning away from sport due to continued doping scandals. Nevertheless, to ensure continued commercial gains from audience support, not to mention perceptions of organisational legitimacy, SGBs actively demonstrate a commitment to anti-doping. The growth in the number of sporting 'choices' also means that maintaining the image of sport as drug-free is increasingly important for SGBs to build participation rates and develop their sport.

This paper explores contested claims to organisational legitimacy using the tension between the Australian Federal government and the Australian Football League (AFL) over policy approaches to drugs in sport. This reflects the complex nature of modern sport, which is constituted by a range of stakeholders that bring with them diverse interests with not all sharing the same attitudes or objectives towards the regulation of performance-enhancing drug (PED) use (see Kidd et al. 2001). This paper focuses on the Australian government 1999 Tough on Drugs in Sport (TODIS) policy and the 2001 Backing Australia's Sporting Ability a *More* Active Australia (BASA) (Commonwealth of Australia 2001a; Department of Industry Science and Resources 1999a; 1999b). The AFL policy discussed is the *Illicit Drugs Policy 2005* (IDP 2005) (Stewart et al. 2008). Although the Australian government and the AFL implemented anti-doping policies much earlier (see Australian Football League Players Association 2008; Buti and Fridman 2001; Green 2007; Stewart et al. 2004; Stewart et al. 2005), the policies discussed in this paper are used to illustrate the contested nature of claims to legitimacy.

Legitimating the Fight - Anti-Doping Policy in Australia

In 1999, in the wake of the 1998 Tour de France doping scandal, the Australian Federal government introduced the Tough on Drugs in Sport (TODIS) policy. The TODIS took a 'zero tolerance' approach to doping and strengthened the existing requirement that national sporting organisations implement IOC-aligned anti-doping policies to access Federal funding (Australian Sports Commission 1999; Stewart 2006; 2007; Stewart et al. 2004).This policy also reflected the government's zero tolerance to illicit drug use in the community under the 1997 'Tough on Drugs' policy (AAP 2006; Howard n/d). Significantly, the timing of the 1999 launch of TODIS was directly concerned with ensuring that no drug scandals would

tarnish Australia's reputation as a leader in anti-doping at the 2000 Sydney Olympics (Department of Industry Science and Resources 1999a).

As the first Olympics after the creation of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), the 2000 Sydney Olympics took place during a time of heightened public and regulatory attention to performance-enhancing drugs(PEDs). By taking a proactive stance under the TODIS policy, the government exploited an opportunity to 'push a strong "tough on drugs in sport" agenda' and promote Australia as a world-leader in anti-doping (Department of Industry Science and Resources 1999a; see also Hanstad and Loland 2009). The Australian Federal government also claimed to be the legitimate representative of community expectations for 'Australia to be seen as an achiever' in sport (Australian Sports Commission 1999:8). Further illustrating the political dimension of the doping debate, the Australian government linked 'clean' sport to Australia's national identity and values such as 'mateship' and an egalitarian tradition of a 'fair go' (Australian Sports Commission 1999; Booth 1995; Lenskyj 1999; McKay 1986:347; McKay and Roderick 2010; Stewart et al. 2004:9; Stoddart 1986:71). However, positioning Australia as a 'clean' sporting nation supporting the ideals of a 'level playing field' meant balancing marketing of their efforts as leaders in sports technology while downplaying any reliance on 'technologies to enhance bodily performance' (Magdalinski 2000:307). This required the Australian government to take a strong anti-doping stance.

Maintaining Australia's reputation as a world leader against doping also had an economic dimension based on the significant contribution of sport to the Australian economy. With the government committed to 'assisting the sport and leisure industry reach its export target of $1.3 billion a year by 2006,' keeping sport drug-free was important (Australian Sports Commission 1999; Commonwealth of Australia 2001b:iii, v). Central to this process was the 2001 Backing Australia's Sporting Ability a *More* Active Australia (BASA) policy. That policy linked Australia's continued sporting success to a 'thriving sport and leisure industry' and included working with sporting organisations to 'escalate the fight against drug cheats' (Commonwealth of Australia 2001a:1-10).

The BASA policy also encouraged participation in organised club sports, particularly '… at the grass roots level … where sporting groups are often a vital factor in the cohesion of local communities' (Commonwealth of Australia 2001a:1; Stewart et al. 2004). This increased participation was underpinned by a concern to maintain Australia's status as a successful sporting nation (Stewart et al. 2004). As the BASA policy states: 'The objective of our policy is twofold - to assist our best athletes to continue to reach new peaks of excellence and to increase the pool of talent from which world champions will emerge' (Commonwealth of Australia 2001a; see also Toohey 2010). The BASA policy stressed the government's zero tolerance approach to drugs and its commitment to WADA (Commonwealth of Australia 2001a). Emphasising this stance, in 2004 the Australian Federal government supported the World Anti-Doping Code (WADC) and agreed that both illicit and PEDs were cheating, against the spirit of sport and damaging to athletes' health (Stewart 2007). The Australian government's policy responses to PEDs highlight that structural factors, including political imperatives, are part of the wider doping debate. For the AFL, there were significant implications flowing from the government's approach and support for WADA.

The AFL had recognised the implications for their legitimacy based on the potential for PEDs to negatively affect the code's image and appeal (Stewart et al. 2008). Consequently, they instituted an Anti-Doping Code (ADC) in 1990 well before the establishment of WADA

(Stewart et al. 2005), and resisted implementation of a WADC-aligned anti-doping approach. The AFL argued that as WADA was created with a focus on countering drug-taking in Olympic sports it was better suited for sports other than Australian football, which was not an Olympic sport (Demetriou 2005a). In contrast to reports that professional and Olympic athletes were testing positive for PEDs (see Stewart 2007), the AFL at this time successfully kept the appearance of Australian football as PED-free. A 'clean' image was important as the AFL pursued a commercial agenda, expanding into a 16-team national competition, raising match attendances and increasing broadcasting rights (Andrews 2000; Nicholson 2006; Pascoe 1997).

However, and illustrating how broader structural factors impact on the debate over doping, faced with the possible loss of government funding in 2005 the AFL agreed to become WADC-compliant for PEDs (ABC Sport 2005; Demetriou 2005b; Horvath 2006). Although the AFL is not an international or Olympic sport, the government linked the AFL's WADC-compliance to Australia's international reputation as a leader in anti-doping. As the Minister for Arts and Sport, Senator Kemp (2005), stated:

> The AFL now joins all major sporting codes in Australia in becoming WADA code compliant. Australia has been acknowledged as world leaders in fighting drugs in sport and will continue to pursue a sporting environment in which athletes are able to compete fairly.

Although reluctant to recognise WADA's authority to regulate Australian football for PEDs, the AFL publicly supported the principles underpinning WADA's framework that PEDs were unfair and unethical and supported the government's zero tolerance of illicit drug use in sport (Demetriou 2005a; Horvath 2006; Niall 2004). The primary area of disagreement between the AFL and the Australian government surrounded the AFL's sanctions for illicit drug use.

Illicit drug use had been highlighted as an issue in Australian football in 2004 when two Carlton Football Club players attended training under the influence of recreational drugs[1](ABC Premium News 2004). The AFL recognised that addressing criticism of their anti-drugs regulations was essential for perceptions of their legitimacy and, in 2005, introduced the *Illicit Drugs Policy 2005* (IDP 2005). The IDP 2005 operated in conjunction with the existing ADC and dealt specifically with illicit drug use (Davies 2005; Stevens et al. 2004). The policy emphasised player anonymity, the education of players and 'the public at large in relation to the dangers of Illicit Drugs' to 'set a positive example for young athletes and others in the community' (AFL 2007:3). It also involved rehabilitation, counselling and what came to be described as the 'three strike' ruling (Gleeson 2006; Horvath 2006; Smith 2006).

Under the IDP 2005, a first offence required private counselling, a second offence meant attendance at a rehabilitation program, while a third offence resulted in club notification, referral to a disciplinary tribunal and possible suspension.The AFL maintained a strong anti-PED approach with sanctions remaining at a two-year suspension for a first offence and a life-time suspension for a second offence (Stewart 2006). In contrast, WADA takes a punitive public naming and shaming approach and applies the same penalty to illicit and PED use, underpinned by the view that illicit drugs are equally contrary to what is 'intrinsically valuable about sport' (Horvath 2006; Stewart 2006). According to the AFL's medical officers, after the introduction of the IDP 2005 there had been a 'significant fall in cannabis detection and … none in the match-day testing' (cited in Demetriou 2005b:6). From the

perspective of the AFL, these results suggested success in keeping Australian football drug free, bolstering perceptions of their legitimacy.

Illustrating the contested nature of claims to legitimacy, the Australian government and WADA argued that the IDP 2005 represented a 'flawed policy … and testing protocol' that failed to detect 'doping cheats' (Stewart et al. 2008:69). Of particular concern for the government and WADA was that the 'three strikes and you-may-be-out policy doesn't send the right messages' of the dangers of illicit drug use to the community (AAP 2007a; AAP 2007b; Wilson 2006). For example, WADA's Director General David Howman complained:

> Three strikes before you're out? That's like a wet bus ticket for the first (offence) and two wet bus tickets for the second … They just need to be a little bit more transparent and more aggressive in ensuring the players, who are well respected in this country, continue to be role models (in AP 2007).

Government criticism of the IDP 2005 included claims that the AFL's sanctions and reporting arrangements were 'out of touch with community expectations' and that 'athletes have a responsibility as role models' (Magnay 2006; Masters 2007). The AFL's anti-drug policy aimed to reduce rather than eliminate drug use while the government message was that drug use required a stronger punitive approach. Emphasising 'zero tolerance' under the TODIS policy (Australian Government 2007), the government challenged the legitimacy of the AFL and put pressure on them to 'show leadership on this issue' (Magnay 2006). Nevertheless, the AFL remained determined to enforce their authority to govern the Australian football community:

> We believe it is our right to create rules and regulations … for the good of our competition, while being keenly aware of our social responsibilities and our responsibilities to our players; and not just players at the AFL level, but players at all levels (Demetriou 2005a:7).

These comments reveal how this debate is concerned with issues of governance and control. The AFL presented their right to authority in terms of a concern with player welfare, which is a central part of their claim to legitimacy under the IDP 2005. They that stressed their inclusive approach to drug use in sport did not simply focus on elite competition but incorporated all levels of the Australian football community. In other words, the AFL argued that they were concerned with building healthy communities, an element that was central to the Australian Federal government approach to sport policy.

Perceptions of legitimacy rest on an organisation's demonstrated ability to meet and support community expectations (Habermas 1976). For the AFL, this included a regulatory framework of rational-legal rules that meet and support community expectations (Weber 1969), such as that drug use in sport is unacceptable while also safeguarding athlete welfare. However, these rules are under constant challenge from other authorities, such as the Australian Federal government, demanding their own rules are applied.

Conclusion

The debate over policy approaches to drug use in Australian football illustrates how issues of governance and control based on particular regulatory frameworks influence claims to

legitimacy. For the Australian government, claims to legitimacy around anti-doping consisted of the TODIS policy, which reflected a 'Tough on Drugs' law and order approach, and the BASA policy aimed at building participation rates in organised sport and identifying future elite athletes (Green and Houlihan 2006). The Australian Federal government focused on maintaining their status as a world leader in anti-doping andused WADA-aligned policies, such as the TODIS policy, to frame the AFL's anti-drugs in sport approach as flawed.Clean sport was linked to national identity, strong national economic growth as well as community cohesion and healthy lifestyles. The Australian government argued that the AFL's approach to drugs in sport undermined this message and had the potential to damage Australia's international reputation as a leader in anti-doping.Along with other stakeholders, the Australian government challenged the AFL's legitimacy based on claims that their regulatory framework failed to deal effectively with the problem of drug use in the Australian football community.

For the AFL, claims to legitimacy were underpinned by recognition that instances of PED use had implications for levels of community support, participation rates and development of the code. Accordingly, codes of conduct including the ADC were implemented to protect the image and appeal of Australian football. The AFL also responded to instances of illicit drug use by introducing, refining and strengthening an illicit drugs policy. This was important for perceptions of its legitimacy, which required regulatory mechanisms that meet and support community expectations over acceptable behaviour. These include identifying and sanctioning deviance such as use of prohibited substances (Ericson et al. 1991; Habermas 1976; Wuthnow et al. 1984). However, in contrast to the Australian Federal government and WADA the AFL viewed illicit drug use as a social issue requiring counselling and education rather than heavy sanctions.

The interactions between the AFL and the Australian government, particularly in relation to the issue of illicit drug use in sport, reveal the wider political dimensions of the anti-doping debate. Implicitly this contestation involved power relationships between organisational actors as they seek to secure and maintain the legitimacy to regulate and control sport. This discussion also highlights that claims to legitimacy do not go uncontested as elite groups manipulate the doping debate to meet outcomes relevant to their sporting community.

Footnotes

1. The only two players to appear before the AFL Tribunal for PED use were Justin Charles (1997) and Alastair Lynch (1998) (Lane 2006). Other instances of banned substance use were IlijaGrgic (1997) (Linnell 1997; Stewart et al. 2008), another player whose identity 'remained a mystery' (Johnson 1997; Murphy 1997) and Steven Koops (1999) (Stewart et al. 2008). Illicit drug use emerged as an issue in the AFL when Nick Stone (2000) tested positive to speed and ecstasy. Stone was the first player held accountable for illicit drug use under the ADC, which did not at that time include sanctions for illicit drugs (Stewart et al. 2008).

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It's in the Blood: Negotiations of the Australian Rugby 'Field' by Pacific Islanders

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Abstract

In the past decade, government at all levels has attempted to utilise sport as a vehicle for achieving a range of social ends including improved public health, intervention for 'at risk' youth, and inclusion and integration of various migrant groups. A key premise behind the belief in the power of sport is its capacity to create social capital for those who play it. Pacific Island and Maori men are grossly over-represented at most levels of rugby in Australia suggesting the sport's enormous success at achieving its aforementioned aims. Drawing on life histories, this paper investigates the stories of these migrant men and their experiences of rugby union in Australia. Specifically we examine how they account for their own and other Pacific Islanders' involvement and success. We find that the central theme of 'blood' is variously utilised either in terms of biological determinism or cultural history to make sense of Pacific Islanders' performance in rugby. As bodies inscribed from a variety of contexts, we suggest that rugby reproduces a relatively narrow and short term species of capital from the perspective of Australian society whilst simultaneously producing more enduring power and identity within the field of Pacific Island diaspora. When performance in sport is underpinned by a bio-racist logic and specific cultural history the overwhelming commonsense that ensues is experienced at an embodied level.

Keywords: Pacific Islanders, rugby, blood, capital, the 'natural'

Pacific Islanders and Sport

Over the past decade local, state and federal governments have increasingly turned to sport as a strategy for achieving a range of goals including increased public health, community development and cohesion, and intervention into 'at risk' groups (for example; The National Action Plan to build on social cohesion, harmony and security 2007; Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage Key Indicators 2009; Victoria's Multicultural Policy 2010; Australia's Multicultural Policy 2010). Whilst one should not necessarily be surprised in strength of the belief in the social and multicultural capacity of sport, it is a position that has little empirical

evidence to back it up (Hoye & Nicholson 2009; Spaaji 2009). The central premise in the capacity of sport to affect social change is grounded in the belief that the egalitarian level playing field of competition is a site for individuals to develop and accrue valued forms of social and symbolic capital. Presumably this species of capital holds its value or is transferrable in other social fields and hence the physical ability to 'play the game' is recognized and appreciated outside of the game (Bourdieu 1998).

Based on the logic of sport as a vehicle for achieving the goals of Australian multiculturalism, the massive overrepresentation of Pacific Islander and Maori men in the professional rugby codes decries the success of such logic. Considering that less than 1% of the Australian population identify as having Pacific Islander or Maori ancestry (Census 2006) the fact that approximately 28% of NRL and 31% of Super 15 players are from this ancestry is, on the surface, cause for celebration. However we would be cautious to accept such 'skewed success in sport' as an unproblematic victory for 21st century Australian multiculturalism (Grainger 2008; Hokowhitu 2004). Similarly with research into the over-representation of indigenous Australians in the NRL and Australian football (see for example Coram 2007; Hallinan 1991; Hallinan et al. 1999), the representations of players 'of colour' buttress the 'dominant meta-narrative' of 'White Multiculturalism' (Hage 2000). Pacific Islanders fit into 'white multiculturalism because they fulfill the reductionist expectations of 'white' biological discourse; the Pacific 'other' or a 'Pacific exotica of the friendly savage, the native entertainer, the physically gifted athlete and/or body' (Grainger 2006: 53).

Building on Besnier's (2012) observations of how the movement of athletes across national boundaries' has local effects on how these athletes are viewed, we would suggest that this 'view' can be more broadly applied to other migrants who share the same ethnicity. The implication of the reductionist view of majority ethnicity means that one need not be an elite athlete to fall into similar expectations of performance and behaviour. As a result many Pacific Islander and Maori boys and men focus (and are focused by others – consider for example the emphasis on physical education and sport in schools for Pacific Islanders and Maori (Hokowhitu 2004a)) on rugby and the development of a body for rugby.

The ongoing investment in bodily projects such as rugby indicates the players' 'prolonged immersion' in the field, not only to the skills and bodily mastery required from the game, but as Wacquant (1995: 88) notes, to its specific doxa which creates an 'unconscious fit' between the rugby habitus and the field that produced such habitus. The central interest of this paper is to consider what leads agents to so heavily invest in 'body work' such as rugby (Wacquant 1995: 73).

Stories about Rugby

The interviewees in this paper were initially recruited based on snowballing techniques from the larger ethnographic project. The fourteen men interviewed were either current or retired rugby players between the ages of 22 and 37. These men identified themselves as being Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islander, or Maori. All had been born in New Zealand or one of the Pacific Islands and had subsequently migrated to Australia as children or young adults. Whilst some had played

at national representative level, all were recruited based on their involvement with club rugby in Melbourne.

The interviews utilised a life histories approach and focused particularly on the participants' experiences of rugby. Through talking about their rugby history it was clear how the sport had been and still was a central part of their life and their identity. Each interview lasted between 60 to 90 minutes and was then transcribed, de-identified and coded for themes. A variety of themes arising from the interviews revolved around education, employment, migration, injury, racism, and family. In each case the centrality of rugby to these themes is indicative of deeply embodied subjectivities. These themes were then interrogated further for axial codes. This paper will discuss one of these codes; that of blood.

Bloodlines

Brendan Hokowhitu (2003: 22) argues that the Pacific Island and Maori athlete is 'depicted as a neo-racist representation because it is an optimistic portrayal of empowerment that ironically serves to further limit people of colour to their embodied physicality and limited intelligence'. The key premise to Hokowhitu's argument is the acceptance within societies such as New Zealand and Australia of an understanding of physical performance based on a form of bio-racism; that is that these athletes are successful based on their 'genetically advantaged bodies' (see also Rodriguez 2010). In keeping with this 'common-sense' understanding of 'race' and performance and its corresponding discourse (St Louis 2003, 2004), is the collective acceptance and consent to such logic (see for example Adair and Stronach 2011). The implication of genetic predisposition logic is particularly salient in activities of the body, especially as structure is onto the body and 'it is through the body that agents experience and generate structure' (Besnier 2012: 492). The rugby body is never just a rugby body, rather it is a far more complex entity based on the contexts within which it is embedded. Social class, age, gender, and especially in this case ethnicity, produce overlapping and blurred social fields within which the agent 'plays the game' (Besnier 2012).

There can be little doubt that for our interviewees' rugby plays a major role in their lives especially in relation to their identity and their role in community. Rugby was consistently positioned after family (and sometimes religion) as a central part of their lives. During the course of these discussions on rugby, our interviewees were given an opportunity to consider their own, and Pacific Islanders, success in rugby. Nearly all our respondents explained the involvement and success of Pacific Islanders in rugby based on some form of relationship to 'blood'. The first form of which relates directly to genetic predisposition, for example:

> 'I didn't like rugby at all whatsoever, until genetics kicked in about the age of 15 – that's when I started to play rugby' (Bill).
>
> 'I think genetics wise, it's just more suited to an Islander sort of body shape, because we're all big boned, we're explosive off the mark, we can take impact and you know, got hard heads. So it's probably more suited, that's why I think they're natural talents, because their bodies are suited to the sport. Where you've got your normal European kid

> is a bit smaller, has to work harder, like has to go to gym hard and that sort of stuff to build the body mass to equal these (Pacific Islander) blokes' (Michael).
>
> 'Samoans have that natural ability for sports and things like that, physically we mature a lot earlier than most other nationalities' (William).
>
> 'It's definitely in the blood for Pacific Islanders, this sport is definitely in the blood of Pacific Islanders. I think that's why I struggle with footy (AFL), because we've got – and it's been proven in some studies that we've done that we have a larger makeup of fast twitch fibres, which allows us to sprint faster, be stronger, on short distances, versus running long distances, we just burn out too easily. So structurally this game suits us better' (Malcolm).

These responses tie directly into the most basic form of commonsense; the natural. Rugby is 'in the blood' in a way that infers an inevitability of performance, and is justified via spurious racial science (St Louis 2003, 2004). Further such advantageous genetics suggest that the rugby pathway is easier for Pacific Islanders than for the 'normal European kid', inadvertently reproducing the physical/cognitive dichotomy central to much of the commonsense logic of race. The next use of 'blood' draws on an environmentalist perspective, combining history and culture as justification for rugby prowess (Hokowhitu 2003).

> 'It's built into our bloodstream now. If you go back to New Zealand's history as well, a lot of Samoans were brought over for pure labour, labour work, because it was cheaper and because they were good at physical labour. Here in Australia now you look on the roads and stuff like that – a lot of those island boys work in construction and stuff like that, because that's just built into our blood, into our family, into our community, like the hard work, stuff like that' (Sam).
>
> 'we're so gifted in sport. It's a God-given gift. Any sport and we pick it up and we excel at it. But rugby is like – It's second religion in our country. Man, it's our ticket out. It's our meal ticket, because all of us, you know, we love the physical stuff and rugby is like, it sort of shows your manhood. That's how the majority of the Islanders play it. Like you see a lot of kids on the street - you know, the first year into rugby they could be 17, 18 and they'll make the rep sides, because it's just, it's just built in us; it's a God-given talent' (Mark).

In both cases here blood stands to signify histories of manual labour, masculinity, and social mobility (meal ticket). The concept of 'blood' is something deep inside the body, that cannot be denied and that is inescapable. The following use of 'blood' points to players longevity and continued investment in the sport.

> 'Once you are a rugby player, it's very hard to separate it, you know. Because my wife didn't want me to go back to rugby but it's very, very hard. It's in your blood. It's very, very hard when you have been given the talent and when you look at these – there's some very good players coming up, but you know, not too many resources out there' (Tim).

> 'When I came here I was just trying to stay away from rugby, but once in your blood it's a very hard thing to let go. I'm trying hard to keep it all out, and go play golf. Honest…but even though I'm that old I'm still running around and I'm still trying to beat against the young boys – you know, we still enjoy it and rugby is in my blood, so I just can't stay away from it' (Bill).

'Blood' creates bonds that tie the individual to a greater sense of obligation to other members of the Pacific Island community. 'Blood' suggests not only sacrifice but also a form of addiction, something that cannot be escaped nor denied.

Blood Capital

Blood is a species of symbolic capital that can and is employed across the social field of rugby. However the multiple contexts of rugby affect the volume and structure of this capital as agents negotiate the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Rugby (whether grass roots or elite), as a social field within the context of multicultural Australia, recognizes the symbolic capital embedded in the bodies of Pacific Islanders and values it highly. To maximise his chances in the game the player invests himself to the point whereby structure is onto, and agency is through, the body (Besnier 2012). The 'natural' is anything but this, however the structuring logic of 'blood' obscures the reality of bodily investment and labour, hard work and perseverance (species of symbolic capital in themselves), and therefore endures only so long as the body is 'playing the game'. Pacific Islanders do not enjoy the same trajectories as their Anglo-Australian counterparts at the end of their playing career and often live 'precariously in bottom of the ladder employment' (Besnier 2012: 495).

Within the context of diasporic community, 'blood' capital endures longer and is recognized differently. Currency may be found as the expression of valued forms of masculinity, as status and therefore respect, and as a form of knowledge. Within Pacific Island community 'blood' capital accrued through rugby enhances the legitimacy of one's position and authenticity as part of that community. The 'perception and assessment of intrinsic and extrinsic profits' of rugby in terms of the habitus inscribed on the body (Bourdieu 1984: 212) therefore varies according to the location of the field.

Inscribed in the body, the capital accrued 'in the bloodstream' would seem to reproduce players' social trajectory. The biologically deterministic position of 'the natural' facilitates opportunity, albeit narrow, to gain status in the broader context of Australian society. However, playing the game in this way has a tendency to operate as a double edged sword as the commitment to the game (*illusio*) simultaneously excludes players from other social fields and becomes somewhat of a self fulfilling prophecy reproducing that Cartesian mind/body dichotomy that underpins the 'natural' (Hokowhitu 2003). The real strength of 'blood' capital is found in its convertibility within Pacific Island diasporas in Australia. Here the intrinsic rewards are an enhanced sense of Pacific Island identity and belonging to that community. In this way structure and agency, as defined by the intrinsic and extrinsic profits of rugby, become so entwined the capacity for agents to engage with other fields becomes highly problematic and unlikely. When engagement

in sport reproduces both bio-racist logic and cultural history the symbolic capital accrued is one that has limited recognition from mainstream Australia and actually serves to strengthen ties to the migrant diaspora.

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The Secular Politics of Piety

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Abstract:

As in other parts of the world, there has been a renewed emphasis on piety among Indonesian Muslims, providing a fascinating lens from which to understand the place of religion and personhood in the modern world. Relatively unexplored in this literature is how women's social context influences how they understand and decide the framework of their activism. This paper considers a group of young, devout Muslim women activists involved in furthering the citizenship rights and social development of rural Malay Muslims. Their activism is best understood as the intersection of religious and cultural orientations, and political and socio-economic factors, rather than in terms of either a secular or religious frame. The paper outlines three such factors (ethnic conflict, political marginalisation and economic disadvantage) to suggest how these women draw on a range of orientations (some religious, some not) in their negotiation of the challenges and needs of the local context.

Key words:

Muslim women, activism, Indonesia, Secularity, Piety

There has been muchwritten in the past decade examining the increase in piety amongst Muslim women in Indonesia. Notable aspects of this piety movement include women's participation in prayer and religious study groups (Gade 2004; van Doorn-Harder 2006); changes in women's fashion (Brenner 1996) andthe explosion of print and electronic media directed at a female Muslim audience (Ida 2008). Scholars have also noted the historical conjuncture between Indonesia's Islamic revivaland women's increasing involvement in civil society groups (Budianta 2003, Hefner 2000). Related to this has been an interest in the Islamic profile of women's activismwithin Muslim and Islamic organisations (Blackburn 2004, Brenner 2005). Asomewhat standard approach, here,is to situate womenactivists'views ongender and the relationship between Islam and the statewith reference to their organisation's secularist/modernist/neo-modernist/traditionalist, etc. approach to Islam (Rinaldo 2008, Syamsiyatan 2008; White and Anshor 2008, Robinson 2009).

At the same time, these studies also make it clear that liberal and conservative Muslim women alike draw on Islamic and secular frameworks in their activism. Indeed, some of the most explicitly Islamic women activists in Indonesia are members of political parties, whose leaders are currently elected members of parliament. We need to be careful that our analytical categories do not unwittingly infer a continuum of Muslim women's activism with 'secularist feminists' who draw on national and international legal norms and institutional frameworks, at one end, and other prescriptive, rule-bound Muslim women who draw on the Qur'an and Islamic schools of law, at the other. Badran's reflections on secular and Islamic feminisms in the Middle East are apposite here: these, she observes, represent two discursive modes that both draw on multiple discourses (such as democracy, modernity, humanist, nationalist, etc.), even though one, the Islamic,isoften expressed in terms of "a single or paramount religiously grounded discourse" (2005:6).

Relatively unexplored in this literature is how women's social contextsinfluence their understanding and choice of framework for their activism. This paper considers a group of young, devout Muslim women activists involved in furthering the citizenship rights and social development of a local female constituency of primarily rural Malay Muslims. It argues that their strong orientation to improving the socio-economic conditions of the local Malay community and enhancing the legal and political rights of Malay womencannot be understood outside the intersection of their religious and cultural values, on the one hand, and local and national political and socio-economic factors, on the other. The paper considers how a history of ethnic conflict,the political marginalisation ofwomen and continuing economic disadvantage provide the backdrop for these young women's activism and the multiple attachments this draws on.

Background

Indonesia has a majority Muslim population (over 88 percent) but also a strong and abiding commitment to religious pluralism, with six officially recognised religions (Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism). Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution states that "The state is based on one God and the state guarantees the freedom of each citizen to adhere to his/her own religion and pray based on his/her religion or belief". Although this provides a measure of religious freedom, non-belief is not recognized and there is considerable persecution of religious minorities deemed deviant. The state ideology or *Pancasila* contains five pillars: belief in the one and only God, a just and civilized humanity,

democracy, unity, and social justice, without attributing a special status to Islam (in contrast to Malaysia, for example). The Constitution and *Pancasila* were originally implemented during the first republic under the leadership ofPresident Sukarno, a strongly nationalist figure with leftist leanings. The influence of religion in government was further curtailed by President Suharto during the New Order years, with Islamic leaders forced to proclaim their loyalty to *Pancasila* and a 'Belief in One God', rather than Islam. In the post-reform era, the presence of Islamic s*hariah* codesin regional governments has increased but remains vigorously debatedamongst Muslim women activists(Rinaldo 2008, Robinson 2009).Despite the increased political pressure from Islamic parties and organisations, there has been a progressive decline in the vote for Islamic-based parties at the federal level: from 36 percent in 1999, 37.5 percent in 2004, to 29 percent in 2009 (Aspinell 2010: 29) and for most Indonesians religious laws are restricted to the area of family law.

For most of the twentieth century Islam in Indonesiawas cited as one of the most moderate and civil in the world (Hefner, 2000). Lacking the extremism found in other regions, Indonesia's Muslims werecharacterised as tolerant of other religions and their own co-religionists'syncretic approach to Islam.Modernist/reformist currents have long been a feature of Indonesian Islam, but fundamentalist and radical influences have been far fewer. The image of moderate Indonesia was shaken by the violence of inter-ethnic violence experienced in the immediate post-Suharto era. While there is little evidence that religious differences were the root cause of this violence, at times religious symbolism played a decisive role in the political opportunism and mobilisation of vigilante groupsassociated with it. Bloody inter-ethnic violence was also experienced by the young women in the case-study below, who as teenagers witnessed the forced exodus of Madurese from this corner of West Kalimantan (Davidson 2009). Indeed, several West Kalimantan NGOs– including the one discussed

below – received funding from European donorsin the aftermath of this violence to support conflict resolution and peace building projects. While peace has been restored, attempts by this NGO to facilitate a restoration of relations between local Malays and the evicted Madurese failed and further efforts discontinued for fear of reprisals.

West Kalimantan is a relatively impoverished province in Indonesia. It had Indonesia's second largest number of victims of human trafficking (after West Java) in 2009 (Borneo Tribune, 1 June, 2009: 9), lower than average years of schooling and a higher than average infant mortality rate. Regional autonomy introduced in 2001 was initially seen as a way of 'bringing government closer to the people' and of building more responsive and accountable government (Ray and Goodpaster 2005: 75). However, in West Kalimantan as elsewhere, the report cards are mixed as the concentration of power in the hands of district heads has strengthened clientelism, corruption and lack of representation at the district leveland disenfranchised 'non-local' citizens.

Young Muslim and Activist

The section draws on my observationsof and conservations with a group of young female activists employed by a NGO in West Kalimantan in 2008, 2009 and 2011.The NGO had been established at the turn of the new century by a small group of friends from this region, who had met at university during the heady years of the end of the Suharto regime and the new era of democratisation and regional autonomy. It made sense to this group of men and women to establish an NGO that could advance Indonesia by addressing the under-

development and post-Suharto conflict of their home region. These activistsgrew up in the local area, speak the local dialect (as well as standard Indonesian) andin turn recruited other tertiary-educated young locals to join their organisation.

The young women I met were aged between 22and 33and involved in the NGO's gender awareness training program. These highly educated young women were strongly motivated bya communitydevelopment agenda,an ethic of gender equality and a commitment to the value of training and formal education. All were also observantMuslims. As part of their work, these young womenestablished and supported women's groups in rural villages, conducted gender awareness training,and participated in workshopsacross Indonesia. Their professional lives were framed bytheir female 'constituencies', national and international NGOs, interactions with different institutions and agencies of the state, and their own personal experiences and moral convictions. Here they drew on a diverse range of values and principles, including human rights, Indonesian law, Islam, notions of equality, and a heartfelt identification with the needs and priorities of the Muslim women of their community.

A profile of one of these young women highlights the orientation and background of many of these young activists. I first met Lena in 2008, when she was 25. She arrived on motorbike, wearingtrousers,a loose top and long head scarf. This open and sociable young woman is a devout Muslim and fastidious about wearing a veil and praying five times a day. Lena completed high school at a well-known residential Islamic school in West Kalimantan, before studying law ata state university.The eldest of three children, she was the first in her family to complete high school. Whilea university student, Lena was somewhat involved in Muslim student politics (the *tarbiyah* movement) and maintains friendships with some of the women

she met through her religio-political activities from that time. Lena believes Islam respects the rights of all peopleirrespective of their faith, yet argues that because Indonesia is a plural society, it cannot have an Islamicgovernment. As a teenager, she lived through the ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan andwitnessed aMadurese friend and her family flee for their lives. For these reasons, she argued that Indonesia needed a non-partisan political system and quietly worried that the nationalist ideology of *Pancasila* had been too quickly discredited by the Muslim student groups she knew at university, many of whose leaders later became active in Islamist political parties, such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (Ricklefs 2012: 430). In the 2009 general elections, Lena like most Muslims did not vote for an Islamist party.Nevertheless, Islam and her interpretations of Islam were closely bound up with Lena's vision ofa modern Indonesia. For example, she grew silent and uncomfortable when her grandfather attributed supernatural powers to objects, later explaining thatsuch beliefs are forbidden but that manypeople are ignorant about the teachings of Islam. Yet she lost all respect for the well-known celebrity *ustaz* (religious teacher) Abdullah Gymnastiar after he took a second wife, arguing that polygamy is permitted but not preferred in Islam.

Much of the work of Lena and her colleagues involved supporting women's groups in surrounding villages, mostly in the form of training and monthly health and information visits. Islam was never a topic of conversation during any of the meetings I attended. Rather, the focus was on building up these women's knowledge and capacity so that they could play a stronger role in their communities. While most of the women in these groups were Malay Muslims, there were also a few Christian Dayaks in villages that had residents from both ethnic groups, and Muslim women from other backgrounds, notably Javanese. With the help of this NGO, these women's groups had been involved in bringing to the attention of the authorities suspected cases of human trafficking, supporting local women who stood as

political candidates, and developing local women's economic activities. The NGO also funded district-level activities and established a Women's Congress – an umbrella organisation composed ofrepresentatives from each of thevillage groups – toincrease women's political participation and monitor local and provincial government for gender discriminatory policies.On one occasion, Lena and a colleague accompanied 25 members of the Women's Congress to a meeting with the local government body, Women's Empowerment and Family Planning (Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana). The womenproposed the introduction of a new local government regulation that 30 percent of village-level positions be held by women. At the time, there was only one female village head out of the 186 villages in the district, and less than 25 women out of 1098 members on village consultative committees. The women also requested that contraceptives be provided freeof charge and challenged the official's explanation that contraceptivesare only free to poor families, that is, 'those who can afford only one meal a day and have a dirt floor'. The women scoffed to his face, arguing that they *were* poor, but would be dead if they only ate once a day andthat no matter how poorthey are, they still have a floor to prevent snakes from entering when it rains.

Despite the very non-religious nature of theseprojects, there was something palpably 'Muslim' about the NGO and its activities. These young women – and indeed their male colleagues – identified as Muslim, and in most cases, as Malay (which for them further enhanced their Muslim status as Malay operates as a signifier for Muslimacross Kalimantan). Like many other young Muslim women in Indonesia, they were pious in their dress and behaviour. Time was always set aside in their work schedule to pray, with Lena and her colleagues borrowing prayer mats and the billowing prayer vestment worn by women. Their religiosity was also apparent by another visible marker of their Muslim identity: the majority wore a form of head covering. This was certainly not imposed by the organisation and several

women did not wear any head covering. Nevertheless, there was an observable trend of women who worked in this NGO of adopting the veil over time. For some this may have been a factor of their stage of life (for example, signalling their readiness for marriage). Whenever I asked why, however, their reason was about being a better Muslim. There were also norms and codes of conduct in the NGO covering the interaction between male and female colleagues. For example, it was not allowed for colleagues to enter into romantic relationships, and facilities and funding were available to ensure female employees did nothave to travel alone or in the sole company of a man.

Discussion

These young women identified as Muslim (and in most cases Malay), they believed Islam espoused values such as equality, community (*ummah*) and democracy, and were pious in their dress and behaviour. Yet, this NGO wasalso different from self-identified Muslim organisationsand in many ways accorded with the stereotypical 'secularist' NGO seeking to strengthen the rule of law, enhance democratic structures, and promote women's equity, rights and political participation. Nevertheless, I have resisted labellingthese women's activism as secular or the principal orientation of their organisation as secular. Why? Simply because I believe more research needs to beconducted in two areas. Firstly, more research is neededinto Indonesia's contemporary secular orientations and in particular orientations tothe secular that are not premised on the privatisation of religion or its diminishment in society. This is a call for the comparative study of the secular, as proposed in a number of recent volumes (Calhoun, Juergensmeyer and van Antwerpen 2011;Cadyand Shakman Hurd 2010) and is important before we start applying labels that may have quite diverse meanings and significances. For example, activists like Lena demonstrate a marked interiorisation of

religion that has little in common with the notion ofprivatisation or a sense of the declining public relevance of religion (two common elements in classical secularisation theories). This interiorisation was apparent in the locus of authority and her view of social change as in part a transformation of the self. This transformation was to be achieved through the inculcation of knowledge and a sense of men and women's (God-given) equality. These could be built on to expand women's power, possibilities and resources, in a way that parallels Lena's own experience of change – includingher own religious development.

Secondly, we need more studies which contextualiseyoung Indonesians'activism in relation to their social location in order to avoid misinterpreting its significance. In thiscase-study, young women's self-fashioning of an Islamic self occurred hand-in-hand with a commitment to pluralism and enhancing their community's political, legal and economic status. To debate whether this is anexpression of their commitment to religious and/or secular principles is to ignore how their very understanding of such principlesis forged in specific social, economic and political contexts. In order to understand the orientation of such activism, we must at the very least consider howthisactivism isshaped by the challenges and possibilitiesof renewal – both Islamic and societal –following Indonesia and West Kalimantan's long decades of authoritarianism and disadvantage.

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Multicultural and Indigenous Imaginaries in Australia

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between multicultural and Indigenous imaginaries, focusing on Australia. The discourse and politics of multiculturalism in Australia, as in other white settler societies, have largely proceeded along parallel lines to the discourse and politics of Indigenous rights. In part, this reflects the way that Australian multiculturalism developed out government responses to immigration, ethnic diversification and ethnic mobilisation in the Post-World War Two era. But there are other historical, conceptual and political causes that have tended to keep Indigenous and multicultural imaginaries separate. The very nature and context of settler-Indigenous relations in settler societies like Australia is a crucial part of the explanation, as is the emergence of Aboriginal nationalism and discourses of specific Indigenous rights, in both Australian and international contexts. Continuing racism towards Indigenous people and their general exclusion from the 'goods' of mainstream Australian society, have also played a role. The last part of the paper considers recent Indigenous voices that call for a creative relationship between multiculturalism and Indigenous rights, claims and futures.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Communities, Indigenous Australians, Aboriginal Nationalism, Self-Determination

Introduction

Though it has often been controversial, multiculturalism has been a dominant part of the public discourse about Australia for the last four decades. After several years of Federal government silence on multicultural policy from the mid-2000s, it was reaffirmed by the Gillard government in 2011 with the release of its policy statement *The People of Australia: Australia's Multicultural Policy* (Australian Government 2011). But multiculturalism has largely failed to capture the Indigenous Australian imagination, among Indigenous leaders and activists, and among ordinary Indigenous people. This failure results from historical, political and conceptual causes.

Historically, multiculturalism developed out of government responses to ethnic diversification brought about by large-scale post-World War Two immigration, and further developed with the growth of ethnic mobilisation (Jupp 2007). This meant that it was primarily oriented towards the claims of ethnic communities. Long-standing separate government-Aboriginal relationships and policy phases since the 19th Century also played

a role in keeping multicultural and Indigenous imaginaries separate (Jayasuriya 1990: 124-25; Curthoys 2000).

Conceptually and politically, it has been argued that the discourses of multiculturalism do not capture what is peculiar to relations between colonized, disinherited Indigenous people, and the surrounding society, nation-state, and government, in Australia, or in other settler societies. Fleras (1999: 188) goes so far as to claim that 'indigenous ethno-politics do not entail a commitment to multiculturalism, with its focus on removal of discriminatory barriers and attitudinal adjustments'. The envisaged relations are nation to nation, or (Indigenous) nation to state; not Indigenous people as one group within a diverse society, but a group with special claims and either complete or shared sovereignty (Fleras 1999; Maaka and Fleras 2005). Niezen (2003) argues more persuasively that multicultural discourse is, in fact, relevant to Indigenous claims, but that it is not the only relevant discourse: 'Recognition of difference for indigenous peoples includes rights that go beyond notions of differences with equality. Indigenous claims are not only multicultural but also multiconstitutional' (Niezen 2003: 218).

Official Australian Multiculturalism, Indigenous Rights Discourse and Aboriginal Nationalism

When official multiculturalism emerged in the early 1970s, Indigenous Australians were typically mentioned as one aspect of Australia's multicultural society but most discussion and policy emphasised the migrant experience; and indeed, apart from some non-migrant intellectuals, activists, public servants and politicians (Lopez 2000), it was migrant activists (and movements) who became the most vocal proponents for multiculturalism. The major multicultural institutions set up by governments such as the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, and later the Bureau for Immigration Research and the Office of Multicultural Affairs, mainly focussed on immigrant communities and cultures, with separate institutions managing Indigenous issues and affairs (Jupp 2007: 86-88). The publicly funded Ethnic Communities' Councils, which had their origins in addressing migrant issues (Martin 1978: 50-53), also focused primarily on the concerns of migrant communities (Jupp 2007: 77-78).

Nor had Aboriginal leaders, and the broader social movement for Aboriginal rights, campaigned for multiculturalism. The Indigenous sector (Rowse 2002) that emerged in the 1970s, with its institutional framework of Aboriginal associations, land councils, health and legal centres, supported by Federal Government legislation including the Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976, and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (NT) 1976, was concerned with its own, specific set of Indigenous issues and demands. Despite some common experience of racism and discrimination, the social, economic, political and cultural positions of Indigenous peoples vis-a-vis mainstream Australian society had little in common with the positions of ethnic communities arising from mass immigration. And, afterall, these immigrant communities were, like the dominant Anglo community historically preceding them, settler communities standing in a colonial relationship with Indigenous peoples who had never accepted the legitimacy of

dispossession of their lands or sovereignty (Moreton-Robinson 2003; Maddison 2009: Ch. 3).

The discourse of Indigenous rights was well established before the 1970s' emergence of multicultural discourses in Australia, and it provided powerful ways for Indigenous people to think about their relationship with the Australian state and the settler nation. By then, Indigenous political discourse included a potent mix of concepts such as Aboriginal land rights, autonomy, self-determination, and cultural rights, together with older equality and citizenship discourses (Stokes 1997; McGregor 2009). For Indigenous leaders and activists, multicultural concepts were therefore less relevant. Since the 1970s Australian Indigenous leaders and activists had also been protagonists in the emerging international discourse and politics of Indigenous rights (Niezen 2003), participating in UN and other international forums, such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, formed in 1975.

Indigenous claims were also framed by an Aboriginal nationalism that emerged in the late 1960s and consolidated in the 1970s (McGregor 2009). Australian multiculturalism had a strong nation-building emphasis, including the development of a new, inclusive national identity, but Indigenous leaders and activists were less inclined to partake of this aspect of Australian multiculturalism, instead articulating notions of an Aboriginal nation or nations within the territory of Australia (Gilbert 1973). McGgegor (2009: 343) argues that these developments led to a 'diminution of interest in securing Aboriginal inclusion in the Australian nation', through struggles for citizenship and equal rights that had been characteristic of Indigenous activism and political thought since the 1920s. These arguments were not necessarily given up, but became less prominent than arguments for reinvigorating a suppressed, Aboriginal cultural nation. This cultural nationalism had reached a high level of development in the early 1970s exactly when Australian governments were embracing and promoting multiculturalism. The Aboriginal nationalism of leaders like Paul Coe (Tatz 1975: Ch. 18), Kevin Gilbert and others (Gilbert 1973) meant that their energies were devoted to the cultural rejuvenation of Aboriginal communities, and to powerful political claims related to Aboriginal land rights, treaties and sovereignty, which were elaborated in subsequent decades (Attwood 2003: Ch. 13). The application of multicultural discourse to the Aboriginal situation was treated with suspicion (Gilbert 1987) and resisted by some sections of Indigenous Australia, as it might diminish Aboriginal claims, 'trivialise their disenfranchisement from the land', and potentially limit their claims for social justice, rendering these no different to the claims for social justice of other ethnic minorities (Council of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs 1986: 3).

Ordinary Indigenous peoples' perceptions of and feelings about multiculturalism have received little attention (Dunn et al 2010), but one study sheds some light on attitudes to multiculturalism. In the late 1990s, Indigenous researcher Rosemary Van den Berg (2002) interviewed 41 Nyoongar individuals in Western Australia about the ways they thought about racism and multiculturalism. Van den Berg emphasised that Indigenous respondents strongly resisted the ethnic label, feeling that this referred to people who had migrated to Australia. One of her main findings was that:

> …Nyoongar people believed that multiculturalism, as a way of life accepted by the majority of Australians…, would place them further down the social ladder. Many Nyoongars believed that, as more and more different cultures arrived in Australia, the indigenous people would either be ignored as irrelevant in the broader spectrum of Australian society, or would lose their identities as the indigenous people and become just another ethnic group (Van den Berg 2002, p. xiv).

The general view expressed in her surveys and interviews was that Indigenous people did not see the relevance of multicultural policies for their everyday lives, and saw little improvement after the introduction of multiculturalism, because racism was still a major feature of Indigenous life in Australia and Indigenous people remained the most disadvantaged of all people in Australian society (Van den Berg 2002: 233-41).

As multiculturalism developed as an official concept, ideology and policy approach in the 1970s, there were, indeed, tentative attempts to include Aborigines within the policy's domain as another ethnic minority. However, despite the fears outlined above about Indigenous people's claims and rights being lost in a sea of indistinguishable ethnicity, multicultural policy makers were at least aware of their unique situation, and typically highlighted it.

The first major official report or statement to include Aborigines firmly within the vision of a multicultural society was the 1982 policy statement from the Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1982), *Multiculturalism for All Australians*. This statement was unequivocal in arguing that multiculturalism embraced all individuals and groups in Australia:

> …all persons living in Australia are 'ethnic', whether they are Aboriginals, or trace their roots to the British Isles, continental Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific nations or the Americas, or regard themselves simply as Australians. This paper argues that the phrase 'ethnic affairs' applies, strictly speaking, to the full range of inter-group relations and should not be limited to issues affecting minority groups alone (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 1).

In Ch. 1 on 'Our National Identity', indigenous people were given a special place:

> A unique feature of the Australian identity is the special dimension given to it by Aboriginal members of the Australian community. It is only through the Aboriginal part of our population that we can claim a long-standing, traditional relationship with our land, in a way possible to other nations who have occupied their native soil for hundreds of thousands of years. Through Aboriginal placenames and folklore, Australians have inherited an indigenous tradition which extends the history of their country beyond the short timespan of white settlement. Moreover, Aboriginal communities and their cultures remind us that the white majority culture, like those of newer migrant groups, has been of historically recent establishment in this country (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 5).

It was also recognised that Indigenous people stood apart from all other groups in that they had not experienced Australia as 'being free of sectional limitations on individual

rights and actions' (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 5). And, in terms of law, it was recognized that some Indigenous communities still adhering to tribal law are not bound in exactly the same way as everyone else by Australian law (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 15).

Apart from these specific points, Indigenous people were included in the notion of multiculturalism for all Australians in largely the same way as everyone else. To the three established underpinning principles of multiculturalism - social cohesion, cultural identity, and equality of opportunity and access - a fourth principle, 'equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society' (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 12), was added, and it was stressed that the 'principles apply to all sections of society, including Aboriginals' (Ethnic Affairs Taskforce of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs 1982: 14; see also Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989).

During the 1980s and 1990s governments, intellectuals and media commentators emphasised the importance of Indigenous people, culture and history for Australian national identity. As suggested in the above quote from *Multiculturalism for All Australians*, an 'indigenising' form of nationalism highlighted the way that Aboriginal culture gave historical and spiritual depth to the nation, and more firmly rooted it in the Australian continent (Moran 2002). This narrative was prominently featured in the rhetoric emerging from the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation during the 1990s reconciliation process. In several of his speeches in the 1990s on multicultural and Aboriginal issues, Prime Minister Paul Keating stressed that multiculturalism could not be considered a success in Australia until Australia truly reached a reconciliation with its indigenous peoples. He made this point in his famous Redfern Park speech in December 1992 (Keating 1993), and also in his 1995 Address to the Global Diversity Conference in Sydney (Keating 1995). Multiculturalism needed to be extended to indigenous Australians, in ways that recognized their unique cultures, traditions and connections with the land; and it needed to extend social justice to them so that they had equal opportunities, better health, better 'moral, and self-esteem' (Keating 1995).

During the reconciliation era some Indigenous leaders spoke from a position within a more inclusive Australian nation when they spoke of what was needed for the 'healing' of that nation (examples included the first Chairperson of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation Pat Dodson, often referred to as the 'father of reconciliation' and Lois O'Donohue, Chair of ATSIC and also strongly associated with reconciliation). This positioning of claims inside one diverse nation was also evident in the Council For Aboriginal Reconciliation's (1999) 'Draft Declaration for Reconciliation'.

Despite such official framings of Indigenous peoples as belonging to the one, inclusive Australian nation, for many Indigenous people the ongoing pull of their own kinship networks, 'mobs', nations and lands appears to be more powerful than that of the Australian nation as sources of their senses of belonging and identity (Martinez 1997). Ang et al (2002: 39) noted in their focus groups and interviews with a representative

sample of Indigenous people from urban, regional and remote communities that 'Indigenous Australians overwhelmingly call themselves Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander first – this forms the core of their cultural identity that overrides all others'.

This reflects the ongoing pride and persistence of Indigenous identities and attachment to Indigenous cultures and land, and also the high levels of racism and discrimination Indigenous peoples have experienced throughout Australia's history since colonisation, including ongoing racism in everyday life, and informal discrimination in the post 1960s era of anti-discrimination and anti-racism policy (Paradies and Cunningham 2009). This issue of national identification also has a bearing on Indigenous engagement with the Australian multicultural imaginary. Official multiculturalism emphasises ultimate loyalty to Australia, and the adoption of Australian national identity, albeit a non-ethnic, primarily civic national identity. But given the colonial history of invasion and dispossession, it is a more onerous expectation that Indigenous people will reserve their ultimate loyalty to the Australian nation, than it is for others, including immigrants, as members of multicultural Australia. Indigenous people can legitimately claim to belong to an Indigenous political community (or communities), that exists in relationship, and even tension, with the broader Australian political community.

Recent Indigenous Engagement with Multiculturalism

Though Indigenous leaders and activists in the past typically avoided close engagement with official Australian multiculturalism, there have been several recent examples of Indigenous leaders/intellectuals attempting to map out a more constructive engagement between multiculturalism and Indigenous people in the Australian context.

Indigenous legal academic and public intellectual Larissa Behrendt, for example, attempts to negotiate a pathway between 'difference blind' liberalism, 'multicultural liberalism' and Indigenous rights discourse to expand thinking about Australia's multicultural future. She uses a broadly multicultural framework to defend a more inclusive national identity, to promote institutional change aimed at producing 'substantive equality' for all, including Indigenous people, and to encourage true recognition of internal sovereignty and self-determination for Indigenous people within a unified Australian nation-state (Behrendt 2003: 80-85, 172-79).

In a Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission position paper defending multiculturalism (from 2007), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, and the Acting Race Discrimination Commissioner, Tom Calma, explored the relationship between multiculturalism and Indigenous aspirations. He suggested a compromise position that meant that Indigenous people should be able to accept, and benefit from, some aspects of inclusion within a more generalized multicultural discourse, and set of policies for a multicultural Australia, while in other respects retaining a distance from multiculturalism, recognizing and appealing to their special status as Australia's Indigenous peoples.

Calma pointed out that as minority groups in Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were at risk of exclusion from the economic, social and cultural benefits of mainstream Australian society. To the extent that multicultural policy was concerned with recognition, and access and equity issues, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples could potentially benefit from taking part in that policy program. This included multiculturalism's emphasis on people's right to cultural recognition, to social justice, and the need for economic efficiency. But Calma reiterated that this was not enough – that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' unique history in Australia, including their history of systematic discrimination by the Australian state, society and nation, required special and different attention. Multiculturalism was 'an inadequate response to the dispossession and exclusion that Aboriginal people have faced in Australia' (Calma 2007, p. 11). Indigenous peoples did not just claim rights as equal citizens of Australia (like all other Australians, including minority migrant groups), but a set of internationally recognized social, cultural, economic and political rights, including the right to self-determination within the Australian state that other minority groups cannot legitimately claim. As Calma explained, Aboriginal rights to culture, according to international law, might include the right to enjoy a way of life embedded in land and resources:

> It can be seen from international human rights jurisprudence that while the recognition of culture is a measure of equality in the case of ethnic communities, the claim of culture in the case of Indigenous peoples is more fundamental. For Aboriginal Australians the claim is for recognition as a people, with all the concomitant political and economic rights. For Aboriginal Australians social justice implies restorative justice through a proper reconciliation treaty that acknowledges the historical wrongs done to Aboriginal peoples. For Aboriginal Australians the question of economic and political justice is about ensuring that future Aboriginal generations have control over their land, their lives and their destiny with sufficient resources to actualize their potentials as the first people of this country (Calma 2007: 12).

Noel Pearson, a strong advocate for a bi-cultural future for Australia's Indigenous peoples, suggests also the need for Indigenous engagement with a more global multicultural imaginary. He recognizes that Indigenous people and their cultures now exist within a broader, global multicultural environment. This global multiculture belongs to everyone, including Indigenous people who should find ways to engage with it while retaining and developing their unique Indigenous cultures, languages, traditions and identities (Pearson 2009: 55-72). Pearson operates with a distinction between immigrant cultures and Indigenous cultures that mirrors Kymlicka's (1995) famous distinction between the rights of immigrant and national, including Indigenous, minorities. Pearson argues, for example, that the Australian state has an internationally recognised obligation to put in place policies to serve the preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures, and that it can not dismiss this obligation in the same way that it dismisses any obligation to actively preserve immigrant languages and cultures (Pearson 2009: 69). But, thus far, Australian governments have not been committed to seriously putting in place such necessary policies. Despite introducing national language policies (Clyne 1997), Pearson argues that Australian governments have not devoted the necessary resources for the

preservation of Indigenous languages and cultures that are unique to Australia (Pearson 2009: 69).

Conclusion

There have been at least three stumbling blocks that have stood in the way of a deeper engagement between multicultural and Indigenous imaginaries. The first is the unresolved tension between Indigenous people and the Australian nation-state arising from colonisation and dispossession of land. Multiculturalism has called for ultimate loyalty to the Australian nation-state, and the embrace of Australian national identity, and Indigenous people have strong reasons for resisting both of these. The second is that Indigenous people are suspicious of the application of the term 'ethnic' to them, because it has strong connotations of migrancy, and Indigenous people resist the notion that they migrated to Australia, even if geographers, historians and archaeologists put that migration back to as long as 60,000 years ago (Flood 1999; Lourandos 1997). The third stumbling block, related to the first two, is the suspicion that Indigenous rights and the special status of Indigenous people will be diminished within broader multicultural discourse. This is not necessarily the case, as Kymlicka's (1995) liberal multicultural arguments have shown, with the special claims to cultural protection and collective rights given to Indigenous people because of their unique status within surrounding nation-states; arguments also taken up, in at least some senses, by Indigenous leaders Larissa Behrendt, Tom Calma and Noel Pearson. And, as I showed above, at a pragmatic level, the compromise between multicultural and Indigenous imaginaries has surfaced within official multiculturalism in Australia, where there has been at least a tentative recognition of the particular Indigenous position and specific types of rights that singles Indigenous people out from other groups in a culturally diverse society.

On the part of non-Indigenous Australia, multicultural discourse has also contributed to creating a space for at least considering the legitimacy of Indigenous identities and claims, even if it has not translated into more substantive forms of recognition and redress. Nevertheless, if a renewed commitment to multiculturalism, as indicated by the 2011 Gillard government policy statement cited at the beginning of this paper (Australian Government 2011), is to have meaning for Indigenous people, then it will not only need to preserve and reflect their unique status as First Peoples (including recognising their right to self-determination) but also contribute to providing the opportunities for Indigenous people to fully thrive and participate, as individuals and distinct communities, in broader Australian society.

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Migrant responses to flag use on Australia Day

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The increasing number of Australian flags being displayed on cars for Australia Day appears to signal growing nationalism, although the 'flavour' of that nationalism is as yet unclear. What this display signals to migrants is the subject of this study. Qualitative interviews were conducted in Perth, the capital city in which this phenomenon is, anecdotally, most prominent. Two interlocking themes emerged from the data: identity and inclusion. Inclusion is the focus of this paper. Contrary to expectations, participants generally did not see the flag display as exclusionary. Rather, they saw it as an aspect of festivity and pride, contrasting for many with the use of the flag in their countries of origin. While recognising that the flag display in some instances symbolised an exclusionary ethno-racial identity, this was attributed to the individual displayer, rather than representing popular opinion generally. From this, conclusions are drawn to suggest that migrants created an alternative sense of inclusion from the display through a more complex representation of Australian identity. Thus the flag retains its symbolic value as a unifier through inclusive identities constructed by migrants.

Keywords: flags, Australia Day, inclusion, racism, migrants

> The problem is: A lot of racist losers do wave the Australian flag and use Australia Day as an excuse to spew their own brand of hateful ignorance. It's disgusting, embarrassing and depressing that people like that exist. But if we allow the Australian flag to be appropriated by these people, if normal Australian's [sic] refuse to celebrate Australia Day or fly the flag out of fear of being associated with the bigots, then we will lose the meaning of some of our most important national symbols.
>
> (Taylor blogger on thewest.com.au, January 22nd, 2011)

The average Australian's relationship to the Australian flag is complex, as the blogger quoted above illustrates. On one hand it is seen as emblematic of the racism that has become more pronounced in recent years (Joppke, 2004; Noble, 2009), on the other it is a national symbol in which Australians feel they should have pride (Orr, 2010).

This complexity is reflected in specific types of flag waving, particularly the recent phenomenon of displaying small flags affixed to car windows on Australia Day (Orr 2011; Huxley 2009).

Australia Day has only been recognized as a national public holiday since 1994; but has rapidly become the day when "Australians across the nation joined together…[to celebrate] our achievements as a nation" (National Australia Day Council 2011). In Western Australia it is a time of intense celebration, culminating in an annual fireworks display over the city, attended by hundreds of thousands of people. Despite the positive rhetoric, there is a darker side to Australia Day celebrations and flag usage. Violence and racism, in the form of physical and verbal abuse (Burke 2010) have required significant police presence, and for the last few years, the banning of alcohol at most public celebration sites. Anglo-Australians have been observed demanding that "darker skinned revellers kiss the flag or suffer verbal and even physical abuse" (Huxley 2009:7). For the migrant observer, the way the flag is used in some contexts on Australia Day may be related to negative uses in other contexts, such as the Cronulla Riots of 2005 and Pauline Hanson's maiden speech (Orr 2010; Huxley 2009); or more broadly Australia's history of exclusionary immigration policies (Joppke 2004); or the divisive history of Australia's colonisation (Kwan n.d). Migrant responses are relevant both in the context of a national policy emphasis on social inclusion (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2011), as well as the demographic reality that one-quarter of Australia's population are migrants. This includes people from over 200 countries with more than 175 different languages (Fozdar & Spittles 2010). Australians have a complex relationship with diversity and national identity. While generally positive about diversity, there is simultaneously a negativity towards migrants, and an overwhelming concern to solidify 'national identity', with such attitudes becoming more prevalent (Goot & Watson 2005; IPSOS 2011).

Flags are important symbols in this construction of national identity (Billig 1995; Spillman 1997; Ward 2010; Kwan 2010; Kemmelmeier & Winter 2008). Michael Billig (1995), in his compelling and comprehensive analysis of the connection between the flag and national identity, states, "The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (1995: 8). This banality is the 'background noise' that produces a taken-for-granted pride in national identity, and in the process, establishes 'us' and 'them'. The use of flags on cars appears to be somewhat more active than this banal form of nationalism, but the message it is sending is as yet unclear. Whether migrants see this as representing an inclusive or exclusive form of 'us' is the question asked of the research reported here.

Approach

Research took a qualitative approach informed by Bhaskar's theory of Critical Realism (1979, cited in Danermark et al., 2002), which combines ontological realism with epistemological relativism (Danermark et al., 2002). Ontological realism assumes the existence of an external world independent of individual human consciousness; epistemological relativism recognises that individual consciousness mediates knowledge of the external world. As such, Critical Realism sees knowledge and reality as existing beyond consciousness, but as necessarily limited and mediated by

individual understanding. The Critical Realist approach governed the selection of method and analysis.

The research question – how do migrants understand and respond to the display of the Australian flag on and around Australia Day – was selected to complement a quantitative study that found the display of flags on cars is associated with an exclusionary form of nationalism (Fozdar 2011). Qualitative reflexive interviewing was selected to allow exploration of migrants' lived experience and begin to understand the range of responses.

After receiving ethics approval, migrants from a range of visa categories and life trajectories were recruited. No limitations were imposed concerning date of arrival, duration in Australia, country of origin or reason for migration. However, information pertaining to these and other issues was collected in the demographic data form, with the assumption that these may influence migrants' views of Australia.

Twelve participants were recruited through advertisements placed at migrant service providers and through snowballing. Their details, including pseudonyms and self-selected ethnicity, are provided in Appendix A. No claim is made about the representativeness of the sample. Qualitative analysis seeks to understand the complexity within a social phenomenon, rather than quantify it; and to establish "what things 'exist' [rather] than determining how many such things there are" (Walker 1985: 489). The sample of twelve provides adequate data for an initial exploration of the issue.

The interview guide elicited information about background, knowledge, perception, experience, opinions and emotions regarding the Australian flag following Patton (1990). Interviews were conducted between June and August 2011, and were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim (King & Horrocks 2010).

Thematic analysis, an approach consistent with Critical Realism, was conducted on the transcripts with themes actively selected as representing interviewees' experiences of reality (Braun & Clarke 2006). These were identified via both deductive and inductive reasoning. Existing theory about nationalism, diversity, migration and the flag was the lens through which the data were understood; particularly question of identity and inclusion.

Results

This paper focuses primarily on themes around inclusion. Given the literature, anecdotal evidence, and Fozdar's findings (2011), it was expected migrants might respond to the flag display with feelings of exclusion. Instead we found a variety of responses, with total exclusion seldom expressed. We explore three points along a continuum of inclusion through to exclusion.

1. Inclusion

"Oh my goodness! I just love Australia Day! I'm one of those with the flags [on my car]*!"* (Norma).

Some participants saw the display of the Australian flag on Australia Day as positive and inclusive. They expressed happiness, hope and gratitude on seeing the flag

displayed, and saw it as a positive expression of Australia. Underlying much of this discourse was a hope that Australia will provide for them and their families, and an acceptance of Australian culture and values, even though these were not well clarified. There was no sense in which the flag use was seen as excluding them as migrants.

While no conclusions can be drawn from the small sample, demographically these participants tended to be female and all but one were currently employed or retired from prestigious white-collar jobs. Interestingly, all humanitarian entrants interviewed had this inclusive response. While these respondents knew little about the flag's history and symbolism, did not distinguish between patriotism and nationalism, and did not have a clear definition of Australian identity, they had a strong awareness of past and present immigration policies, and an appreciation for the Aboriginal flag. These participants expressed positivity toward the flag display and Australia as a nation, but distinguished themselves from the Australian-born population in terms of their conception of the flag, its meaning, and motivation for displaying it.

> *Interviewer: What does the flag symbolise to you?*
> *Helen: Australia. Freedom.*
> *Interviewer: Ok. So Australia symbolises freedom?*
> *Helen: Absolutely*
> *Interviewer: Yeah alright…umm would you understand that to be why people display the flag?*
> *Helen: No. I think most people that display the flag are probably Australian-born and don't really know what freedom means unless they've lived in a country that's not free.*

Participants saw the hardship they experienced in the process of migration as a warrant for their use of the flag. Aliah for example, came as a refugee from Iran, where, as an Afghani woman, she had few rights. Since gaining freedom in Australia demanded the high price of leaving behind friends and family, she felt she had earned the right to display the flag and that she appreciated its value and meaning more than the Australian-born.

2. A nuanced or ambivalent perspective

> *"Oh look, I'm all for showing our flag, yeah…it's the excessive display by certain groups that worries me"* (Tuan, migrated to Australia from Malaysia as a student in 1960).

> *"It depends on those who displays the flag!...what are the motives? What are the meanings? What are the interpretations of displaying those flags?"*(Faith, no demographic details).

The other clear theme was a mixed, ambivalent and politically nuanced response to the flag use. Many participants interpreted its display as dependent upon the perspective of the individual flying it, including the method of display, their perceived attitude and any associated behaviours. For example, a group of drunken Anglo-Australian young men displaying the flag was interpreted negatively as exclusionary, as opposed to its display by families, children and other migrants. Concern also existed about the inclusion of the Union Jack in the Australian flag, and what this implied. However, simultaneously high levels of satisfaction and appreciation were

expressed for the liberty, freedom, development and equality they experience in Australia.

This nuanced understanding was more common among men, those with higher levels of education, and those who were visibly different and who had experienced racism. These participants also noted the influence of what they referred to as 'bogan' culture. Many were highly politically aware - interviews were dominated by political discussions focused on immigration policies, refugees and asylum seekers, economic and political instability, and Australia's relationship to the United States. Individual responsibility was also important to these respondents.

These participants recognised that the car flag display could be seen as a negative form of nationalism. Thus people might be afraid of being seen as *"the ones who, where the underlying bigotry comes from. That same bogan who wears flags and…down at the Australia Day fireworks who get drunk and beat up a…a...a puppy, an Aboriginal or someone they don't like!"* (Tuan). The further problematic relationship of Australia Day to Indigenous Australians was recognised, for example, by Denbe: *"I think it is colonising day for Aboriginals".* Participants differentiated their sense of nationalism from these forms.

Participants' sense of Australian-ness tended to focus on civic values of hope, respect, prosperity, and liberal ideals: *"We are in Australia and we, we believe Australian law and we respect Australian law…Australia is our second country, our home and we respect* [it]*…"* (Rasheed).

3. Exclusion

A solely exclusionary response was rare, with only one participant (Erin) feeling the flag display totally excluded her. What was surprising was that this participant is 'white', something that provides a range of privileges in Australia including a sense of belonging (Hage 1998). Yet she felt her exclusion strongly, despite being among the least 'visibly different' of participants, because her existence in Australia is at risk due to visa issues:

> *"When you're not Australian you don't feel that strongly about Australia Day because it's not really your day because you're not Australian. So it's just you seeing other people celebrating a day, but you're not actually free in the country yourself."*

This respondent was a young migrant from a Scandinavian country who was in Australia on a student visa, and had been in the country less than two years. She had failed at university and, wanting to stay, had applied for a working holiday visa. She complained about restrictive immigration laws that do not provide for people who *"just want to be a good person and just work like in a retail shop, like a plain life".*
She interpreted the Australia Day display as celebratory and commercialised, and symbolic of freedom that she could not participate in. She expected this to change if she gains permanent residency.

Conclusions

This paper has focused on migrant perceptions of inclusion in response to the Australia Day flag display. Rather than a sense of exclusion, most participants felt

either fully included or expressed a nuanced perspective of both inclusion and exclusion, influenced by context. While many recognised the exclusive ways in which the flag can be used, they chose to focus on the more inclusive interpretation, and, using a civic definition of national belonging, felt themselves part of the Australia Day celebrations and included in the national identity the flag portrays. Migrants constructed themselves as legitimate flag-flyers given their sacrifice in coming to and succeeding in the country, and framed themselves as those with a real appreciation of the freedom Australia affords.

Given the literature and other evidence, it was expected that migrants might interpret the display of the Australian flag on Australia Day as a sign of racism and xenophobia among the mainstream population, and feel a sense of exclusion from the day and from the flag. There is a sense in which this was confirmed: some respondents associated the flag display with 'bogan' Anglo-Australian identity, and a lack of awareness of, and appreciation for, the freedom, positivity and future that the flag represents. However this was an Australian identity that was both inaccessible and undesirable to participants, and one that they challenged the legitimacy of.

While merely exploratory, these results indicate the need for further research into migrants' responses to symbols of national identity. While it may be assumed that certain types of flag waving may appear to be exclusionary, it appears migrants may choose an inclusive response, or to distinguish between the different uses depending on context. As such, the flag retains its symbolic value as a unifier; but perhaps through the inclusion sought by migrants, rather than provided by mainstream Australians.

Appendix A

Table of research participants

Erin	Female, 22 years old; emigrated from Norway in 2010 on a student visa. Currently unemployed. English is her second language.
Rasheed	Male, 50-59 years old; emigrated from Iran in 2007 (but had previously lived in Australia in the 1980s). Has permanent residency. Employed as a disability support worker. English is second language.
Faith	No demographic details provided.
Helen	Female, 50-59 years old. Emigrated from Kenya in 1985. Ethnically Caucasian. Self employed as an investor/farmer. Permanent resident. English is first language, but also knows French.
Aliah	Female, aged 30-39. Emigrated from Iran as a refugee. Born in Afghanistan, ethnically Tajik. Her primary languages are Farsi and Dari.
Denbe	Male, aged 40-49. Emigrated from Ghana in 2002 on an internship visa. Currently employed as a fitness instructor and undertaking Phd studies. His first languages are Ashanti and French.
Chen	Male, aged 18-29. Emigrated from China on a student visa in 2007 and now has permanent residency. Employed in sales. Primary language is Mandarin.
Tuan	Male. Emigrated from Malaysia as a student in 1960. Is ethnically Chinese. Qualified as Professor of Medicine. English is his first language.
Saachi	Female, aged 30-39. Emigrated from India in 2001. Employed as Director of non-profit migrant health organisation. English is her first language.
Ishani	Female, aged 18-29. Emigrated in 2009 from Nepal. Currently on a bridging visa and employed as information officer at non-profit migrant health organisation. Primary languages are Nepali and Hindi
Ida	Female, 60 + years old. Arrived as a refugee in 1950 from Poland. Previously employed as a School Principal, she is now retired and volunteers at a Polish Community Centre. Her first language is Polish.
Norma	Female, aged 50-59. Emigrated via New Zealand from South Africa in 2005. She is ethnically 'English speaking white European'. She has permanent residency and is employed as a teacher-librarian. English is her first language, but she also speaks Afrikaans and German.

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Big plans: the tensions of planning for leaving out of home state care.

Word count: 2877

Big plans: the tensions of planning for leaving out of home state care.

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Abstract

Young people leaving state care face high risks of social and economic marginalization. Leaving care plans are an important and understudied strategy for minimizing these risks. However there is surprisingly limited information on how young people experience the planning process and its outcomes. In this paper we explore these experiences, drawing upon interview data with 77 care leavers. We argue that the logic of the system de-contextualizes the experiences and needs of care leavers. It is premised simultaneously on an individualistic understanding of young people's lives and a de-personalized approach to care. We conclude that a more effective system will not respond to immediate institutional imperatives of transitioning young people, but rather will be referenced to an alternative focus on the sustained and holistic development of psycho-social resources for young people.

Key Words: youth, leaving care, independence, transition documents.

Introduction

Each year in Australia, 1,500 people between the ages of 15-17 age out of the state care system[1] (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2010); at that point in their lives, the state's legal responsibility for their care ends. Ageing out of state care represents an important, anticipated and feared process of transition in the lives of young people. It is also a significant policy challenge for the state and service workers as the generative possibilities of independence are tempered by the high risks of social exclusion and disadvantage faced by care leavers (Stein, 2008). For many, social and economic marginalization will be the continuing experience of their post-care lives (Mendes & Moslehuddin, 2004).

Leaving care plans (also described as transition documents and final case plans) are an important and understudied strategy in supporting young people as they leave care and become independent adults. Australian jurisdictions differ in the policies and practices that apply to young people leaving care but the significance of planning is evident in recently developed national policy guidelines (Department of Families Housing Community Services and Indigenous Affairs together with the National Framework Implementation Working Group, 2011a, 2011b). In their ideal form, these plans incorporate a proactive process in which young people are assisted over time to develop the life skills, strategies and resources they need to establish and maintain a life post-care (McDowall 2011). If they are conducted effectively, leaving care plans can increase the chances of a successful transition to post-care life. However, the limited existing studies tend to highlight the failings of leaving care plans more so

[1] In this paper we adopt the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2010: 37) definition of state care that includes people under the age of 18 who are being accommodated overnight because they are unable to live with their parents.

than their effectiveness. Studies point to an absence of plans, their lack of relevance for young people who often feel disengaged from the process, and their ineffectiveness in meeting complex needs (Gaskell, 2010; G. Johnson & Natalier, 2010; G. Johnson et al., 2010; McDowall, 2011; Rogers, 2011). These difficulties are contextualized within an abrupt end to state care and an expectation of immediate adult self-sufficiency and independence (Propp, Ortega, & NewHeart, 2003).

Our aim in this paper is to contribute to the knowledge base of transition planning practices from the perspective of the young people they are designed to assist. We argue that the problems of leaving care plans represent more than limited resources or the need for more efficient service provision. Rather, the logic of the system de-contextualizes the experiences and needs of care leavers. It is premised simultaneously on an individualistic understanding of young people's lives and a de-personalized approach to care.

Study methods

The data we present in this paper were generated through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 40 women and 37 men (total n = 77) who had left state care. Housing outcomes were the focus of the initial study but our choice of methods was informed by a desire to contextualize experiences in a way that reflected young people's own understandings and gave them agency in how they chose to share insights into their lives. Semi-structured interviews allowed the researchers to work with participants to generate information on the topics listed above, and on any other issues the young people thought were important. Our discussion reflects themes we identified through inductive thematic analysis.

Young people were recruited through agencies located in inner city, suburban and regional locations in Western Australia (n=35) and Victoria (n=42). At the time of the study both states had legislated leaving care services, although the details were different (see Trombin 2008 and McDowall 2009 for further details). The mean age of the sample was 20.5 years old. The sample had an average time out of care of just under four years. Most of the sample (n=62) were receiving financial support from the government. Approximately half had been evicted from accommodation at some stage in their post care lives. Just less than three quarters (n= 56) had spent time living on the streets; 20 were homeless at the time of the study. Thirty-three participants experienced mental health issues, 19 had been incarcerated in juvenile detention, 41 reported substance abuse and 41 had not completed post-compulsory education. The diversity of experiences reflects the marginalized situation of many young care leavers, but we are not claiming to generalize 'about the distribution of experiences or processes, but to generalize about the nature and interpretive processes involved in the experiences' (Rice and Ezzy 1999: 52).

Findings

In this section we explore the poor fit between young people's needs and their experiences of the leaving care planning process. Our analysis indicates four tensions: two inherent in the care system and two in the transition experience. First, the 'support' provided was often depersonalized. Second, discourses and practices of the system were oriented towards self-responsibility and yet often offered options that did not meet young people's needs and desires for independence. Third, ageing out is an emotional process: while young people experienced a desire for autonomy, they felt

alienated by the push into independence. Fourth and finally, transition was experienced as an intense 'moment' when care ceased, rather than a meaningful process. Together, these tensions indicate a set of practices that can provide young people with limited resources but rarely compensated for their disempowerment and often failed to engage young people as individuals.

The first tension refers to the way in which rationalized resources and practices cannot respond to young people's needs for personal connection and support. This was particularly evident in how young people conceptualized their relationships with support personnel, particularly in residential care.

While some young people reported that 'my workers [and I] had a really close bond (Jane)', many felt that these employees did not really engage with them personally. Paul recognized he needed supported accommodation, but felt it was 'wrong' to live with 'someone who is getting paid to watch over me', and that care was provided out of duty. Kelly had obtained her case file via freedom of information, and reflected on the sterility of her interactions with case workers;

> K: Like, each night when I was in care they were reporting how I was on drugs and they never spoke to me about it.
>
> Q: So they didn't really engage with you?
>
> K: Not on that level. It was almost like maybe that wasn't their role. Maybe they were just there to just residentially look after me.

This reflection demonstrates confusion around the legitimate role of workers in young people's lives. Care leavers often describe feeling very isolated, 'like there was no one I could talk to' (Jacqueline), and spoke about needing an 'advocate' (Indira), and

how ‘that level of support from even someone who’s paid to work with you can still be significant’ (Brandon). Significant adults were largely absent from their lives, however, and high staff turnover and the mobility of young people in care further fractured relationships as ‘you've got to keep explaining your story over and over again’ (Peter). The systems of care were often a poor substitute for real relationships and meaningful connections, and contributed to young people’s disengagement from leaving care planning processes.

The second tension refers to the discourses of self-responsibility inherent in the logic of care transitions. Institutions provide services aimed at fostering independence and self-reliance amongst care leavers, and the language used by workers and care-leavers alike was around moving towards ‘independence’. However the application of this was problematic as young people were often disengaged from the system, or were offered options not suited to their needs.

At their best, institutions provided housing options and skill-building for employment and independent householding (for example, help with resumes, budgeting and meal planning). When the necessary services were not forthcoming, young people described themselves as instrumental in securing support. Shelley commented, ‘[agencies] organized a little bit but I did the rest’. John explains ‘I learnt the system very quick with Centrelink’. As a corollary to this Kelly notes: ‘kids who have been through state care, I reckon we know our rights pretty well’. Here, young people demonstrate knowledge of the system, their rights and responsibilities. These rights, and leaving care processes, become disrupted when young people disengage from care.

Disengagement from care is common, and takes two main forms. The first is when young people attain a (often temporary) level of independence from state services or return to the care of their families. In these instances, care becomes the purview of the individual and their biological family, regardless of resources and future needs. Magda explains: '[Care leavers] who do well at school, don't get in trouble with the law always get overlooked…like, they can't help me because I help myself.'

The second form is when complex needs or life circumstances mean young people disengage from services – or services are unable to meaningfully continue to engage them. Brendan describes his transition in terms that problematize his own self-responsibility rather than the gaps in services:

> I was still on my [juvenile correction] order till I was 18, but then I went into a program called Leaving Care Program. That didn't really do much for me. Didn't really have much contact with the worker because I using heavily. So that's probably my own fault.

While care leavers emphasize responsibility and independence, they characterize their leaving care planning, when it did occur, as positioning them with 'no choices' or no 'say'. Regardless of the level of young people's engagement with the care system, leaving care plans offered few meaningful options that could be chosen according to their relevance and value for individual's lives. Planning was not a self-directed or proactive process. Future trajectories were referenced to the limited options available within the constraints of existing structures, institutions and personal resources. For example, Kelly commented: '[planning] is really important and it was non existent…

there was no plan for the future for me other than I was leaving care and going back to my parents to do detox'. Sally experienced similar limited options:

> S: The only sort of housing they come up with was [high care], it just wasn't for me. And they said, 'Oh, that's the only option. You've got no other option than that'.
>
> Q: Were you frustrated, though, that you'd been referred to this place?
>
> S: Yeah, I was really frustrated and angry.

Leaving care plans are ostensibly involving young people in achieving independence. However, the assistance offered by care planning was often limited to a narrow band of undesirable or irrelevant options, which left young people feeling alienated from the process and constrained in their bid for an appropriate level of independence.

The third tension lies in the affect of care leaving. Young people were both relieved and anxious about their transition to independent living. They described themselves as 'excited' (Jane) by the prospect independence because they conceptualized this as having more control over their own lives and their own space. Matilda remembers, 'I felt really free…. I was actually counting down the days until my ward ended. It was just hell, literally… It was like good bye DCP, hello my life'. Other comments reflect how care leaving was seen as a welcome end to the constraints of care as: '...you've had so much of their rules that you lose respect, because you have made, been made to feel so shit by their rules, because they're trying to enforce something that you know yourself is wrong [for me]' (Miranda).

Young people were also apprehensive about what their lives held, post-care. Their complex lives meant that the end of care could be chaotic and feel abrupt, leading to

‘a lot of uneasy feelings’ (John). The feelings include a sense of ‘rejection’ (Esther), ‘feeling betrayed’ (Chris) and ‘scared’ (Trisha). This was compounded by the absence of social supports which meant that ‘[transition] was upsetting because I knew that now I’m on my own, completely’ (Rachael). Although transition plans aim to give young people the independence they need and desire, care leavers often felt profoundly lost, frustrated, ignored and ultimately disempowered by the process.

In the context of the above discussion, the fourth tension, between transition as an intense ‘moment’ for young people rather than a process in which they are meaningfully engaged, is particularly problematic for young people. Legally and in its most simplified temporal form, the transition out of care is abrupt and identifiable: ‘once you get to the age of an adult – and there is none of this 25 business, it is 18, man - you are on your own’ (Ted). John also experienced ‘pressure… to move out [of foster care] by the time you turn 18, get on your own two feet… it was a real push to get out’. The pressure of transition reflects the imperative to leave care, regardless of the needs or abilities of young people. John reflects on why he needed a more sustained preparation for transition;

> [Transition] just went too quick for me… [I] just didn't pickup on a lot of things…because I was at a young age I was all over the place and because at that young age you just don't care. But where you've got older people that have been through it before, they could settle you down and tell you what to do and which way to go without getting yourself into trouble or hurt.

Thus, inadequate care planning is necessitated by the imperatives of transition which focuses on exiting the young person from care, rather than a significant, supported transition into independence.

Conclusion

The tensions inherent in service provision around the time of leaving care are that despite enormous needs for personal and consistent support, young people's relationships with care providers were largely instrumental in nature. While young people drew upon discourses of self-reliance to describe their mastery of the 'systems', they were often disengaged from, or experienced more constraint than freedom under, those systems. They desired incremental advances towards autonomy, but often experienced leaving care as a juggernaut, an impersonal process they felt poorly equipped to direct. The system responds to the immediate institutional imperatives of transitioning young people, rather than an alternative focus on the sustained and holistic development of psycho-social resources for young people. Grace puts it bluntly:

> ... they've got to be honest with kids and they've got to help them right from the time they're like 13 or something. You know, they've got to teach them budgeting skills, got to help them get over the drug problems, they've got to help them build character, and build independence from about the time they're 13. 'Cause believe me, once you are not with your parents that's when you are an adult.

We conclude that any legislative provisions and pragmatic planning for a post-care future must do more than specify a list of aims and activities that will presumably lead to independence if fulfilled. Planning needs to be considered in the context of an interpellation of structural, institutional, relational and individual elements of young people's lives. These shape the availability of a meaningful planning process when

leaving care and then contribute to young people's marginalization from, or incorporation into, social structures and resources post-care.

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Cover sheet for:

The Shape of Selves (and Socialities) to Come: Post-Gender and Post-Sex Theory and Practice.

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Abstract:

There have been calls recently by prominent social theorists and queer theorists for future-oriented, re-constructive theory and practices which attempt to fuse radical destabalisations of identity with positive socialities which takes these deconstructions as their stating point and locus (Butler 2012; de Lauretis 2011; Sennett 2012; Weiner & Young 2011).

While there have been ongoing (albeit rare) normative arguments for getting rid of gender and moves towards strategies for imagining selves and societies 'beyond gender' (e.g. Risman, Lorber& Sherwood 2012), these calls rarely engage effectively with current significant theorisations around the ontological status of sex *and* gender. I argue that to consider these two impulses together would underpin a cohesive, positive praxis for a re-constructive way of understanding the self and others, and a way of behaving together, which is without the restrictive constituting forces of sexual difference and gender and as such represents a longer-term strategy.

This paper will consider the implications or corollaries of leading-edge ontological theory around sex and gender from 'new materialism' and 'post-constructionism' which radically destabilise the fixed and biological root of sexual dimorphism and the anterior construction of difference which constitutes sex and gender (Hird 2004; Lykke 2010), for the more socially and politically praxis-oriented approaches such as those of Lorber et. al. (2012).

I am concerned with where this ontology leaves re-constructive strategies for confronting the problematic of the inequalities of gendered societies and subjectivities and what might be the 'shape of selves to come' after queer theory's legacy, and after gender.

The Shape of Selves (and Socialities) to Come: Post-Gender and Post-Sex Theory and Practice.

> …feminism needs a long-term strategy to undermine the overall gendered structure of the societies most of us live in (Lorber 2000: 82).

> Alongside cabbages and carrots, which are not "opposites" of each other, there are courgettes, melons, and potatoes…distinctions are not necessarily hierarchical: vegetables are not placed on a scale of value (Delphy 1993: 4).

There are emerging ways to understand the enduring inequalities of gender which explain why past challenges to gender and the divisions and inequalities resulting from it may have failed or had limited impact. Emerging accounts of the ontology of gender offer insight into why it, and its inseparability from oppositional difference, exclusion and hierarchy, may have proven so stubborn as a way of understanding ourselves, underpinning our interaction with others and structuring societies. Theory emerging from under the monikers 'new materialism' (Hird2003) or 'post-constructionism' (Lykke 2010) - particularly in Australia and, more recently, Scandinavia - extend social analysis to biological sexual difference and dimorphism, challenging simplistic divisions of nature/culture and sex/gender, and attempting to develop more positive and less immutable accounts of the co-constitutive relationship between nature and culture.

After outlining these theoretical moves, this paper will indicate a contemporary interest in reconstructive thinking in social theory and then consider where these ontological accounts

leavereconstructive gender politics. That is, what the terrain of activity and political aims should be for a politics concerned with minimising the negative impacts of sex/gender in light of these analyses. In this paper I argue that gender politics should extend its analysis to sexual difference as it is this which reifies and naturalises the concepts of sex and gender, and that the most productive aim would be to foster the eradication of sexual difference. I will justify this ontologically, normatively and practicably, including discussion of some practices which I suggest may be suitable means of doing so.

The Conceptual Strength of New Materialism and Post-Constructionism

In the history of this post-gender impulse there have been few robust normative proposals for the eradication or transcendence of gender difference. Those which do exist come from the psychology of androgyny (Bem 1975; 1995), sociology and feminism (Lorber 2000; 1986; Risman, Lorber& Sherwood 2012) and queer theory (Bornstein 1994; Feinberg 1998; Halberstam 1998).However all of these have tended to perpetuate the material/subjective split and limit themselves to expanded models of a perceived variable disembodied gender subjectivity, leaving notions of dimorphic biological 'sex' intact.

I posit, however, that these post-gender approaches are conceptually out of step with contemporary developments in ontological theory and their normative claims and political strategies would benefit from the influence of new materialism and post-constructionism. These new ontological accounts, then, posit the inseparability of sex, gender and sexual difference. However, rather than reifying this sexual difference, and thereby gender in the

process, some accounts offer the conceptual bases for more long-term strategies for challenging and changing all of these. These are able to address the reasons that gender(when understood as separate from 'sex', and thus leaving sex immutable and unscathed) is so persistent. A good example of this work is Ann Fausto-Sterling's (2003) application of 'Development Systems Theory' (DST) to understanding the direction of causality between "sex" and "gender." Fausto-Sterling questions 'how function shapes anatomy' and is able to produce a less fixed, more mutually constitutive notion of biology and culture, refuting the claim that 'biological difference is…immutability' (Fausto-Sterling 2003: 125). Here Fausto-Sterling suggests that Judith Butler's notion of performativity can be extended to the "biological," such that 'relatively stable states of being emerge from a process of repetitive trial and error' (Fausto-Sterling 2003: 126). This model does not rely on the mind/body dualism and offers some room for agency and change, despite the mutual re-constitution of sexual difference, sex and gender. The question can now become, not whether sex is indeed difference based, or should take some other form, but whether "sex," being a socially constructed category, need exist *at all* as an aspect of identity.

That these ontological accounts are better able to address recent developments in understandings of howboth gender and sexdo not seem to best represent the identity experiences of many people. Thus they are better able to support the normative argument that sex and genderdo not represent the most enabling way of understanding ourselves and others and would be better eradicated. The negative outcomes of sex/gender difference divisions for women have been well charted and have most often resulted in calls for valuing women equally either within masculinist norms or in a perceived uniqueness resultant of being women(for example Bem 1975; Daly 1979; Friedan 1965; Gilligan 2003; Irigaray 1985; Whitbeck 1989; Wolf 1998). However, empirical gender scholarship has widened, most

obviously by focusing on the ambivalent impacts of constructions of manhood on men (Connell 1995; Kaufman 1999; Pascoe 2007; Woodhill & Samuels 2004). In addition to all of this is work on the negative impacts of the sex and gender order on those who do not just challenge the 'contents' of gender categories, but the 'containers' themselves (Delphy 1993: 3). Examples of this are intersex people, gender variant and transgender people (Chase 1993; Fausto-Sterling 2000; Feinberg 1998; Gagne & Tewkesbury 1998; Hird 2004; Turner 1999) which have led to the necessity of these more complex ontological accounts which include sex and problematize binarism and dimorphism. Proponents have argued that such approaches which take matter into account and consider where this leaves agency save feminism from 'critically under-theorized limbo' (Lykke 2010: 132).

I wonder, then, what might happen if the political and utopian conviction of feminist and queer dedications to transcending gendersuch as those listed above took seriously the ontological conviction of the contemporary theory emanating from new materialism and post-constructionism, and vice versa.This would entail takingthe possibilities that this radical analysis of sexual difference leaves us with seriously, to consider other ways of understanding ourselves and others.This paper will now consider what reconstructive alternative subjectivities and socialities such accounts allow for and prefigure.

Normative Motivation and Position in Field: Praxis

Even among work which posits gender as thoroughly cultural, then, there is disparate and rare work which dares to follow the line of reasoning of gender deconstruction and propose that subjective and social life would be preferable without it(exceptions to this are Bem 1975; 1995;

Delphy 1993; Fausto-Sterling 1993; 2000; 2003; Lorber 2000; 1986).There has, however, been even less extension of these claims to the corollary of exploring *how* it might be eradicated and what could replace it. Adding to this the more complex and more radical analyses outlined above which bring sex and the material into the debate and the coalescence of theory and practice is virtually non-existent. The logical corollary of contemporary accounts of sexual difference makes necessary new ways of understanding the self and others, less premised on a fixed and categorical biology *and* subjectivity.

There is a recent trend of work in social theory which gestures towards more practical considerations of new socialities and seeks practical solutions to getting along better, and to more enabling subjectivities. Sennett's *Together* (2012), for example, considers real-world practices of attempted co-operation that both do and do not work. This is framed as an attempt to fuse the conceptual and practical to think through *practical* solutions to getting on better. Sennett expresses an aversion to isolated theorising stating that ze[1] has grown 'tired of theorizing as a self-contained pursuit' (Sennett 2012: ix). More specifically, in the area of gender and sexuality studies, recent work has likewise shared a concern with what positive and enabling socialitiesthe wonderfully deconstructive and critical stance of much queer theory (as, for example, in Edelman's *No Future* [2004])makes possible.For example the recent special issue of *GLQ* on 'Queer Bonds' (Weiner & Young 2011) wherein both Butler (2011) and de Lauretis (2011), among others, recommend work on the socially and politically reconstructive practicability of the insights of queer theory.

I believe that these calls for positive sociality demonstrate the ethical and normative root which catalysed the work of much queer and gender theory and its deconstructions of taken

for granted categorisations and understandings of the self. This is best illustrated by Butler's germinal call for a 'new sort of feminist politics' in *Gender Trouble*, which ze describes as one 'that will take the variable construction of identity as both a methodological and normative prerequisite, if not a political goal' (Butler 1990: 5). Given these ontological premises, an area for enquiry in social theory is how biology and selfhood could and should be re-inscribed in some other way, which is more enabling than sexual difference.

The Shape of Selves to Come:

> A lot of voices tell us to think nondualistically, and even what to think in that fashion. Fewer are able to transmit how to go about it, the cognitive and even affective habits and practices involved, which are less than amenable to being couched in prescriptive forms (Sedgwick 2003: 1).

In considering what might replace sexual difference as a way of understanding ourselves and others, I draw inspiration from solution-based practices which have arisen as practical attempts in the real world to deal with and challenge the restrictions of sexual difference or sex/gender. As Sedgwick's quotation indicates, there are few considerations of such practical corollaries. However, practices exist in anarchist, intersex and queer communities which do represent different ways of relating to yourself and others, ways concerned explicitly with offering the most freedom possible to participants and avoiding 'negation' through restrictions resulting from current dominant ways of understanding sex/gender (Nicholas 2010). These examples can offer insight by illustrating both possible solutions to theoretical impasses, and attempts which have failed. I argue that apreferable and more long-lasting alternative to positivist and essentialising understandings of subjectivities and biologieswould

be but rather a relational ethic rather than yetmore positive identities which risk exclusion (Heckert 2010). A relational ethic can be understood as a mode of approaching the self and the other based on theminimal and truly queer and post-gender principle or ethic that'People are different from one another,' (Sedgwick1990: 22).

I acknowledge that such a project is indeed grounded in ever present risks of collapsing in on itself, of closure which necessitates practices whichinhere means through which to resist this (Nicholas 2010). Queer approaches to pedagogy do just this. Understanding queer as an anti-normalising impulse, queer pedagogy is concerned with developing reading practices - that is ways of understanding - not grounded in foundational preconceptions:

> Queer theory and pedagogy place at stake the desire to deconstruct binaries central to Western modes of meaning making, learning, teaching, and doing politics. Both desire to subvert the processes of normalization (Luhmann 1998: 128).

Queer pedagogy is more about the *relationship between* the learners and what they are seeking to understand than it is about content or subject matter. It is about fostering a scrupulous visibility (Spivak 1994: 153) and a reciprocalrelationship to knowledge.Kopelson's understanding is that 'queer is a term that offers to us and our students an epistemological position - a way of knowing, rather than something to be known' (2002: 25). If this is extended to understanding the self and others, this queer ethic would hopefully result in a more enabling, less predetermined collective context in which to develop oneself and relationships with others. Such practices are apparent in anarchist 'free skools' and queer communities and spaces where people are approaching knowledge with such an ethos (Nicholas 2012; 2010).

Approaches to communication are also critical terrains for fostering alternative ways of being. Foucault's (1984) 'dialogical ethic' and practice of 'problematization' sums up what I envisage a more enabling mode of communication to look like. 'Real-world' examples of this are Non-Violent Communication practices (NVC 2007: n.p.) and anarchist community practices. For example, collectively developed and shared speaking protocol and consensus-based decision making which inheres a particular attitude to the self and other (Climate Collective 2009: 3):

> Collective social movements, such as the feminist and the queer movements, generate conceptual and normative resources, create networks of psychological and emotional support, and foster counterpublic spaces, all of which aid individuals in their efforts to resist regulatory regimes by providing new modes of recognition, new possibilities for attachment and thus, new ways of becoming subjects (Allen 2005: 218).

Other prefigurative practices of various communities, such as gender-neutral naming and pronouns represent an understanding of the ongoing co-constitution between the self and the community. Additionally, a contemporary resurgence of interest in gender neutral child-rearing has highlighted the complex interrelations in the social imaginary between the biological, social and personal, and in parallel between sexual difference, sex and gender. However, these practices also represent attempts to consider how the creation of these meanings may be intervened in on an individual and collective level.

Conclusion

Gender activism should extend its critique and analysis to the binary impulses of sexual difference and consider ways that non-dualisitic thinking throughout subjective and social life could be fostered. This would not undermine its political power but alleviate some

conceptual inconsistencies, create a more inclusive analysis and result in more long-term and far-reaching strategies. Such strategies need to focus not just on explicitly gendered aspects of life, but on the ways that the self and others are understood within dualistic and hierarchical frames, and need to foster a more complex and reciprocal way of understanding different people.

[1] I use gender neutral pronouns throughout this paper as a prefigurative act of attempting to foster perceptions not predicated upon sexual differentiation.

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The standard bearers: Governing teachers through professional standards

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Abstract

Teacher professional standards have become a key policy mechanism for the reform of teaching and education in recent years. While standards policies claim to improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools today, this paper argues that a disjunction exists between the stated intentions of such programmes and the intelligibility of the practices of government in which they are invested. To this effect, the paper conducts an analytics of government of the recently released *National Professional Standards for Teachers* (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2011) arguing that the explicit, calculated rationality of the programme exists within a wider field of effects. Such analysis has the critical consequence of calling into question the claims of the programmers themselves thus breaching the self-evidence on which the standards rest.

Key words: Governmentality, teacher professional standards, political rationalities, practices of government, education policy

Introduction

Teacher professional standards have become a key policy mechanism for the reform of teaching and education in recent years. In Australia, such policies have led to teacher standards becoming national in scope, uniform in approach and co-extensive with professional practice from preservice teacher education to practice as a teacher across the career span (e.g. Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership [AITSL] 2011). Most of the scholarly research on teacher standards, however, comprises 'meta-narratives of promise' (Dean 2010: 54): teacher standards are elaborated either as models of social progress or as dialectics of salvation (cf. Dean 1994). While very different forms of intellectual practice, both of these approaches—the *progressivist* and the *critical*—are enamoured with the promise of the Enlightenment (Dean 2010). In progressivist research, teacher standards are considered part of the ongoing and progressive rationalization of teaching, schooling and education and the means by which new aspects of teachers' lives can be brought under control and enhanced (e.g. Hattie 2012; Ingvarson 2010; Ingvarson and Hattie 2008; Mayer et al. 2005; Yinger and Hendricks-Lee 2000). In critical research, teacher standards are understood dialectically as part of a rationalization that is both oppressive and liberating (e.g. Apple 2001; Bates 2007; Hargreaves 2003; Sachs 2005). As such, they are part of a process which holds out the promise of emancipation and secular salvation for teachers.

This paper, by contrast, adopts a more *problematizing* intellectual approach inspired by the Foucaultian perspective of governmentality and post-realist social-scientific research more

generally (e.g. Dean 2010; Foucault 1991; Kendall and Wickham 1999; Higgins and Larner 2010; Rose 1999). This is an approach which remains open to the disparity, difference and indeterminacy of mutating events and historical change, seeking to problematize the 'answers' provided by narratives of progress and reconciliation. It is concerned with both the discursive and material relations through which objects of knowledge are produced and rendered workable, and with the consequences of this for relations of power (Higgins and Larner 2010). In short, it is an approach which—to use Foucault's striking formula—refuses the '"blackmail" of the Enlightenment', to be for or against it (Foucault 2000: 312).

This paper thus problematizes teacher standards and concerns itself with the consequences of such standards for the relations of power in which teachers are enmeshed. To this effect, the paper views teacher standards as an advanced liberal 'practice of government'—that is, as a more or less calculated activity aimed at shaping teachers' professional conduct by techniques which work not only through teachers' freedom and agency but also through indirect means for the surveillance and regulation of that agency (Dean 2010; Rose 1999). While policies of teacher professional standards claim that standards will improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools today, the paper argues that a dissonance exists between the stated intentions of such programmes and the effects of the practices of government in which such programmes are invested.

To this effect, the paper will first clarify what it means to think 'governmentally' about teacher standards. Second, it will turn to a recent problematization of standardizing given programmatic form in *The National Professional Standards for Teachers* (NPST) (AITSL 2011). By pointing to the dissonance between the programme's explicit, calculated rationality—the 'programmer's view'—and the strategic effects of the practice of government for teachers, the programmers' claims may be called into question and the self-evidence on which the standards rest, breached (Foucault 1991). [1]

Thinking 'Governmentally' about Teacher Professional Standards

Governmentality provides a powerful analytic and diagnostic perspective on what Foucault called the 'art of government' (Brockling, Krasmann and Lemke 2011: 11). As a research approach, it is now a well established and widely adopted within the social sciences (e.g. Brockling, Krasmann and Lemke 2011; Dean 2010, 1994; Kendall and Wickham 1999; Miller and Rose 2008; Peters, Besley, Olssen, Maurer and Weber 2009; Rose 1999).

Analysing power relations from the angle of the 'conduct of conduct' (Brockling, Krasmann and Lemke 2011: 2) means examining the conditions of governing others and ourselves. This entails analysing the 'political rationalities' and 'programmes of government' by which reality is rendered thinkable and made amendable to calculation and programming; the 'technologies of government' by which such rationalized schemes are translated into the domain of reality; and the 'subjectivities' through which governing operates and which specific practices and programmes of government try to form (Dean 2010; Miller and Rose 2008). Importantly, programmes for the reform of conduct—from White Papers to school rules—are internal to the workings of practices of government; they are not, as Dean (2010: 32) cautions, 'their *raison d'etre*'. Thus, it is possible to distinguish between the explicit, calculated programmatic rationality of a practice of government and its non-subjective intentionality (Dean 2010) given that such practices 'possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and "reason"' (Foucault 1991: 75; Dean 2010).

The Programmer's View of the NPST

The programme of government of the NPST (AITSL 2011) is a plan devised by AITSL and implemented in February 2011 for addressing what has been constructed as a problem in the government of teachers and schooling in Australia for over two decades (e.g. Schools Council 1989): 'teacher quality' (AITSL 2011: 1). Unlike earlier policy forays by various Commonwealth governments and state agencies over this period, the programme of the NPST represents the first national set of professional standards for teachers in Australia. As such, the National Standards now supersede teacher standards from all other jurisdictions. Through state and territory teacher regulation authorities, they are now being deployed in the re-accreditation of courses of initial teacher education, the registration ('licensing' and 'certification') of graduate teachers, and the 'performance development' of practicing teachers over the course of their career (AITSL 2011: 2).

The explicit programmatic rationality of the NPST (AITSL 2011) is a response to the problematization of teacher quality. The rationality draws on a knowledge of teacher professional practice amongst other epistemologies and moralities of political power in an endeavour to grasp the truth of this sphere and re-present it in a form such that it is amenable to conscious political action. Fundamental to the rationality is its claim that teachers are vital to educational reform. Teachers, the programme declares, 'account for the vast majority of expenditure in school education and have the greatest impact on student learning, far outweighing the impact of any other program or policy' (AITSL 2011: 1). Given this, the rationality proclaims itself as a means for improving the 'effectiveness' of teachers through an enhanced and more accountable teacher professionalism. The National Standards, the programme insists, 'define the work of teachers and make explicit the elements of high quality, effective teaching in 21st century schools which results in improved educational outcomes for students' (AITSL 2011: 2). Such outcomes, maintains the programme, 'contribute to the professionalization of teaching and raise the status of the profession'; they provide 'the basis for a professional accountability model'; and they 'inform the development of professional learning goals' (AITSL 2011: 2). Thus, through a framework of seven standards clustered into three domains of teaching (viz. 'professional knowledge', 'professional practice' and 'professional engagement') and applied to four distinct career stages (viz. 'graduate', 'proficient', 'highly accomplished' and 'lead') (AITSL 2011), the programme of government of the NPST sets out its 'solution' to the problematization of teacher quality.

Justification for the NPST and the authority for the authority to govern teachers according to its grammars of conduct are translated into the programme from the field of political discourse. The particular political rationality of the practice of government of the NPST can be diagnosed through an analytics of the discourses integrated into the programme and through the 'external relations of intelligibility' (Foucault 1991: 77) that can be constructed through such analysis. One discourse contributing to the morality, epistemology and vocabulary (Rose 1999) of the rationality of the NPST is that of professional autonomy. It is constituted in the programme by recourse to progressivist scholarly research such as that of Yinger and Hendricks-Lee (2007 cited in AITSL 2011: 22). These authors argue that the professionalization of teaching—and the professional autonomy this implies—necessitates explicit 'research and knowledge-based standards' that 'can convey the professional qualifications of teachers by creating a shared and public language of practice' (Yinger and

Hendricks-Lee 2007: 94). Through the construction of an external relation of intelligibility with the research of Yinger and Hendricks-Lee, the discourse of professional autonomy can be identified as a principle by which the government of teachers was rationalized through programmes of professional standards as far back as middle decades of the 20th century. In 1946, for instance, McDonald (1951) was calling for the establishment of what, in the US, became the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. This involved calling on teachers themselves—if they were to form a profession—to play a determining role within that body (McDonald 1951: 165). The seeming continuity of the notion of professional autonomy in the rationalities of government of teachers over time, however, is matched only by its discontinuity (O'Farrell 2005). In its earlier deployment in the rationalization of the government of teachers as an emerging profession, professional autonomy may be considered a 'substantive' rationality of rule (Rose 1996): teacher professionalism was to be more or less directly transcribed into the machinery and objectives of government for the securitization of social and economic processes (Dean 2010). In its deployment in the NPST today, by contrast, teacher autonomy and professionalism are reconeptualised in a more 'formal' manner (Rose 1996): penetrated by a market mentality, they take on a technical modality and become a means for reforming the very governmental process of teachers' performance itself (Dean, 2010).

Other discourses contributing to the rationality of the NPST are those of professional responsibility and accountability. Again, once a substantive rationality of government in the securitization of social and economic processes, professional responsibility is now reconceptualised as a technical modality in the government of professionals themselves. This is constituted in the political rationality of the NSPT by the programme's recourse to studies by conservative policy bodies such as the Grattan Institute (Jensen 2010 cited in AITSL 2011: 22) and to progressivist scholarly research including that of Australian academic John Hattie (2003 cited in AITSL 2011: 22) and global educational policy analysts Barber and Mourshed (2007 cited in AITSL 2011: 22). The intellectual practice undertaken by these researchers emphasizes teacher quality as the 'main driver' for improving national educational systems (e.g. Barber and Mourshed 2007). All other factors—such as the quality of school students or levels of educational provision (Coffield 2012)—are excluded. Thus, complexity and multiple causation in educational outcomes are ignored in this research: explanatory logic is reduced to teachers' conduct alone. Through the mutual intelligibility established between the discourse of professional responsibility and the thinking of the NPST programmers faced with the need to find an authority for their authority, professional responsibility is translated from the discursive field into the rationality of the NPST itself. A rationality of accountability is then invoked by the NPST—through appeals in the programme to discourses of accountability and professional standards (e.g. OECD 2009 cited in AITSL 2011: 22)—so that teachers' conduct might be locked into the optimization of performance. In presenting itself as a way of restoring trust in the profession, however, this rationality presupposes a culture of mistrust—a culture which it, itself, contributes to, produces and intensifies.

The Strategic Effects of the Practice of Government of the NPST

The strategic effects of the NPST as a practice of government can be constructed through an analytics of the operation of the practices in which the programme itself is invested—but never exhausts. Such programmes may seek to orient practices toward specific purposes and goals but the effects are never uniform and complete; they are only ever partial, piecemeal

and contingent due to the reality, density and logic of the practices themselves (Dean 2010; Kendall and Wickham 1999).

The most obvious but far-reaching strategic effect of the practice of standardizing of the NPST is that it exists within a specific set of relations of power. The programmatic rationality of the NPST represents itself as a professional, not political initiative. The National Standards, the programme asserts, are 'shaped by the profession'—'[validated] by almost 6,000 teachers'—for the 'improvement of teacher quality' and the 'positive public standing of the profession' (AITSL 2011: 1). The strategic effect of the NPST as a practice of government, however, implicates teachers in a new diagram of power comprising an increasing number of agencies, including AITSL itself. While the programmatic rationality portrays itself as enhancing teachers' autonomy, valuing their professional responsibility, and defending their professional standing through accountability measures, the strategic effect of the practice—made translatable with a myriad of other unexamined but imputed rationalities and practices of government—is much more widespread. First, professional autonomy becomes connected to the advanced liberal practice of autonomization (Rose 1999): teachers are freed from bureaucratic and hierarchical lines of authority to pursue a more professional destiny. Second, professional responsibility becomes attached to the advanced liberal practice of responsibilization (Rose 1999): now autonomized, teachers become responsible for that destiny and, seemingly, for the destiny of the education as a whole. Finally, accountability becomes integrated into the advanced liberal practice of audit (Rose 1999): professional standards become the means for the surveillance and regulation of teachers' new agency and the optimization of its performance (Dean 2010).

A second strategic effect of the practice of standardizing of the NPST is that it entails technologies of government that seek to qualitatively transform the subjectivity of the teacher. The subject promoted by the rationality of the NPST—and one with which it seeks teachers to identify—is that of the 'effective' teacher (AITSL 2011: 1). This is a subject who is able to use the National Standards 'to recognize their current and developing capabilities, professional aspirations and achievements' (AITSL 2011: 2) and thus contribute to the improvement of teacher quality. Once again, however, the rationality of the NPST exists within a wider field of effects. The technologies of government by which authorities seek to install the programme of the NPST specify a subject which is not only different from that which it is displacing—the teacher of duty, dependency, habit, and commitment and obligation to others—but discordant with the programme's own rather under played notion of the effective teacher. This is the new subject of the teacher as an actively responsible and calculable professional. Two technologies of government of the NPST which seek to form this subject are, first, assessment in preservice teacher education and, second, professional learning in teachers' professional practice.

A course in teacher education at a large Australian university comprises an assessment item which requires students assess their own learning in terms of the relevant state-based professional standards for teachers—standards which articulate with the NPST and are in the process of being replaced by them. The assessment item (QUT 2012) is a course accreditation requirement of the relevant teacher standards regulatory authority and has 'meta' status in terms of its assessment of learning across the entire course, rather than at the level of an individual subject or subject cluster as tends to be the convention. Of significance here is that the assessment item effectively asks students to audit their university learning in terms of the teacher standards. This action not only penetrates the 'enclosure of expertise' of the university through a form of marketization—the decisions of students as consumers—but

respecifies the preservice teacher as an actively responsible and calculable professional-in-preparation. Preservice teachers are enjoined to become more active in inspecting the programme of teacher education in which they are 'investing', but must take on the responsibility for the choices they make in doing so. In this way, through a distinctly advanced liberal strategy of rule, the government of preservice teachers is accomplished: By seeking to maximise the quality of their professional experience through acts of choice which both service a version of their professionalism they take to be their own and align them with the sanctioned "community" of the regulatory authority, the preservice teacher becomes an active agent in the planned regeneration of the profession (cf. Rose 1996, 1999).

A second technology of government which seeks to form the subjectivity of the teacher as an actively responsible and calculable professional is that of professional learning. While the programme of the NPST identifies professional learning as a standard of effective and quality teaching (AITSL 2011: Standard Six), the technology of professional learning instantiates this in practice and translates cognate technologies of autonomization and responsibilization to form the teacher as an active individual seeking to 'enterprise' themselves. Teachers are given responsibility for their professional learning; the terms of the 'calculative regime' are known to all participants and, to a certain extent, teachers are free to get to the (professional learning) ends any way they choose (AITSL 2012a; Kendall 2005; King and Kendall 2004). The emphasis on teachers' professional learning points to the continued reliance of liberal rule on the positive knowledges of experts. Its inclusion in the NPST as a professional standard points to the way in which such governmental processes themselves are being governed through advanced liberal techniques: the NPST's professional learning standard is an indirect means for the surveillance and regulation of teachers' agency in area of professional learning. Indeed, so important is thought the need to secure the governmental mechanism of teachers' professional learning that it is now subject to more sovereign modes of authority and rule. While a basic requirement for teacher re-registration amongst a number of state teacher regulation authorities for several years (e.g. QCT 2008), teacher professional learning is now the object of AITSL's *Australian Charter for the Professional Learning of Teachers and School Leaders* (AITSL 2012a) and comprises 'an essential element' in the 'professional practice and learning' component (AITSL 2012b: 6) of AITSL's *Australian Teacher Performance and Development Framework* (AITSL 2012b).

Conclusion

This paper adopted a problematizing approach to teacher professional standards in contrast to the meta-narratives of promise that characterize much of the research in this area and inform teacher standards policy. It analysed the NPST as an advanced liberal practice of government for shaping teachers' conduct not only through teachers' responsibilized autonomy but also through the surveillance and regulation of that professional autonomy which such standardizing allows. Through such analysis, the paper pointed to the disjunction between the explicit and calculated programmatic rationality of the NPST and the intelligibility of the practices of government in which the programme is both invested and translates. The paper argued that the strategic effects of such practices included the location of the practice of standardizing of the NPST within a specific set of power relations involving a double movement of autonomization and responsibilization of teachers. The paper noted that effects also entailed technologies of government which seek to produce the subjectivity of the actively responsible and calculable professional. Through such analysis, the claims of the

programmers themselves were brought into question and the self-evidence on which the standards rest effectively breached.

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Notes

[1] Dean (2007 and 2010) argues that the critical purchase of an analytics of government 'stems from the disjunction between the explicit, calculated and programmatic rationality and the non-subjective intentionality that can be constructed through analysis' (2010: 32). He argues that the 'disjunction between programmatic rationality and the logic or basic intelligibility of governmental practices is, I believe, absolutely crucial' (2007: 83). While not having received enough attention from the followers of Foucault—a point Dean notes (2007: 83)—the canonical study in this area would be Dean's (2010) study of the logic of empowerment.

Social Responsibility of the Ukrainian Nation State and Labour Migration: Contemporary Challenges

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of social responsibility of the Ukrainian nation state towards a phenomenon which has arisen as a major source as well as consequence of socio-economic tensions prevailing since the dissolution of the Soviet Union: mass-scale labor emigration in Ukraine. It analyzes the case-study of Ukrainian labour migration to Italy and Poland shedding light on the personal motivations of labour migrants and the way they manifest themselves in relation to the Ukrainian state. Furthermore, the paper presents a concept of national social responsibility with a link to evaluation of the Ukrainian case. The paper suggests the combination of a lack of social responsibility of the Ukrainian nation state and the transitional economy formed by the collapse of a socialist polity has encouraged the dramatic movement of Ukrainians to work in European Union countries, specifically Italy and Poland. While there is a tendency to view the migrants as those who cause the problems, this study puts forward the argument that it is the nation state's socially irresponsible policies, and not migrants, that need amendment and improvement.

Key words: National social responsibility, nation state, Ukraine, labour migration, Italy, Poland

Introduction

"I doubt someone will be able to survive this way. It is practically impossible to earn enough money for living taking on one job. Yes, life has led to such condition that I was forced to leave, to keep just a little steam of life." (W., 31 y.o., worked in Poland)

"Ukraine has never been a state where every citizen could somehow push or somehow reveal his initiative, and those initiatives that were in Ukraine, I did not like [...]. The nation state is irresponsible." (N., 42 y.o., worked in Italy)

The above extracts from interviews conducted during 2009-2011 capture the uncertainty, ambiguity and precarious circumstance in which many Ukrainians found themselves during the early 1990's, when significant numbers left post-Soviet Ukraine. In this paper, I discuss how current Ukrainian policies directed at managing a transition economy perceived by Ukrainians as socially irresponsible configure personal motivation of potential labour migrants to migrate. More specifically, through interview materials, I contribute localized and grounded evidence of the combination of social irresponsibility of the Ukrainian nation state and the transitional economy formed by the collapse of a socialist polity has encouraged the dramatic movement of Ukrainians to work in European Union countries, particularly Italy and Poland.

The Ukrainian situation: migration to Italy and Poland

International labour migration of Ukrainians today is the most socially significant and widespread form of migration flow in Ukraine, aggravating demography, labour markets, economic and social development, individual welfare, poverty and social stratification. Psychological and cultural risks also come to bear (Levchenko, 2010: 16).

Ukrainian labour migration plays a pivotal role in the population decline. According to the Ukrainian National Academy of Science in 2050, the population of Ukraine will decline from the current 46 million to 36 million (Institute of Demography and Social Studies of NAS of Ukraine, 2010); while the United Nations presents an even more pessimistic figure: 26 million (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2010). National survey results reveal the number of citizens who have traveled abroad for employment at least once from January 2005 to June 2008 reached 1.5 million or 5.1% of the working age population (State Statistic Committee of Ukraine, 2009: 25). Various estimations further show between 4 to 7 million Ukrainians are migrant workers (Golovaha, 2008: 63), respectively 19.5% to 34.1% of the economically active population (Malynovska, 2011: 6). In such great proportions this outflow of Ukrainian workers has created an unprecedented set of economic, demographical and social burdens neglected but not unforeseeable by the state.

During 2009-2011, I conducted 27 semi structured in-depth interviews with Ukrainian migrant workers (12 who worked in Poland and 15 who worked in Italy) examining the phenomenon of Ukrainian labour migration and the migrants' life strategies. The group of respondents emphasized the following as the main stimulus for migration from Ukraine: 1) the low level of income; 2) retrenchment due to social and economic shocks; 3) absence of social protection (lack of state support); and 4) shifts in social values and social prestige.

As the content analysis of the transcribed interviews showed the major reason for working abroad is not due to a lack of jobs but rather low wages, my research contradicts the idea of a direct link between migration and unemployment. Other quantitative studies by the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine in 2008 supports this idea: the lack of suitable work or unemployment forced 38.7% of migrants to seek earnings overseas; while for the majority (59.8%) the crucial reason for emigration were low wages. This is consistent with the results of another study where 67% of employees said that low wages were the main push factor for their voluntary departure for work (GFK Ukraine[1]), while the lack of jobs was noted by 46%[2] of workers (Levchenko, 2010: 28). Consequently, low income creates more of a reasonable social response than unemployment in contemporary Ukrainian society.

Despite the economic benefits of labor migration, 11 of my interviewees migrated for non-economic factors. They were personal, cultural or educational reasons: 1) the intention to change their personal life, to see the world, to gain life experience; 2) studying and improving professional qualifications. The main motivator in most cases was the wish for self-realization in a safe environment with economic, social and political stability; which is perceived to be unrealizable in Ukraine. Thus, economic motivation is not the sole reason for migration, but rather labour migration appears to be an instrument for achieving a dream of stability and economic freedom.

25 from 27 respondents noted the economic uncertainty in Ukraine with minimal state participation in investigating more employment. According to governmental estimations, the unemployment rate in Ukraine would be 1.5 times higher if labour migration is restricted. The

average migrant worker in 2007 earned 817 US dollars per month, almost three times higher than the median monthly salary in Ukraine (State Statistic Committee of Ukraine, 2009: 79). Migrants' earnings are of great, sometimes crucial importance to the welfare of their households. Consequently, the Ukrainian government seems to find it less beneficial to create workplaces and more beneficial to fill the public purse with money from Ukrainian migrant workers in the form of remittances.

During interviews, many Ukrainians talked of their life in the recipient country as of a "precarious life". Two Ukrainian migrants stated that they were refused support from the Ukrainian consulates and embassies in Italy and Poland. Many of them felt depressed, unprotected and insecure in the sense of place and future. But in spite of these considerable challenges in recipient societies, return migration is extremely low.

The example of Ukrainian workers in Italy and Poland brings to the forefront the issues of sources, principles, subjects responsible for development and implementation socially accountable policies. Moreover, it underpins the urgency of establishing an adequate and appropriate national model of migration policy in the Ukrainian nation state, which is one of the largest donors and transit countries for migration flows from East to West (Markiv, 2009:12).

Concept of National Social Responsibility

What constitutes the "social responsibility" of the nation state is difficult to define. In the last 50 years, scholars have set the foundations of the "abstract" concept of social responsibility as a useful basis for its implementation in current circumstances (Carroll, 1999). This has happened despite different views on the concept through the decades and despite the lack of consensus on its general definition (Henderson, 2001; Frankental, 2001). All definitions of the concept include basic phrases like focus of corporations on societal needs and goals, care for diverse interests of numerous stakeholders and not only for the interests of capital owners, focus on societal benefits, welfare, better quality of life and the protection of the environment.

More frequently, the concept of social responsibility began to appear in the literature in the early 1950s (Carroll, 1999), irrespective of the predominant practice of big corporations whose tentacles got longer with globalisation and which quickly followed the trend of capitalism, facilitating the accumulation of wealth. To date, much of the discussion about social responsibility has been about the social responsibilities of corporations, lacking the attention to national social responsibility as a separate concept. Theories of corporate social responsibility acknowledge that corporations operate within a network of various stakeholders that can influence them either directly or indirectly (Habisch and Jonker, 2005: 7). Bowie (1991) is setting the issue of so-called moral relations between a corporation and its stakeholders (they have to be reciprocal, which means active cooperation by stakeholders) and setting up moral plurality. Such an approach is important when applied to the concept of national social responsibility where stakeholders of a nation come to the place of stakeholders of corporation. Definitions of national social responsibilities that can rarely be found in academic literature emphasize the interrelationship between economic, environmental and social aspects and their impacts on the state's activities, and that social responsibility "is taken to mean a balanced approach for the nation state to address economic, social and environmental issues in a way that aims to benefit people, communities and society" (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2004). Conceptions of social responsibility differ according to national, social and economic priorities, which are themselves influenced by historical and cultural factors.

At the national level, the key influences on social responsibility include the level of modernization or economic development of a nation and the particular institutional arrangements it exhibits. Rawls (1993) uses the term "basic structure" to refer to a given country's institutional arrangements in politics, law, economics, and the family. These arrangements provide “the background conditions against which the actions of individuals and associations take place” (Kaynak and Iyer, 1999: 35). Particular national institutional arrangements can either actively promote social responsibility, latently sustain it, or actively discourage it. There is ample evidence to suggest that Ukrainian national institutions are revealing the last two settings on social responsibility, supporting the idea that the less developed a society is the less prominent the social responsibility discourse will be (Cannon, 1994). This is clearly illustrated by contemporary Ukrainian social policies that are economically focused, and unfortunately these economic priorities supersede social development. For example bribery, corruption, anti-competitive practices are more firmly established in the Ukrainian social responsibility discourse than worker conditions, human rights, social development and community issues. According to Alas and Tafel (2007: 371), in transition economies we should not overlook the fact that, “at least in the early years of social and economic transition, the focus is on a rapid economic development where the social side will inevitably be left in the background and economic development will take place at the expense of social and environmental development”. The place of Ukraine in the National Social Responsibility Index (NSRI) scale, conceptually built on freedom, well-being and transparency indexes, gives evidence that such a vector of development influences social spheres in a deep level. In 2007 Ukraine with the NSRI of 0.53 occupied 85th place among 180 countries, the worst result in Europe (MHCi, 2007).

Consequently, at the national level one would think that a government would like to treat its people responsibly, morally and fairly, promoting social security, unemployment insurance, environmental policy, pensions, healthcare, social housing, social care, child protection, social exclusion, education policy, crime and criminal justice. But, for so many, this has not been the case. In fact, the Ukrainian example is not an exception - it shows that a lack of socially responsible governance in the country has led to mass outflows of migrants (frequently known as labour migrants) and is the main focus of the remainder of this article.

Lack of National Social Responsibility in Ukraine and Labour Migration

The collapse of the socialist system in the early 1990’s and the subsequent transition of post-Soviet states to the market economy provided the population with greater freedom of movement along with higher expectations of social responsibility from the nation state. However, gaining the right to free movement coincided with a time of structural transformation accompanied by a decrease in living standards and rising unemployment rate. As a result of degradation of free education and healthcare systems, the expenses were also borne by the individual. A revealing illustration on the poor state of health care is the story of a Ukrainian labour migrant, who went to Italy in 1998 due to the fact that Ukrainian health system would not treat her illness which caused her to remain infertile, so she was forced to go abroad and seek specialists in the Italian health care sector while earning money to support the treatment.

Unwilling to tolerate the widespread shadow relations in the Ukrainian social systems: unregulated labor relations, wages in envelopes, irregular working hours; the future migrant worker begins to look for ways out. This process takes place on the basis of individuals’ observations of others life strategies and the acquired benefits - the expansion of social

opportunities mentioned by almost every respondent. Such situation stimulated labor migration abroad, which at the end turned into a mass phenomenon and major source of income of many Ukrainian families.

As a matter of fact, in the process of institutional reforms and societal transformations caused by departure from the socialist model of the state, the Ukrainian society has lost its basic social guarantees the state has been providing for several decades, such as: guarantees of full employment; subsidized prices for consumer goods and services; free or low cost health care and education; developed social infrastructure and social welfare system in state enterprises. Respondents aged over 40, who have lived during Soviet times, used to compare the current situation in Ukraine with the one in USSR. All of them mentioned that people in that time used to rely on the Soviet state, capable in many cases to help to cope with everyday social risk. Actually, they blame the collapse of socialists system as the main reason for their current situation as a labour migrant worker. Therefore, interview materials reveal that the dramatic social changes in the model of state responsibility could not but provoke widespread social trauma in society, as well as such changes were not able to quickly eradicate values of etatism and paternalistic culture (Popova, 1998: 146).

Moreover, from the conducted interviews it can be concluded that there is a large gap in dialogue between Ukrainian citizens and the Ukrainian state, due to responses to social enquiries from the government that are often superficial and reactionary rather than strategic. Likewise, the empirical data of "European Social Survey (ESS), conducted in 2008-2009 in 31 European countries, namely the module “Welfare attitude in a changing Europe”, indicate that “there is a catastrophic lack of social responsibility of the nation state in the Ukrainian society” (Kutsenko and Gorbachyk, 2011: 122). The analyses of the three-dimensional space of citizen’s perception of social responsibility – a) expectations of social security provided by the state; b) evaluation of benefits; c) evaluation of risks of welfare state implementation – brought to the forefront the paradox that exists in the social conscious of the Ukrainian citizens: “very high level of social expectations from the state is combined with the lowest (comparing to other countries) estimations of the use from the state social support programs, extremely low level of trust to the state and its institutions. Such people’s attitudes toward perceptions and evaluations of welfare policies suggest that during the 20 years of post-Soviet development the lack of social responsibility of the state wasn’t compensated. Therefore, in the current condition of deep socio-economic and moral crisis as well as transformation of social structure and values, such situation only increased the social alienation and deep institutional rupture between state and society, furthermore, in many cases becoming a reasonable motive for emigration.

Lack of national social responsibility can be also traced in deficient labour market and migration policy. Involvement in external labour migration representatives of all Ukrainian regions have become the fundamental social and economic problem necessary for urgent administrative governance and development of new socially responsible policies. Social security and protection of Ukrainian labour migrants, as mentioned in the interview materials, are the key issues that Ukrainians feel lack of and are in need of either in the country of labour or in Ukraine. It suggests that current Ukrainian migration and labour policies should in first turn address these matters being a socially responsible state. In official Ukrainian documents the formation of bilateral agreements on employment and social security are always declared as one of the areas of migration policy and the basic tool of protection of citizens employed abroad. In practice, the general agreements on employment do not play the regulatory role of migration and do not guarantee the rights of migrants. They have more political significance and appear to be rather declarations of intent by cooperation partners in the field of employment (Roska, 2009: 16).

However, for today the agreements providing mutual insurance record and transfer payments within pension, accidents, unemployment and temporary disability insurances are signed not with all states that employ Ukrainian citizens. It is important to note the gaps in Ukrainian legislation narrow the scope of their actions, for example, the lack of legislation on health insurance does not allow establishing appropriate standards in international agreements.

This research suggests that policymakers will do well in developing more socially responsible welfare and migration policies as crucial to the processes of creating favorable social, economic and political conditions within the country so central to concerns of bureaucrats, publics and politicians in migrant-sending states in contemporary de-regulated capitalism. The interview materials with Ukrainian labour migrants working in Italy and Poland suggest that for today, having formed the necessary political vision of problems of labor migration trends and their solutions, practical steps in this direction in Ukrainian policies are missing. The reasons lie in the lack of legislation, including the absence of mutual agreements on Ukrainian citizens' employment in the range of countries, no law on legal status of migrant workers, lack of public assistance for Ukrainian labor workers abroad, dispersion management functions, and most importantly the absence in the government structure of the executive body specialized on labor migration, which would be able to shape policy, lobby for the adoption of necessary legislation and form a favorable public opinion for solution of migration problems.

Conclusion

This research paper proposes that the social responsibility of the nation state plays a pivotal role in the contemporary migration processes taking place in Ukraine. The analysis of life-stories of Ukrainian labour migrants in Italy and Poland actualizes the issues of the socially responsible governance of the sending country. Specifically, the lack of national social responsibility of the Ukrainian state as reflected in deficient social policies and general inability to treat its citizens fairly, look after their well-being, especially addressing Ukrainians employed abroad, appear to be one of the main causes of mass labour migration from Ukraine.

The interviews with Ukrainian migrants in Italy and Poland showed that state's social irresponsibility is crucial in forming a decision to migrate. Being potential migrants, interviewed Ukrainians didn't feel social support from the state when they were in need and thus the level of the trust in all Ukrainian state institutions was and remains rather low. There are several reasons for this current distrust in state institutions and perceived lack of social responsibility from the nation state by Ukrainian citizens: (1) the collapse of the socialists system, that brought along the loss of basic social guarantees the state has been providing for several decades, such as: guarantees of full employment; subsidized prices for consumer goods and services; free or low cost health care and education; developed social infrastructure and social welfare system in state enterprises; (2) the values of etatism and paternalistic culture, that due to social trauma in society caused by transition were not quickly eradicated; (3) the absence of dialogue between Ukrainian citizens and the Ukrainian state, revealed in superficial and reactionary rather than strategic responses from the government to social enquires. Consequently, people see the nation state as socially irresponsible for human and social development of the Ukrainian nation. During interviews, 25 from 27 migrants mentioned uncertainty and ambiguity of economic, social and political situation in contemporary Ukraine as one of the main causes of their leave for work abroad.

Unfortunately, it is not only Ukrainian migrants' subjective perceptions of the Ukrainian state as being socially irresponsible, objectively in 2007 Ukraine occupied the last place among all European countries with the figure of 0.53 according to the National Social Responsibility Index (NSRI), conceptually built on freedom, well-being and transparency indexes. Following the conceptualization of national social responsibility given above socially responsible state can be defined as a state that treats its citizens fairly, looks after their well-being, and provides social support (including security and protection) of its citizens. Regrettably, Ukraine is recognized to be a state with a low level of social responsibility from the national institutions revealed in the policies they promote regarding Ukrainian citizens.

Some efforts that could help to endorse social responsibility of the Ukrainian nation state include capital market reform, the promotion of democratic structures in the public sphere to incorporate citizens in the policy process. Moreover, efforts could be made to increase space within the public sphere for currently marginalized groups, which often include potential labour migrants, to have a voice in the formulation of social policies, as well as labour and migration policies.

Footnotes

1. Research on human trafficking in Belorussia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine (2008).
2. Percentage summary exceeds 100% as respondents could name a few reasons for migration.

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Rights, Risks and Remarkable Resilience

Abstract

Three people aged 18-26yrs, *labelled* with intellectual disability, were supported as co-researchers to explore what they perceived to be breaches of their disability rights. Using Photo-voice as the primary research method, this Inclusive Participatory Action Research uncovered significant issues concerning restrictive practices and abuse within a group home in Western Sydney. More generally, this research challenges the construct of intellectual disability. I discuss rights claimed, risks faced and remarkable, emergent resilience.

Paper

> Where, after all, do universal human rights begin?
>
> In small places, close to home
>
> Eleanor Roosevelt, 1958
>
> Chair of the Human Rights Commission
>
> (National Coordinating Committee for UDHR50 1958)

Human rights begin in the small, ordinary places because unless rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. In this paper I discuss disability rights-based research that explored one such small place, a group home in Western Sydney. I supported a group of three people aged 18-26yrs, *labelled* with intellectual disability, as co-researchers to explore what they perceived to be breaches of their disability rights. Significant issues concerning

restrictive practices and abuse emerged. In this paper I discuss rights claimed, risks faced and remarkable, emergent resilience. More generally, our research challenges the construct of intellectual disability.

The research team supported our co-researcher *Alex* (pseudonym) to self-advocate on behalf of his rights. By *rights*, I refer to both the NSW Disability Service Standards (DSS) (NSW Ageing and Disability Department 1998) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPWD) (United Nations 2006). Specific disability rights and how they were identified and analysed are described.

Standing up for one's rights is risky. Risks which were realised included retaliation and reproach from disability staff and an apparent reluctance by the service provider to resolve matters.

One finding of our research was that self-advocates can be resilient. *Alex*'s struggle to rise above the issues he faced and his resolve to hold his ground was remarkable. It is with *Alex*'s permission that I share his story.

Research methodology

The study undertaken was Inclusive Participatory Action Research (IPAR). IPAR is grounded on the 'nothing about us without us' principle and the disability right of people to be actively involved in research concerning themselves (United Nations 2006). It is a variation of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as outlined by Kemmis and McTaggart (2003), exclusively including people labelled with intellectual disabilities (for further details on IPAR see Ollerton and Horsfall (2012)).

IPAR fundamentally challenges presuppositions about the nature of research, including who can undertake research. IPAR alters traditional research relations by giving people agential roles in constructing and reconstructing their social reality. However, IPAR has risks. IPAR carries the risk that the research may be not sufficiently inclusive (Rodgers 1999), only

tokenistic (Radermacher 2006) or even stage-managed (Riddell, Wilkinson et al. 1998). To address these risks IPAR utilises accessible methods so that co-researchers can make meaningful contributions for positive social change (Ollerton and Horsfall, 2012).

Research method

Photo-voice, an accessible photography-based tool, was the primary method used. Co-researchers described their experience of social barriers to their disability rights through photographs and narrative. Photo-voice gave the co-researchers the status of expert in the analysis of their own lives instead of making their lives available for analysis by others (Wang and Burris 1997).

Research process

Co-researcher photographs were discussed at weekly IPAR meetings. Together we considered disability rights issues alongside the photographs to determine if social barriers identified in the photographs were breaches of the DSS or CRPWD. Not every photograph represented disability rights breaches. However, data emerged which motivated the IPAR team to operationalize the DSS and CRPWD. Critical discussion of issues raised by *Alex* involved deconstructing the photographs, talking through the issues associated with the photographs and challenging preconceived ideas by use of the operationalized instruments. Various disability rights concerns were identified.

Results

Restrictions

Alex's photograph (Figure 1) shows his group home's kitchen door. For *Alex*, this photograph represented a social barrier to his self-determination. He and other residents were not allowed in the kitchen. Such institutional restrictions are not uncommon (Roets and Van Hove 2003) but the prison-like barred door defied any semblance of normalisation (Goodley 2000). To explore the barrier further we interviewed the group home Manager and staff. It was evident

from their responses that the barred door was an accepted, unchangeable house feature.

[Figure 1 about here]

Group home staff claimed the door made the kitchen their ‘safe room’. The Manager claimed it protected residents from knives and those with food obsessions from over-eating. But for *Alex* it was a disappointing and inevitable part of life, preventing him learning life skills such as cooking.

Robbery

From a postmodern perspective it is recognised that discourses of disability maintain historically entrenched power imbalances (Roets and Van Hove 2003). Technologies of power (such as diagnoses and labels, policies and practices) manage, control and disenfranchise those subject to them (Peter 2000). It is difficult for those labelled to advance their disability rights (Armstrong 2002). What Foucault (2001) describes as *regimes of power* determine institutional *truths* through accepted practices. In doing so they ‘pilfer power’ from ‘the lives of those who are the objects of that truth’ (Roets and Van Hove 2003: 602). The group home staff truth regarding their need of a safe room and the Manager’s truth about residents’ protection overrode *Alex*’s truth concerning his right to learn life skills, thereby robbing him of that truth and disability right.

Recognising rights, reclaiming power

Utilising disability rights instruments to reclaim *Alex*'s power we challenged truths, such as the purpose of the door, using the CRPWD and the DSS. The research team asked whether the door permitted *Alex* equality of opportunity (Article 3 General Principles) to learn life skills. (It did not.) Did the door represent a facility designed to meet *Alex*’s specific needs (Article 4 General Obligations) or facilitate lifelong learning or develop his full potential (Article 24 Education) (United Nations 2006)? (It did not.) Using Photo-voice within the context of IPAR, we dialogically unpacked the barrier. The CRPWD was thereby

operationalized by the people for whom it was written (Harpur 2012).

Other restrictive group home rules were identified by *Alex* as social barriers. Several of these rules, designed to limit *Alex*'s contact with an abusive housemate, were ineffective.

Our responses

Alex claimed that these restrictive rules were 'just the way it is', yet, when compared to the CRPWD, breaches were evident. The rules also contravened DSS 2 because the service did not meet *Alex*'s individual needs 'in the least restrictive way'.

The CRPWD and DSS both indicated that *Alex* had grounds to question the group home rules. *Alex* suggested that we talk to his group home Manager. *Alex* had the option of meeting her on his own, or supported by me or another team member, or supported by the whole team. *Alex* chose the latter. Initially our invitation was accepted, however the Manager later cancelled this meeting.

Subsequent research actions included phone calls, letters and formal complaints (signed by the whole IPAR team along with *Alex's* mother) to the Department which ran the home. We also complained to the NSW Ombudsman and met our state MP as a team. Having only *Alex*'s account of events (confirmed by his mother), we repeatedly requested to meet with a Department representative to clarify our understandings. Following legal advice we submitted advocacy and confidentiality agreements signed by *Alex* and each IPAR team member - but our meeting requests were repeatedly denied. While the Department did respond to abuse claims promptly and agreed to meet with *Alex* and me, this was not *Alex*'s choice. *Alex* wanted the IPAR team as his advocates. Even though DSS 10.1 states that service users have the right 'to choose their own advocates' (plural noted) and DSS 7.8 stipulates that complaints and disputes procedures must allow 'for the participation of the service user's advocate where requested', a request for three advocates was dismissed without negotiation. We also wrote to the Minister for Disability & Ageing, triggering a

formal investigation.

Reluctance

The Department's investigation into the group home took six months. Following one complaint lodged by the IPAR team the Regional Manager phoned and advised me that she would look into 'what did or didn't happen' and repeatedly told me,

> '*Alex* is someone who likes attention... and likes to talk about his situation with others'.

Her scepticism of *Alex*'s account and her dismissal of ongoing problems echoed findings of Hollomotz (2011) where self-advocates were branded as attention seekers or 'drama queens' (p. 147) by service providers. Following six months of research during which *Alex* reported incidents of harassment almost weekly, I rang the Disability Abuse Hotline on *Alex*'s behalf. I asked what could be done to remove the other resident from the group home so that *Alex* did not live under daily threat of abuse. Although very sympathetic, the Hotline staff replied,

> 'Where will they put him? They would just be transferring the problem from one group home to the next. There's not much they can do about it'.

While some of the group home rules were designed to minimise risk of abuse, they were powerless to protect *Alex*. *Alex*'s 'protective' environment protected his abuser more than *Alex* (Hollomotz 2011). Furthermore, staff deflected criticism by minimising the seriousness of what went on.

The Department's delayed response to our complaints came as no surprise to *Alex*'s mother. She advised our IPAR team,

> 'It's quite deliberate I'm sure. They want you to give up... They want you to go away… They wear you down'.

Hollomotz (2011) speaks of this systemic wearing down as the gradual erosion of resistance.

Retaliation and reproach

The IPAR team spoke regularly with *Alex*'s mother about our planned actions and complaints. She warned that in her experience, reprisals were inevitable. It was therefore ethically important to afford *Alex* the opportunity, and dignity, of choosing whether or not to take informed risks. I regularly spoke with *Alex* about whether he still wanted to pursue the complaints and risk the reprisals. Not knowing what the reprisals might be made it difficult for us to support *Alex* in weighing the risks. However, time and again *Alex* stated, 'I want the Photo-voice group to help me stop this'.

Alex told us of staff retaliation (e.g. lodging incident reports against *Alex* immediately after he had lodged a complaint against a carer) and nastiness from particular staff (e.g. threatening to tell *Alex*'s mother not to ring *Alex*, which was something he looked forward to each week). *Alex* reported instances of staff making life unnecessarily difficult for him (e.g. unreasonably refusing access to his property and money). One petulant response from a staff member was 'the silent treatment' - ignoring *Alex* when *Alex* spoke to him and later explaining that he was not going to speak to *Alex* because *Alex* would only report what was said to the IPAR team. This was a difficult situation for *Alex*, who was dependent upon the group home staff. Our IPAR actions risked *Alex*'s relationships with staff.

Alex also risked reproach. On one occasion, following an IPAR excursion to a police station, *Alex* said he felt reprimanded by the Regional Manager when she said,

> 'You don't need to go to the police [*Alex*]. If you have a problem you can speak with the carers'.

Remarkable resilience

Resilience is the overcoming of stress or adversity (Rutter 2001). Goodley (2005: 333) notes that resilience emerges in response to a disabling community (p.333). From a social model of disability perspective,[i] resilience can emerge in response to social barriers. For some people

labelled with intellectual disabilities, resilience emerges through inclusive relationships where self-determination is encouraged, such as through peer support (Gonzalez and Padilla 1997). However, rather than being a character trait, Goodley (2005) describes resilience as contextual, a product of the situation in which it emerges. This aligns with vulnerability theories (see Bankoff, Frerks et al. 2004) that suggest vulnerability is situational rather than a personal trait. Vulnerability is created by the environment people live in.

Resilience of people labelled with intellectual disability dismantles stereotypes which present them as inherently vulnerable and incompetent. Resilience adds the notion of collective agency which, as *Alex*'s example demonstrates, can significantly complicate social relations and disturb the *status quo*. In this sense resilience is disruptive. *Alex* invested great hope in our research actions, demonstrating resilience is optimistic. When it appears in people labelled with intellectual disability, resilience challenges society's predisposition to undervalue and underestimate the capacity of such people to weather life's storms (Goodley 2005).

Written reply and a resolution

Six months after contacting the Minister, we received a written reply. While vindicating *Alex*'s claims, it veiled truth as 'systemic issues' (Sherlock 2008) without specifying how these would be addressed. An action plan, to which we would not be privy, would be established although no timeframe was set. The IPAR team found the Department's letter unsatisfactory and uninformative. One co-researcher asked *Alex* how he wanted the group to respond to this letter. *Alex* said, 'I want more information… I want to know what they found… and what they're going to do about it'. *Alex* would not be fobbed off.

Following the response a meeting was obtained with a new group home Manager. Our concerns were addressed and the kitchen door was replaced with a standard door. Service practices in the home were reviewed. *Alex*'s individual life skills program was revised to

include the implementation of a food skills program. Some group home staff were dismissed and the remaining staff received DSS training. Such results reform truths and are positive social changes affecting the quality of life of the group home residents.

In the context of a dysfunctional and disabling group home, with IPAR peer support *Alex* was a resilient self-advocate. Standing up for his disability-rights, challenging restrictive rules, *Alex* disrupted and resisted everyday practice *truths*. In the face of discouraging inaction and ongoing harassment, *Alex* optimistically expected our IPAR efforts would be effective. Despite the risk of retaliation *Alex* resolutely claimed his rights, resisted the *status quo* and demonstrated remarkable resilience.

Recap

Our IPAR project armed *Alex* with the knowledge of his rights and provided choice and support to face risks. Collectively we challenged restrictive practices and residents' disempowerment. As a result, truth was re-written and processes reformed. Achieving such change challenges and reconstructs the notion of *intellectual disabilities* within both the field of Intellectual Disability research and society in general by providing evidence of competence, collaboration and perseverance.

Advocating alongside *Alex*, the IPAR team discovered that standing up for one’s rights is risky. Complainants risk reprisals and recriminations by rocking their service provider’s boat. In the context of a disabling community, our IPAR project provided rights knowledge and peer-support to enable the co-researchers to explore their rights, take their own risks and demonstrate their remarkable resilience.

Figure 1. Group home kitchen door.

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[i]The *social model* understands disability in terms of people being disabled *by society* and its imposition of physical, social and attitudinal barriers French, S. (1994).

Human care work and emotion: A call to re-examine theory

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Abstract

The shift to post-industrialism in western societies has been typified by an emphasis on worker knowledge as a commodity and growth in service work. Sociology provides a strong foundation to understand this growth as more than just a different type of physical or intellectual work, but also as a form of organisationally defined emotional labour. However, much of this consideration has centred on retail or personal service work, rather than the expanding field of human care service work. This form of service work requires expert knowledge, technical proficiency, emotional involvement and ability with information technology. Further, this work (especially when it involves inequality, poverty, trauma or grief) makes different emotional demands on service professionals. Together, these factors suggest the need for a re-consideration of emotion as it relates to human care service work.

Drawing on recent research into the professional aged care provided by Nurse Practitioner's, as well as the unpaid care provided by family members to cancer patients, this paper explores the implications of these trends. On one hand, shifting demands in human care work produce new personal demands on service professionals. On the other hand, shifting boundaries in care work mean informal carers are required to increasingly take on the emotionally demanding task of balancing family and care-work relationships. The paper will argue that sociological considerations of emotion as it relates to human care service work could benefit from a renewed role for agency and advocate for interactive (in addition to structural) approaches to understanding human care work.

Key words: human service work, professional carers, family carers, emotional labour, affect.

Human care work and emotion: A call to re-examine theory

In this paper, we call for the re-examination of sociology of emotion theories to allow for the increasingly pluralistic, genuine/manipulated and interactive nature of emotions within human care work. We start by summarising changes to work, from industrialisation through to late modernity, then summarise changes to human care work. We review the largely structuralist

approaches that have been used and reworked to understand emotions at work. We then call for a sociology of emotions theory that can offer more flexibility in interrogating the broad range of implications for human care workers as the distinctions between public and private, work and home, genuine and manipulated become less relevant.

Industrialisation prompted a split of the public-work realm and private realm (Pocock 2009). Work became more mechanised and workers were expected to leave relationships and emotion at factory doors (Grandey 2000). Classes were politically pitted against each other, making structuralist Marxist perspectives highly relevant (Bonefeld & Holloway 1991). Emotions, however, were played down in such views, with structural change to bring about the end of capitalism seen as the 'main game'.

Post-industrialism saw the nature and place of work change again. Middle-class work became more information and knowledge-based (Touraine 1971; Bell 1974; Gorz 1982). Production became more flexible and consumer-focused (Amin 1994). This resulted in a growing service economy, an emerging knowledge economy, and an increasing emphasis on autonomy and reflexive individuality.

Late modernity sees a further shift from these industrial divisions. More labour is occurring back in the home and theorists are increasingly identifying a blurring of work and life categories (Pocock 2008; 2009). More health and education services are supplied by private providers and the responsibility for managing these services increasingly falls to individuals and families (Dow & McDonald 2007). Furthermore, where such services had previously been supplied using Fordist rationales, increasingly there is an emphasis on flexible service delivery, community-based approaches and client choice.

In health specifically, we have witnessed substantial shifts. In place of paternalistic models of healthcare delivery, 'patient autonomy' is now a principle prioritised alongside beneficence and non-maleficence (Kerridge, Lowe & Stewart 2009). Cost-cutting imperatives have also motivated a shift in the location and providers of care work. Community-based care and 'hospital in the home' models allow for shorter in-patient stays with health care work provided by health professionals visiting patients in their homes (Olson 2012). These changes are having a significant impact on the relative boundaries, and hence responsibilities, in health care work.

This kind of work is now less personal and permanent, is highly stressful, and the need to maintain service quality is high. In urban fringe communities, where encounters with inequality, poverty, trauma and tragedy more frequently occur, this has contributed to growing attrition, fatigue and depression amongst human care service professionals (Dollard 2003). Increasingly, it has been recognised that emotion demands are a vital part of the work of these service professionals.

Over the past 25 years, Hochschild's work has been predominant in considering this growth in the service economy and employees' emotional efforts. Hochschild's (1983) 'emotional labour' considers colonisation and commercialisation of emotions: the expectations of service workers to meet organisational standards or elicit responses from clients. However, there have been three broad criticisms of Hochschild's work:

1) it dichotomises private and public, contributing to a one dimensional understanding of ownership of emotion by the organisation, rather than considering the worker's agency;
2) it emphasises the negative aspects of emotion in workplaces, neglecting the potential for interactions to be empowering or satisfying; and
3) it is limited in its capacity to capture complexity and contradictory emotional labour processes (Bolton 2009; Brook 2009).

Many attempts have been made to refine Hochschild's influential concepts. Zapf (2002), for example, argued for new distinctions in the terms emotional labour, emotional work and emotional management. Hochschild (1983) used these terms to distinguish between the processes of managing emotion in the private sphere (emotional work) versus the same process in the public sphere (emotional labour). In Zapf's model, emotional labour became the feigned emotional response required from service workers in return for a wage. Emotion work became the natural emotional response to demands in the organisational environment. Zapf introduced 'emotional management' to refer to emotion manipulations within the private sphere. While dichotomies and limitations in capturing complexity persist, his key contributions were to emphasise agency and recognise that emotion could be natural and positive.

Others have stressed human care service work as distinct from other forms of service work and thus, suggested a need for other distinct emotional concepts that embrace the possibility of both positive and negative emotional labour, liberation and understanding through emotion (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). While Hochschild acknowledges that the concept of 'emotional labour' can apply to workers in hospitals, welfare offices and schools, so far, the term has been applied primarily to those working in retail or personal service industries. While we concur that 'emotional labour' can highlight the inequalities in emotional exchange and can particularly apply to 'nurses and teachers [as they] use their emotional work to paper over the cracks of failing public services' (Bolton, 2009: 556), we also agree that there is more to the emotional investment required by human care workers than producing a smile to prompt a sale (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Hence, we are also looking for a conceptual category that can provide greater versatility in interrogating the broad range of implications for human care workers as they respond to affective demands in public and private spaces.

In a late modern context, where the nature of work, the structure of the economy, the distinction between public-private, and the boundaries of professional responsibilities are changing, we believe that structurally orientated perspectives alone are not enough to provide this rigour. Further, the neglect of changing personal, emotional and affect demands of work may potentially result in new forms of inequality. Thus, theoretical re-examination is called for.

In this paper, we select two distinct outworkings of the changes briefly outlined above. First, we look at the shifting boundaries of professional health care work and how the emerging role of the Nurse Practitioner not only exemplifies the late modern shift, but also requires new and complex affective responses on the part of these professionals. This example is based on the second author's (BP) ongoing research involving interviews with Nurse Practitioners in aged care. Second, we look at the shifting responsibilities for health care work from public to private and how this is placing new and intense emotional demands on family carers. This example is based on the second author's (RO) thematic analysis of longitudinal interviews with 32 carers of a

spouse with cancer (see Olson, 2011). In response to these cases, this paper will call for new approaches to theory that could better encapsulate micro-level meaning making, negative and positive emotions and affect, as well as the pluralistic, contradictory, genuine, manipulated and changing nature of human care work.

Shifting boundaries in health care work – Nurse Practitioners

Nurse Practitioners (NPs) are registered nurses with additional training, expertise and endorsement to provide health care services previously only provided by GPs. First trialled in Australia in 2000, numbers have expanded to approximately seven hundred endorsed NPs in 2012. The focus of the role is providing primary health care in homes and communities, with the intention of improving access to services. In Australia, NPs complete Masters level specialisation in particular scopes of practice. Recent funding changes have sought to make the role more economically viable in the community by allowing registered privately-practicing Australian NPs to access bulk-billed Medicare item codes and approved drugs within the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme.

The expanding NP role clearly embodies late modern trends. It is centred on an expanding, highly specialised and technical form of service work. The role relies on high levels of knowledge, sophisticated knowledge creation and efficient knowledge transmission. The role is designed to allow for greater individual autonomy and flexible service delivery. Furthermore, the role sees NPs taking up human care responsibilities outside of large institutional settings, producing new challenges and demanding more reflexivity. Finally, the role can result in raw and more frequent encounters with a range of inequalities, which can impose additional emotional and affect demands on NPs.

The NP role is still in the early stages of establishment. However, in preliminary interviews with NPs working in aged care, Prosser[1] has identified interesting trends. One prominently expressed challenge is that they adopt a holistic primary health care model, while funding arrangements of the new role are built on a medical/clinical model of service. The interviewed NPs explain that while GPs are trained to focus on illness, diagnosis and treatment, NPs have been trained to be educative, preventative and care for the whole-person. While these claims of dominance of the medical model will clearly benefit from structural analysis, it is important to note that the new roles also makes additional relational demands, which, they explain, they meet at their own personal cost.

Another important aspect of NPs' work with the elderly is the rigorous interaction with clients. These NPs report that because consultations occur outside of the hospital or clinic, and because they are not GPs, clients are much more assertive about their health choices, identities and roles as self-carers. This is a difference from the powerful doctor-patient roles that are extensively critiqued in the more structurally-focussed health sociology literature. Further, in their work with those in later stages of dementia or receiving palliative care, these NPs describe the importance of their relationships with unpaid or family carers. Without a nurse nearby, these carers are vital to monitoring clients in their homes. Additionally, the NPs in these interviews described the demands associated with being the primary point of health care provision for clients receiving

'end of life' care. These NPs reported forming closer bonds with their clients, but having to support these clients as they or their family faced (or refused to face) the prospect of imminent death. Their encounters with loss, grief and trauma may be no more frequent than those of health care professionals working with the elderly in other contexts. But, the emotional and affect demands were described as qualitatively different because of the nature of the NP role. Again, these preliminary reports of elements of this new role point to the benefits of using new theoretical approaches in addition to the solely structural to analyse this emerging role in Australian primary health care.

Shifting responsibilities in health care work – family carers

Medical systems have always been dependent on family carers overseeing patient care at home, but, as Olson (2012) explains elsewhere, this dependence has gradually increased over the last forty years. At home, carers now administer medications to patients, respond to adverse reactions to medications (such as chemotherapy), provide emotional support and assist with activities of daily living. In hospitals, carers now manage communication, appointments and care of their family member across multiple medical professionals and centres.

While more health care is being outsourced to families, families are simultaneously outsourcing private care work of children and the elderly to the market. The emotional labour associated with care work performed by professionals has been the focus of much sociological inquiry over the past two decades (see Hochschild 2012; James 1992). These studies describe the tension between medical professionalism ideals of distancing oneself from patients and the traditional care work ideals of selflessness and emotional connection. Much of this work focuses on the organisationally imposed aspects of emotional labour. Very little sociological research has focused on emotional experiences resulting from the re-privatisation of care work. To illustrate this point, we will summarise several findings to come out of a study conducted with carers of a spouse with cancer (Olson 2011) related to uncertain or automatic emotions and emotions as a means of resistance.

Carers often described uncertainty about their emotions. One carer wondered, 'Am I weird?' when she did not cry at her husband's funeral. Another wanted to know what other carers were feeling so that he could judge if he was feeling the 'right feelings', in terms of intensity and regulation. Because Australians are less exposed to death and grief today, one carer surmised that the emotional norms surrounding these events are unclear and people are less prepared. Without this preparation, many expressed uncertainty about their emotions and feeling norms as carers.

The answers for how carers should feel came from many sources: patients, health professionals, culture, support groups and couples. One carer felt compelled to let his wife set the emotional norms for them. Health professionals were also central in setting and 'correcting' the emotional rules, while some carers cited their cultural upbringing as central to how they managed their emotions. Support groups were also said to promote a positive but realistic approach. Several carers explained their emotional approach as an agreed upon strategy between them and their patient. However, temporary deviations in thoughts and despair caused many to experience guilt and shame.

For some carers the feeling rules were clear and automatic. However, others resisted the emotional paradigm prescribed by health professionals, choosing instead to adhere to complementary and alternative medicine recommendations of believing they could beat the disease and being positive about their future together. Others vehemently opposed being told how they should feel. What this illustrates is the pluralistic, multi-directional and interactionist nature of the emotion work done by family carers and highlights the need for the re-examination of the theoretical bases of how we understand human care emotion work.

Discussion

The examples above illustrate aspects of the changing nature of human care work in late modern contexts and that post-industrial arrangements need post-industrial conceptual approaches. Neo-Marxist approaches emphasise emotions as a "primary site of social control" and exploitation (Boler 1999: x). Such approaches to NPs' work might highlight the extent that these professionals use emotion to obscure structural inadequacies in service provision, viewing affective client connections as disincentives to resist inherent flaws in the health system. In the context of family carers, such an approach might highlight the false-consciousness of marriage, compelling spouses to care by exploiting the commitments set out in wedding vows (Glenn 2012). But this approach overlooks the influence of agency, meaning-making, identity negotiation and social bonding associated with changing patterns of caregiving in a post-industrial world.

Similarly, post-Fordist emotional labour literature emphasises the transactional nature of service work and the organisational constraints imposed on service workers. When applied to human care work, it produces an artificial private-public division and treats care as something that only operates to subdue or enhance emotional constraints. However, emotion is far more complex than such a dichotomous view would suggest. NPs are involved in health care work within clients' homes, which alters the nature of private-public and professional-patient interactions, reducing the physical power and influence of institutional clinical health models on service provision. Furthermore, NPs report experiencing positive and negative emotions, as well as affective responses to elderly people in their care. Alternatively, informal carers are caught in a tension between professional expectations of emotional distance, familial feeling rules and their personal responses to emotional norms. This tension often prompts confusion, guilt and shame, pushing them to seek feeling rule clarification from others. Hence, previous post-Fordist approaches to emotional labour are also limited because they risk an oversimplification of the richness, complexity and diversity of emotion work, as well as its genuine, meaningful and influential place in human care work.

Finally, both the above approaches adhere to a primarily class-orientated approach to human care work. This view is largely dismissive of emotion and affect as distractions or illusions. For NPs, class-based approaches might focus on the funding arrangements developed from a medical or clinical model to argue that this new role is but an expansion of mechanisms to control the working class and blame the individual, with the influence of emotion and affect to 'soften the blow' of injustice and maintain the status quo. However, the influence of gender, ethnicity and

ageing was seen to be just as important in NPs' consultations, while the role itself is worthy of consideration in terms of gender and social mobility. Clearly, for spouse carers of cancer patients, emotion regulation was not just a matter of adhering to prescribed feeling rules dictated by medical organisations or class-based cultural expectations. It also involved consideration and navigation of unclear norms, genuine affect and automatic regulation that led to meaningful emotional exchanges, improved closeness, and, for some, resistance against prescribed emotion regulation. Hence, we argue that class-based ways of understanding emotion regulation may have been more meaningful in early modern or industrial stages, but it can miss the diverse range of competing contemporary influences on human care work.

Towards a new approach

As we see the private becoming public and the public becoming private in post-industrial human care work we need to question the relevance of past distinctions between structuralist emotional labour concepts and more contemporary cultural emotional concepts. This is not to say that structural approaches are no longer insightful or relevant, rather that we also need a theory that allows us to appreciate emotion regulation as simultaneously exploitative and rewarding, that accommodates for genuine feelings of guilt for deviating from cultural norms, as well as grief when faced with the loss of an elderly client. What we need, and what sociology of emotions theorists should prioritise, is a concept that encapsulates the pluralistic, contradictory, genuine, interactive and manipulated nature of human care work in the post-industrial age.

Footnotes

1. Parts of this paper are drawn from research material developed within the 'Nurse Practitioner Aged Care Models of Practice National Evaluation' project, which has been funded by the Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing. The authors wish to acknowledge the contribution of the following University of Canberra and Australian National University researchers to the conceptual development and implementation of that project: Professor Rachel Davey (project director); Dr Shannon Clark; Professor Diane Gibson; Adjunct Assoc. Professor John Goss; Dr Catherine Hungerford; Dr Carmel McQuellin; Assoc. Professor Rhian Parker; Dr Brenton Prosser.

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Human care work and emotion: A call to re-examine theory

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Abstract

The shift to post-industrialism in western societies has been typified by an emphasis on worker knowledge as a commodity and growth in service work. Sociology provides a strong foundation to understand this growth as more than just a different type of physical or intellectual work, but also as a form of organisationally defined emotional labour. However, much of this consideration has centred on retail or personal service work, rather than the expanding field of human care service work. This form of service work requires expert knowledge, technical proficiency, emotional involvement and ability with information technology. Further, this work (especially when it involves inequality, poverty, trauma or grief) makes different emotional demands on service professionals. Together, these factors suggest the need for a re-consideration of emotion as it relates to human care service work.

Drawing on recent research into the professional aged care provided by Nurse Practitioner's, as well as the unpaid care provided by family members to cancer patients, this paper explores the implications of these trends. On one hand, shifting demands in human care work produce new personal demands on service professionals. On the other hand, shifting boundaries in care work mean informal carers are required to increasingly take on the emotionally demanding task of balancing family and care-work relationships. The paper will argue that sociological considerations of emotion as it relates to human care service work could benefit from a renewed role for agency and advocate for interactive (in addition to structural) approaches to understanding human care work.

Key words: human service work, professional carers, family carers, emotional labour, affect.

Human care work and emotion: A call to re-examine theory

In this paper, we call for the re-examination of sociology of emotion theories to allow for the increasingly pluralistic, genuine/manipulated and interactive nature of emotions within human care work. We start by summarising changes to work, from industrialisation through to late modernity, then summarise changes to human care work. We review the largely structuralist

approaches that have been used and reworked to understand emotions at work. We then call for a sociology of emotions theory that can offer more flexibility in interrogating the broad range of implications for human care workers as the distinctions between public and private, work and home, genuine and manipulated become less relevant.

Industrialisation prompted a split of the public-work realm and private realm (Pocock 2009). Work became more mechanised and workers were expected to leave relationships and emotion at factory doors (Grandey 2000). Classes were politically pitted against each other, making structuralist Marxist perspectives highly relevant (Bonefeld & Holloway 1991). Emotions, however, were played down in such views, with structural change to bring about the end of capitalism seen as the 'main game'.

Post-industrialism saw the nature and place of work change again. Middle-class work became more information and knowledge-based (Touraine 1971; Bell 1974; Gorz 1982). Production became more flexible and consumer-focused (Amin 1994). This resulted in a growing service economy, an emerging knowledge economy, and an increasing emphasis on autonomy and reflexive individuality.

Late modernity sees a further shift from these industrial divisions. More labour is occurring back in the home and theorists are increasingly identifying a blurring of work and life categories (Pocock 2008; 2009). More health and education services are supplied by private providers and the responsibility for managing these services increasingly falls to individuals and families (Dow & McDonald 2007). Furthermore, where such services had previously been supplied using Fordist rationales, increasingly there is an emphasis on flexible service delivery, community-based approaches and client choice.

In health specifically, we have witnessed substantial shifts. In place of paternalistic models of healthcare delivery, 'patient autonomy' is now a principle prioritised alongside beneficence and non-maleficence (Kerridge, Lowe & Stewart 2009). Cost-cutting imperatives have also motivated a shift in the location and providers of care work. Community-based care and 'hospital in the home' models allow for shorter in-patient stays with health care work provided by health professionals visiting patients in their homes (Olson 2012). These changes are having a significant impact on the relative boundaries, and hence responsibilities, in health care work.

This kind of work is now less personal and permanent, is highly stressful, and the need to maintain service quality is high. In urban fringe communities, where encounters with inequality, poverty, trauma and tragedy more frequently occur, this has contributed to growing attrition, fatigue and depression amongst human care service professionals (Dollard 2003). Increasingly, it has been recognised that emotion demands are a vital part of the work of these service professionals.

Over the past 25 years, Hochschild's work has been predominant in considering this growth in the service economy and employees' emotional efforts. Hochschild's (1983) 'emotional labour' considers colonisation and commercialisation of emotions: the expectations of service workers to meet organisational standards or elicit responses from clients. However, there have been three broad criticisms of Hochschild's work:

1) it dichotomises private and public, contributing to a one dimensional understanding of ownership of emotion by the organisation, rather than considering the worker's agency;
2) it emphasises the negative aspects of emotion in workplaces, neglecting the potential for interactions to be empowering or satisfying; and
3) it is limited in its capacity to capture complexity and contradictory emotional labour processes (Bolton 2009; Brook 2009).

Many attempts have been made to refine Hochschild's influential concepts. Zapf (2002), for example, argued for new distinctions in the terms emotional labour, emotional work and emotional management. Hochschild (1983) used these terms to distinguish between the processes of managing emotion in the private sphere (emotional work) versus the same process in the public sphere (emotional labour). In Zapf's model, emotional labour became the feigned emotional response required from service workers in return for a wage. Emotion work became the natural emotional response to demands in the organisational environment. Zapf introduced 'emotional management' to refer to emotion manipulations within the private sphere. While dichotomies and limitations in capturing complexity persist, his key contributions were to emphasise agency and recognise that emotion could be natural and positive.

Others have stressed human care service work as distinct from other forms of service work and thus, suggested a need for other distinct emotional concepts that embrace the possibility of both positive and negative emotional labour, liberation and understanding through emotion (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). While Hochschild acknowledges that the concept of 'emotional labour' can apply to workers in hospitals, welfare offices and schools, so far, the term has been applied primarily to those working in retail or personal service industries. While we concur that 'emotional labour' can highlight the inequalities in emotional exchange and can particularly apply to 'nurses and teachers [as they] use their emotional work to paper over the cracks of failing public services' (Bolton, 2009: 556), we also agree that there is more to the emotional investment required by human care workers than producing a smile to prompt a sale (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Hence, we are also looking for a conceptual category that can provide greater versatility in interrogating the broad range of implications for human care workers as they respond to affective demands in public and private spaces.

In a late modern context, where the nature of work, the structure of the economy, the distinction between public-private, and the boundaries of professional responsibilities are changing, we believe that structurally orientated perspectives alone are not enough to provide this rigour. Further, the neglect of changing personal, emotional and affect demands of work may potentially result in new forms of inequality. Thus, theoretical re-examination is called for.

In this paper, we select two distinct outworkings of the changes briefly outlined above. First, we look at the shifting boundaries of professional health care work and how the emerging role of the Nurse Practitioner not only exemplifies the late modern shift, but also requires new and complex affective responses on the part of these professionals. This example is based on the second author's (BP) ongoing research involving interviews with Nurse Practitioners in aged care. Second, we look at the shifting responsibilities for health care work from public to private and how this is placing new and intense emotional demands on family carers. This example is based on the second author's (RO) thematic analysis of longitudinal interviews with 32 carers of a

spouse with cancer (see Olson, 2011). In response to these cases, this paper will call for new approaches to theory that could better encapsulate micro-level meaning making, negative and positive emotions and affect, as well as the pluralistic, contradictory, genuine, manipulated and changing nature of human care work.

Shifting boundaries in health care work – Nurse Practitioners

Nurse Practitioners (NPs) are registered nurses with additional training, expertise and endorsement to provide health care services previously only provided by GPs. First trialled in Australia in 2000, numbers have expanded to approximately seven hundred endorsed NPs in 2012. The focus of the role is providing primary health care in homes and communities, with the intention of improving access to services. In Australia, NPs complete Masters level specialisation in particular scopes of practice. Recent funding changes have sought to make the role more economically viable in the community by allowing registered privately-practicing Australian NPs to access bulk-billed Medicare item codes and approved drugs within the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme.

The expanding NP role clearly embodies late modern trends. It is centred on an expanding, highly specialised and technical form of service work. The role relies on high levels of knowledge, sophisticated knowledge creation and efficient knowledge transmission. The role is designed to allow for greater individual autonomy and flexible service delivery. Furthermore, the role sees NPs taking up human care responsibilities outside of large institutional settings, producing new challenges and demanding more reflexivity. Finally, the role can result in raw and more frequent encounters with a range of inequalities, which can impose additional emotional and affect demands on NPs.

The NP role is still in the early stages of establishment. However, in preliminary interviews with NPs working in aged care, Prosser[1] has identified interesting trends. One prominently expressed challenge is that they adopt a holistic primary health care model, while funding arrangements of the new role are built on a medical/clinical model of service. The interviewed NPs explain that while GPs are trained to focus on illness, diagnosis and treatment, NPs have been trained to be educative, preventative and care for the whole-person. While these claims of dominance of the medical model will clearly benefit from structural analysis, it is important to note that the new roles also makes additional relational demands, which, they explain, they meet at their own personal cost.

Another important aspect of NPs' work with the elderly is the rigorous interaction with clients. These NPs report that because consultations occur outside of the hospital or clinic, and because they are not GPs, clients are much more assertive about their health choices, identities and roles as self-carers. This is a difference from the powerful doctor-patient roles that are extensively critiqued in the more structurally-focussed health sociology literature. Further, in their work with those in later stages of dementia or receiving palliative care, these NPs describe the importance of their relationships with unpaid or family carers. Without a nurse nearby, these carers are vital to monitoring clients in their homes. Additionally, the NPs in these interviews described the demands associated with being the primary point of health care provision for clients receiving

'end of life' care. These NPs reported forming closer bonds with their clients, but having to support these clients as they or their family faced (or refused to face) the prospect of imminent death. Their encounters with loss, grief and trauma may be no more frequent than those of health care professionals working with the elderly in other contexts. But, the emotional and affect demands were described as qualitatively different because of the nature of the NP role. Again, these preliminary reports of elements of this new role point to the benefits of using new theoretical approaches in addition to the solely structural to analyse this emerging role in Australian primary health care.

Shifting responsibilities in health care work – family carers

Medical systems have always been dependent on family carers overseeing patient care at home, but, as Olson (2012) explains elsewhere, this dependence has gradually increased over the last forty years. At home, carers now administer medications to patients, respond to adverse reactions to medications (such as chemotherapy), provide emotional support and assist with activities of daily living. In hospitals, carers now manage communication, appointments and care of their family member across multiple medical professionals and centres.

While more health care is being outsourced to families, families are simultaneously outsourcing private care work of children and the elderly to the market. The emotional labour associated with care work performed by professionals has been the focus of much sociological inquiry over the past two decades (see Hochschild 2012; James 1992). These studies describe the tension between medical professionalism ideals of distancing oneself from patients and the traditional care work ideals of selflessness and emotional connection. Much of this work focuses on the organisationally imposed aspects of emotional labour. Very little sociological research has focused on emotional experiences resulting from the re-privatisation of care work. To illustrate this point, we will summarise several findings to come out of a study conducted with carers of a spouse with cancer (Olson 2011) related to uncertain or automatic emotions and emotions as a means of resistance.

Carers often described uncertainty about their emotions. One carer wondered, 'Am I weird?' when she did not cry at her husband's funeral. Another wanted to know what other carers were feeling so that he could judge if he was feeling the 'right feelings', in terms of intensity and regulation. Because Australians are less exposed to death and grief today, one carer surmised that the emotional norms surrounding these events are unclear and people are less prepared. Without this preparation, many expressed uncertainty about their emotions and feeling norms as carers.

The answers for how carers should feel came from many sources: patients, health professionals, culture, support groups and couples. One carer felt compelled to let his wife set the emotional norms for them. Health professionals were also central in setting and 'correcting' the emotional rules, while some carers cited their cultural upbringing as central to how they managed their emotions. Support groups were also said to promote a positive but realistic approach. Several carers explained their emotional approach as an agreed upon strategy between them and their patient. However, temporary deviations in thoughts and despair caused many to experience guilt and shame.

For some carers the feeling rules were clear and automatic. However, others resisted the emotional paradigm prescribed by health professionals, choosing instead to adhere to complementary and alternative medicine recommendations of believing they could beat the disease and being positive about their future together. Others vehemently opposed being told how they should feel. What this illustrates is the pluralistic, multi-directional and interactionist nature of the emotion work done by family carers and highlights the need for the re-examination of the theoretical bases of how we understand human care emotion work.

Discussion

The examples above illustrate aspects of the changing nature of human care work in late modern contexts and that post-industrial arrangements need post-industrial conceptual approaches. Neo-Marxist approaches emphasise emotions as a "primary site of social control" and exploitation (Boler 1999: x). Such approaches to NPs' work might highlight the extent that these professionals use emotion to obscure structural inadequacies in service provision, viewing affective client connections as disincentives to resist inherent flaws in the health system. In the context of family carers, such an approach might highlight the false-consciousness of marriage, compelling spouses to care by exploiting the commitments set out in wedding vows (Glenn 2012). But this approach overlooks the influence of agency, meaning-making, identity negotiation and social bonding associated with changing patterns of caregiving in a post-industrial world.

Similarly, post-Fordist emotional labour literature emphasises the transactional nature of service work and the organisational constraints imposed on service workers. When applied to human care work, it produces an artificial private-public division and treats care as something that only operates to subdue or enhance emotional constraints. However, emotion is far more complex than such a dichotomous view would suggest. NPs are involved in health care work within clients' homes, which alters the nature of private-public and professional-patient interactions, reducing the physical power and influence of institutional clinical health models on service provision. Furthermore, NPs report experiencing positive and negative emotions, as well as affective responses to elderly people in their care. Alternatively, informal carers are caught in a tension between professional expectations of emotional distance, familial feeling rules and their personal responses to emotional norms. This tension often prompts confusion, guilt and shame, pushing them to seek feeling rule clarification from others. Hence, previous post-Fordist approaches to emotional labour are also limited because they risk an oversimplification of the richness, complexity and diversity of emotion work, as well as its genuine, meaningful and influential place in human care work.

Finally, both the above approaches adhere to a primarily class-orientated approach to human care work. This view is largely dismissive of emotion and affect as distractions or illusions. For NPs, class-based approaches might focus on the funding arrangements developed from a medical or clinical model to argue that this new role is but an expansion of mechanisms to control the working class and blame the individual, with the influence of emotion and affect to 'soften the blow' of injustice and maintain the status quo. However, the influence of gender, ethnicity and

ageing was seen to be just as important in NPs' consultations, while the role itself is worthy of consideration in terms of gender and social mobility. Clearly, for spouse carers of cancer patients, emotion regulation was not just a matter of adhering to prescribed feeling rules dictated by medical organisations or class-based cultural expectations. It also involved consideration and navigation of unclear norms, genuine affect and automatic regulation that led to meaningful emotional exchanges, improved closeness, and, for some, resistance against prescribed emotion regulation. Hence, we argue that class-based ways of understanding emotion regulation may have been more meaningful in early modern or industrial stages, but it can miss the diverse range of competing contemporary influences on human care work.

Towards a new approach

As we see the private becoming public and the public becoming private in post-industrial human care work we need to question the relevance of past distinctions between structuralist emotional labour concepts and more contemporary cultural emotional concepts. This is not to say that structural approaches are no longer insightful or relevant, rather that we also need a theory that allows us to appreciate emotion regulation as simultaneously exploitative and rewarding, that accommodates for genuine feelings of guilt for deviating from cultural norms, as well as grief when faced with the loss of an elderly client. What we need, and what sociology of emotions theorists should prioritise, is a concept that encapsulates the pluralistic, contradictory, genuine, interactive and manipulated nature of human care work in the post-industrial age.

Footnotes

1. Parts of this paper are drawn from research material developed within the 'Nurse Practitioner Aged Care Models of Practice National Evaluation' project, which has been funded by the Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing. The authors wish to acknowledge the contribution of the following University of Canberra and Australian National University researchers to the conceptual development and implementation of that project: Professor Rachel Davey (project director); Dr Shannon Clark; Professor Diane Gibson; Adjunct Assoc. Professor John Goss; Dr Catherine Hungerford; Dr Carmel McQuellin; Assoc. Professor Rhian Parker; Dr Brenton Prosser.

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Theory, the Social and the Public – Reflections on the Fads and Foibles of Sociology

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Abstract

Responding to a recent Nexus article from Eduardo de la Fuente, this paper is concerned primarily with two underpinning questions. Firstly, what makes 'theory that lasts'. In answering this I briefly examine some of the work of Riley (2010) in his discussion of the Durkheimians to analyse what influenced their collective fervour over the sacred. It is my proposition that one of the fundamental features of this was the overarching concern with the social, which the *Année*was importantly concerned with. It is clear that the concept of the 'sacred' represents 'theory that lasts'. Secondly, the paper reflects further on the role of theory in the public sphere. Using Juliet Schor as an example, it suggests that sociology which concerns itself fundamentally with the social, can find a place in the public. However, whether this is too idealistic in our contemporary setting is worth considering.

Keywords: Theory, Public Sociology, the Social, Durkheimians, Juliet Schor

Introduction.

In a recent commentary from de la Fuente (2012) on the state of theory, he contends that anissue for sociology is the rise of what he terms 'theoreticism'. By this, de la Fuente (2012: 2) means the 'dizzying succession of theories and theorists who were popular for a short period of time' but whom fail when a new theory arrives. Of course, as he confesses, social theory 'fads' are not new, nor are they inherently bad. Rather,

> a central question facing intellectual fads is: once the dust has settled (metaphorically and – in the case of old sociology books – literally) how can we tell if any real conceptual innovation has taken place? (de la Fuente 2012: 3).

No doubt this is a fundamental query of any theoretical buzz that emerges. It maybe that we ought not to be questioning the 'staying power' of these innovations in theory, but whether they are innovative at all. As Turner (2003: 146) has eloquently argued, the mastery of certain foundational texts is the ticket to enter a mature social theory where 'originality typically amounts to a reuse or extension of something that is already there' (Turner 2003: 146). This appears to resonate with Beck's (2004: 152) call to transcend the core concepts and foundations of social theory (which he labels 'zombie concepts'). However, as I shall return to later, Turner (2009) is sceptical of the death of the 'pre-disciplinary past of social theory'.

The purpose that underpins de la Fuente's (2012) piece is to advocate for a generic 'social science theory'. This overcomes discipline boundaries by incorporating the totality of social sciences. Sociology, he argues, 'have many fellow-travellers' which are silenced or ignored in the pursuit of innovative theory (de la Fuente 2012: 6). Yet we might propose that social theory is a distinct and separate discipline from sociology which already feeds a range of social sciences. However, his point is important and one that cannot be overlooked. If we take a cursory glance over theory historically, those that have 'stood the test of time' (de la Fuente 2012: 8) are well used consistently across a range of social science disciplines.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. Firstly and in response to de la Fuente's (2012) piece, it seeks to understand reasons for 'theory that lasts'. While de la Fuente (2012) turns to the Chicago school to demonstrate this, I turn to the Durkheimians to demonstrate that underpinning the significant concept of the 'sacred' is a collective concern towards the social amongst the *Année*group. The second part of the paper diverts from de la Fuente's (2012) piece. Here I incorporate the question of public engagement with theory and ask, where are the theorists in the public sphere? Using Juliet Schor as an example, I propose following the words of Steven Turner (2009), that theoretical work which concentrates on the 'big ticket' items related to the social might well engage the public sphere more successfully.

Theory that lasts?

As mentioned above, the core ingredient of de la Fuente's (2012: 8) recipe for good theory is the 'opposite of a fad' which is the 'stuff that stands the test of time' and 'continue[s] to serve us well, to this day'. We might wonder what an exemplar of 'good theory' therefore is. de la

Fuente (2012) chooses the Chicago school not simply because it's conceptual innovations remain steadfast in social science today, but due to the collaborative experience it encouraged amongst disciplines. I wish here to take a different tack. Theory that appears to last, in some respects, has often (not always) been associated with the changing nature of the social. Classical social theory attests to this as also does the more contemporary works such as Giddens, Beck, Baudrillard and Bauman to name a few. I wish to draw upon the Durkheimianexperience to demonstrate this further and contend that it was their uncomfortableness with the transformation of the social which led to the collective energies that underpinned a theory that lasts still today.

I do not wish here to suggest we need to return back to a Durkheimian directive for sociology. Rather, their experience should lend to us something concrete about theory that 'lasts'. Of course, the coming together of the *Année* group can be attributed to Durkheim's owncharisma (cf. Riley 2010). The promises of the new discipline of sociology were an influence too (see below). However, beyond Durkheim lay a deep concern with the social which was, for the *Année* group, challenged by rising individualism. Durkheim's turn to religious sociology can be seen in some ways as a challenge to the Marxist reliance on materialism (see Alexander 2005). Yet, in more conventional thought, the work on religion existed predominantly for the Durkheimians in a quest to connect 'the category of the sacred' to the collective conscience (Riley 2010: 155).

We should pause to remember that Durkheim (1995[1912]) concludes that the nature of religion is society worshipping itself. What then is the connection of this to the direction of the social in modernity? Riley (2010: 157) answers this;

> If the true sacred object of religion was the social, and if a secular morality had to teach an adherence to social solidarity as its central objective, there could be no better educational program for the inculcation of this new sacred practice than the teaching of sociology.

In other words, sociology itself was to become the saviour of collective solidarity. It would teach persons how 'society lives and acts within him (sic), how it is the best part of [their] nature' (Durkheim in Riley 2010: 157). From this perspective, sociology was to replace the struggling philosophical and Christian traditions as the new moraliser in the quest for a strong social.

Riley (2010) also relates that in the*Année* group'sresearch of the sacred, the younger generation embraced it both as an intellectual and personal pursuit. Hertz and Mauss in particular both appear to have sought for a deeper content and meaning to life, especially the former in his service in the French army (see Riley 2010). Even more dramatic however was the group's belief in the collective work that they would bring forth, and the power behind it. This is highlighted in an excerpt from a letter from Hubert to Mauss (cited in Riley 2010: 189 *italics added*);

> Don't forget that we are called, or at least I hope so, to have an influence, that we must stimulate work around us, that we will be influential less by the perfection of our own work than by the activity of our thought, than by the need, the desire, the *sacred fire of organised work that will emanate from us*.

This quote is somewhat telling, as is the entire course of work that the Durkheimians undertook. Much of their work had a twofold purpose – to create knowledge and also to create pathways for a stronger social. We need only examine the closing passages of Mauss' (1967: 66) *The Gift*to witness his belief in the 'ancient' morality of gift giving as a potential influence on 'professional morality and corporate law' as an example.

The point I wish to make in this very messy and brief discussion of the Durkheimians is that (1) they demonstrated an uncanny and perhaps unrivalled (except for potentially the Frankfurt school) belief that their work couldalter the direction of the social, (2) their belief in this work led to a collective fervour amongst the theorists and (3) the intellectual charisma of their theory has since captured the imaginations of theorists generations on. On the point of the latter, we only need trace the history of the 'sacred' to recognise its influence. From the *Année* scholars themselves through to the second generation Durkheimians in the likes of Callois, Bataille, Davy and Halbswachs; through to the structuralist anthropologists in Douglas and Levi-Strauss; into the poststructuralists (contentious as it may seem) such as Derrida, Baudrillard and Foucault (cf. Riley 2010) and finally with the contemporary cultural sociologists such as Alexander and Smith. What we have witnessed is the continual rejuvenation of the concept of the sacred in a quest to understand the social –without the deeper quest to alter it as the Durkheimians first attempted to engineer.

Theory for a Public.

What has this got to do with the fundamental premise of the paper? Some may say not much. The Durkheimians were notorious for their almost zealous pursuit of sociology as the pre-eminent discipline of the time, often marginalizing others in their path (cf. Riley 2010; see also Turner 2003 for a similar discussion of Parsons and Merton). However, what is astounding is the level of commitment displayed towards a concept/idea that concentrated so heavily on the social. This, I argue, provides the impetus for collaborative energy to produce 'theory that lasts' – an extension on de la Fuente's (2012) argument. However, in relation to the social, there is more that theory might accomplish. Here I wish to digress slightly from the theme of de la Fuente's (2012) paper.

In forthcoming piece from Turner, the question of sociology's relationship with the public (from this position of contemplating the social) provides us with pause to reflect on theory's role. In response toBurawoy's (2005) 'public sociology', Turner writes;

> The kind of public approbation and interest that sociology had in the 1950s, when David Reisman's*The Lonely Crowd* (1950) was a best seller, had to do with its intellectual content, not its affinity with specific social movements. The reading of the most influential 'public sociologists' of the present has everything to do with this affinity. Burawoy's colleague Arlie Hochschild's writings, such as *The Managed Heart* (1983) and *The Second Shift* (1989), in contrast, are specifically allied with feminism. This is the model Burawoy's idea of public sociology celebrates…Reisman's book had specific ideological content: it was an attack on American individualism. This kind of attack had been associated with sociology in the United States from its founding. But it was not written or read as the supporting act for a movement. Hochschild's writings (for example, *Managed Heart*) can only be read that way.

That Burawoy's (2005) public sociology leans towards leftist social movements is clear. Despite suggestingthat public sociology can cross political divides, he comments '[i]f sociology actually supports more liberal or critical public sociologies that is a consequence of the evolving ethos of the sociological community' (Burawoy2005: 9) No doubt this is true. Yet can conservative sociology exist without being potentially marginalised in the professional sociological community (Putnam's *Bowling Alone* case in point)?I am not so convinced. As Burawoy (2005: 14) argues, public sociology is 'often an avenue for the marginalized, locked out of the policy arena and ostracized in the academy'. Often these are the stomping grounds of leftist groups, rather than conservatives.

However, it this association ofsociology to the fringes that Turner (forthcoming) finds concerning;

> This allergy to the big questions continued in the era described by Burawoy and exemplified by Hochschild, and for good reasons, associated with the purposes of public sociology: an organic intellectual writing in support of a social cause or movement is not going to have much concern with the problem of 'the social' in an abstract sense.

In other words, a public sociology which concentrates on the 'edges', is not going to locate its work in the larger issues of the 'social' and its direction. In another publication, Turner (2009: 562) questions the sociology's connection toa 'resistance paradigm' which binds theory to 'anti-liberal' sentiments. Of course, there is nothing fundamentally improper about providing voice to the 'voiceless' or being associated with certain social movements. It is quite apparent that the Durkheimians, most significantly Mauss and Hertz, were involved with socialist parties. However, Turner's (2009: 562) impression is that those 'big ticket' items that once permeated public sociology have been lost in the wash.

What has this got to do with the public? As Turner (forthcoming) mentions, books like Riesman's (1950)were once foundin local bookstores and not just in academic libraries. They were instrumental in developing discussions amongst the public about the relationship of the social and the individual. There is limited evidence that the Durkheimians ever did the same – but the whole premise of their work was to engage fundamentally with the public, an idea that was never perhaps realised. However, others, including Simmel and Weber, were active participants in the discussion and debate of various 'grand' issues related to the social. Who does today?

The answer to this latter question is one that has frustrated sociologists across the country, including this author. In recent times we have seen the rise of the lay social commentator, treated as if their opinions were invaluable, and often spruiking their consultancy service through the media. It is not my intention here to question the ethics of this process, merely to question where the theorists are. If we took a cursory glance at those intellectuals who have gathered a public presence, we find those who have written on 'big ticket' items that fundamentally impact the 'social' in the public. For instance, Clive Hamilton's work on the individualisation of 'economic growth' and 'progress' in *Growth Fetish* delivered him a platform to become a 'public' intellectual on issues beyond economics including climate

change. Similar could be said of philosopher Alain de Botton, psychologist Martin Seligman and *Herald* economist Ross Gittins.

Do we have any examples of sociologists/theorists entering the public fray successfully? One could argue that this has been a feature of Giddens' success, particular in his quest for the *Third Way*. However, I take as a contemporary example (amongst others) the works of Juliet Schor. Arguably not a theorist in the textbook sense, her works *The Overworked American* and *The Overspent American* were stark criticisms of hyper-consumerism and its impact on the social. In a more recent book, *Born to Buy*, she extends her thesis to include the 'commercialization of child hood'. Whileshe is associated now with movements including the 'New American Dream', this particular book centred on fundamental concern of the social;

> As marketers strive to capture the hearts and minds of America's children, evidence of their success is everywhere…After nearly two decades of intensive targeting of kids, there's no doubt that industry has devised a profitable formula. *It's equally clear the corporations are not meeting children's needs* (Schor 2004: 189 *italics added*).

While certainly not replete with high theory from sociology (but which are founded in them) the works of Schor in publicly disseminated books such as these demonstrate a fundamental concern which is comparable to the Durkheimians – the impact of economic change on the social; the 'big ticket' items. Her success now as a public intellectual is not hinged on any significant link to 'fringe issues', but in her ability to capture the *zeitgeist* of discomfort within the public. We could contend that rarely in contemporary sociology/theory do we see evidence of these types of publications arising.

Conclusion.

When de la Fuente (2012) calls for theory that 'lasts', I imagine that he did not also mean for us to consider pushing further into the public. However, as Turner (forthcoming) contests building on work from Wickham, the relationship of good theory that questions the primary concern of sociology, the social, has historically led to good public engagement. Interestingly, Turner (2009: 563) proposes that even today, classical theorists like Weber, continue to be 'invoked' in public commentary such as those found in the '*Financial Times*' – so much for being 'Zombies'. Yet, as Burawoy (2005) contests, the need for sociology to be heard more

frequently in the public is paramount. How we answer this is a real dilemma. What I have proposed above is that theory which is embedded in a concern for the social, or the changing relationships of the social to other key macro issues such as the economy, firstly 'lasts' and secondly provides a platform for entry into the public sphere. These are the objects for discussion for a number of lay social and political commentators – we ought to be amongst them.

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The Duality of Agency and the Australian Settler-State in the Twenty First Century:The Palm Island Riot of 2004 and the Aftermath

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Abstract
The relationship between Indigenous Australians and the Settler-State continues to be that of a stark power inequity. Despite a continued push by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for self-determination there continues to be very little recognition of Indigenous perspectives, authority, or political autonomy by the structures of the Australian state. We analyse the Palm Island Riot of 2004 and its immediate aftermath through the interactions of individual agency and the state. Following the 2004 death in custody on Palm Island, North Queensland, community members challenged state response through a community meeting followed by a protest-turned-riot. We argue that the Palm Island Riot of 2004 was a calculated expression of agency– albeit one of anger and frustration –in reaction to the perceived subversion of justice by the Queensland Government and Police Service. Both the Government and the Police Service, as representatives of the Australian Settler-State, responded to this vivid display of calculated resistance with the overt violence and coercion that is routinely associated with the Settler-State in relation to Indigenous peoples. This response can be understood as the continuation of its attempted dominance over both the residents of Palm Island and the broader Indigenous Australian population in the twenty first century.

Key Words: Indigenous, Agency, Settler-State, Australia, Riot, Police.

Introduction

On November 26, 2004, the world watched as the Palm Island police station, barracks and courthouse were burned to the ground as the extreme rage and frustration of the communityreached tipping point.The rioting had occurred in reaction to a death in custody, and the perceived circumvention of justice by the offender and police officer in question. The Australian Settler-State,constructed bya dominant White community which continues to do very little to recognise the agency of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, responded swiftly and characteristically. Astate of emergency was declared on the island, followed by police raids taking place for weeks after the buildings had burned. In order to better understand the Palm Island Riot of 2004 and the aftermath, the concepts of both agency and the modern nation-state are definedwithin a modern sociological context.We argue that the riot was a calculated expression of agency, albeit one of anger and frustration by the Palm Island community,in reaction to the perceived subversion of justice by the local police,whose

response displayed the overt violence and coercion that is routinely associated with the Australian Settler-State in relation to Indigenous peoples.The Palm Island Riot can be understood firstly as a community act of agency, the rational and inevitable response of the residents of Palm to the perceived lack of care of the Queensland Government and Police Service, and the wider Settler-State to the unjust deathof a community member.Secondly, the riot can also be understood as the continuation of attempted dominance of the Australian Settler-State over the residents of Palm Island and the broader Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population.

Palm Island:Historical Understandings, the Riot of 2004 and itsAftermath

Palm Island is located64 kilometres to the northwest of Townsville, Queensland, and is currently home to approximately 2100 residents, 96 percent of whom identify as Indigenous Australian (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2010). The creation of Palm Island as an inhabited area dates back to the missionary years of the Queensland State Government, with Palm Island established as a prison camp in 1918as the destination for all Indigenouspeople who resisted the colonial front (Watson 1995: 151; 2010: 18). Despite attempted institutional control by white officials over the population since its creation, the Palm Island community have resisted this dominance in a variety of ways (Watson 2010: 20). The Palm Island Strike of 1957, for example, saw the residentsundertake protest againstthe rigid apartheid system upheldby both the State and local Governmentsduring the 1950s(Watson 1995: 152;2010: 103).This display of resistance was not the first, nor would it be the last example of the residents of Palm Island responding to the attempted domination, control, or injusticesof White Australian Governance.

The Riot of 2004 and itsAftermath

On the morning of 19 November 2004,local 36-year-old man, Cameron Doomadgee, was arrested for the petty demeanour of swearing at a police officer.Within several hours of his arrest, Doomadgee had been pronounced deceased with his "liver cleaved in two" (Barnes 2010: 35)following a violent altercation between himself and Senior-Sergeant Chris Hurley as he exited the paddy wagon(Graham 2007: 22).The family received the State Coroner's autopsy report on November 26 andby this stage rumours of police brutality and attempted cover-uphad been brewing on the island.A crowd of approximately 300 peopleformed in the town square to hear that Doomadgee had died from severe internal haemorrhage, as a result of an "accidental fall onto a hard surface such as the steps outside the watch house" (Watson 2010: 7). It was clear that Doomadgee's death being labelled as 'accidental' was heard by the crowd as an attempted cover up by the police and for the officer in question"as a verdict of not guilty"(Hooper 2008: 63). By that afternoon, the agony and ire of many in the Palm Island communityhad built up to breaking point: the outspoken rejection of the autopsy results and the protests of individuals such as Lex Wotton in the town square transformed the community meeting into a rage-fuelled riot (Anthony 2009: 467).

> *"'Come on, people!...Will we accept this as an accident? No! I tell you people, things going to burn. We'll decide when. I'm not going to accept it and I know a lot of you other people won't. So let's do something!'"*
> –Lex Wotton (as quoted in Hooper 2008: 64).

The Palm Island Riot of 2004 resulted in the burning down of the police station, barracks, the courthouse, and the residence of Hurley (Hooper 2008: 71; Watson 2010: 7), symbols of the

dominant justice system which had been perceived as being used against a member of their own community.

The Queensland Government responded swiftly by imposing a State Of Emergency and calling in an extra twenty five officers of the Special Emergency Response Teamto assist the police force of eighty already on the island, as they were trained in counter-terrorism strategies (Glowczewski& Wotton 2008: 8; Hooper 2008: 72). Before sunrise the morning following the riot, a team of twenty-four officers in riot gear raided several houses on Palm, the first being the home of Wotton, who was tasered and arrested in front of his children (Watson2010: 9). Police continued to raid homes and terrorise residents in this manner for five weeks after the riot had finished (Forde 2005: 1; Glowczewski& Wotton 2008: 35), eventually charging 28 residents for participating in the unrest(Watson 2010: 11).The response of the Queensland Government through its use of the Police Service for many had simply confirmed that the attempted social exclusion andcontrolseen throughout Palm Island's historywas still very much alive in the present; however, it was the expression of agency of the population in rioting that had put the situation into the focus of the international media, ensuring the severe scrutiny of both police and State Government practices which followed (Graham 2007: 24; Hooper 2008: 213; Watson2010: 156).

The Duality of Agency and the Nation-State

Contemporary sociological theory has sought to bridge the divide between classical theories which focus upon the structures inherent within society, and those which exclusively highlight the individual and human agency (Kaspersen 2000: 25). Approaches such as that of structuration theory (Giddens 1984)provide inspiration for this analysis,inaiming toboth understand and highlight the relationship between individual or collective agency, and the structures within which it is both contained, and simultaneously shapes (Stones 2005: 4).Agency is defined not as individual or collective social action, but rather as the capability of actors in attempting to do something in the social realm (Giddens 1984: 9),contributing to a process of "making and remaking...larger social and cultural formations" (Ortner 2006: 134). This capability is determined by both external constraints and individual decision making processes, as all actors go through a continual process of reflexive monitoring when taking action (Kaspersen2000: 38; Stones 2005: 25). Mostaction undertaken in day-to-day activity is rationalised to the point where individuals have an implicit knowledge about the reasons for their chosen activity (Giddens 1984:7). However, when circumstances break from routine and therefore require action differing to that of normal conduct, the motivations of individuals become explicitly thought out (Giddens1984: 7; Kaspersen 2000: 38; Stones 2005: 25).

Having power in the social world is thus having the capability to make action occur: in acting or transforming social phenomena, an individual is thereby highlighting the connection between their own agency and power (Giddens 1984: 14; Kaspersen 2000: 40). In taking action individuals draw upon the rules and resources of structures to create or contribute to social systems, which in turn reproduce the very structures from which theresources of action are drawn (Giddens 1984: 25). Therefore, it becomes clear that many events deemed as extraordinaryor outside the norms of social interaction from a micro perspective, may in actuality turn out to be extremely similar to action that had occurred previously when using a macro or historical perspective, due to agents drawing upon similar structural ideas when taking action (Giddens 1984: 23). Undertaking empirical analysis of social action therefore

should entail both an analysis of the structural elements which reproduce particular social systems and patterns of human interaction, with an equal analysis of how individual agents use those elements when making decision and taking action in the social realm (Giddens 1984: 288; Stones 2005: 120).

Recent theories seek to add to the classicalnotion of the nation-state as outlined by Weber (1970: 78) as a "human community that successfully claims to monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory". Giddens(1985: 121), for example, agrees with this definition and adds that the state is "a set of institutional forms of governance" that uses both the law and control over such violence to maintain its dominance and rule(Kaspersen 2000: 83). As power is the ability to act or to transform, the modern nation-state is a power container, a centre of which both allocative and authoritative resources are concentrated, allowing it to have a monopoly of violence, and the ability to control its citizens (Kaspersen 2000: 81). Even states that profess to be liberal in outlook use domination and coercion to control their populations in a variety of ways (Foucault 1991: 92), including for example, within the realm of human biology and the control over life and death in a variety of situations (Dean, 2002: 124).Paradoxically, they do this "in the name of individual rights and liberty" (Dean 2002: 130). In striving to achieve its national interest and maintain its existence, the modern liberal nation-state also includes and excludes groups of people in a process of racialisation (Miles & Brown 1993: 149).This process is undertaken both internally and externally in order to create a sense of national cohesion in an effort to give a unique construction of itself to other states (Balibar 1991: 49; Miles & Brown1993: 149).

This process has been vividly evident in the construction of Australian nationhood by the state (Kapferer& Morris2003: 81), a process which led to the political, social, economic, and cultural exclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, continuing into the present (Dodson &Cronin2011: 192). This style of governance has been labelled that of the Australian Setter-State (Brigg &Maddison2009: 8), signifying a state which has been constructed through the settlement or invasion of white population, and where Indigenous people have been “outnumbered and removed by colonial policies and practices” (Johnston & Lawson 2000: 361).Despite a continued push by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people for self-determination and acknowledgement as distinct peoples, there continues to be very little recognition of Indigenous perspectives, authority, or political autonomy by the structures of the state itself (Dodson & Cronin 2011: 192; Short 2003: 581). The practice of including Indigenous Australians within the larger Australian national identity continues to be a protracted and conflict-ridden. Indigenous peoples are regularly "constructed as abnormal and violent" (Greensmith, 2012: 31) by the state, and thus their political goals are often treated as lesser or illegitimate. The underlying assumption held by the Australian Settler-State is that Indigenous peoples are "not yet ready for self-government" (McCallum 2011: 609) or that they lack the capability for agency needed to create social change (Cowlishaw 1999: 23; 2003: 115). These definitions of bothagency and the Settler-State are used in the following analysis to understand the Palm Island Riot of 2004 and its aftermath.

Riot as Expression of Agency

The death in custody of Cameron Doomadgee on November 19, 2004 was the point at which circumstances began to break from the norm of day-to-day life on Palm Island.The relationship between the police and the wider community came under increased reflection and scrutiny as those that gathered in the town squarefelt that they had little diplomatic power when demanding answers or responsibility from the state for the death (Anthony 2009:466;

Hooper 2008: 63; Owen 2006: 7).However, members of the Palm Island community had reflected on this series of eventsand the release of the first Coroner's Report which had deemed Doomadgee's injuries as "accidental" (Watson 2010: 7),and realised that they were capable of taking social action, in this instance taking the form of riot (Cunneen 2008: 25). Community members reflected upon and understood the external constraints in which they were embedded – the Settler-State did not answer their questions, norlisten to their concerns.In doing so,community members understood that they had the capability to make a difference in this situation in expressingsuch resistance(Anthony 2009: 467). In order to show their feelings of frustration and anger at this process, they responded in a calculated, reflective, and visually dramatic way: by burning down the courthouse, the police watch house, the police barracks, and the home of the accused police officer– thevery symbols of White Australian Governance and Settler-State (Cowlishaw 2003: 118) which had failed to protect or assist their community(Cunneen 2008:26).

This style of agency as resistance (Ortner, 2006: 143) as used in a manner of protest has been witnessed previously throughout the history of Palm Island, particularly in the Strike of 1957.The Palm Island Strike of 1957 saw the communitystage a protest in support of Albert Geia, whom had been ordered to leave the island on account of his "answering back to a European" (Watson 2010: 109). This resistance through strike and protest had been conceived for months prior as a revolt against the rigid apartheid system, extensive use of police powers,little or no wages for employees (a practice which would now be deemed as slavery), and levels of control and coercion with which Roy Bartlam had attempted to install on Palm Islandsince becoming the Superintendent in 1953 (Glowczewski& Wotton 2008: 25; Kyle 2007: 46;Watson 1995: 195; 2010: 103).It is clear that in situations where it seems as though the state has the utmost dominance over all aspects of social life–whether through governmental control or the actions of individual police officers – individuals still have the ability to reflect and interpret those situations and utilise their ability to create social action (Giddens 1984: 24).Individualscan therefore express their inherent human agency and revealtheir own power in such an inequitable situation(Cunneen 2008: 24; Owen 2006: p. 7).The Palm Island Riot of 2004, much like the Strike of 1957 before it, showedthat despite the attempts of coverup and use of coercive tactics by the Settler-State and its police force, the Palm Island community had reflected upon the situation and calculated a response with the aim of changing a situation in a dramatic fashion, whether by refusing to work and protesting in 1957 (Watson 1995: 152), or by burning down key Settler-State property in 2004 (Graham 2007: 22).

Therefore, the rioting of the Palm Island community in 2004should be understood as a calculated legitimate social action, a response by reflective agents who are embedded within a particular social realm,whereby the relationship between Indigenous Australians and the Settler-State is one of vast power inequity (Anthony 2009: 467; Cunneen 2008: 21).This act of rage and frustration was undertaken in reaction to a sense of injustice and a lack of recognition by the state and its police force. In undertaking this action, the Palm Island community had drawn upon the history of their relationship with the Settler-State as one that was inherently conflict-ridden, and had chosen to act out their agency as resistance in an attempt to influence the behaviour of the state. In turn, this action led the state to react in a similarly dramatic fashion (Cowlishaw 2003: 121).

The Response of the Settler-State

The reaction of both the Police Service and the Queensland Governmentto the display of anger undertaken by the Palm Island community followed a distinctly familiar pattern in the useof coercion and violence as an attempt to maintain control over the population (Cowlishaw 2004: 144; Dean2002: 130; Kaspersen 2000: 83). The police response to such a visual and dramatic display of resistance by the community was to respond with an equally dramatic display of dominance, highlighting the relationship between the Palm Island community and the state as one of stark power inequity.The state believed it was legitimate in using violence, the threat of arrest, and tactics designed to instil fear in the aim of restoring order (Dean 2002: 125; Watson 2010: 11). The violence that was expressed by the community however, would have been viewed by the state as "irrational, uncontrolled, and frightening" (Cowlishaw 2003: 119),while the Settler-State used coercion and violence as a tactic of control against those whom it perceived as outsiders to its own norms, all in the name of liberty (Dean 2002:130; Miles & Brown 2003: 185). In this instance, the community of Palm Island and their expression of rage were deemed irrational and out of control by the Settler-State which responded in turn with its own 'legitimate' display of violence.

The very basis of Australian nationhood was constructed by the state, which played the key role in expanding the egalitarian ethos and individualistic perspective upon which much of its nationalism has come to rest (Kapferer& Morris 2003: 90). However, the creation of this nationalism was only at the expense of Othering the Indigenous peoples of Australia, which continues into the present (Dodson & Cronin 2011: 192; Miles & Brown 2003: 185). Asthe Settler-State still views both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's capability for self-governance with an air of suspicion, and ultimately from a perspective of reductionism(Maddison 2009: 43; McCallum 2011: 609), it is no surprise that the immediate response of the Queensland Government was not to negotiate with the local council on Palm Island, but instead to immediately send in extra police to intimidate the community through the threat of violence (Anthony 2009: 468). The immediate response was merely the Settler-State, through its police force, continuing its attempts to control the lives of the Palm Island community:a consistent theme which is present throughout Palm Island'sbirth as a penal colony into the twenty first century(Watson 2010: 17).

While the Settler-State may view the agency of Palm Islanders as irrational and thus requiring serious coercion to control the population (Cunneen 2001:107; 2008:21), the individual and the state are locked into a duality, whereby the external constraints of the state may seek to control an individual's ability to act, whilst simultaneously, the social action of individuals may change the very constraints of the state itself (Giddens 1984: 25).The Palm Island Riot of 2004 managed to highlight the continuing power inequalities inherent within the relationship between the Palm Island communityandtheAustralian Settler-State to both a national and international audience (Graham 2007: 22). However, the continued response of the Queensland Government was merely to exacerbate this perceived injustice,awarding bravery medals in 2008 to the police officers whom had been on Palm Island during the riot during the very same week that Lex Wotton was sentenced to six years in prison for inciting them (Anthony 2009: 463). Wotton was later released without the ability to speakto the media or attend political events unless stipulated by the Queensland Government - the state had taken away his ability to speak in public (ABC News 2012).While the Riot of 2004 represents a significant act of agency of the Palm Island community, the response of the Queensland Government and its police force wasthe continuation ofa pattern: a repeated scenario of attempted dominance of the Australian Settler-State over the community of Palm Island and Indigenous Australians more broadly (Graham 2007: 23; McCallum 2011: 33).

Conclusion

Despite a continued effort by the Indigenous Australian population to be recognised as capable of political autonomy by the Settler-State it seems that community anger and frustration expressed as resistance against the state such as in the form of rioting, will inevitably continue to play a key role in Indigenous and Settler-State relations until the power imbalance which is inherently in favour of the state is sufficiently criticised and made more equitable. It is within the struggle for this recognition that the Palm Island Riot of 2004 and its aftermath have been assessed. We found the riot to be an expression of frustration, of anger, and most importantly of agency of many members of the Palm Island community, in reaction to the perceived injustice of both the Queensland Government and Police Service in not dealing with the significant death of a fellow community member. After this reaction turned into a riot, the Settler-State responded to this display of resistance with predictable violence and coercion. The reaction of the state to the Palm Island Riot of 2004 was an example of the continuation of attempted dominance by the Australian Settler-State over both the Palm Island community and the Indigenous Australian population more broadly. While the death in custody of November 19, 2004, was the point at which day-to-day life instantly came under increased reflection and scrutiny by the community of Palm Island, the ongoing power inequity between Indigenous peoples and the Settler-State remains largely unchanged in twenty first century Australia.

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The State and the Latrobe Valley: Shaping Regional Politics and Revitalisation.

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Abstract

The role of government in regional development is contested. Governments increasingly prefer their engagements to take the form of 'limited' but 'strategic' intervention (Collits 2004: p.89). To date, the overarching approach has been to devolve responsibility for decision-making to regional agencies, while simultaneously emphasising that market forces provide the underpinning for regional revitalisation. This approach contributes to the empowerment of thelocal economic elite, and the disenfranchisement of local political leaders and other actors. The question is how can other local political and economic actors become part of this revitalisation process? Via a study of Victoria's Latrobe Valley, the argument is made that regional development is yet to become a genuinely inclusive and participatory project, undermining the efforts of this region to prepare for the transition to a low carbon economy.

Key words: Regional development; the state; power; neo-liberalism; local empowerment.

Introduction

There is an ongoing debate about the scope, focus and role of governments in relation to regional economic revitalisation in Australia (see Beer *et al.*, 2005; Collits, 2004; Herbert-Cheshire, 2000; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie, 2005). There has been shift from a situation where state

intervention and involvement was a core feature of economic regeneration and revitalisation strategies to one where the emphasis is on governments playing a more indirect role (Beer *et al*., 2005; Herbert-Cheshire, 2000; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie, 2005). This shift in approach, however, tends to obscure and understate the precise role that governments play in such policy development and has the potential to disenfranchise local actors.

Governing strategies are critical for shaping regional revitalisation. As part of a neo-liberal agenda, governments in Australia have sought to avoid the appearance of imposing solutions on regional areas(Berger, 2003; Burnham, 2006; Fairbrother *et al.*, 2012b; Lane, 2003). This revised approach has opened up the possibility for local political elites, particularly those based in business sectors and the dominant regional industries, to fill a development void while at the same time reinforcing the dependence of regions on government agencies and largesse (Berger, 2003). Critical to this process is the establishment of expert external agencies, such as consultants or task forces, which create the impression of local participation and 'community' consultation (Beer *et al.*, 2005; Burnham 2006).Governments thus are able to present themselves as responsive and inclusive but not directly responsible for decision-making (Beer *et al.*, 2005; Burnham, 2001; Fairbrother *et al.*, 2012a).

These themes are examined in relation to the revitalisation of the Latrobe Valley, a carbon-exposed region in south-eastern Victoria. Drawing on interviews (58) and workshops (four workshops with 36 participants) with a range of local actors and government representatives as well as extensive research into the skills composition of the area, the barriers and opportunities for regional revitalisation in a low-carbon economy, and the relations between the different levels of government, the focus of this paper is on the ways in which the state continues to indirectly shape the regional economy. For despite rhetoric that endorses both neo-liberalism and local empowerment, the state remains central to the revitalisation process via a governing

strategy that avoids genuine devolution ofpower and capacity to local actors. Such an approach enables existing powerbrokers in the region to dominate the decision-making process.

The State and Regional Development

The form and emphasis of regional development and revitalisation is influenced by the ways in which the state, the private sector, labour movements and civil society interact in a locality and exert their relative power (Berger, 2003; Dean and Reynolds, 2009; Pike *et al.* 2007). One way in which governments address the concerns of such regions is through a stated commitment to developingthe capacities of local actors, including business, local government and labour. Such capacity-building assumes the availability of empowered locally-embedded institutions, which are well placed to recognise and develop the strengths and aspirations of their community (Berger, 2003; Pike *et al.*, 2011).

In the Australian context, governments at the State and Commonwealth level have remained committed to a centralised neo-liberal agenda and associated governance strategy, with direct implications for regional revitalisation (Pusey, 1991 cited in Beer *et al.*, 2005; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie, 2005). A significant consequence of this has been a relative reduction in the direct investment by the state in physical infrastructure and human capital, favouring public-private partnerships instead (Jessop, 1990; Malone, 2005). State and Federal government departments have concurrently sought to shift responsibility to a local level, pursuinga program of 'community' engagement and employing rhetoric that embraces agency and participation as the key drivers of regional economic recovery (Beer et al., 2005; Haslam-McKenzie, 2003). However, despite the efforts of State and Federal governments to elevate the role of the market and local actors in revitalising regional economies, the reality is that these governments remain critical to the revitalisation process (Brown, 2005).

The Latrobe Valley Region

The Latrobe Valley faces immense problems as governments begin to wrestle with the transition to a low carbon economy. The centre of brown coal electricity generation in Australia and a major resource based region – forestry, timber and paper, agriculture, oil and gas as well as energy – the Latrobe Valleyhas long been the focus of state concern and policies. For many decades the region was dominated by state policy in relation to energy production and employment regulation. This began in the 1920's with the establishment of the region's major employer in the State Electricity Commission, and continued with the privatisation of the power generation industry in the mid 1990's. Today, the continued transformation of the region remains a focus of both State and Federal governments.

The Latrobe Valley comprises three local government areas: Baw Baw, Latrobe City and Wellington. Together they account for a population of about 163,000 people (ABS, 2010). It is a population that is growing, but the region continues to rank as one of the most disadvantaged in the state. With low levels of educational attainment, and a strong dependence on manufacturing and retail trade for employment, the region has proven vulnerable to downturns in the global market (DEEWR, 2012).Furthermore, it is in many ways yet to recover from the significant social and economic upheaval that followed the tumultuous privatisation period.

The Latrobe Valley's economic and social woes have been the focus of several major studies (see Birrell, 2001; Fairbrother *et al.*, 2012b). The region's difficulties have also been a source of concern for local, State and Federal agencies. Most recently, governments have sought to prepare the region for thenation's transition to a low carbon economy,which includes plans to close at least one of the region's power stations. Thedominant strategy of the State government has been to attract heavy industry into the region to further exploit its brown coal reserves, while also providing direct economic support toother inward investors and selected local businesses.

Federallythere have been stimulus programs to promote growth and investment, as well as support through agencies such as Regional Development Australia (RDA) and the development of a number of economic revitalisation strategies (see Gippsland Regional Plan Control Group, 2010). Often such initiatives involve partnerships with local government and business groups, such as the Gippsland Local Government Network (GLGN) and the Committee for Gippsland (C4G).

Revitalising the Latrobe Valley: Who Does What?

The state has pursued two approaches to allocating responsibility for the revitalisation of the Latrobe Valley region: first, it has sought to attract increased fiscal input from the private sector, and second, it has facilitated local empowerment. While both of these approaches are evident in the accounts of local actors, there is also evidence suggesting the state continues to directly shape the economy of the Latrobe Valley. Private sector engagement with the region is often brought about by state intervention rather than 'market forces'. Furthermore, local actors that are supposedly 'empowered' through the government consultation processes in fact have little influence over the region's revitalisation. This process is instead largely overridden by political interests and the agenda of the region's economic elite.

The neoliberal stance of the State and Federal governments is contradicted by the direct funding provided in recent years to retain or attract particular businesses to the region.Beneficiaries of this include the airplane manufacturing company GippsAero, whose commitment to the region has been strengthened by State and Federal government funding (most recently, a $3 million Federal government grant). The State and Federal government have been notably forthcoming in their financial support of the region's brown coal industry, particularly in the area of research and development. Further willingness to directly intervene has been demonstrated by the State government inoverriding the economic plans of the region's local governments:

> If we found a business interested in our region, we [had to] refer them on to the State government to help us. But then [they would] take them to Western Victoria (Former local government employee, 29 March 2012).

As suggested by one industry representative, the limit to government spending in the Latrobe Valley is less a matter of fiscal conservatismas it is a question of 'prioritisation' (26 April 2012).

In order to circumvent the priorities of the State and Federal governments, local actors desire a greater role in decision-making processes. This has been acknowledged by State and Federal governments, who have engaged in a local consultation process aimed at involving the local 'community' in the process of developing and implementing policy. Yet many local actors feel 'mired in consultation' (Local government employee, 29 March 2012), and believe that the consultation process has rarely led to any government action:

> Ten years ago, I believe we were in forums where we were saying exactly the same [thing]. We were saying, these are the things that should happen. Well, have they? (Local resident, 23 March 2012)

And:

> It seems like this circle going around and around, arguing all the same things, but I guess there's no strategic decision(Private sector representative, 23 March 2012).

Thus while local actors have sought to engage with the revitalisation of the regional economy, they have been able to exert only limited influence over this process. Furthermore, while local actors have emphasised the need for a 'stronger voice' for the region (Local resident, 29 March 2012), the institutional structures needed to develop such a voice have been weak, enabling more powerful actors, particularly strategically placed employers, to speak on the region's behalf.

The result is that the revitalisation of the Latrobe Valley region is largely determined within two spheres of influence. The first is the State and Federal governments, who appoint, fund, and establish the mandate for the development agencies charged with the responsibility of decision-making in the region. The strategies and plans produced by these agencies are often 'institutionally driven' (Private sector representative, 26 April 2012) and overlook the wider interests of the region's residents and workers. The second isthe empowered and well-organised business interest groups, who 'say [they're] a public facility when in fact [they're] not' (Education provider, 29 March 2012). These include formal and informal groupings of owners and managers of medium size enterprises, local managements from multinational and large national corporations and prominent farmers and farming businesses.In the absence of a unified and strong local voice, the region's economic elite have had more success than other local actors in influencing the decisions taken by government (Berger, 2003). For their part, local governments have been desperate to maintain an economic base andassociated jobs andhave often been captured by these business interests, resulting in criticism and mistrust by the region's constituents. The majority of local actors have therefore not been empowered by the regional development process, and the economy of the Latrobe Valley region continues to be determined by a political and economic elite.

Assessment

The support for neo-liberal economic management strategies by governments in Australia has coincided with a global reshaping of the role of the state in liberal democracies. The dominant governing strategy has become one of depoliticisation, or'the process of placing at one remove the political character of decision-making' (Burnham 2001: 128). Such a strategy can be seen in the approach of the state to regional development in Australia. Rather than intervene directly in regional economies, governments at the State and Federal level have favoured indirect involvement through partnerships with the private sector, local government and other local

agencies (Beer *et al.*, 2005; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie, 2005). Typically regional development bodies are products of the state, and are run by the 'right' people capable of doing the 'right thing' (Beer *et al.*, 2005; Cope and Goodship 1999: 7).

Furthermore, while local actors and the State and Federal governments all share the rhetoric of 'community' participation and empowerment, the reality is that this is not the level at which the power and capacity to develop regions currently lies. While governments have been happy to embrace therhetoric of local empowerment, they have resisted a genuine transfer in capacity and power. In the absence of institutions and processes that foster broad local representation and participation, existing powerbrokers have been able to dominate the decision-making process (Berger, 2003; Lane, 2003). Ultimately this means that the form of revitalisation seen in the Latrobe Valley region reflects the agendas of the powerful – the State and Federal governments and prominent business representatives and associations– rather than the broader local population.

Conclusion

The experience of the Latrobe Valley regionreveals the importance of understanding the ways in which political and economic power shape the development and revitalisation of regions (Berger, 2003; Lane, 2003). In particular,higher levels of government (State and Commonwealth) continue to play a central role in the shaping of regional economies, even when they appear to support local empowerment (Burnham, 2006). It is characteristic of a governing strategyin which state responsiveness is celebrated, but where in fact the state continues to exert indirect control over a wide range of economic and social processes. This raises questions regardingthe conditions under which local actors become empowered, over what and by whom? The problem in the Latrobe Valley and other regional communities is that the dominant governing strategy

largely conceals the ways in which existing power structures influence the revitalisation process, while failing to equip the majority of local actors with the means of shaping their region's future.

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Optimism, Happiness and Revenge – emotion and the politics of 'urban renewal-speak' in an Australian suburb

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Abstract
This paper argues that through an examination of the affective and emotional dimensions of 'urban renewal-speak' we can see how the political mood of the *present* is underwritten by an investment in *future* happiness (often to the detriment of the present). Situating the revenge of urban renewal within this frame throws new light on the motivations of such revenge, which is cast here, not so much as retaliatory retribution, but as a desperate attachment to the optimism of renewal in the face of an unpromising neoliberalism.

Keywords: Urban renewal, Footscray, revenge, revanchism, cruel optimism, happiness

Introduction

This paper examines the affective dimensions of urban renewal in Australia. It focuses on how emotion circulates through 'urban-renewal-speak' in Footscray, an inner western suburb of Melbourne. Urban renewal, considered here as a paradigm of market-led remediation, both orchestrates and coheres with an ambience of the historical present— what Raymond Williams called a 'structure of feeling' (Williams, 1977).

As the social conditions of advanced capitalism fluctuate in the face of large scale de-industrialisation, economies increasingly turn to real estate (re)development to drive growth (Harvey, 1989; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, Rodriguez, 2002). In this precarious context, urban renewal is optimistically cast as a strategy for happy futures. This optimism is however paradoxically entwined with a host of gloomier emotions, and this paper attends in particular to the entanglement of revenge and optimism in the urban renewal of one Melbourne suburb – Footscray. I suggest the optimistic attachment to urban renewal by local and state government, and by those who are charged with its design and implementation, is one that *depends* on revenge to sustain it.

In the course of my research revenge surfaced as an unacknowledged, perhaps even unconscious force. It presented itself in the optimistic 'speak' of urban renewal, through a discourse that fixated on approaches and policies to remove all perceived obstacles to the optimism it promoted. Uncovering such revanchism or urban revenge is not in itself novel. Smith's (1996) assertion that vengefulness overtook gentrification as the script for urban renewal in the 1990s has since been analysed for its relevance in a range of settings (Atkinson 2003; Davis 1990; MacLeod 2002; Mitchell, 2003; Thörn, 2011). Revenge in the renewal context refers to policies that claim to solve social problems, but instead pursue their disappearance and displacement (Atkinson, 2003; Smith, 1996). Disappearance is achieved by means of urban cleansing, implemented through revenge policies such as policing, criminalising and dislocating the deviant and deprived who are alleged to have 'stolen' the city from others (Smith, 1996). Smith argues that this revenge is motivated by malevolence, the bourgeoisie asserting that its entitlement to particular space is greater than that of the poor. However, the revenge discerned in Footscray appears to be driven less by conscious ill-will than by a logical imperative to hold on to a fragile optimism. It is not the conscious retribution for injury that generally characterises this modality of revenge, but as I will argue, it is a particular form of revenge that emerges from an equally particular form of optimism.

The optimism of urban renewal can be productively understood by considering Lauren Berlant's (2006, 2011) concept of *cruel optimism,* and Sara Ahmed's (2010) notion of the *happiness duty.* The modifiers of *cruel* and *duty* point, in advance, to the gloomy emotional elements underlying the affective nature of these conceptions. These modifiers encapsulate the very dependence of urban renewal optimism on revenge, but not so as to suggest that revenge is the *cruelty* referred to. The cruelty of the optimism, which I explore later, inheres in the very necessity to *sustain* the optimism. The impulse to *sustain the optimism* is therefore a greater affective force in urban revanchism than is the *desire for revenge*.

This paper unfolds through three necessarily condensed sections. A brief sketch of a research project on urban renewal is followed by a discussion of Berlant's public feelings (2011) and Ahmed's political emotions (2010), both of which I draw on to evoke the sensorial milieu of urban renewal-speak where revenge inheres with optimism. Some brief examples from my research will show how revenge presents itself and how it *emerges from* optimism.

Urban Renewal in the suburbs

Urban renewal programs in Australia have historically been modest in scope, focusing largely on the remediation of housing stock and social mix of residents (see: Gleeson and Randolph, 2000). The urban renewal addressed here is more extensive, both in scale and intent, with aspects such as social mix and estate renewal incorporated into these larger programs. In Footscray, the local council has adopted 'a more *whole of city* approach … to replace previous approaches' (Maribyrnong City Council, June 2012).

Urban renewal is a major state-sponsored strategy for increasing private investment in cities, suburbs and neighbourhoods, with the explicit promise of improving opportunities for residents, employees, and business (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Imrie and Raco, 2003; Imrie

and Thomas, 1993; Smith, 2006; Tallon, 2010). In contemporary Australia large scale urban renewal is mostly associated with post-industrialism, tending to focus on neglected or declining deindustrialised suburbs offering opportunities for 'brownfield' development. The largest such programs in Victoria in recent times have been the development of a decaying waterfront, 'Docklands', and the imminent development of its post-industrial neighbour, the Fisherman's Bend Urban Renewal project, lately heralded as the largest renewal program in Australia (Minister for Planning, September, 2012).

The Footscray program is smaller than Docklands and Fishermans Bend, but still involves hefty state sponsorship. Footscray, adjacent to Melbourne's container port, is considered one of Melbourne's last untapped inner urban areas. The pressure for re-generation has been intense, if constantly stalled by problems of 'image'. Thus a state government brochure that promises *Footscray is Changing*, commits to 'improv[ing] Footscray's image and investment feasibility… to build a new brand, and an initiatives-driven investment attraction campaign' (DPCDa, 2011).

Since 1980, Footscray has been transformed into a classic post-industrial suburb, characterised by high levels of poverty and social inequality. Industrial employment has declined during the 1980s and by1990, Melbourne's West had the highest unemployment rates in the metropolis (Dodson and Berry, 2004). In the decade that followed, 'new industrialisation' rhetoric circulated without realisation, and as Dodson and Berry point out Melbourne's West remains economically vulnerable (2004). Official data portray Footscray as deeply disadvantaged, located as it is in Greater Melbourne's second most disadvantaged LGA (ABS, 2006), and is exceptionally diverse, with 42 per cent of the population speaking a first language other than English (ABS, 2012).

Footscray is also persistently presented as unsafe and dangerous. It is represented as a centre of illicit drug dealing and usage, and is typified by the public consumption of alcohol (Dwyer, 2007; Oakes, 2012a). It continues to be regarded as one of Victoria's 'heroin capitals' (Milovanovic, 2010; AIC, 2012). Footscray is a busy transport hub, and a meeting place for those who may have once lived there but who have now been pushed to the outer urban fringes (Fieldsite interviews 2009, 2011). The ongoing media attention paid to the street presence of potentially 'dangerous' African men who gather communally in particular parts of the suburb (Oakes, 2012b) increases public perception of the area as unsafe.

Urban renewal in Footscray is coeval with concerns about public safety, and proper utilisation of public space. These issues are not framed as arising from structural disadvantage, inadequate service provision, or the availability of stable and affordable housing, but rather as threats to public safety and the income and investment opportunities foregone by the public presence of undesirable people and behaviours (Seymour Strategists, 2010). Urban renewal programs are thus loaded up with particular challenges in places like Footscray and it is through the power of 'urban renewal-speak' that an atmosphere of optimistic futurity circulates.

The study and its methods

The study utilised a multi-disciplinary team from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, social geography and urban planning.[i] Our key priority was to explore the tensions between, on the one hand, policy responses to the needs and aspirations of *existing* residents, inhabitants, businesses and services; and what we saw as the contrasting imperative to frame urban policy for *future* visions to attract new money, increased commercial investment, and new consumers, residents and businesses.

We undertook participant observation in several designated public sites including street malls, shopping complexes, railways stations and plazas; 22 structured interviews were conducted with people who lived, worked or visited the suburbs. Participants were recruited opportunistically through existing contacts, service organisations and people we met during participant observation who we invited to participate. Four focus group discussions were held with retailers in both suburbs and 40 informal conversations with people in public places took place. We also interviewed 18 local government personnel (land use planners, urban designers and community planners), four state government planners, three managers in two state planning statutory authorities overseeing the renewal programs in each suburb, and two property developers who continue to have commercial interests in renewal projects. We attended council meetings in Maribyrnong over a four-month period during 2009 and 2010 and analysed a significant amount of written material on the urban renewal missions and program implementation in each area, including public records of council meetings and official government documents.

Political emotions, public feelings—the entanglement of revenge and optimism

The 'revanchist city' is Smith's (1996:42) term for the revenge tactics of moral and material cleansing. His point is that despite the optimism attached to gentrification, the city is underwritten by gloom, issuing from the effects of deregulation, privatisation, welfare cuts and shrinking social budgets. Revanchism has by now had extensive treatment in the urban studies literature. In the US, resonant with Smith's (1996) attention to the cleansing policies of a vengeful public, Davis (1990) highlights the design-led punitiveness against the homeless in Los Angeles, while Mitchell (2003) points to the increasing laws and regulations introduced to criminalise the homeless. In the UK 'actually existing revanchism' (MacLeod, 2002) and the 'competing forms of revanchism' or the relative 'degrees of revanchism' (Atkinson, 2003) have been analysed alongside the processes of legitimating revanchism through discourses of 'public safety' and 'security' (Raco, 2003). European revanchism is variously understood as either more or less 'heavy-handed', 'softer' or more 'ambient' and 'seductive' than the revanchism that emerges from the US and UK (Atkinson, 2003; MacLeod, 2002; Thörn, 2011; Uitermark and Duyvendak, 2008). Atkinson imaginatively sums up these approaches as domestication of public space by either cappuccino or revenge (2003). That is, the cappuccino design-led soft approach of exclusion through an increasingly aestheticised symbolic economy of public space (Zukin, 1995) or more direct vengeful acts of expulsion (Smith, 1996). Atkinson (2003:1830) acknowledges that whatever the approach 'it is likely that part of the reality behind these programs is mundane: organisations and people simply doing their job.'

The upshot is the same↓the elimination of undesirables, for the purpose of increasing the marketability of the city through 'an ideology that seeks to displace rather than tackle social problems in order to clean up the city' (Atkinson, 2003:1831).

Revenge is cast here as a public and political emotion, yet there is plenty of conjecture about whether revenge can even be considered an emotion. These arguments pivot (philosophically) around whether revenge should be understood as an action brought about by an emotion (such as anger) or giving rise to an emotion (such as pleasure) but not as an emotional state itself (see Newberry, 2001). On the absence of extensive discussion of vengeance in psychology Frijda (2007) notes that although it may not be considered an emotion itself, the desire for revenge or the urge to retaliate, most certainly is. 'The *desire* is an emotion' (Frijda, 2007*:*260 – my emphasis) Similarly for Weber, 'Emotion is in *the need* for revenge' (Barbalet, 2001: 52).

Urban revenge emerges, therefore, from both *need* and *desire*—to sustain optimism in renewal's capacity to deliver a version of the good life after industrialism. Sustaining this optimism, which, via Berlant, may be identified as its cruelty, is a self-preserving rather than retaliatory gesture. This self-preservation becomes clearer through cruel optimism and the happiness duty.

Starting with her claim that public spheres are affect worlds, Berlant (2006, 2011) theorises the historical present as an emotionally charged time. When she characterises the 'structure of feeling' of this historical present as 'cruel optimism', she is not referring to the *experience* of optimism but to its *affective structure*, or its relationality. Cruel optimism, she says, is 'a relation of attachment to compromised conditions of possibility' (2011:13). For Berlant, all attachment is optimistic— for example attachment as love, intimacy, sexuality; or attachment to voting and even a belief in the meritocracy of capitalism. Optimism is cruel though when the kind of relation or attachment (to something) impedes the flourishing that motivated the initial attachment. Cruel, she argues, is *not* the same as disappointing.

The cruelty of such optimistic attachment lies in the crushing sense of incoherence experienced when the object invested in starts to reveal itself as deficient, or in Berlant's words begins to 'fray' or 'fade.' Yet the very presence of the object represents the *possibility* of happiness. Losing the object therefore might be deemed worse than being destroyed by it. Even, or more precisely *especially*, in the face of evidence that advanced capitalism is no longer able or willing to produce the conditions or opportunities conducive to attaining the good life (e.g. forms of participatory democracy or prospects for social mobility), attachment to unachievable fantasies of the 'good life' persist.

We might think here of those charged with rolling out renewal programs ↓ bureaucrats, urban planners and designers, local councilors and workers, whose professionalism and skill are attached to urban renewal as an object that will, at some time in the future, produce some form of the good life. These *implementers* are optimistically attached to urban renewal in ways that are damaging to themselves, to particular groups of people and for communities. This is characterised by Berlant (2011) as *the impasse* – when attachments are injurious to ourselves and others yet we remain attached for fear of having or being nothing. Cruel optimism means

that ‘the very pleasures of being inside a relation have become sustaining regardless of the content of the relation’ (Berlant, 2011:2).

This optimism corresponds to some extent with *the promise of happiness* that Ahmed (2010) has outlined. In the midst of the deteriorating social and economic conditions of advanced capitalism, Ahmed (2004, 2010), suggests that emotion does a good deal of political work. Creating particular objects and people as desirable, valuable or virtuous is a crucial part of that work. Moreover, responding to the slew of ‘happiness studies’ and guidebooks on the market, Ahmed critiques the imperative to be happy - the ‘happiness duty’. This duty orients us towards what she calls ‘happy objects’ because happiness is promised to follow our proximity to such objects (2010:21). She explores the association here between value, virtue, and happiness asking ‘not only what makes happiness good but how happiness participates in making things good’ (Ahmed, 2010:13).

While inhabitants, planners and local bureaucrats might sometimes express reservations about urban renewal’s virtue, some of them reported to us that the cost of raising questions about aspects of the policy and its logic, is to produce oneself as an outsider, a spoiler, or, as Ahmed coins it, a ‘killjoy’—not just as someone who has questions, but someone who is politically and professionally irresponsible. It becomes a normative duty to participate in the register of happiness. “How could you possibly object to improving this place?”

Footscray, produced as an unhappy place, now, through the promise of urban renewal, considers itself rather virtuously as ‘open for business’. According to one local bureaucrat we interviewed, such free market language represents an approach which has recently insinuated itself deeply in the ethos of local government. This occurs through the register of happiness. He says:

> We are ‘open for business’, we want ‘street activation’, we want new retail outlets…we rarely talk about people, we rarely talk about communities, we talk about making a place to consume, to walk through, to leave, but never a place in which to ‘be’…this is a really significant shift…we have had a major shift in our organisation from citizenship engagement to stakeholder relationships, where stakeholder means the private sector or the captains of industry… (Local Government Planner, June 2011).

The process of reproducing happiness out of unhappiness in this urban domain relies on an unspoken revenge against those blockages to happiness. Revenge as repair, is adopted as a strategy to remove the gloomy elements of place. This is expressed in policy speak that now pervades the suburb—‘improving perceptions of safety’, ‘enhancing the image’, ‘removing barriers’ to urban investment, ‘producing modern, vibrant streetscapes’. In the register of optimism and happiness, these slogans also trigger negative (not happy) emotions that become attached to specific objects, places, people and practices. An example of this revenge/repair strategy is given here:

> In Footscray where we have state government interest in the ‘central activities district’ combined with a traditional street based drug trade and public drinking, one of the principals that guides street based urban planning and placemaking now is to reduce and get rid of all public amenity seats…because we don’t want these people staying….but we don’t have a culture now where we can debate this. These are powerful values [of urban renewal] that are not unpacked (Local Government Planner, June 2011).

This is a renewal strategy of vengeful banishment, not because the urban renewers are personally hostile to 'undesirable' people, but because their presence stands in the way of the programmers' own (cruel optimistic) relational attachments to the future that renewal promises. The scenes of happiness they seek to deliver don't stand a chance in the face of the intensifying marginalisation and inequality that neoliberalism spawns (see Wacquant, 2009, 2010). Their fixed attachment however resembles the frantic movement-while-standing-still of Berlant's 'impasse' and the persistently active orientation towards Ahmed's 'happy objects.' Here it is possible to comprehend a particular type of revenge, not one so much of entitlement, in the vein of Smith (1996), but one of self-protection from crumbling self-coherence amid the obvious incapacity of contemporary capitalist societies to deal with underlying causes of the unhappiness that must (now) be banished.

The constant surfacing of revenge in urban renewal speak

To illustrate the above argument I give four examples of the surfacing of revenge in urban renewal-speak in the suburb of Footscray. First, observing people at the busy Footscray railway station, I engaged a local inhabitant in conversation as he complained about the poor design of the new railway overpass. His grievance related to the large, 'decorative' holes in the roof design that allows the rain to flood the path. He told me:

> I have hated this design since it was completed, as I have nearly slipped and hurt myself many times. I've seen it happen to other people too. I know it's supposed to make the place look fancy and encourage us to think we're becoming something in Footscray, but its horrible. But recently I happened to be talking to a bloke I play soccer with and I found out he worked on the design and construction of this bridge. I asked him why on earth they designed it like this, and he told me it was to keep the homeless out. I was so shocked. (Local resident, October 2011)

Here revenge surfaces as an intrinsic element of urban renewal.

Second, at a council Planning Meeting, a local councilor was decrying the concentration of African people and their shops in the centre of the activities district, which he considered a deterrent to potential investors.

> I've tried to tell the Africans that they could make more money if they go somewhere else. All their cafes and small shops are in one area; they are all competing against each other: that's not how you do business. If we encourage them to move and explain things to them that area may change. (Local Councilor, Planning Meeting, February 2010)

This is not angry retribution. Nonetheless the congregate presence of marginal African businesses is an obstruction to the renewal fantasy.

Third, in a similar but more vengeful register, at a consultation meeting between residents, local councilors, council urban designers and planners, to discuss proposed design changes to the area surrounding the railway station, ideas about creating a better, more modern and friendly feel were being canvassed. The tenor of the discussion is reflected by these comments:

> We need to attract different people here, that is the only way we will deal with what happens in the CAD now...We can't say who, but we have to change the make up of the suburb. (Local Government Planner, September 2009)

> If only those anti-social type people didn't take over the mall...there are more and more of them here really...and as for the shops in the area, they are appalling. I'm sorry. The whole area is just awful and really needs some work. We need cafes and nice places. (Local resident at community meeting. September, 2009)

"We can't say who" but certainly not those who are here at the moment. This is a quintessential moment of 'cappuccino *and* revenge'.

Fourth, to end this discussion, an example from the strategic reimaging of Footscray. Since 2004 the state government and the local council have been developing strategies to promote a new image of the suburb. The initial approach was based on the views of residents, local businesses and other regular visitors. The city was affectionately promoted as 'safe, artsy, edgy, affordable, diverse' (DPCDb, 2010). This translated into a representation of the suburb as 'gritty', in an attempt to reconcile urban renewal aspirations with the reality of those who inhabit the suburb. As Shaw (2006: 198) identifies in gentrifying inner Sydney, for some real estate marketing, this 'edge of danger is part of the attraction of city living'. More recently however, marketing consultants have recommended a removal of those 'gritty' elements from the suburb's self-branding, recommending instead action for 'tangible change'. Two of the most pressing changes recommended are to (i) disaggregate the needle exchange (a critical service for drug users in Footscray) and (ii) promote greater police patrolling of central public areas – plaza and railway (Footscray Central Activities District – Investment Attraction Strategy -Seymour Strategists, December 2010).

Conclusion

In this brief excursion I hope to have provided an indication of the affective and emotion-laden dimensions of 'urban renewal-speak'. Implicit here is the orchestration of and by an ambience of the political present. I have briefly explored the entanglement of optimism and revenge in urban renewal, where revenge emerges, not so much from a malevolent desire for retribution, but as an inevitable consequence of the need to sustain optimism in urban renewal. If not renewal, then what? This 'structure of feeling' or ambience of the historical present, as grasped through urban renewal is indeed one of cruel optimism.

Footnotes

1. I have been conducting researching in Footscray and Dandenong since 2000. I began collaborative research on urban renewal in 2008 and continue to work in both suburbs. The University of Melbourne provided funding for the research project: *Urban Revitalisation, Public Space and Intercultural Encounters* – Investigators: Ghassan Hage, Ruth Fincher, Maree Pardy (2008-09). Seed funding for a new phase of the project was provided the University of Melbourne: *Placemaking: Social Equity and Cultural Diversity in Urban Renewal* (2011-12) – Investigators: Ruth Fincher, Haydie Gooder, Maree Pardy, Kate Shaw.

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TASA 2012 – Full Paper

The Need for an Emotion Work Survey

Abstract

Surveys of emotions offer great potential to understand micro-social dynamics and wellbeing not only within small groups, but within nations as a whole. The most commonly reported emotions in surveys – happiness, satisfaction, loneliness, etc - hint at the social experiences of people from different class, ethnic, marital backgrounds, etc. However, such questions are usually generalised to 'whole of life' or domain-specific (eg work, family, etc) assessments. They are unable to capture the micro-social dynamics of interaction, power, and status, and consequently lose much of the social interplay of emotions. Many 'social' emotions – guilt, shame, anger, envy – are consequently not captured, nor is the considerable work done in managing emotions in different social situations, and the gender context that surrounds this. This paper identifies several emotions commonly 'missing' from social surveys and often subject to considerable emotion work particularly amongst women, including anger (Kemper 1990; Holmes 2004), shame (Kemper 1990; Scheff 1991), and jealousy/envy (Clanton 1996). Building on the innovative work of Kahneman and Krueger's (2006), it also suggests that the most appropriate method for measuring the common emotions and emotion work undertaken in actual social settings is to run a time-use survey with open-ended questions about emotions. Such a survey would ask respondents to report which emotions they felt in their own words, and whether they felt the need to hide or alter these emotions, for a random selection of time-based episodes about any emotions. Such an 'audit' of emotions and emotion work in time-based context would provide valuable data to substantiate many of the theories promulgated by sociologists of emotion, and reveal important gender dimensions to emotions within households and families.

Key words - Emotions, Emotion work, Gender, Subjective Wellbeing, Time Use

Introduction

Surveys of emotion offer great potential to understand the socialdynamics of emotionsin society and the contribution emotions make to wellbeing. A wide body of literature from the sociology of emotions highlights the centrality of emotions to society. Emotions organise human action and culture as much as (or in conjunction with) rational thought (Barbalet 2006), take a central role in the dynamics of power and politics (Holmes 2004; Hoggett 2009), and lie behind the formation and maintenance of social structure (Kemper 1990), social movements (Flam and King 2005), and everyday social roles (Goffman 1961; Clarke, Hoggett and Thompson 2006).

Emotions suchas happiness and satisfaction are also critical to studies of subjective wellbeing. Differences in the experience of happiness and satisfaction across generalised life domains such as work, family, leisure and even life as a whole are indicative of wellbeing in a manner that compliments, and evensupersedes, conventional measures of progress, such as per capita income and human development (Layard 2005; Diener and Seligman 2004). Emotions are thus vital to understandinghow – and how well – we are building good societies.

However, common survey measuresthat ask about happiness or satisfaction with life *in general*do not reveal much about the dynamics of emotions that play out in *particular social situations*. Many of these take place in private settings such as the household, and incorporate subtle forms of social interaction. Recent time-diary surveys have extended the generalised approach tomeasuring wellbeing byexamining emotions in the context of variousactivities, and this has added considerable richness to our understanding of wellbeing (Kahneman and Krueger 2006). These studies

nonetheless have their faults. They do not address the critical question of *which emotions*are most relevant toeveryday wellbeing. The more volatile and stigmatised social emotions such as anger, shame and envy are likely to be under-reported and under-represented using conventional survey methods, and are thus more likely to be ignored as irrelevant by conventional wellbeing researchers.

Nor do any national surveys engage with the sociological concept of emotion work. This concept, popularised by Arlie Hochschild (1978, 1983), refers to the ways in which people 'work at' and adjust their emotions according to the normative expectations of the people around them in specific social contexts. It is interesting to realise that the most likely candidates for emotion work are the under-reported volatile social emotions noted above, and that the alignment of the two has likely undermined the percieved usefulness of investigating either. Put another way, the work done in hiding emotions diguises both the emotions themselves and the work done in hiding them, and it is difficult to convince researchers of the importance of investigating things which do not appear to be there!

This paper advances understandingsand research directions forthese issues in a number of ways.First, it identifiesthe pros and cons associated with different time and emotion studies, and higlights the capacity for each to pick up on the more obscure social emotions commonly 'missing' from social surveys.The paper briefly reviews some of these emotions, including anger (Kemper 1990; Holmes 2004), shame (Kemper 1990; Scheff 1991), and jealousy/envy (Clanton 1996). The paper also argues that the exclusion of many social emotions in most surveys is indicative of a larger failure to investigate how people manageor 'work at' difficult emotions (Hoschcild 1983, Bolton and Boyd 2003). Second, the papersuggests several methods for running a national survey of emotions and emotion work in society.

Time and affect surveys, 'missing' social emotions, and emotion work

An impressive body of new evidence on emotional wellbeing is emerging from studies of emotions and time-use, which inquire into how people feel about what they do with their time and who they spend it with. Such research comes from a tradition of time-diary analysis, going back many years (Michelson 1977, Csikszentmihalyi 1990). The more sophisticated of these investigations haveinquired into the enjoyment associated with types of activities in general (Juster 1985), and during particular episodes (Gershuny and Halpin 1996; Robinson and Godbey 1997).

Such approaches build on the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) developed by European time use researchers (Csikszentmihalyi1990, Zuzanek2012) and recently tested in Australia (Soupermas et al 2005). This method involves respondents wearing pagers – or more recently having apps attached to mobile smart-phones – that 'beep' at random times, whereupon respondents record what they are doing and how they feel. This method has the advantage of instantaneous transmission of feeling, but the disadvantage of 'emotional selection bias' creeping into the responses. If someone is feeling sad, or angry or busy – or experiecing a taboo or stigmtaisedemition that they don't feel comfortable sharing at that moment in time – they may feel disinclined toreport such emotions.

Anpromising alternative to the ESM is the Day Reconstruction Method (DRM) employed by Kahneman and Krueger (2006) in the conduct of theirUS national time and affect surveys. In this approach, respondents areasked to complete a diary of allactivities undertaken in the previous day on an episode by episode basis, and record whether other people were present during those episodes. Three of these episodes are then selected at random, and respondents are asked about the

presenceand intensity of any of the following six types of affect during the three episodes:happiness, sadness, pain, stress, tiredness and interest.The DRM contextualisesemotions within activities and social interactions, examines a greater range of emotions (or affect-types) than just happiness and satisfaction, and presents a more sophisticated micro-picture of the feelings associated with social interactions and social activities.

The DRM used by Kahneman and Krueger also has its drawbacks. Participants are forced to recall emotions a day after they have taken place, and may reinterpret or misremember the experience. However, the comprehensive nature of the contextual data gathered through the time diary approach suggests that biases associated with misremembering are not as severe as they might otherwise be. The diary provides several prompts – activity, location, co-presence of others – that can help with the accurate recall of the experience and its associated feelings.

Another problem is the biasof respondents engaging in emotion work to make responses more normatively acceptable. The socially unacceptable 'anger' of yesterday may be toned down, remembered and reported as the more acceptable 'minor irritation' of today. Such biases will probably worsen when experiencing more taboo emotions (guilt, shame, envy, etc). However, the distance created by the delay in experiencing and reporting emotions allows for expression as much as repression – or emotional reflection as much as emotion work.A person may be more willing to admit to having been angry when they have calmed down and distanced themselvesfrom the 'upsetting' (and often socially unacceptable) emotions than while they are experiencing the emotion.

While it is unclear which effectpredominates – the normative propensity towards obscuring and 'working' over our emotions, or the reflective capacity to

recognise and reveal them in hindsight – the diary method has one further clear advantage. It is unlikely that a person experiencing and attempting to report on their emotions in real-time will be able to convey the complexity of how they experience and work at their emotions in that moment, without the experience of reflecting on and recording those emotions becoming a kind of emotion work in itself.The distance created by the delay in reporting allows for greater reflection on how the person *managed* their own emotions, particualry their taboo social emotions.

This capacity for the DRM to pick up on emotion work is an opportunity missed by Kaheneman and Krueger. So too is the potential to inquire about a range of different taboo emotions, instead of the rather generic six types of affect that are actually included in their surveys.In framing their work through psychological and economic perspectives, researchers such as Kaheneman and Kruegerdo not enagge with sociological reflections on stigmatised social emotions. Anger, shame and jealousy/envyaremore likely to be hidden from conventional reports or wellbeing and emotional life, and are amongst the mostlikely candidates for emotion management (Hochschild 1983). These emotions are now discussed briefly in turn.

Emotions 'Missing' from Surveys - Anger, Shame and Jealousy

Anger is a common emotionin studies of power and social interaction. The rise in emotional energy and anger in interactions following the ascription of blame to the other is noted in the works of sociologists of emotion (Kemper 1990; Ost 2004).Anger is also gendered and 'worked at' in public spaces, withHolmes (2004) describing the tricky path trod by feminist political actors reconcilingthe social convention that womenremain calm with the reality that getting angry in key political circumstances engenders greater respect.

Shame is an emotion with a rich sociological history associated with (and often indicative of) social stigma in micro-social interactions (Goffman 1963). The ideas of Thomas Scheff(1998) on rage and shame suggests that shame and angerare often conjoined. Scheffsuggests that the perception or experience of being powerless or deviant results in heightened feelings of shame. This in turn leads to feelings of fear or despair if the blame for such powerlessness is ascribed to oneself, or anger and rage if ascribed to another (1988, p395-402).Shame requires emotion work in a number of gendered contexts, such as in overcoming the stigma associated with infertility and involuntary childlessness (Miall 2010) andsingle motherhood(Lauster and Easterbrook 2011).

Another common set of obscure and repressed social emotions are the related 'possessive' feelings of jealousy and envy. Clanton (2007) notes that jealousy is an important emotion for securing social and familial solidarity by signalling intentions for and commitments to marital contracts. Clanton (2007) describes envy as probably the most highly stigmatised emotion in that it involves admitting one's inferiority to another. As such, it is one of the most likely targets for emotion work.

Of these emotions, only anger is currently measured in population surveys; the Gallup World Poll and US-specific Gallup Healthways Wellbeing Index. However, the questions in these surveys are quite general, and pertain to whether the respondent felt angry in the last week or so, with no details about simultaneous social interactions etc.

The need for an 'audit' of emotions and emotion work

The Need for an Emotion Work Survey

This section outlines threemethods for measuring social emotionsand emotional work on a national level. These methods include 1) surveying the population using a list of emotions compiled by experts from literature; 2) surveying a population to choose the most relevant emotions for their daily lives from a large list; and 3) conducting an open-endedDRM'audit' of the emotions and emotion work most common to people's daily lives.

1) Surveying the population using a list of emotions compiled by experts from the literature

A traditional way to establish the importance of one emotion or another would be for experts to compile a list derived from the literature on controlled experiment or small-world studies of emotions, and inquire into their frequency and intensity in a national survey. This is the approach adopted, for example, by the European Social Survey (Hupert et al 2009), and includes emotions such as happiness, sadness, loneliness, anger, and tiredness. The survey provides a useful snapshot of some common emotions experienced by populations in their weekly lives.

However, this approach suffers from two problems. First, there arelikely to be 'value-judgements' inherent in the'expert' choice of emotions selected for the survey. The need to limit survey categories to a few choice emotions tends to push researchers to focus on those emotions generally preceived to be universal and important, such as Ekman's basic emotions (1999). This approach does not establish how common these emotions are relative to other emotions, or the degree to which the more stigmatised emotions appear and are managed through emotion work. A second problem is that the emotions recorded in surveys such as the ESS are generalised across the previous

week. They are non-contextual in terms of activities, and do not measure the dynamic processes captured by time and affect diaries.

2) Allow people to choose most relevant emotions a list, akin to 'deprivation research' approach

This approach has gained momentum in a similarly vexing field of research; studies of poverty and deprivation (Mack and Langsley1985). Such studies have historically been plagued by problems of experts using surveys to measure the absence of 'essential'resources in people's lives (such as the ability to pay a bill, or raise money in an emergency). To get around the issue of experts deciding on what items are 'essential', recent researchers (Bradshaw and Finch 2003; Saunders 2011) have turned to asking people to choose from an extensive list of items which ones *they* regard to be essential to maintaining a 'normal' standard of living, and use this list as a baseline for establishing levels of deprivation within the population.

Such a method could be applied to the study of emotions, by compiling a similarly extensive list of emotions, and surveying people about which ones are the most relevant to their daily lives. However, it is more difficult to develop to a baseline list of emotions than of deprivation indicators, as most deprivation indicators have clearly understood contexts (heating, transport, bills etc). There is little confusion over what it means to pay a bill or raise money, but there may be much greater confusion over what people feel and what feelings mean without activity-contexts to link them to.

3) Conduct an open-ended DRM-Audit of emotions and emotion work

The final method is similar to theDRM, but with two important differences. The first is that respondents be allowed to report whatever emotions they experienced during an activity *in their own words*. This would enable a first stage 'audit' of the most common emotions experienced by the population to be recorded in their own, unfiltered, words. With sufficient resources, this approach could be piloted in conjunction with an open-ended ESM study using mobile-phone apps. Given sufficient randomised samping, the degree to which either the DRM or ESM reveals more unusual or taboo emotions would demonstrate the extent to which normative reporting biases are overcome by 'putting people on the spot' (ESM) or giving them 'time to reflect' (DRM).

The second difference is to inquire about whether any emotion work was undertaken. In addition to their reported emotional experiences, respondents would be prompted to report whether they felt the need to either hide or change what they felt. This would serve to provide a socially contextualised baseline estimate of the degree of emotion work that goes on*in the national population as a whole*. The degree of emotion work would also serve as a useful took for modifying the baseline 'audit' of emotions, and produce a more accurate, or adjusted baseline. This in turn would be invaluable in understanding more commonly investigated emotions, such as happiness, and concepts such as personal wellbeing.

This approach has obvious limitations, in that responses are not pre-coded into explicit categories for easy analysis after the survey is completed. However, it is possible to subject such responses to textual/quantitative or qualitative analyses to see which responses cohere, and create quantifiable categories for anlaysis. It is also possible to use such a method to inquireinto the more taboo emotions, by "*watch[ing] for the disguises in which [envy] often appears*" (Clanton 2007, p426). Measures of

activities such as gossip, or emotions such as 'frustration' might well be indicative of envy when contextualised (such as when one partner is engaged in work and care while another is engaged in leisure), and asking additional probing questions such as what the source or target of the emotion might be may help elicit more open responses.

Conclusion and Discussion

After discounting a number of alternatives, this paper concludes that the most appropriate method for establishing a 'minimum' (or possibly even 'basic') set of emotions and the degree of emotion work that goes on in society is to conduct a national/international open-ended DRM survey 'audit' of emotions and emotion work in the context of daily activities. Such an approach is population focussed, does not rely on experts to choose the most relevant emotions, and is socially contextual.

Some additional benefits of this approach is that even if it arrives at the same set of emotions used by Kahneman and Kruger or Hupert et al, it confirms that these emotions are indeed actually the most relevant ones for population surveys. It will also identify any surprising additional emotions such as 'boredom', 'anger', and 'guilt' that might appear more regularly in contextual situations than they do in the more generic domains captured in existing surveys. A further step towards capturing taboo emotions could be to include an additional question about what the respondent perceives the *other person* is feeling at the same time, as attempts to infer envy or greed onto others, or engage in excessive admiration/emulation of others, are often signs of envy within oneself (Clanton 2007).

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Young people in contemporary Cambodia: Transitional society and biographical expectations

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Abstract

The reconstruction of Cambodia since the 1990s has configured a volatile social space characterized by economic growth, rapidly changing structural conditions, weak state institutions, cultural revitalization and change, and globalization forces. The life-course context for young people is marked by weak institutional framework, strong reliance on family support, high social mobility, renegotiated cultural norms, and globalized politico-economic agenda. Based on first results of interview material from an on-going project examining biographical experiences of two major groups of young people in Cambodia, migrant labor workers and prospective university graduates, this paper attempts to construct a typology of biographical expectations among contemporary youth. The variation in patterns of biographical expectations will offer empirical evidence of how the institutional, cultural and structural contexts are experienced and appreciated by young Cambodians, potentially illustrating the interplay of action and structure in biographical constructions.

Key words: transitional society, biographical expectations, youth, Cambodia

Introduction

In a transitional society, the shifting structural conditions, weak state institutions, cultural revitalization and change, and globalization forces give rise to an emergent and volatile social space. How do young people negotiate such social volatility? How do they form expectations about their future? And how do they reinvent their society? Using Cambodia as a case study, this paper will examine how Cambodian youths translate their experiences of social volatility and personal resources into biographical expectations in a transitional society characterized by rapid social transformation, absence of strong institutional framework, and intense pressure of globalized neoliberal market processes. I will explore the variations in young people's patterns of biographical expectations through an empirically grounded typology of ideal types (Weber 1949), which characterize how the biographical experiences and constructions reflect the current institutional, cultural and structural dynamics.

The Cambodian context

Following three decades of protracted violent conflicts and international isolation, Cambodia in the early 1990s emerged from the 'ashes of the past' through the United Nations' intervention for peace and democratic reform, while the national reconstruction and social development processes were banked on a politico-economic agenda of market liberalization. On the one hand, the political stability and social development have generally been cast by

Cambodians in contrast to the past upheavals and destruction, generating prevailing optimism for better lives. On the other, the present context is not only informed by traditional socio-cultural expectations but also intimately linked to the transnational forces and discourses such as global market dynamics and values.

Traditionally, Cambodian society was characterized by a deep sense of predetermined positions within a given social order, manifested in such entrenched notions as 'small' and 'big' people and urban-rural divide, as a result of one's deeds from past actions or lives (Chandler 1979). Cambodian individuals must either be content with one's socio-cultural class position or improve it through 'merit-making' to move up the hierarchical order within countless incarnations in the earthly world. However, personal industry for upward mobility was an ethical principle for life conduct (Steinberg 1959), and 'education' or 'learning' was perceived as a means for such mobility, for their children if not themselves (Martin 1994). However, the structural and institutional context has drastically altered, which asks for reassessment of such worldviews. The structural shift from family-based agriculture toward a growing industrial and service economy has generated more industrial, service and professional workers, hence expanding the working and middle classes at the expense of the peasantry. This has resulted in high social mobility, wider social inequalities, and rising importance of formal qualifications for social and occupational status.

The youth labor market has seen an emergent stratification marked by increasing migrant labor workers and urban graduates, while the neoliberal value system of market competition, entrepreneurial individualism, and life-long human capital has increasingly penetrated into the education and labor market. But with the absence of a welfare state and strong life-course institutional framework, young people are subjected to not only precarious structural conditions but also weak and fragmented institutional guidelines (for example, the absence of established career paths and national skills competency standard). They also have to negotiate their life courses and construct meaningful expectations to orient their lives by relying heavily on personal and family resources.

Conceptual framework – social structure and biographical expectations

The conceptual aim of this paper is to understand how the structural, cultural and institutional features of a society impact upon young people's subjective experiences, particularly in how biographical actions and expectations are appreciated and organized. The concepts of Bourdieu's habitus and individualization are useful for this purpose.

Bourdieu views the social world as a relational space consisting of differentiated social positions occupied by individuals (Bourdieu 1980). These positions are determined primarily by the volume and composition of 'capital': economic, social or cultural (Bourdieu 1986). However, the values of these forms of capital are regulated by the structures and rules of the social fields, or particular domains of social lives, such as the cultural and economic fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Within the social space and its fields, individuals occupy relational positions by competing for the 'right' forms of capital. However, their action is neither mechanical nor entirely conscious, but follows a 'practical sense' (Bourdieu 1990:57). What appears 'right' or 'reasonable' in terms of strategies and possibilities is determined by the 'habitus' – "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations" (Bourdieu 1990:53). As both action-generating and

structured principles, the habitus links objective structural conditions with individual action through a set of dispositions, attitudes, system of values and worldviews. In this sense, the individuals' biographical actions and orientations, or 'practices', are structured by the *habitus*, which is not only individual but also social, for it is a 'product of history' (Bourdieu 1990:54) realized through the internalization of external social conditions over time and thus shared by people in similar social positions.

However, Bourdieu's conceptualization of such a system of dispositions and worldviews has been criticized for appearing reductionist and deterministic, and it offers little explanation of, and tends to take for granted, the institutional functioning at the meso-level (Jenkins 2002). His conceptualization assumes a relatively stable social space that has continually shaped the resources and system of values. For a volatile social space, with rapid structural changes, institutional redressing and renegotiated cultural norms, a complementing conceptual model is needed to explain the changing institutional requirements for constant reassessment of values and dispositions, as well as the individuals' capacity for reorientation. The individualization thesis (Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Giddens 1991) offers a complementing model of understanding biographical action and perspectives through changing structural conditions and institutional requirements, particularly in the context of dwindling power of traditional systems of values and orientations. The individualization thesis is sometimes inaptly understood in youth sociology as a shift from 'standard biography' to 'choice biography', rendering irrelevant social class background (Woodman 2009). The individualization model should however be understood as objective structural conditions and institutional compulsion (Zinn 2002), obliging individuals to become dependent on secondary institutions, the welfare state and market in particular. In the late modern societal context, therefore, the individuals are required to become self-reflexive and responsible for their own action, and are socially expected to make 'choices' and, in principal, become "the agents of their educational and market-oriented subsistence and the related life planning and organization" (Beck 1992:90) despite structural inequalities and forbidding practical difficulties (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Giddens 1991).

While the habitus is structured by past dispositions and upbringing experiences to allow individuals to negotiate the social space and tend to reproduce relational positions, the individualization model proposes that individualizing structural and institutional conditions since the late twentieth century have demanded people to re-orient themselves as agents and planners of their biographies. In a transitional society like Cambodia, where some aspects of individualization have gained ground through globalization and 'compressed modernization' (Chang 2010) while traditional framework remains significant, both models – focusing on reproduction and self re-orientation, respectively – offer a complementary framework for exploring how young Cambodians form biographical expectations.

Methods

This paper reports first results from thirty-two qualitative interviews with young people in Phnom Penh, the teeming capital of Cambodia, in 2011, as part of an ongoing project to examine youths' experiences of the contemporary social transformation. The data were collected through in-depth qualitative interviewing, which requested the participants to discuss their biographical experiences, present life situations and future life perspectives and expectations. This open-ended approach to interviewing permits the opportunity for significant themes to emerge during the interview and analysis (Creswell 2007).

The study employs a grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1990), apt for developing a conceptual typology (Creswell 2007), with two groups as a priori: young migrant labor workers and prospective university graduates, in keeping with the growing stratification of the youth labor market into labor migrants and urban graduate workers. This strategy is constructive in capturing "the social distribution of perspectives on the issue under study" (Flick 2002:188) among the growing working-class and middle-class workers. Theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin 1990) was applied with both groups. Initial recruitment was made through recommendation from teaching staff at a local university and personal contacts at an industrial residential area, and subsequent participants were recruited through the same networks and snowballing. The first interviews in each group were conducted and analyzed for emergent themes and concepts, based on which the next interviews were identified to consolidate and test them empirically. Open coding and thematic coding procedure (Flick 2002) was first used to produce a thematic structure to code all the interview material and compare and contrast each case according to the thematic domains. The concepts resulting from open coding were related to each other to form categories that could group and contrast the available cases. The salient categories served as dimensions to characterize the constructed typology.

Patterns of biographical expectations in a transitional society

The variation in patterns of biographical expectations offers empirical evidence of how the institutional, cultural and structural contexts are subjectively experienced and appreciated by young Cambodians, potentially illustrating the interplay of action and structure in biographical constructions. The patterns of biographical expectations are constructed types (see Bailey 1973) based on the interviewees' biographical experiences and future thoughts. If individuals are to connect their past, present and future in meaningful ways, they form a biographical 'action logic' (Zin 2002), which guides and gives meanings to their actions and hopefully leads to the expected or intended destinations. This also configures future perspectives involving goal orientation, temporal perception of biographical investment, and uncertainty.

Entrepreneurial Self

The first pattern of biographical expectation is an *entrepreneurial self* characterized by a self-actualizing biographical action logic. This logic emphasizes life-long development and personal aspiration for self-actualization, by which the individual is no longer bound to the traditionally strong sense of place in a given social order. This biographical logic reflects both the enterprise culture promoted by the neoliberal market and growing importance of cultural capital in the form of higher formal qualifications in contemporary Cambodia. The entrepreneurial self is thus the realization of the growing knowledge-based economy and expanding middle class. Therefore, this pattern of biographical expectation is limited to only some university students, who are equipped with the increasingly demanded cultural capital – both in embedded and certified forms – through their current education. An exemplary case below shows how the self-actualizing logic guides the biographical actions and expectations:

> **Interviewer:** What is your plan after graduation?
> **Davy:** After I graduate, my short-term plan is to try applying to be a lecturer at IFL… My short-term goal is to find out if this is the true purpose of life that I want to be a lecturer, or to work at an NGO or in diplomacy.
> **Interviewer:** It means you're still uncertain?

> **Davy:** I can say not yet certain. I don't have a clear goal yet, but I have a direction to go, which includes three things that I'll try. I know my intention. I won't shut out possibilities… First, since I'm doing a bachelor's in education, I'll apply to be a lecturer. Then I'll work for an NGO. After working for 5 or 10 years and I can save some capital, I'll set up my own business. I'll run a business in education…
> **Interviewer:** What if you don't get what you want?
> **Davy:** If I don't get it, I'll try more. Based on my experience … if I have the education, hard work and motivation, I probably can get it." *(female; 19 years old; studying English and international relations)*

Davy receives unconditional material and cultural support from her parents. The financial costs for pursuing university education are covered by the parents, who provide no constraints on her study or occupational choices. As in other cases of the entrepreneurial self, her future goal orientation is focused on making a career or being open to exploring possibilities. Therefore, the entrepreneurial selves perceive their current education and expected further education as individual biographical investment for a long-term future, supplemented by part-time jobs for professional experience and network building, and by self-development experiences such as volunteering and community services. This type of biographical expectations also embraces future uncertainty in a competitive market manner, where risk-taking and exploration are required, and individualized strategies have to be taken to guard against 'personal' failures: making life-long investment in skills and attitude, remaining confident despite difficulties, and keeping long-term vision with varying levels of planning.

Table 1: Patterns of biographical expectations

	Biographical Expectations			
Dimension	**(1) Entrepreneurial Self**	**(2) Neo-traditional Self**		**(3) Non-expectant Self**
		Mobility Aspirant	**Class-bound**	
Biographical action logic	Self-actualizing	Traditionalizing	Traditionalizing	Normalizing; rationalizing
Future goal orientation	Career-making; exploring	Upward mobility via traditionally normative mode, future livelihood stability	Remaining in upbringing milieu, future livelihood stability	Wishful; absent; misplaced
Temporal range of biographical investment	Long-term future	Short-term future	Short-term future	Present (stabilizing, stopgap)
Perception of future uncertainty	Space for exploration; personal risks	Possible threat to biography	Possible threat to biography	Fateful moment
Dealing with occupational uncertainty	Life-long investment; remaining confident; keeping long-term vision (with or without planning)	Staying focused and trusting traditional norms	Staying focused and trusting traditional norms	Keeping hope; avoiding future thought; relying on luck

Neo-traditional Self

The second pattern of biographical expectations is a *neo-traditional self* that follows a traditionalizing mode of biographical action logic. In the traditional Cambodian worldview, personal industry for upward mobility is an ethical principle, but an individual is also imbued with a deep sense of pre-determined positions within a given social order as a result of the deeds from one's past actions and lives. This traditional socio-cultural expectation contradictorily provides both a sense of inescapable identity and biography in a given social order and possibility for upward mobility within a traditionally normative framework. In the

contemporary context of volatile structural conditions and fragmented life-course institutional framework, such traditionalizing biographical action logic appears to be significant as it guides the biographical expectations of a majority of the young people interviewed.

The neo-traditional self is evident in both university students and labor migrants, and revealed in two modes: the mobility aspirant and the class-bound. In many cases, young people look forward to upward mobility through education. For example, Sokha, a 24-year-old male student, is supported by his peasant parents to move to stay with his aunt's family in the city and, pursue higher education in electrical engineering and English. He explains why university study is being pursued:

> There were neighbors who had encouraged their children to get high education. They [my parents] saw them get good education and some became doctors. Others … could work at the French Embassy and had a good salary. That's why they encouraged me to study like others.

Some others, however, remain bound to the socio-cultural class of their parents and expected no higher socio-cultural identity. In many cases, some middle-class university students expect to get a stable 'middle-class' job, such as in accounting and 'managerial' or 'professional' occupations, and migrant laborers look forward to returning to their village to resume a peasant livelihood. For labor migrants, a typical biographical expectation is expressed by Ya, a 20-year-old garment worker:

> **Ya:** In the future, I don't want to work at a factory forever. I want to be a tailor.
> **Interviewer:** Tailor?
> **Ya:** Yes.
> **Interviewer:** When will you be able to do that?
> **Ya:** I've thought about it. Maybe I can save from my work and in one or two years.
> **Interviewer:** So you're taking any tailoring course?
> **Ya:** No. I don't have time… It's a still a long way. I don't have any plan, just a thought.
> **Interviewer:** So you hope to have a tailoring business in Phnom Penh?
> **Ya:** Maybe in a market in my hometown. There's a market in my hometown…
> *[After some further questioning regarding the possibility of being a tailor]…*
> **Ya:** When I'm old, I have to do the farming because I'm originally a farmer.

In either scenario, the neo-traditional selves by and large expect a 'stable' and 'improved' livelihood, by perceiving their education or employment as a cultural or economic investment for a short-term future, for instance, after graduating and having a few years of job experience or saving 'enough' to return to the village. In addition, both groups appear, in the absence of strong formal institutional guidelines, to be 'practical' based on their past 'habitus' and the economic status of their families. By strongly relying on the traditional normative framework, future uncertainty inherent in the transitional societal conditions becomes possible threats to their biographies – rather than perceived as opportunity to advance or adapt as by the entrepreneurial selves, and the strategies to deal with such potential threats remain locked in their traditional habitus: staying focused and trusting traditional normative processes.

Non-expectant Self

The third pattern of biographical expectations is a *non-expectant self* among some migrant labor workers and a few students who are finding it difficult to form biographical expectations given the fluid structural and institutional conditions. The biographical action logic for this pattern is a normalizing or rationalizing one, by which one is occupied with trying to rationalize the present life conditions. For a few students, it appears to be caused by the failure to utilize the formal qualifications for attaining a meaningful work status and

having to return to more education or training. For some workers, the severe economic hardship or lack of familial spiritual ties appears to determine such a non-expectant pattern. A 23-year-old waitress provides an exemplary case:

> **Touch:** Actually this job is temporary.
> **Interviewer:** Then what's the permanent one?
> **Touch:** The permanent one, I don't know because I don't know what to do yet. At home [village] there's no job. And my family is poor. I don't know what to do, and also I have only the mother, so there's no farm land to work on.

With the preoccupation with rationalizing the present biography, the future does not feature significantly, making her goal orientation either wishful or absent altogether. The implication for the future thought is also that it is very uncertain and fateful, and to deal with it is to hope for the better, rely on luck, or avoid thinking about it.

The three patterns of biographical expectations are grounded in empirical material but also informed by the conceptual notions of individualization theorists and Bourdieu. For the entrepreneurial selves, the emergent institutional requirements of high formal qualifications and competitive market attitude for occupational success are reflected in their individualized mode of biographical constructions focusing on self-actualizing, flexibility and life-long endeavor. In contrast, the neo-traditional selves find themselves navigating the new structural and institutional conditions, but their biographical expectations are constructed through a sort of social habitus that has for generations provided a sense of identity and expectations in the Cambodian society despite over two decades of social upheavals. For the non-expectant selves, the altering structural and institutional conditions and the lack of family or personal resources to provide material and ontological security tend to induce apprehensive biographical constructions.

Conclusion

In a transitional society like contemporary Cambodia, the social space is volatile with rapidly transformed structural conditions and weak formal institutional framework. Also, traditional norms persist while cultural values are renegotiated amidst the penetration of individualized and market competition ethos. The biographical expectations examined above reflect these social dynamics in young people's biographical constructions, while both reproducing and reorienting patterns are evident. It could be postulated, first of all, that a traditionally normative framework is crucial in permitting meaningful life orientations in a volatile social space. In addition, some young people supported by their family resources manage to construct a biographical orientation according to rules and attitudes demanded by the market-driven social transformation. Contrary to these 'winners' of rapid social change, some youths with little resources or that encounter failure are apprehensive about their biographical expectations. However, as the current social transformation remains a transitional process, the realization of their biographical expectations remains subject to the future structural and institutional contexts yet to transpire.

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Active Citizenship in a Digital World: Enhancing Engagement Online

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Abstract

In Sociology, a key learning outcome is to encourage students to engage with the community and to recognise their agency to influence social and political issues. Information and communication technologies (ICT) enable those people who are already interested in politics to engage more easily, and with a broader scope. Given the importance of political and social awareness to a well-rounded Sociology program, this paper asks how university educators can better utilise ICT to encourage student involvement. Using results from a questionnaire, we aim to understand how our students use technology. Our students regularly access the internet, but are not very involved with community activities. The focus of this paper is to think about how we can use ICT to encourage agency and civic engagement amongst students in Sociology. Incorporating community engagement through ICT is a low-cost way for Sociology educators to directly facilitate those skills in our students.

Keywords: Information and Communications Technologies (ICT), active citizenship, civic engagement, agency, service learning

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Introduction

The internet has been available to the public for two decades, but it is still discussed largely in terms of its potential. As technology continues to advance, and access continues to grow, it is difficult to speak conclusively about the internet. The potential of the internet is discussed in academic and public discourse largely as either extremely positive or extremely negative for human sociality, community structure, and engagement. Predictions have been made that the internet is a harbinger of doom, leading to fragmentation and isolation, or that it will be the dawn of a new utopia, revolutionising and democratising community. Academics are optimistic about the potential of the internet to destabilise traditional top-down power relations, the possibilities for increasing democratisation, and the ability to network and build communities across vast geographic distances (e.g. Juris 2008; Nayar 2011). On the other hand, the internet raises serious concerns amongst some commentators about privacy and safety issues, internet addiction, and isolation and fragmentation (e.g. Nie et al. 2002). Recent political events such as the Arab Spring and the WikiLeaks saga only add fuel to a fiery debate about the possibilities offered by the web.

In reality, it seems that both sides of the argument are true, and both are also false. The internet does offer a host of possibilities for democracy and community. It also poses risks to stability and order. But in most cases, the internet does little besides enhance what occurs offline. As Brundidge and Rice (2008:146) argue, when we look at what is actually happening, the findings are underwhelming: "Any technology, and especially the internet, is shaped not only by its potentially rational uses, but also by the ways in which people actually use it". Wellman (2004:27) concurs: "technology does not determine anything: people take technology and use it (or discard it) in ways its developers never dreamed of". Hampton and Wellman (2000) argue that the internet has lived up to neither its utopic nor its dystopic potentials, but it does enhance existing social contexts.

This paper agrees with the conclusion that the internet enhances offline capacity without changing it drastically either positively or negatively, and suggests that Sociology educators can use technology to enhance community and political engagement amongst our students. In August 2011 we conducted a survey of students at James Cook University, asking about their involvement in political and community groups both online and offline, and about their use of information and communications technologies (ICT). We found that, despite the potential for the internet to increase democracy and political participation, involvement remained low amongst these students. However, we also found that several survey respondents sought to be more involved, and we argue that the internet could be more effectively utilised by universities to encourage active citizenship amongst students.

The Research Project

In August 2011, we invited students enrolled in the Faculty of Arts, Education and Social Science (FAESS) at James Cook University to complete an online questionnaire about the internet and community engagement. FAESS is committed to research which establishes a better life for people in the tropics. Strong communities, with partnerships between our students and the local area are one important means of ensuring quality of life in North Queensland. We hope to educate our students to become engaged citizens, encouraging them to bring their commitment to social justice to the communities where they live, work, and participate. We use the terms citizenship and civic engagement as key concepts throughout this paper. We are especially interested in "digital citizenship"; that is, the way civic engagement takes place in online realms. We do not distinguish between "real life" and "virtual worlds", recognising instead the substantial overlap between online and offline sociality and citizenship for many people (Petray 2011). We take a more specific definition, looking at digital citizenship as not just regular access to the internet, but also the use of the

internet as a tool for engaging in community and challenging power holders. Our usage of these terms differentiates between citizenship as awareness and citizenship as action. Citizenship and the more encompassing "civic engagement" recognise student agency – rather than passively acquiring citizenship just by using the web, they become citizens by acting on the social world, exercising rights and responsibilities, and working towards their own (personal, and diverse) notions of social justice (following Ortner's [2006] discussion of agency).

We asked about student involvement in various community activities when they were in high school, and currently. We broke "involvement" into the following categories: political, volunteer, sporting or recreation, cultural, and interest or hobby. We defined "involvement" and "community" broadly to include any online or offline communities or global networks with which students are involved. Many questions were qualitative in nature, offering students the opportunity to speak freely about why they are involved in certain groups, what they gain from it, their thoughts on social networking, and their opinions on political and/or social issues. 134 students accessed the questionnaire, which included a combination of closed and open-ended questions, allowing students to elaborate on their answers.

Student Involvement Levels

Overall, few students are currently involved in any activities (Table 1).

Table 1. Involvement levels amongst students.

	Percentage Involved
Political groups	15.1%
Volunteer work	23.2%
Sport or recreation groups	20.0%
Cultural groups	8.9%
Interest groups	10.5%

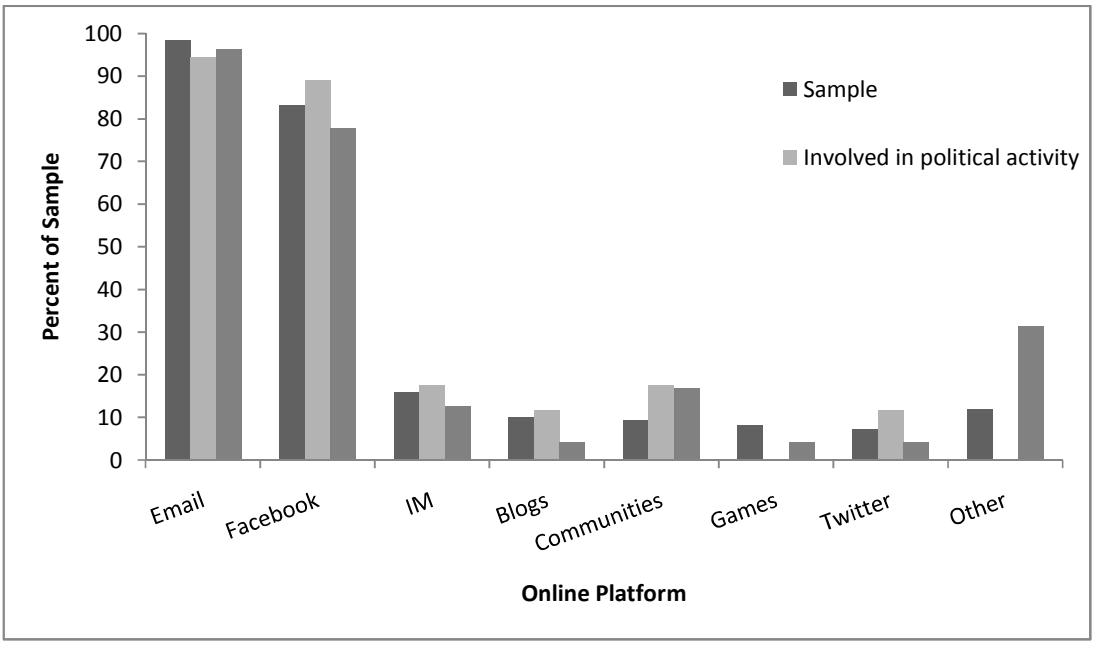
More than 40% of the sample are not involved in any community activities of any kind, according to their responses to these questions. It seems that students become less active when they enrol in university, instead of becoming more engaged – which challenges the strategic intentions stated by the University. This paper is particularly interested in the political and volunteer work of students, as these are the most directly linked to the strategic goals of the university, as well as to the important notion within sociology that students be committed to social justice.

Groups and organisations identified by students as 'political' include community groups, such as Rotary, Lions, Zonta, and Amnesty International. Thus, our students are part of the shift in local civil society, and the rise in global civil society, which Castells (2008) suggests is a shift in debates which goes hand-in-hand with the rise of internet communications. Students have also included 'leadership' positions as political, such as debate team, Model UN, and leadership awards. Several students considered the religious organisations with which they are involved to be political. When reporting on their *current* political involvement, though, students listed groups and organisations which are more recognisably political: environmental and animal rights groups, unions, and political parties such as Labor, the Queensland Party, and the Young Liberals. Students reporting on their current involvement also included several online social movements, like GetUp!, Collective Shout, and Care2. Volunteer activities include active participation in structured groups, like the State Emergency Services, RSPCA, and schools and church organisations. Students also reported involvement in fundraising activities for groups like CanTeen and the Leukemia Foundation. Several students are also active in unstructured activities, such as "cleaning house for a couple of elderly ladies who cant do it themselves". Even those students who are not involved in community activities, though, indicated in qualitative responses that they are aware of current events, social and political issues. If our students are so politically aware,

though, why are they not more involved? And what can we do to encourage active engagement with these issues, rather than simple awareness?

Students were asked about their level of involvement with various ICT, including email, Facebook, Myspace, Twitter, blogs, instant messengers, community sites, games, and other (Figure 1). This chart shows the percentage of students who use each platform either occasionally or often. "Other" responses included mobile phones/texting, Tumblr, MyVoice, Modlife, educational platforms, and Google+. This chart compares the use of different platforms between the sample as a whole (n=134), the students who identified themselves as currently politically active (n=19), and the students who are involved in volunteer activity (n=29).

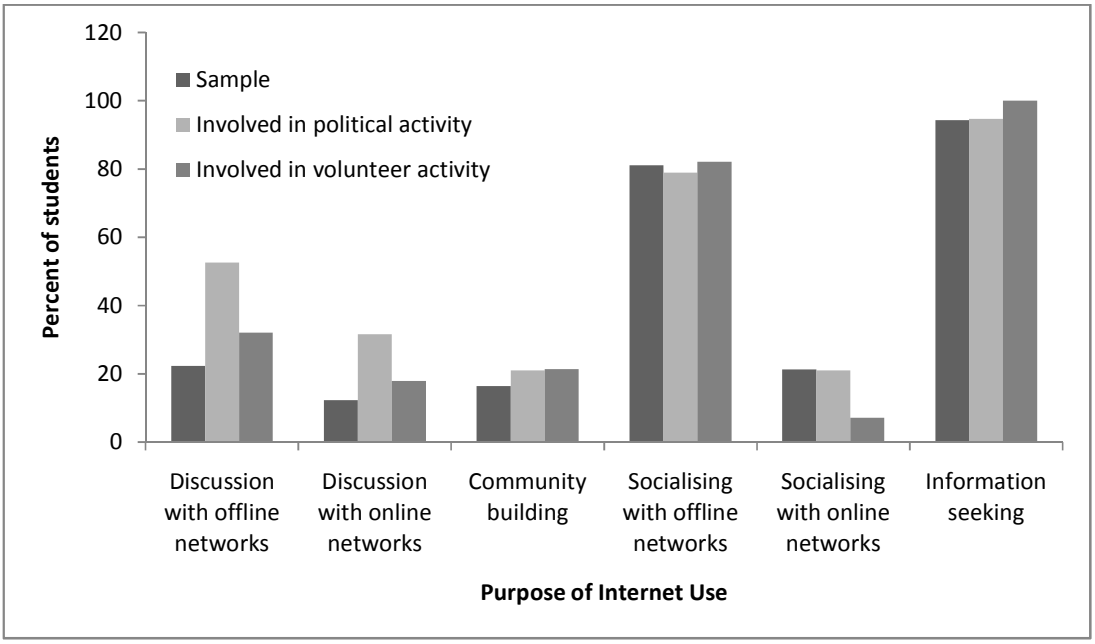
Figure 1. Usage of different online platforms



A follow-up question asked about the purpose of internet use. We asked whether social networking is purely about socialising, or whether students utilise these platforms for discussing or organising around political and social issues. Figure 2 compares the purpose of internet use between the sample as a whole (n=122), the students who identified themselves

as currently politically active (n=19), and the students who are involved in volunteer activities (n=29). In this question, there were substantial differences between students who are currently involved in the community and those who are not. Students who identify themselves as currently politically active are three times as likely as their non-political counterparts to use the internet to discuss political issues. This supports the argument that the internet enhances but does not encourage citizenship, channelling motivation that students already possess (Shirky 2008:17).

Figure 2. Purpose of Internet use



Encouraging Engagement through Teaching

Hironimus-Wendt and Wallace (2009) argue that a sociological education should include the teaching of social responsibility. We concur, and extend that mandate to disciplines beyond just sociology; we agree in particular with their assertion that this teaching is best made deliberate, rather than left to the 'informal curriculum'. The results from our questionnaire show that the majority of students are interested in political and social issues, despite their lack of involvement. Therefore, we should not think of them as apathetic, or

lacking "interest or concern regarding the wellbeing of the society" (Johnson 2005:45). Johnson (2005) suggests that civic education is one way to encourage engagement among students. Active citizenship is made up of empathy for others in the community in conjunction with a sense of responsibility to others (Hironimus-Wendt & Wallace 2009:78). It seems that in our research, students are aware of issues and have empathy for others but lack the motivation necessary to turn attitudes into action. However, this does not appear to be the result of cynicism, as no students indicated that the problems of the world are too large or intractable. While there may be latent cynicism amongst these students, the ability to overcome the motivation gap seems promising.

Despite the well-grounded arguments for activities such as service-learning, Hironimus-Wendt and Wallace (2009) point out that these teaching techniques are the exception, rather than the rule. They are time-consuming for students and staff alike, and they require significant contributions from often over-burdened community organisations (Lewis 2004; Hironimus-Wendt and Wallace 2009). How, then, should we proceed? We argue that the benefits of ICT are promising in this arena. Community engagement online can be quick, inexpensive, and happen in the students' own timeframes. Almost all of our students regularly use email and Facebook, and likewise most are well-versed in using the internet to search for information. They have regular access to the internet (at least once a week, or more often) using a variety of devices. Thus, encouraging engagement in an online environment would not be too foreign or challenging for most of our students. Using the internet to facilitate social engagement is more than simply convenient, however. ICT also have the capacity to encourage our students to think about the global, as well as the local, and more importantly, to think about the connections between the two (Wellman 2004).

Carafano (2009:9-10) offers the following suggestions for the integration of new technology: it should be well established, should seem simple to use and understand, and

should benefit the user in some way. Using ICT that are well established and familiar to students suggests the highest chances of success. Online networks around activism, such as GetUp! in Australia, but also smaller, single-issue focused discussion forum sites, have the potential to embed students in a politically engaged mindset. Then, when these activist networks move between online and offline, students may be more likely to become involved in the physical, as well as virtual, community. This is especially promising as we should avoid encouraging "push button activism" in our students, in which they indicate support for a movement with no real engagement in activities (Petray 2011). Another option is for educators to identify active Facebook groups in the local area which are involved in both online and offline campaigns. As almost all of our students are already on Facebook, they are more likely to integrate this into their lives rather than simply viewing it as a piece of assessment.

Both authors have begun engaging in this integration of ICT in an effort to encourage community involvement and awareness amongst students. Simple steps such as creating Facebook groups for students enrolled in a sociology subject allows for the proliferation of a learning community outside of the classroom, which takes place in each student's preferred time and place. Many feel that the vibrancy of on-campus culture has suffered in recent years, perhaps as a result of Voluntary Student Unionism fees, but also because of increasing numbers of students with off-campus obligations to work and family. Online learning communities do not suffer the same fate, and allow for students to make crucial links between subject materials and current events, their own lives, and the communities around them. These groups also become spaces for students to advertise their own events to classmates, thus creating the potential for more linkages between students and the community.

Further, we are currently undertaking several forms of research to further this line of thinking. First, we have run an online focus group of students to delve deeper into issues of

community and involvement. Students have indicated that degree- and subject-specific Facebook groups have been highly beneficial to their identity as a JCU community member. Second, we are working to embed community engagement into various forms of assessment. Assessable items indicate importance of content to our students, so if we are serious about ensuring civic engagement our subjects should reflect this. However, good sociology requires students to critically reflect on their experiences, so rather than being assessed directly on their activities, we are assessing their ability to critique power relations and agency within their experiences. Butin (2006) presents a framework for service learning which focuses on praxis, ensuring that students reflect on their own knowledge, their skills as a learner, their identity as active citizens, and their capacity to act as agents of social change. Johnson (2005: 53) suggests that students' actions must be sociologically informed and linked to structural solutions. Lewis (2004) argues for the importance of moving from concepts like "charity" towards "collaboration" and "social justice"; that is, to focus on learning through service, rather than service as an end in itself. It is especially important to ensure that students are critically engaging with the involvement, rather than simply going through the motions. A risk of political engagement with the "other" is an uncritical acceptance of ideas and activities, rather than in-depth involvement based on solidarity (Petray 2010). This will also help to maximise the benefits of curriculum-based community engagement for those individuals and groups our students engage *with* (Lawler 2011). These experiments are currently ongoing and we look forward to sharing the results as they become available.

Conclusion

This research has shown that, apart from a few vocal exceptions, students are interested in technology and in some cases have begun to incorporate their online and offline civic engagement. This is in its earliest stages, though, and must be nurtured and made

explicit by Sociology educators to ensure that students who come through our programs are made aware of the importance of active citizenship, and the possibilities for digital citizenship. As our findings demonstrate, students are socially and politically aware, and they are interested in the idea of civic engagement, but few of them follow through. This is despite very specific strategic statements made by the University and the Faculty that our students should be engaged with community, should work for social justice, and should enhance the communities in which they live. To effectively embed digital citizenship into Sociology programs, we should encourage students to take the lead, directing their engagement in issues which interest them, using methods with which they are comfortable. This will encourage students to reflect on their own agency, thus making it more likely that they will continue to be active citizens outside of their degree.

It is important to keep in mind that the internet is merely a platform, with no agency of its own: "Social tools don't create collective action – they merely remove the obstacles to it" (Shirky 2008:159). However, this removal of obstacles is potentially very useful to Sociology educators who seek to embed political engagement into the lives of our students. By utilising low-cost platforms with which our students are comfortable, we can encourage them to use these tools in different ways. In this way, Sociology educators can encourage meaningful praxis which makes students aware of their own agency.

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Prefigurative Activism, State Engagement, and Agency in the Townsville Aboriginal Movement

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Abstract:

Aboriginal people are often presented in the media and popular discourses as marginalised, powerless, and oppressed. These stereotypes are based on a long history, statistics, and they are undoubtedly a reality for many people. However, the assumption that all Aboriginal people are downtrodden denies the considerable agency that is possessed. This paper will examine the way that activists exercise agency in the form of prefigurative activism – that is, instead of reactive protest, the establishment of meaningful alternatives to a system. Using archival and ethnographic research, this paper will discuss the prefigurative activism of Aboriginal people in Townsville, primarily in the form of the Black Community Schools (1970s) and Black Community Meetings (present day). Through these contexts, I explore the ways in which activists engage with (or not) the Australian state, the ways they claim agency for themselves and their community, and the alternatives they hope to embody.

Keywords: Aboriginal, activism, free spaces, agency, prefigurative

Introduction:

Despite a history of colonisation and oppression, Aboriginal people have always maintained resistance. The collective action is bred in "free spaces": small spaces which are distant from external control and domination which "generate the cultural challenge that precedes or accompanies political motivation" (Polletta 1999:1). Polletta (1999) distinguishes between three types of free space, each with their own characteristics and outcomes; the most overtly political of these are "prefigurative". In these spaces, also called "non-hegemonic" or "autonomous zones", Aboriginal people have room to challenge the Australian state, redefine stereotypical ideas about themselves, and negotiate amongst themselves. Prefigurative spaces allow Aboriginal people to engage with the state on their own terms, and, sometimes, to avoid engaging with the state altogether.

Examples of free spaces within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australia are plentiful. The Gurindji Walk Off, the Palm Island Strike, the Tent Embassy, and various other high profile protest events all have involved free spaces. In this paper, I will focus on two examples from Townsville which illustrate different aspects of prefigurative spaces. The first is an historical example, the Black Community School, based on document analysis from the Queensland State Archives. The School was established in 1973 as a permanent free space which prefigured alternatives to the education system. As such, it was required to engage with the state to a certain degree. In contrast, Black Community Meetings are short-lived spaces which are intended to avoid engagement with the state and with the mainstream altogether. As an ethnographer of Aboriginal activism in Townsville, I have attended a number of these meetings since 2007. In this paper,I argue that prefigurative spaces such as these are integral to the success of a movement like this one, which represents minority interests, because they allow for internal movement development at the same time as consolidating the external strategies.

Free Spaces, Prefiguring Alternatives, and Agency:

The notion of free spaces has been important in studies of collective action since Evans (1979) popularised the term. However, Polletta (1999) points out that the meanings of this term were fluid and vague. In an attempt to make discussions more precise, Polletta (1999) offered three categories of free spaces: transmovement, indigenous, and prefigurative. All three are cultural formations where movement identities can be generated and mobilised. All three also offer a chance to "plot alternatives, and to test the limits of official power" (Polletta 1999:14). That is, they allow for the expression of agency, even by people who are seemingly powerless within the mainstream system (Scott 1990).Transmovement free spaces are those which Aldon Morris (1984) refers to as "halfway houses", that is, they link activists across diverse locations, causes, and generations. Indigenous free spaces are those which are embedded in a community, and are often formally non-political though they become breeding grounds for movement formation. Common examples of indigenous free spaces are Southern black churches in the United States in the lead-up to the Civil Rights movement, which existed outside of the movement but became very closely integrated with it (Polletta 1999).

Prefigurative movements are:

> Explicitly political and oppositional (although their definition of "politics" may encompass issues usually dismissed as cultural, personal, or private), they are formed in order to prefigure the society the movement is seeking to build by modelling relationships that differ from those characterized by mainstream society. Polletta 1999:11

What is important about prefigurative movements is that they provide the space for movement participants to work together on internal issues – deciding on strategies and tactics, working out conflicts, and creating alternatives – without jeopardising their façade of unity and

commitment[i]. These spaces are successful when they are limited to movement participants and supporters, so membership is often restricted (Polletta 1999:12).

However, prefigurative spaces are not only about building movement identities. A key focus of these spaces is the creation of alternatives. Prefigurative spaces are a recognition that the movement's goals are in opposition to the mainstream, and a dismissal of any suggestion that they cannot work. Prefigurative spaces allow movements to set about creating their desired social relations immediately, rather than waiting for society to change on a larger scale (Day 2005; Polletta 1999). Rather than trying to struggle against the state, prefigurative spaces provide the option of standing to the side and putting energy into positive action, engaging with the state only for funding or other resources. According to the dual definition of agency offered by Ortner (2006), prefigurative free spaces allow movement participants to exercise agency as *project*, in addition to agency as *resistance*, and thus to work proactively towards their goals.

Examples of prefigurative free spaces are abundant, though much of the research focuses on anarchist movements because prefigurative action and free spaces are so central to their aims. The Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico, are one of the most visible and regularly cited examples who "did not seek to obtain state power in Mexico" (Wallerstein 2004:632; also Deslandes and King 2006). Other examples are squatter community centres, or *centrisociali* in Milan (Ruggiero 2000), the DIY Punk Scene (Culton and Holtzman 2010), culture jamming (Sandlin 2007), and non-hierarchical decision making practices such as anarchist spokescouncils (Maeckelbergh 2011). All are means of building up movement identities, consolidating strategies for protest, and challenging norms simply by existing.

Within Aboriginal Australia, the best example of a prefigurative space is the Wave Hill Walk Off in 1966. What began as a strike for better working conditions quickly became

an ideological push for autonomy. The Gurindji people wanted their land returned so that they could maintain cultural and economic independence. While they were waiting for the legal issues to be worked out, they simply went ahead and started their community, setting up homes and a school where the children studied both western and traditional subjects (Hardy 1968; Attwood 2000). Other, smaller spaces are also important prefigurations for Aboriginal groups: medical, legal, housing, and education organisations which operate locally and nationally to offer culturally appropriate, accessible alternatives to the mainstream system. For example, the Townsville Aboriginal and Islander Health Service (TAIHS) provides the opportunity for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to address their own needs in their own ways. In the case of TAIHS, this means offering culturally sensitive health care which focuses on wellness and respects traditional roles. TAIHS describes its establishment in 1973, along the principles of self-determination:

> Townsville Aboriginal and Islanders Health Services Limited (TAIHS) is one of an increasing number across Australia of self-governing, independent, community-controlled Indigenous organizations providing primary health care services to Indigenous people. TAIHS has grown up out of the desire of local Indigenous people to take control of their own health and of how primary health care services are delivered to and within Indigenous communities in north Queensland. (TGPN 2007)

The Black Community School:

One noteworthy black space which was created in Townsville was the Black Community School established in 1973. This initiative was driven by Eddie KoikiMabo, Harry Penrith, and a small group of other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activists. The Black Community School was started because the educational system was failing Indigenous students, and these activists felt that they could do better if given the chance. In a letter to a bureaucrat in an Aboriginal education department, Harry Penrith acknowledged that 'we're

not experts' and they may make mistakes, and that this was a 'rather revolutionary idea', but that something had to be done (Penrith 1973a). In hindsight, it seems like attempting to improve educational outcomes is not all that revolutionary, but at the time it was a very radical concept. This was only six years after the 1967 Referendum; land rights were yet to be granted; and self-determination was still on the horizon. Thus, the thought that Indigenous people could do a better job of educating their children than the state was probably very hard for many people to comprehend.

Despite the odds which were stacked against them, Penrith and Mabo submitted a proposal to the Education department for the establishment of a Black Community School in August 1973. Their aims were to provide black children with an appropriate education, involving parents and the community to provide encouragement and hope. The teachers would have an understanding of "Aborigines' difficulties and differences in outlook and aspiration" and would guide students towards the ultimate goal of tertiary education (Penrith 1973b). The first group of students began learning in this space in September 1973, although the local press reported that it was not legally recognised by the Education Department (*Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1973). These activists decided not to engage with the Education Department; they saw an urgent need to remedy the situation and opted to fix it themselves. They attempted to engage the state by submitting a proposal, but when met with no response, they did not wait for permission. This willingness to defy the state in favour of direct action is one of the hallmarks of a prefigurative free space, and is a good demonstration of the way these spaces allow marginalised people to express agency.

The Department of Education encouraged the school organisers to submit the necessary paperwork for the school to be formally recognised, but that paperwork was not forthcoming (Acting Director-General 1974). It seems as if the organisers were not actively opposed to the state, but rather indifferent to it. They got on with the business of running the

school and had no time for paperwork, although they sought official support in the form of financial backing.The Black Community School was eventually formally recognised by the Department of Education and was funded by Queensland State grants (Gunn 1981). By 1982 the school had not received any further funding from the government and was forced to close, not due to poor educational standards but a lack of funding (*Townsville Daily Bulletin* 1982).

This example indicates that autonomous social movements can be successful, but they become vulnerable to collapse or co-optation when they become too reliant on the state. Hart et al. (2008) explain a similar phenomenon in regards to Indigenous self-determination struggles. Rather than actually allowing Indigenous communities to operate completely autonomously, government policy was that economic and in-kind support 'depended on individuals accepting mainstream norms first for (nuclear) family structure, settlement and life-style and then for housing occupation' (Hart et al. 2008: 53).The Black Community School is a very good example of the black spaces which many activists seek to create. In these spaces, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people actively express both agency as resistance to the mainstream, by protesting against that system, and agency as project, where they intentionally engage and enact their own cultural values (Ortner 2006:145).

Black Community Meetings:

The Black Community School was an important prefigurative space which created a meaningful alternative to the status quo. In the present-day, spaces like this one exist, but many "black spaces" similar to the School have been incorporated into governmental programming. In Townsville, the role of prefigurative space has been taken over largely by Black Community Meetings. These are generally one-off events, organised around a particular issue. In Townsville, the vast majority are held at St Theresa's Church, run by the

Aboriginal and Islander Catholic Council, who lend the space to public events such as these. In 2008 a number of Black Community Meetings were held in Townsville to canvass opinions about the Queensland Government's Stolen Wages Reparations Scheme. At these meetings, someone presented the information which was available at the time, but the majority of the meeting was taken up with conversation from the floor. Community members expressed their opinion about what the government should do, and eventually the meetings shifted to strategising about protest tactics. One meeting decided on a delegation who would speak to a Queensland "Community Cabinet" event being held in Townsville. Another became a working bee, where banners were made for the Labour Day march.

These meetings were important for reaching internal consensus on issues, but consensus was not always easy to reach. Internal discord presented itself often. Sometimes meetings were called to deal with particular tensions. In the 2008 Stolen Wages campaign, conflict developed between several activists. A three-hour community meeting allowed the community to negotiate their internal tension without outsiders peering in. In fact, the four non-Indigenous people at the meeting were asked to leave for the most heated portion of the discussion. The Black Community Meetings are a prefigurative space within the Aboriginal movement where activist identities were mobilised, internal conflicts were dealt with, and strategies were decided.

Summary and Conclusions:

Prefigurative spaces are an important aspect of social movements which allow for the expression of agency by marginalised, disempowered and oppressed groups. They allow for the creation of meaningful alternatives to the dominant system, which by their very existence challenge that system. They also allow movement participants to develop identities and to

work together to develop strategies and engage in conflict in ways that do not damage their public image. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Townsville, a number of "black spaces" work to prefigure alternatives. The Black Community School acted, throughout the 1970s, as an alternative service provider which challenged the mainstream education system. Black community meetings are short-lived prefigurative spaces which are formed to fulfil specific functions – to organise against a cause, to negotiate community dysfunction, or to communicate within the movement.

Importantly, both spaces, and others like them, allow for the expression of agency by Aboriginal people, which is a direct challenge to stereotypes and assumptions that Aboriginal people are downtrodden and powerless. Locally, the effects of these prefigurative spaces are multiplex. On one level, they create opportunities to build a strong community. They are spaces which are safe from outsiders where issues can be discussed and debated. A strong community is more likely to appear worthy, unified, numerous and committed, which Tilly (2004) argues is vital to movement success. They provide an opportunity for the community to exist on its own terms. At the same time, prefigurative spaces are a starting point for change. These spaces can act as seeds which grow into larger structures within broader society. The mere existence of prefigurative spaces is a challenge to the mainstream because they suggest a meaningful alternative.

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[i] This is important because movements are judged externally based on their WUNC, or Worthiness, Unity, Numbers and Commitment (Tilly 2004). Any infighting that happens publicly risks damaging external perceptions of unity, which allows power holders to write off any claims that are made.

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Journeys of Non-arrival in Response to Trauma – Influences of Emotion on Leisure & Tourism Choices

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Abstract

Traditional understanding of tourism as a leisure activity implies a journey from a point of departure to a point of arrival inherently encapsulating the notion that tourist behaviour relies on choice. Tourists choose destinations, activities and travel goals with the motivator of those choices being the expectation of a pleasurable leisure experience at the destination. However, where journeys of non-arrival occur as a reflexive response to an emotionally traumatic, critical event, travellers carry out no specific vacation planning or choice processes. This grounded theory study investigated participants' lived experiences of survival escapist travel. Survival escapist travel was defined by journeys whereby participants experienced an emotional reactional trigger or catalyst that provided the energy underpinning the motivation to travel enabling the participants to *escape* the traumatic situation and *survive* the journey. Such emotions included fear, loss, hope and even revenge against a perceived slight. Through the journey process, participants experienced transformation within themselves that allowed physical and mental distance from the trigger event. The journeys were multidestination, non-institutionalized and covered periods from as little as four months up to two years in duration. Throughout their journeys, the participants continued to experience significant emotional responses to the initial catalyst that impacted directly on their continuing motivation to travel and their choice processes.

Key words: non-arrival, leisure, choice, reactional trigger, grounded theory

Introduction

Traditional definitions of tourists and tourism are predicated on the idea that tourist behaviour is a "form of leisure behaviour" (Leiper, 2003: 24) that inherently relies on the capacity of the individual to choose a destination or an activity. Unfortunately, the concept of leisure that is underpinned by 'choice' – be that 'free choice' or 'perceived choice' (Kelly, 2009; Stebbins, 2005) – is fraught with complexity. An individual's 'choice' of leisure or tourism activity must be tempered through social structures and institutions such as culture, social mores, gender and inequalities (Stebbins, 2005). The concept of choice as it pertains to leisure and tourist behaviour is further complicated when framed through emotional constructions of everyday life – particularly where the individual's reality may be disrupted due to a traumatic event. As Collins (1990: 30) indicated, "everyday life reality-construction is an emotional process, and … the emotions that uphold reality come forth in intense form when the social reality is broken".

Considering the challenges of scope inherent in definitions of leisure or tourism as a result of the complexity of 'choice', particularly when combined with emotional constructs, the question arises: how do we understand a person who has journeyed away from their everyday environment by necessity rather than free choice (and who is not a refugee) as a direct result of an emotionally traumatic event? The study on which this paper is based investigated the travel responses of individuals who had experienced a traumatic, emotional, trigger event (an event that acts as a catalyst providing the energising factor) that preceded and underpinned the individual's motivations for travel (Radel & Hilllman, 2012).

Based on this research and the initial question, two further questions arose whereby: can we define as a tourist, an individual who has travelled away from their usual place of residence but did not travel for leisure (or indeed, for business, visiting friends and relatives or any of the other typically proffered descriptions of tourism)? Most importantly perhaps, how can we understand a traveller who did not arrive at a pre-determined destination, did not engage with the usual sight-seeing or tourist activities and was not driven to travel for relaxation or pleasure but in response to a traumatic event in their life?

The research further sought to understand the resulting impacts on the decision-making processes of travellers as they journeyed around Australia. In the contexts of this research, this type of travel was defined as 'survival escapist travel' whereby, the travellers were moved to *escape* from their traumatic situation (such as a death in the family, major illness or marriage breakup). Through the journey process the travellers learned to *survive* both their immediate travel experiences and their traumatic, life-changing events. The survival escapist travellers did not arrive at destinations as is traditionally imagined in tourism literature.

This paper examines the concept of 'non-arrival' which emerged as one of the key themes from the findings of the study. Initially, the research aim and methodology are presented. The grounded theory that emerged to explain the journeys of non-arrival as lived experiences of the participants is then examined. A definition and overview of the theory of journeys of non-arrival is provided in this discussion. Finally, the conclusion provides an overview of the study and the significance of the research.

The Research Aim and Methodology

The exploratory research utilised an inductive theoretical design developed through a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The methodology was designed to enhance the researchers' understanding of the lived realities of participants. Unstructured, qualitative interviews were selected as the method of empirical material collection to avoid the researchers' pre-determining the participants' views of reality (Merriam & Simpson, 1995; Pascoe & Radel, 2008). The research sought to systematically induce theory from the empirical material (Carl & Hillman, 2012; Haig, 1995; Radel, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1994), in a way that was applicable to the contexts and participants in the research site.

Participants who had undertaken travel in response to an emotionally traumatic event were selected using convenience, snowball techniques relying on the friendship networks of the travellers. All the participants had engaged in long-term travel around Australia which was also their country of origin. The travellers experienced "multidestination", "non-institutionalized" (Noy, 2004: 79) that was not pre-arranged by travel companies and this

shaped the travellers' choices of transport, activities and accommodation. Each traveller adopted a different style of travel – often combining different modes of transport including hitch hiking, driving their own vehicles, driving with friends, or using public transport options. The travellers were aged between 24 and 45 years old at the time of their journeys, approximately one third were males and two thirds were females, and trips lasted from as little as four months up to two years in duration. In line with the grounded theory approach, new participants were sought through the snowball sampling technique until theoretical saturation was reached.

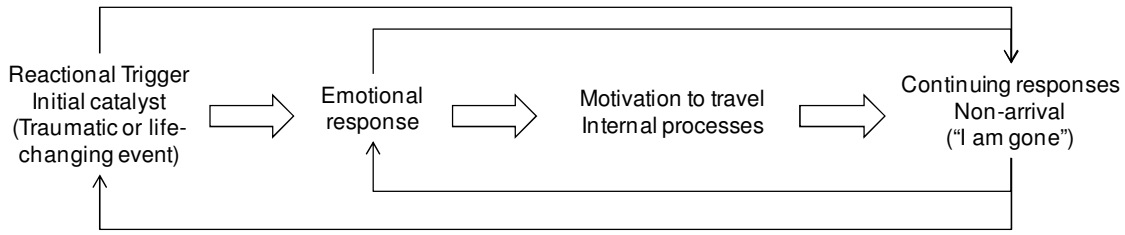
The Grounded Theory of Non-arrival within the Context of Survival Escapist Travel

Traveller traditions entail the concept of departure and a partial break with conventional customs and habits of daily existence. This break permits one's awareness to connect with an array of motivations and emotions that diverge from the everyday and the tedious (Gnoth, Zins, Lengmueller, & Boshoff, 2000; Urry, 2002). The underlying concept of escapist experiences suggests that journeys are not simply about embarking "from but also voyaging to some specific place and activity" (Pine & Gilmore, 1999: 34). As Malabou (2004: 1-2) suggested, "[to] arrive is first and foremost to reach a destination and attain one's goal, reach the end of one's voyage, succeed". However, Malabou (2004: 1-2) further clarified that,

> *"arriver is also the term for what happens, what comes to, surprises, or falls from the event in general, what is anticipated as well as what is not expected. What "arrives" – or befalls – can thus sometimes contradict, upset or prevent arrival in the sense of the accomplishment or completion of a process".*

It is this emotional 'upset' that prevented arrival for the participants in this study and it is through this disruption that the further erosion of choice (free or perceived) took place. Through the grounded theory process of integrating and recombining conceptual categories coded as a result of the constant comparative analysis (Carl & Hillman, 2012; Charmaz, 2002, 2006; Radel, 2010), the grounded theory of non-arrival within the context of survival escapist travel was illustrated as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1 – The grounded theory of non-arrival within the context of survival escapist travel



The construct of non-arrival demonstrated that participants experienced an emotional 'reactional' trigger (Carroll & Dunn, 1997; Florin, Callen, Pratzel, & Kropp, 2007; Roos & Gustafsson, 2007; Roos, Gustafsson, & Edvardsson, 2006). The emotional reactional trigger was defined as the catalyst that provided the energy underpinning the individual's motivation to travel. The emotional trigger is the "disorienting dilemma or the cognitive dissonance" (Rossiter, 1999: 68) or critical incident (Roos et al., 2006) that stimulates a need for a change in circumstance and often leads the individual to move away from their every-day situation as

a direct result of a significant "breach of coherence in the life narrative". As suggested by Cohen & Taylor (1992, p. 159),

> *"only a dramatic change in existing structures, it is argued, can resolve the fragmentation of contemporary humans, dissipate their sense of alienation, make them once again into whole beings in tune with their friends, their work and their world".*

As previously indicated, for the participants in this study, emotional reactional triggers consisted of traumatic events such as the experience of terminal or serious illness (either personally or illness within family or friends), the breakup of marriages or relationships, or the death of a close family member or friend. Such events raised emotions or fear, hope or even revenge among the participants. For example, a male participant was asked why he had begun his journey around Australia:

> *"...oh well...umm...escaping (laughing). Not exactly, well not to take it literally but that was probably one of the reasons I went on the move and thought I'd see Australia before the rest of the world. Well, I have seen Australia and haven't seen the rest of the world, except on TV. [I spent] about 18 months [travelling]. Started from Sydney and then I went up to...this was a marriage break up too, actually...well not really marriage but...well close to a marriage. There was a terminal factor involved... You remove yourself from the situation. You get away."*

For the travellers in our study, the emotional reactional trigger – the critical incident or traumatic event – led to a desire to change their life circumstances; to physically and mentally remove themselves from the tangibility of the situation. In terms of the emotions of the individuals, such breaks emphasised the need for "relief" and "movement" (Cohen & Taylor, 1992, p. 197). As Cohen & Taylor (1992, p. 197) stated, the "sense of relief is obtained from shedding precious possessions, selves, identities, commitments and routine – and travelling light into the new territory".

However, as shown in Figure 1, participants' stories also demonstrated that they experienced a continuing emotional response that impacted directly on their motivation to travel while on the journey. The intensity of the emotional interruption to their everyday lived reality initially, continued to impact on their capacity to choose either their leisure activity or their tourist destination. In their stories, there is the sense of continual movement as the end which justified the means. The goal for the travellers was simply to escape their reality but the journey predicated on emotion became its "own reward" " (Cohen & Taylor, 1992, p. 197).

Non-arrival – 'I Am Gone'

Motivation is essentially an internal process (Bright, 2008) that drives an individual to achieve their personal goals. The emotional upheaval and distress provided by the initial reactional trigger event continued to ripple through the participants' travel experiences. The response to the trigger contributed an underlying drive and energy that effectively denied the achievement of traditional travel goals and removed or limited the human agency of choice. For example, rather than stating a destination for their journey, participants simply stated that they would "*rather be anywhere else than where I started*" or they intended to go somewhere where "*nobody knew me*". Others insisted they wanted to be somewhere else because "*I hadn't been there before*". Themes such as questing, refuge, excitement, travel and journey are deeply rooted in culture as release from constraints (Cohen & Taylor, 1992). The participants' stories demonstrated the overwhelming nature of their emotions realised an

overpowering need for disconnection and alienation from their traumatic life and they used the 'journey' as the emotional release from their situations.

The relationship of the reactional trigger event to the chaotic, emotional, disruption of choice and the motivation to keep moving led to the development of the category of 'non-arrival'. Non-arrival was identified whereby the travellers undertook no specific destination planning as is commonly seen in vacation tourism. They did not investigate new destinations, touristic activities or travel goals to achieve – a positive, forward-looking process. Instead, they continued to respond to the reactional trigger event – a negative, backward-looking reaction. As one participant stated simply, "*I am gone*". This can be understood as an all-encompassing response to the emotionally devastating trauma and dislocation from their previous lives by experiencing solitude for themselves, even in the company of others. Bagleman (2009: 44) began to define journeys of non-arrival with her discussion whereby:

> *"[i]n contrast with the 'forward march', which precisely choreographs the [traditional] escapist … tour, non-arrival is a non-teleological state of perpetual wandering… denying the possibility of a clear origin and endpoint, or a clear trajectory, a tour of non-arrival cannot be localised to a specific geophysical or geopolitical point."*

Journeys of non-arrival became the regulation (Gross, Richards, & John, 2006) process for emotions that arose in response to the trigger events. A female participant explained the reasons for her 'escape' and the resulting journey of 'non-arrival':

> *"Initially, the idea had been to drive to Queensland, and each begin new lives there, but as our first day of 'freedom' unfolded, we completely changed our plans and decided to drive to Perth. There were a few feelings about the sense of loss for us, we had both lived in Melbourne most of our lives, and I was born there. But, we drove on looking for somewhere to recuperate from the complicated lives each of us had departed from."*

For this participant, the emotion (emotional feeling) of loss was, in a sense, a part of the 'letting go' of the old life and trauma and heralded an apprehensive journey into new self-discovery/recovery/emotional healing – the hope of starting a new life. The participants' generally demonstrated that continued response to the emotions produced by the reactional trigger event impacted on their decisions to move to the next destination in their journey. Travel motivations were often influenced by external factors such as opportunities for work or accommodation, influences of travelling companions or even sexual encounters. For example, as one male participant stated:

> *"I went to Brisbane and stayed there for a couple of weeks with [my girlfriend's] sister. I hoped to get [sex] but I didn't. Because I had met her at a wedding and she came on to me, absolutely on to me. I stayed there I think a week or ten days actually. Then I went up to Harvey Bay, where I met some people that bought some...I don't quite know how I met them actually but I came into their house because they had advertised or something. I am not quite sure if it was through the grapevine or through a photograph, I am not sure which one it was. They brought heaps of my gear … I stayed there for about three months and ... well ... got to the end of that one and then went back to Sydney…"*

This traveller demonstrates clearly his journey of non-arrival with regard to wandering without a clear endpoint or goal in mind. In this instance, 'sex' or the perceived opportunity for a casual relationship without emotional attachment, was the individual's goal (rather than the journey) and perhaps even a ploy for an imagined hope of recovery – a way of getting past the trauma. In another instance, where a male traveller was hitch hiking for example, opportunities to move to another destination were provided by other travellers:

> *"I got a lift down towards Alice Springs with an older couple, well they weren't that old but they were a couple and had been around for a while. They used to own an island just off North Queensland. God knows what they paid for it, it must have been about ten thousand dollars in those days, now it's probably worth a million. But they picked me up, one was a diabetic. She was a diabetic and the other guy had been sort of imprisoned by the Japanese and he told me straight away. The first thing he would tell anyone is that he had been in Changi and all the rest of it. Then I went down to Alice Springs, stopping off every two hundred kilometres. I would camp or have something to eat. We got to Alice Springs and.....well I didn't want to go to Alice Springs actually, I wanted to nip off and go towards Queensland but they were going that way so I went with them."*

However, in contrast to Bagleman's (2009) perspective that suggests that escapism is relevant to traditional tourism, for the participants in this study there was also escape in the sense of an 'escape from trauma' and the process of dealing with the emotionally traumatic life situation. Bagleman's (2009) perspective of escapism structures tourism as a point along a straight trajectory. Escapism becomes a solitary emotional *action* of travelling from one location to another with the implication of choice – choice of transport, accommodation, activity and leisure. However, journeys of non-arrival reflect tourism as repeatedly taking place along circular trajectories – the travellers are always-already travelling. In comparison to the 'forward progression' of traditional vacation travel, tours that resulted in non-arrival for the travellers in our study tended to leave them in a non-purposive state of continual wandering (Bagelman, 2009). The following excerpt from a female traveller offered her suggestions about why individuals 'escape' and become involved in journeys of 'non-arrival' as a response to trauma:

> *"…it was the geographical cure. … Well, you do the geography, so that is supposed to cure you. It's what a friend of mine in Darwin calls the geographical cure. If something happens in your life, some major upheaval, you actually go somewhere else. You do something to do with geography, like you travel somewhere and then.... and that's the cure, that's how you fool yourself."*

Emotions and motivations are crucial to the "reproduction of selves within or as the social" (Holmes, 2010, p. 149). The ability to interpret and survive emotional trauma requires the individual to develop meaningful ways of living within complex, ambiguous environments. Journeys of non-arrival are solitary expressions of strong emotional trauma. However, embarking on a journey 'away' from the internal reality of the emotional reactional trigger event could be perceived as self-encouragement to consider perhaps re-entering the prevailing social world.

Conclusion

The voyage to escape, when initiated in response to a reactional trigger event resulted in a journey of non-arrival. Participants experienced an emotionally disruptive, critical incident that led to the desire to make significant life changes. These trigger events underpinned and drove reactionary, backward-looking responses to travel decision making processes rather than forward-looking, planned leisure choices. For the participants in this study, unlike the tenets of traditional vacation travel, there was no real sense of accomplishment or completion of the process of travel for the participants.

The phenomenon of non-arrival that emerged as a specific theme of the participant narratives, recognised that participants travelled because of the emotional effects their lives were having on them and subsequently did not arrive at a destination in their journey – though they may well have succeeded in putting distance between themselves and the initial trigger. Tourism, like other human activity, does not occur in isolation (Hall & Lew, 2009) with human action and (emotional) reaction occurring within social contexts (Cohen & Taylor, 1992; Harre, Clarke, & De Carlo, 1985). While travel for a 'vacation' or 'holiday' experience has traditionally been viewed as a largely hedonistic experience (Zahra & McIntosh, 2007), this research showed that the voyage to escape, that is preceded by a catalyst of an emotionally dramatic or life changing event, is a travel response based on self-preservation and survival instincts that force the traveller to suspend their 'normal life'. In contrast to the traditional understanding of holiday as a touristic escape for recreation and leisure based on choice (free or perceived), survival escapist travel requires physically removing oneself from an everyday existence that is emotionally catastrophic rather than mundane and impedes or even extinguishes the individual's human agency to choose their leisure or tourism experience. With regard to the sociology of emotion, journeys of non-arrival are a product of an individual's dissociation with the reality of the emotional trauma – taking 'flight' to recover from that trigger event. Further research needs to be conducted to examine how this chaotic pattern of travel and journey may be played out in non-mobile contexts.

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Diverging Paths: Occupational Sex Segregation, Australia, and the OECD

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Abstract

In the mid-1980s, "Australia held the title for the most sex segregated labour force in the OECD area" (OECD, 1984 in Pocock 1998: 590). Does this still hold true? In this paper, series analysis is employed to explore what has happened to occupational sex segregation in Australia since 1984. I do this by measuring changes in the Index of Association. The level, and change in trend, of occupational sex segregation in Australia is also compared to that of selected other groups of OECD nations between 2000 and 2010, including the Pacific Rim OECD nations and those nations which are included in both the OECD and G20 groups of nations.

Overall, no single pattern of changing levels of sex segregation is visible for all OECD countries. While some countries have shown a decrease in the levels of sex segregation (whether significant or not), others have shown an increase. What has emerged is a tendency for those countries with already low levels of sex segregation to have displayed decreasing sex segregation since 2000, while those with high levels of sex segregation have generally shown an increasing trend. What is clear from this analysis is that Australia is no longer the most sex-segregated country in the OECD, or even among Pacific Rim nations; that dubious honour now belongs to the United States of America. (221 words)

Keywords: OECD, Australia, occupational sex segregation, Index of Association, time series

Introduction

In the mid-1980s, "Australia held the title for the most sex segregated labour force in the OECD area" (OECD, 1984 in Pocock 1998: 590). Since the 1980s, the number of women in the labour force in Australia has increased considerably (from 2.2 million employed women in 1982 to 4.9 million in 2010 [Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012]). However, women have not increased their share of employment in all occupations equally, and as such, occupational sex segregation continues in Australia. The analysis presented here argues that this segregation has increased between 1982 and 2010.

Has there been a similar increase in sex segregation in other OECD nations? Or has Australia lost its crown as having the most highly sex-segregated workforce among industrialised nations? In the second half of this paper I show the level of occupational sex segregation across all OECD nations in 2010, before exploring the changing trends for selected groups of OECD nations between 2000 and 2010, using time series analysis. In general, those countries with a low level of occupational sex segregation in 2010, have displayed decreasing levels since 2000, while those with high levels in 2010 have shown an increasing trend.

The Australian Labour Force

Discrimination, inequalities and segregation persist within the Australian labour force. In terms of occupations, some are more feminised than others: women accounted for 75% of those employed in clerical or administrative positions in 2010, but only 9% of machinery operators, as shown below.

Table 1. Female Participation in Australian Occupations, 2010

2010	% Female
Total	**45%**
Clerical/Administration	75%
Service Workers	69%
Sales Workers	63%
Professionals	53%
Labourers	35%
Managers	34%
Technical/Trades Workers	14%
Machinery Operators	9%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*

As **Error! Reference source not found.** indicates, no single occupational group in Australia has the same gender balance as that of the total labour force, drawing on 2010 data. When the gender balance in individual occupations does not match that of the overall labour force, occupational sex segregation is present (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1984: 40). There are numerous methods utilised to measure sex segregation – here, I use the Index of Association, as developed by Charles and Grusky (2004).

The Index of Association

The Index of Association (*A*), is a measure of segregation that is independent of variability both in total participation rates and within specific categories (Bradley 2000: 6). This Index expresses "the extent to which occupation-specific sex ratios deviate from the mean of such ratios calculated across all occupations" (Charles and Grusky 2004: 42). The value of *A* "may be interpreted as the multiplicative factor by which males or females are, on average, overrepresented in the occupational categories being analysed" (Charles and Grusky 2004: 42). The values of *A* range from 1 (perfect integration) to infinity (perfect segregation) (Bradley 2000: 6; Charles and Grusky 2004: 323). *A* is found by the following equation:

$$A = exp\left(\frac{1}{J} \times \sum_{j=1}^{J}\left\{ln\left(\frac{F_j}{M_j}\right) - \left[\frac{1}{J} \times \sum_{j=1}^{J} ln\left(\frac{F_j}{M_j}\right)\right]\right\}^2\right)^{1/2}$$

In this equation, *j* represents the category of examination; *F* and *M* refer to the total number of women and men in the examined population; and F_j and M_j are the number of women and men in the jth category.

All of the countries in this study displayed a mix of gender ratios across all occupations each year, so *A* was calculable in each case. I use regression analysis to examine whether the values of the Index of Association have increased or decreased in Australia between 1982 and 2010. I also calculate this for each country within the OECD between 2000 and 2010, so as to provide a picture of more recent changes in occupational sex segregation.

Sex Segregation in Australia since 1982

The 1984 OECD report on *The Integration of Women into the Economy* uses two summary indices to measure sex segregation in the then-21 OECD countries: the "WE index, named after the report *Women and Employment* in which it appears, and the DI or 'dissimilarity' index" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 1984: 41). Using data which corresponded to the International Standard Classification of Occupations, ISCO, Australia was seen to have a high level of occupational sex segregation in 1982, compared to selected other OECD nations (**Error! Reference source not found.**):

Table 2. Aggregate Levels of Segregation in 1982

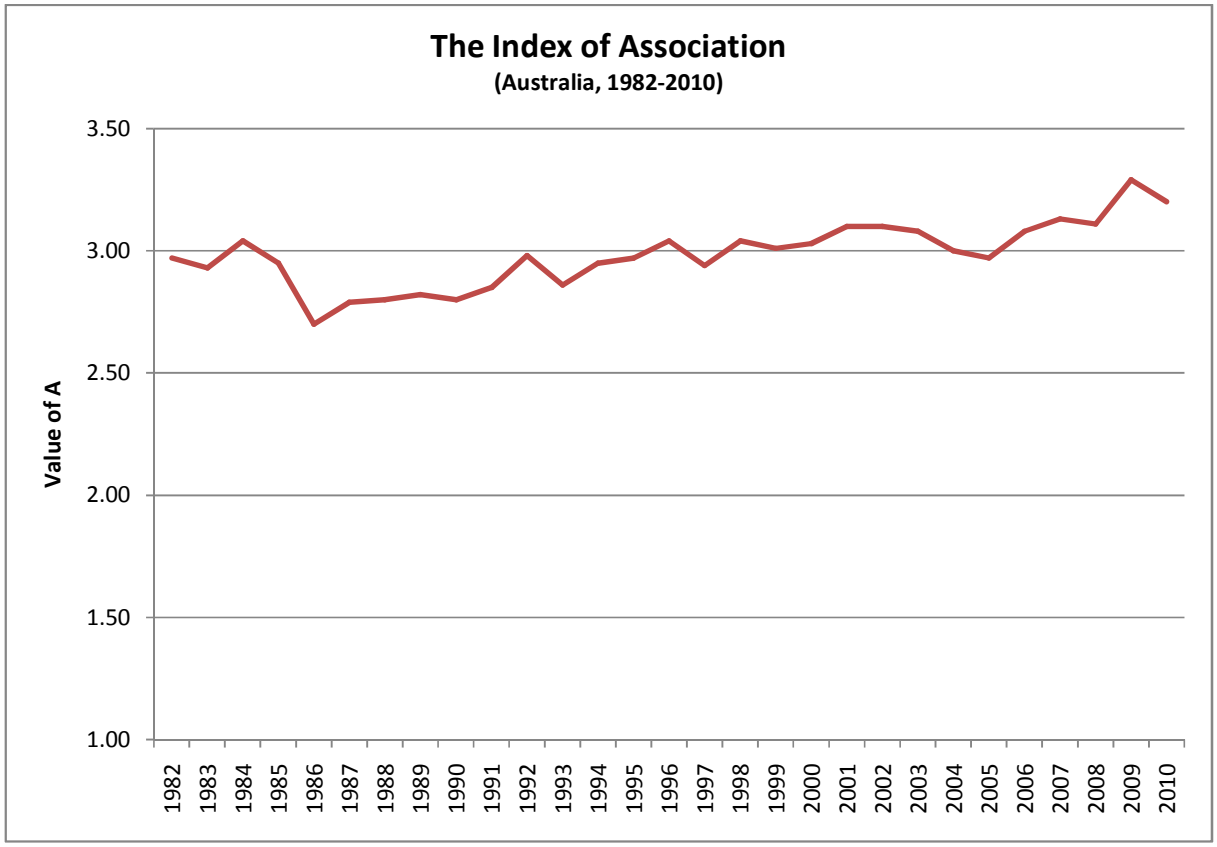
	WE Index (%)	**DI Index (%)**
Australia	60.7	47.9
Canada	44.6	37.9
Germany	44.2	35.9
Japan	27.5	22.5
Norway	55.8	48.3
Sweden	44.2	41.1
United States	46.5	40.6

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1984: 42.

Of these seven countries, Australia has the highest level of occupational sex segregation under the WE Index, and the second highest level under the DI Index. The value of the Index of Association for Australia in 1982 was 2.97, which is relatively high.

Since 1982, the values of the Index of Association have remained at this level, as demonstrated by **Error! Reference source not found.**. Although there was an initial dip during the mid-1980s, the Index of Association for Australia has generally increased over this time ($A_{Australia} = 2.81 + 0.01(\text{time})$).

Figure 1. The Index of Association (Australia, 1982-2010)



Sources: Australia Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook of Australia 1983* and *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*

This increase (Figure 1)indicates that occupational sex segregation has not declined in Australia since the early 1980s. Occupations which had high levels of female participation in the 1980s now have even more female workers, while those that were masculinised have become more so (Table 3).

Table 3. Female Participation in Australian Occupations, 1982 and 2010

1982	% Female	**2010**	% Female
Total	**37%**	**Total**	**45%**
Clerical Workers	70%	Clerical/Administration	75%
Service Workers	64%	Service Workers	69%
Sales Workers	54%	Sales Workers	63%
Professionals	45%	Professionals	53%
Managers/Administration Workers	14%	Managers	34%
Labourers	12%	Labourers	35%
Transport/Communication Workers	14%	Machinery Operators	9%

Agricultural Workers	20%	Technical/Trades Workers	14%

Sources: Australia Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook of Australia 1983* and *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*

While the categories through which occupational data is reported have altered between 1982 and 2010, making it hard to draw direct comparisons between the years, in neither year did any occupations have a gender balance which matched that of the overall labour force. The value of the Index of Association for Australia in 2010 was 3.20, indicating that the rate of overrepresentation across all occupations is 3.2 to 1 in favour of the dominant gender, on average.

Although women account for a larger share of the Australian labour force now than they did in the mid-1980s – in 2010 there were 5 million female workers in Australia, which represents a female labour force participation rate of 45.2% – they are not entering all occupations at the same rate. Occupations with an already high level of female participation are becoming more feminised, while occupations with a large number of male workers are becoming more masculinised. This is not unusual; as women increase their labour force participation, they often seek employment within already feminised occupations (Chang 2004: 131) and the gender balance between occupations may not shift to match the gender balance of the total labour force. This is often a matter of how the labour market is constructed (for example, in which occupations there are shortages), or the social construction of certain occupations as 'feminine' or 'masculine' (which is often supported by the social construction of various training courses and programmes as similarly gendered). These constructions can differ wildly between countries, and these are reflected in the values of the Index of Association for each country.

OECD Comparisons

In terms of the Index of Association, Australia ranked 11th among all OECD nations[1] in terms of occupational sex segregation in 2010 (**Error! Reference source not found.**):

Table 4. Values of the Index of Association for OECD Nations, 2010 (or nearby year) and rank (most to least segregated)

	A Value	**Rank**
United States	4.31	1
United Kingdom	3.64	2
Denmark	3.49	3
Norway	3.47	4
Ireland	3.39	5
Canada	3.37	6
Belgium	3.36	7=
Italy	3.36	7=
Czech Republic	3.25	9
Netherlands	3.21	10
Australia	*3.20*	*11*

Spain	3.19	12
Sweden	3.18	13
Estonia	3.11	14
Austria	3.08	15
France	3.07	16=
Iceland	3.07	16=
Finland	3.01	18
Greece	2.89	19
Israel (2009)	2.82	20
Japan	2.78	21
Germany	2.75	22
South Korea	2.72	23
Chile (2008)	2.66	24
Poland	2.61	25
New Zealand (2009)	2.55	26
Hungary	2.51	27
Slovak Republic	2.49	28=
Switzerland	2.49	28=
Slovenia	2.43	30
Portugal	2.17	31=
Turkey	2.17	31=

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; LABORSTA *Labour Statistics Database (Chile, 2000–2008; US 2000–2002; Table: 2C Total employment, by occupation (Thousands))*; Statistical Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistics Korea, *Statistical Yearbook of Korea, 2001–2009*; Statistics New Zealand, *Statistical Yearbook of New Zealand, 2002–2010*; UNECE *Statistical Division Database (Employment by Measurement, Country, Occupation, Sex and Year 2000–2010)*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

Such a large number of countries makes drawing comparisons difficult, and this is where using smaller data sets becomes more manageable. Therefore, I compare changes in Australia's occupational sex segregation against three groups – the seven countries from the OECD's 1984 report, Pacific Rim nations, and those nations that are included in both the OECD and the G20 group of nations.

Seven Countries Comparison

Table 5. Values of the Index of Association for selected OECD Nations, 2000, 2010, increase or decrease over decade, and rank (most to least segregated) for 2000 and 2010

	A (2000)	**A (2010)**	**Change**	**Rank (2000)**	**Rank (2010)**
Australia	3.03	3.20	+ (sig)	5	4
Canada	3.30	3.37	+ (n. sig)	3=	3
Germany	2.70	2.75	- (n. sig)	7	7
Japan	2.94	2.78	- (n. sig)	6	6
Norway	3.30	3.47	+ (n. sig)	3=	2
Sweden	3.61	3.18	- (n. sig)	2	5

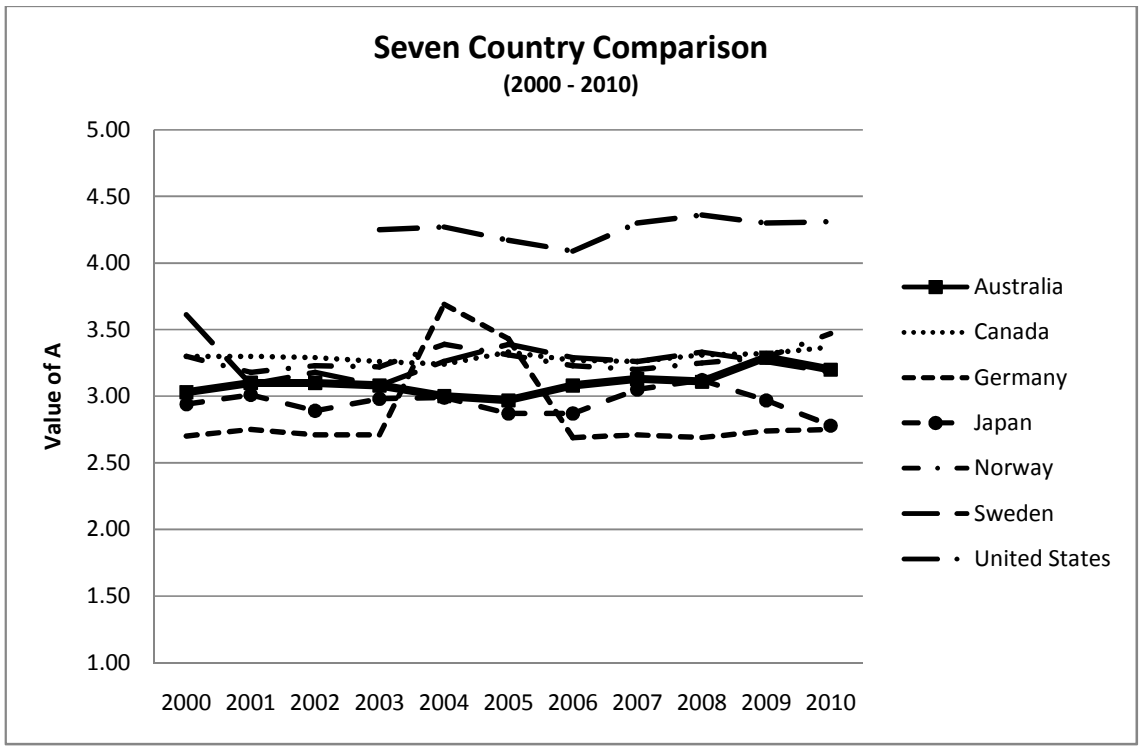
United States (2003)	4.25	4.31	+ (n. sig)	1	1

Note: significance at p=0.05.

Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; UNECE *Statistical Division Database (Employment by Measurement, Country, Occupation, Sex and Year 2000–2010)*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

Australia now ranks fourth out of these seven countries in terms of occupational sex segregation (Table 5). Those countries with a high value of *A* in 2000 generally still have a high value, and those with a low value in 2000 tended to show a decrease over this time, with the exception of Sweden (which has fallen considerably in rank).

Figure 2. Time Series of Values of A for Selected OECD Nations, 2000–2010



Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistics Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; UNECE *Statistical Division Database (Employment by Measurement, Country, Occupation, Sex and Year 2000–2010)*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

The jump in values for the United States reflects a change in the data source (from ISCO 1968 to ISCO 88) rather than a change in occupational sex segregation itself, and the spike between 2004 and 2005 for Germany reflects the two years in which the number of women in the Armed Forces was reported (Figure 2). In terms of overall trends, four of these countries have displayed increasing values of *A* (Australia, Canada, Norway and the United States[2]) and three have displayed decreasing values (Germany, Japan and Sweden). However, only

Australia has shown a statistically significant change over this period (*p*-value < 0.05). In terms of the seven countries highlighted in the 1984 report, only Australia has shown any significant change in occupational sex segregation.

Pacific Rim OECD Nations

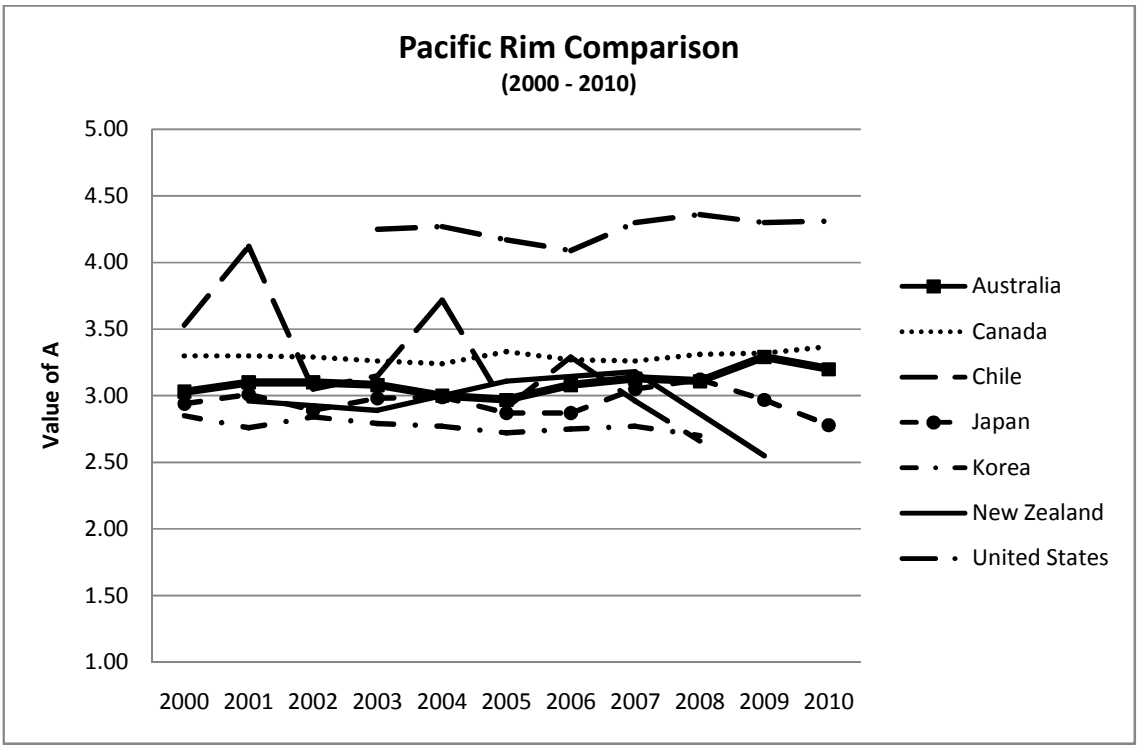
Table 6. Values of the Index of Association for Pacific Rim OECD Nations, 2000, 2010, increase or decrease over decade, and rank (most to least segregated) for 2000 and 2010

	A (2000)	A (2010)	Change	Rank (2000)	Rank (2010)
Australia	3.03	3.20	+ (sig)	4	3
Canada	3.30	3.37	+ (n. sig)	3	2
Chile (2008)	3.53	2.66	- (sig)	2	6
Japan	2.94	2.78	- (n. sig)	6	4
New Zealand (2001/2009)	2.96	2.55	- (n. sig)	5	7
South Korea	2.85	2.72	- (sig)	7	5
United States (2003)	4.25	4.31	+ (n. sig)	1	1

Note: significance at p=0.05.
Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; LABORSTA *Labour Statistics Database (Chile, 2000–2008; US 2000–2002; Table: 2C Total employment, by occupation (Thousands))*; Statistical Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistics Korea, *Statistical Yearbook of Korea, 2001–2009*; Statistics New Zealand, *Statistical Yearbook of New Zealand, 2002–2010*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

While the United States and Canada continue to display a higher level of occupational sex segregation than Australia, the other four countries – Chile, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand – all have lower levels of occupational sex segregation (Table 6).

Figure 3. Time Series of Values of A for Pacific Rim OECD Nations, 2000–2010



Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; LABORSTA *Labour Statistics Database (Chile, 2000–2008; US 2000–2002; Table: 2C Total employment, by occupation (Thousands))*; Statistical Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistics Korea, *Statistical Yearbook of Korea, 2001–2009*; Statistics New Zealand, *Statistical Yearbook of New Zealand, 2002–2010*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

In terms of the changing trend of occupational sex segregation, four of these nations have displayed decreasing levels of sex segregation while three displayed increasing levels (Figure 3). The three countries which have displayed increasing levels of sex segregation between the years of 2000 and 2010 are those with the highest levels of sex segregation – the United States, Canada and Australia. The countries with the highest levels of gender inequity within the occupations are becoming more sex segregated, rather than less.

OECD-G20 Nations

Table 7. Values of the Index of Association for OECD-G20 Nations, 2000, 2010, increase or decrease over decade, and rank (most to least segregated) for 2000 and 2010

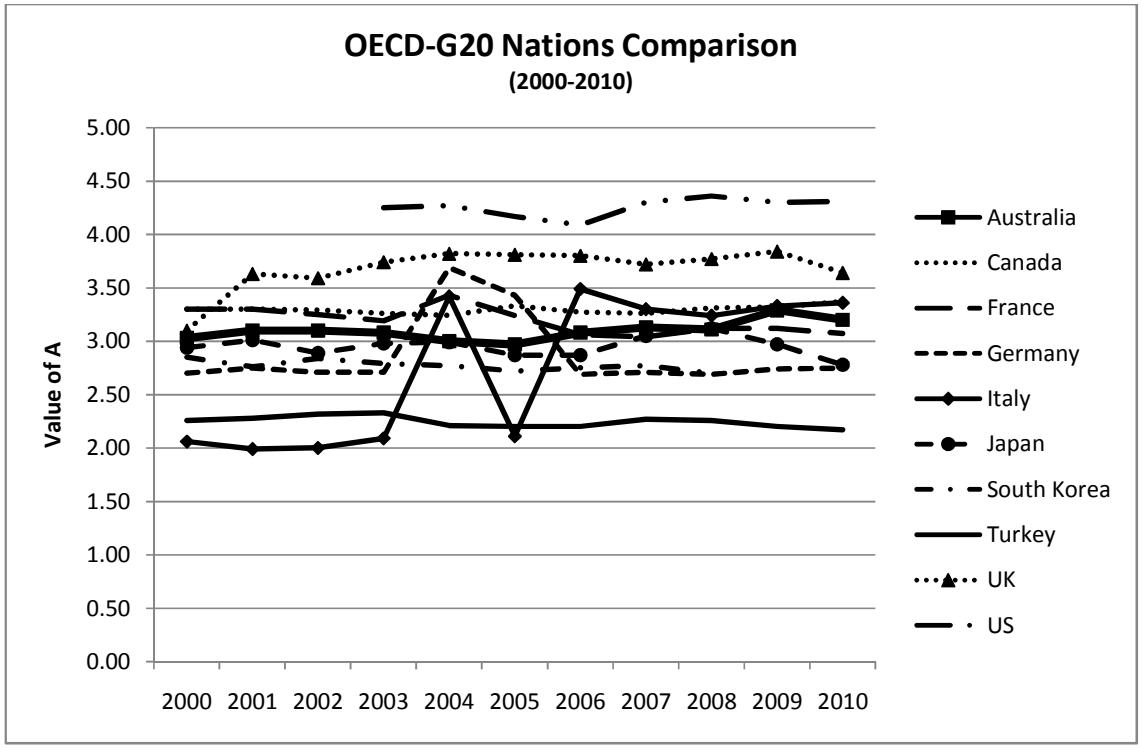
	A (2000)	A (2010)	Change	Rank (2000)	Rank (2010)
Australia	3.03	3.20	+ (sig)	5	5
Canada	3.30	3.37	+ (n. sig)	2=	3
France	3.30	3.07	- (n. sig)	2=	6
Germany	2.70	2.75	+ (n. sig)	8	8
Italy	2.06	3.36	+ (n. sig)	10	4
Japan	2.94	2.78	- (n. sig)	6	7

South Korea	2.85	2.72	- (sig)	7	9
Turkey	2.26	2.17	- (n. sig)	9	10
United Kingdom	3.10	3.64	+ (sig)	4	2
United States (2003)	4.25	4.31	+ (n. sig)	1	1

Note: significance at p=0.05.
Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistical Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; Statistics Korea, *Statistical Yearbook of Korea, 2001–2009*; UNECE *Statistical Division Database (Employment by Measurement, Country, Occupation, Sex and Year 2000–2010)*; United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

Among those nations who are included in both the G20[3]and the OECD groups of nations, Australia is ranked 5th out of 10 nations in terms of occupational sex segregation in 2010 (Table 7). Like the United Kingdom, Australia has seen a statistically significant increase in the value of *A* between 2000 and 2010. Only four nations within this group have shown decreasing levels of sex segregation, and only South Korea has registered a statistically significant decrease in *A* (France, Japan and Turkey have shown decreases not statistically significant at the 5% level).

Figure 4. Time Series of Values of A for OECD-G20 Nations, 2000–2010



Sources: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *6291.0.55.003 Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly*; Statistics Canada, *Labour force survey estimates (LFS)*; Statistical Bureau of Japan, *Statistical Yearbook of Japan, 2002–2012*; Statistics Korea, *Statistical Yearbook of Korea, 2001–2009*; UNECE *Statistical Division Database (Employment by Measurement,*

Country, Occupation, Sex and Year 2000–2010); United States Department of Labor, *Employed persons by occupation, sex, and age 2003–2010*.

The values of the Index of Association have changed considerably more for this group of countries than for the seven selected OECD nations, or those surrounding the Pacific Rim. The large amount of change for Italy reflects the difference between years when the Armed Forces was reported: the Armed Forces were not reported in 2000, men alone were reported in 2001–2003 and 2005, and men and women were reported in 2004 and from 2006 onwards.

In terms of overall trends, four of the countries with the lowest level of sex segregation are those which display decreasing values of the Index of Association, while those countries with higher levels of sex segregation, such as the United Kingdom and the United States, show increasing values. This suggests that groups of countries are following diverging paths of sex segregation: countries with already low levels of sex segregation look to continue to decrease segregation, while those countries with higher levels of sex segregation show a trend to increase it in future.

Conclusion

Overall, no single pattern of changing levels of sex segregation is visible for all OECD countries. While some countries have shown a decrease in the levels of sex segregation (whether significant or not), others have shown an increase. What has emerged is a tendency for those countries with already low levels of sex segregation to have displayed decreasing sex segregation since 2000, with those with high levels of sex segregation have generally shown an increasing trend. What is clear from this analysis is that Australia is no longer the most sex segregated country in the OECD, or even among Pacific Rim nations; based on the data analysed in this paper, that dubious honour now belongs to the United States of America, with Portugal and Turkey together having the lowest level of sex segregation.

Footnotes

1. Mexico has been excluded from this analysis due to highly inconsistent data.
2. Due to the change in classifications, this analysis has been run for the United States for the years 2003–2010 only.
3. The G20 group of nations consists of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China (People's Republic), the European Union, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

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Generational differences in attitudes to gay marriage

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Abstract

This paper considers arguments on the merits of legalising gay relationships in the light of qualitative data collected from interviews with 97 gay men. Interviews were collected from men aged 19–87 who were recruited in nine major cities: Auckland, Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Manchester, Melbourne, Mumbai, New York, and Sydney. I made contact with many of the interviewees through personal introductions and also Internet links. The interviews occurred between July 2009 and March 2011 and took place in all nine cities, as well as a small group of men I interviewed on Skype. Sixty-two men or almost two-thirds of this international sample said they were in favour of formal recognition of same-sex relationships, including gay marriage. Analysis of these men's views showed that men aged 51 or older more likely to oppose gay marriage than younger men. The older men who opposed gay marriage tended to argue that it was a concession to heteronormativity and that gay culture has become too mainstream in a 'family values' way. The young men who argued in favour of gay marriage drew on two principal narratives, namely (a) relational and legal/property equality, and (b) recognition of relationship success.

One minor theme in evidence was support for gay marriage as a continuation of some men's involvement in the gay liberation project.

Key words: civil partnership/union, generation, gay, marriage

Introduction

Social agitation for gay marriage rights gained momentum in the mid 1990s when the worst of the HIV-AIDS epidemic was over in the West. Canadian historian Angus McLaren (1999: 199) argues that at that time, the 'havoc of AIDS' created for many gay people in North America, a 'nostalgia for family life', and US historian George Chauncey (2004: 3) maintains that it was the lesbian and gay baby boom together with the AIDS crisis that provided the impetus for the gay marriage project in North America. Regarding the effect of HIV-AIDS on gay men's personal and communal lives, I would argue that the experience many gay men had during the HIV-AIDS crisis in western countries, of being excluded from their partner's funeral or when hospitals gave priority to members of dying men's birth families, not their partners, contributed to the determination of gay-marriage activists to seek legislative certainty and security for gay, couple relationships. The Dutch historian Gert Hekma makes a stronger, political argument, which is that, as the HIV-AIDS epidemic created what he calls a 'struggle for monogamy', the irony for gay men was that, being denied the right to marry, they were thus shut out of the 'institution that

belongs to monogamy'. It was this realisation in the 1990s that spurred on the movement for marriage equality in Europe (Hekma, 99–100).

As has often been the case when social reform has been required in the West, it is the Nordic countries that lead the way, followed by more socially enlightened countries elsewhere. In 1989, for example, Denmark passed legislation to provide 'registered partnership for same-sex couples', which was followed by Norway, Sweden, and Iceland in the 1990s and Finland in 2001. In 2005, Britain did the same, creating 'civil partnership' status for same-sex couples. The first country to provide for same-sex marriage was Holland, which did so in 2001. By 2008, Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Spain had passed legislation allowing same-sex marriage (Polikoff, 2008: 110–20), and by 2013, the same rights will apply to same-sex couples in France, who will have the right also to adopt children (*Age* 5 July 2012). In countries where neo-liberalism has a stronger hold, such as Australia and the United States, the response has been to pass legislation restating the heterosexual nature of marriage and its primacy.

Two principal arguments are made in favour of legalising same-sex marriage, both of which relate to equality in terms of property and relational rights. The first argument concerns equal property and legal rights and is a strong feature of the work of Martha Nussbaum (1999: 201–3) who argues that a common-sense approach to marriage equality must lead reasonable people to accept that gay men are entitled to access to the same financial benefits that married heterosexuals enjoy. In the USA, these benefits are directly connected with an individual's marital statues and this, argues

Nussbaum, means it is inequitable that gay people are denied them because their relationships are not recognised in law in the same way that is marriage.

The second argument centres on equal relational status and recognition and has its genesis in the work of Georg Simmel who argued that by its existence as a privileged social institution, marriage creates a hierarchy of relationships, 'a direct superiority of the [married] group with respect to a group without marriage' (Simmel, 1999: 291). An associated argument relates to the prestige associated with marriage in the eyes of many young straight couples today and by extension many young gay couples. In the US context, Andrew Cherlin (2004, 855–6) argues that, as marriage has transformed, the ceremony is now no longer organised by and for the family and that, 'the wedding … has become an important symbol of the partners' personal achievements and a stage in their self development'. Carol Smart (2008) found evidence of a similar desire among a group of 54 same-sex people she interviewed in Britain to use marriage as a marker of relational success.

Scholars from sociology and allied disciplines have been researching same-sex marriage since the 1980s with increased activity in the late 1990s and even more so in the last decade (Boswell, 1995; Plummer, 1981; Rolfe and Peel, 2011; Shipman and Smart, 2007). Some, like Carol Smart (2008), have focussed on the experiences of both lesbians and gay men. My perspective in this paper is on the experience of an international group of gay men. While struggles around sexuality, freedom of expression and relational equality have been the basis for political coalitions between lesbians and gay men, they have distinctive, gendered attitudes towards marriage. My sociological research is gendered—thus my exclusive intellectual interests in

homosexual men, socially, culturally, and politically. The social conditions and social contexts of the homosexual man are qualitatively distinctive. In the sample of gay men I used for this paper, it was among men aged 31 and younger that I found strongest support for gay marriage, while men over 51 were most likely to oppose it. These generational differences between gay men's attitudes to gay marriage are the central focus of this paper.

The study

The non-representative sample on which this paper is based comprises 97 men recruited from nine international cities, namely, Auckland, Hong Kong, London, Los Angeles, Manchester, Melbourne, Mumbai, New York, Sydney. The interviews—which were conducted as part of larger research for a book—took place between July 2009 and April 2011. I interviewed gay men from all social classes and a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 87. There were 25 men (or 26 per cent) aged over 60 years, 41 men (or 42 per cent) aged between 40 and 59, and 31 men (or 32 per cent) aged 39 or younger. There was a large age range amongst participants in this study, including 20 men in their late teens and 20s and six men in their 80s with every decade in between represented. The 23 men in their 40s comprised the largest single age group. Ethnically, while the bulk of men from this sample had Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic backgrounds, the interviewees in this study included five distinct ethnic minorities, comprising one Aboriginal Australian man, five African- or Caribbean-American men, ten Chinese men, 11 men with a South-Asian background, and three Maori—or a total of 30 men.

I made contact with many of the interviewees through personal introductions and recommendations and via tentative links I made on the Internet. In the USA, the website called Craigslist was useful for making preliminary contacts but it was a chance connection with another author in the field that put me in touch with the majority of men I interviewed in New York and Los Angeles. After that, my personal e-mail account and the website Facebook were the means I used to keep in touch and confirm appointments. In Australia, England, Hong, India, and New Zealand, I made contact with potential interviewees by way of contacts that academics and activists provided me. Again, once contact was made, both my private e-mail account and Facebook were helpful for maintaining contact and setting up meetings for interview.

The interviews took place between July 2009 and March 2011 and occurred in a variety of settings including large and small urban parks, hotel lobbies, my hotel room, interviewees' residences, and cafés or restaurants that were close to my hotel or interviewees' workplace or home. I interviewed a small group of men on the Internet using the web-based application, Skype but the great bulk of interviews were face-to-face. I used a sixteen-question structured interview schedule for each interview. On average, interviews lasted 45 minutes. After transcription, I analysed them with the help of the Microsoft Word software programme.

Findings

My analysis of the men's interviews showed that gay marriage was of greatest importance to young men, in particular men aged in their 30s and younger, and was less important to men aged 51 and older. Each interviewee was asked the following questions in relation to gay marriage: 'Are you married; do you intend to marry? If the circumstances were right, would you marry a man?' At times, the men's answers included a short explanation as to why they favoured formal recognition of gay relationships but not marriage; some times they did not. On other occasions, some men conflated gay marriage with civil union or gay marriage and civil partnership. Then again, there were times when men spoke specifically against marriage because they associated it with religion and were agnostic, atheist, or anti-religious because they were disenchanted with formal religion, which was particularly the case with men from this sample and others with whom I have had informal discussions who were brought up Catholic.

The break down of men's views on gay marriage is as follows. Sixty-two men or almost two-thirds of this sample of 97 men said they were in favour of formal recognition of gay relationships, including gay marriage. Twenty-three men or slightly less than a quarter of interviewees said they opposed gay marriage and twelve men (or twelve per cent of the sample) said they were unsure. When I examined the men's answers about gay marriage by age, those over 51 were more likely to oppose it. Those under 31 were almost uniformly in favour of it. For this reason, I divided the sample into three age cohorts. The first cohort comprised men aged 18–31, who turned and will turn 21 after 2000; the second cohort was made up of men aged 32–51, who turned 21 between 1980 and the late 1990s; the third cohort

consisted of men aged 51–87, who turned 21 between the mid-1940s and late 1970s. In the sections that follow, the views of each age cohort is discussed in turn.

Twenty-two men aged 31 and younger comprised the first cohort. A significant majority (86 per cent) of these young men favoured formal recognition of gay relationships and, of the nineteen men who did so, fourteen favoured gay marriage as against five men who supported civil union or civil partnership but not gay marriage. The fourteen men who supported gay marriage referred to three narratives. First, they first said they had a right to relationship equality and were entitled to enjoy the same legal and property rights associated with marriage; second, that they should to be able to marry and have a 'white wedding' if they so wished; third that marriage equality was linked to broader social change. A core of four young men whose views I caught in my interviews were from privileged Melbourne backgrounds. All four men had been to elite, private schools, were enrolled in university courses, and were from upper-class or upper-middle-class backgrounds. The social practices they revealed elsewhere in their interviews were noticeably different from those of previous cohorts of gay men, who have tended to immerse themselves in the social institutions of the gay world and to populate their friendship group around gay friends after coming out. As the stories showed that these four men told of their social life, only a small proportion of their close friends were gay, most of them shunned gay clubs and bars, and their stated preference was to mix with straight friends when they socialised.

The second cohort comprised 34 men aged 32–51. Slightly less than three-quarters (or 24) of these men favoured formal recognition of gay relationships—a lower

proportion than for the men aged 31 and younger, but a decided majority nonetheless. Of the twenty-four men who supported formal recognition of gay relationships, sixteen were in favour of gay marriage and eight said they would support only a civil union or civil partnership. The sixteen men who supported gay marriage drew on two narratives. The first narrative was similar to that of the younger men and concerned the rights to relationship equality with heterosexuals and to enjoy the same legal and property privileges that attached to heterosexual marriage. The second narrative related to ceremonies appropriate to a gay marriage or civil union. In contrast to what the men aged 31 and younger, the options the men from the group considered did not include a 'white wedding'. At one end of the spectrum, their alternatives included an intimate ceremony that held a very private meaning for the couple and, at the other end, a ceremony organised by a small group of friends involving participation from friends and family that was a complete surprise for the couple.

Forty-one men aged 51–87 comprised the third cohort. A slight majority of these men favoured formal recognition of gay relationships. The men from who opposed formalizing same-sex relationships did so for two reasons. First, because relationships based on cohabitation were sufficient and met their needs. Second, marriage was a failed social institution. The men who were in favour drew on three narratives. First, it was a continuation of involvement in gay liberation; second, marriage secured property; third, permanent relationships were crucial after what had been experienced during the HIV-AIDS epidemic. Seven men from this cohort said they would support civil union or civil partnership but not marriage, their reasons being first, that it was 'strange' gay men would want to marry when in many western

countries it was possible for same-sex couples to enjoy the same rights as a married couple in all but name and second, that the general public was not yet ready for it.

Conclusion

Sixty-two men or almost two-thirds of an international sample on which this paper is based said they were in favour of formal recognition of gay relationships, including gay marriage. Like earlier political movements such as gay liberation in the 1970s and ACT-UP, the movement that developed in the US in the late 1980s to pressure the Reagan government to provide funding for HIV-AIDS research and support for people living with the disease, the push for gay marriage has had a polarising effect on gay people and as this paper showed the dividing lines can be strongly generational. Analysis of the views of the men from my sample shows that the proportion of men opposing gay marriage was highest in the cohort aged 51–87; in contrast, almost all the men aged 31 and younger were in favour of it.

The older men who opposed gay marriage often argued that it was a concession to heteronormativity and that gay culture had become too mainstream, even boring in a 'family values' way. They had a less idealistic vision of gay marriage. Many of these men belonged to the 'baby-boomer' generation and their views were strongly influenced by feminist arguments about marriage as an oppressive social institution that circulated in the West in the late 1960s and 1970s. They queried the worth of marriage in general and gay marriage in particular. It was among this group and only this group, that a connection was made between gay men's experience in the AIDS

crisis—when gay men often found that hospital staff, their partners' parents or families did not acknowledge their relationships—and the beginning of the modern movement for gay marriage. I say 'modern' movement because, as the work of the deceased classics scholar, John Boswell (1995) showed, same-sex marriage ceremonies and unions had a long history in Europe before the fourteenth century. It was among this group also that the argument was most strongly put in favour of civil union or partnership and not gay marriage.

The young men who argued in favour of gay marriage were more likely to engage in narratives around the 'white wedding' and saw gay marriage as part of a wider movement for social change. In doing so, they revealed a less sophisticated understanding of the history of gay liberation, the AIDS crisis, and the connection between these signal events and the present movement for marriage equality in the gay world. Underlining these men's arguments on marriage equality was a determination not to be denied the same property rights and privileges their heterosexual brothers, sisters or cousins enjoyed and to emulate the same wedding ceremonies and marriage rites that their heterosexual friends expected. In other words, they were intent that their sexuality would not affect their class or relational privileges.

It is clear that gay men are not interested in the heteronormative form of marriage that historically provided men with ownership and property rights over women. They are interested, however, in securing rights to the property they own when in couple relationships—even though in Australia, for example, these rights are guaranteed under state jurisdictions where same-sex couples have equivalent rights in law as de

facto heterosexual couples. Gay men are interested also in formally marking their relationships by the same means that have been available to heterosexual couples, that is, by marriage and wedding ceremonies. The relational equality they seek is in regard to property rights and formal, public recognition of their relationships and as this paper argues the push in this direction is strongest among men aged 31 and younger.

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Disembodiment on the internet: The great equaliser?

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Disembodiment on the internet: The great equaliser?

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Abstract

The hybrid nature of modern technologised societies necessitates new ways of thinking about social and individual behaviour. This paper explores how bodily techniques are involved in online processes of self-formation by looking at examples from the online social networking sites (SNSs) Chatroulette and Pinterest. While some claim that individuals become disembodied online and that this eliminates prejudices and inequalities, others suggest that existing social differences are mirrored and reproduced on the internet. By exploring two examples of how the physical body features in the use of SNSs as a visible and active part of processes through which modern subjects shape their conduct, this paper will show that both sides of the disembodiment argument paint an oversimplified picture of the complex techno-social assemblages that modern individuals are implicated in. The body needs to be accounted for as one of many tools which individuals employ in forming relations to self and others. Rather than asserting that the internet either reproduces or eliminates social inequalities we need to consider how it is inextricably intertwined with bodily techniques that govern the conduct of modern individuals. Conceptualising online SNSs as 'techniques of self' (Foucault 1988) and appreciating the role that non-human actants play in shaping social action provides a more critical way of thinking about the complex techno-social scapes that modern individuals are implicated in today.

Keywords: Self-formation – social networking sites – disembodiment – technologisation – Foucault

Introduction

The hybrid nature of modern technologised society makes it necessary to re-think simplistic approaches that dichotomise the online and offline world and make broad claims about the role of technology in shaping the social scape. New online technologies have been hailed as great equalisers (Polly 1992; Rheingold 1991) that provide a globally inclusive public sphere for anyone to voice their opinions irrespective of race, class, gender, sexuality and physical appearance (McKenna and Seidmann 2008; Zhao et al. 2008). Others have exposed this view as oversimplified, showing that a still wide gap in access to (Dewan and Riggins 2005; Eamon 2004) and ability to operate technology (Hargittai 2003) signifies that using new technologies is linked to existing economic, political, social and cultural differences and inequalities in the world (Feenberg 1991; Wolf 1998).

This paper explores the (non)-visibility of the physical body in the use of online social networking sites (SNSs) as one example of the complex human/non-human networks that shape daily social processes. This way of thinking about online behaviour circumvents dichotomising between online and offline and avoids making value judgements about the possibilities or limitations entailed in using digital technologies. An appreciation of the role

that non-human actants play in shaping social action coupled with a Foucaultian endeavour to understand the daily practices through which selves and ethical conduct are formed provides the broad framework for investigating how bodily techniques are involved in online processes of self-formation. Rather than exploring the ways in which people enact their bodies online as performances of self (Butler 1993; Goffman 1971), Mauss's (1973) conceptualisation of the body as a dynamic entity that changes and is changed by daily practices and norms will be used to consider which systems of thought allow people to insert themselves into regularised daily practices. This avoids both sides of the structure-agency debate that commonly characterises sociological explanations for social and individual action, in favour of a 'mobile sociology' (Urry 2000) that accounts for the complex connections between global and local, social and technological, human and non-human practices. It provides a more critical way of understanding how bodily techniques are incorporated into online processes of self-formation that dispels assertions that online technologies disembody the individual and thus eliminate social inequalities.

SNSs as tools for self-formation

Foucault explored how individuals engage in "techniques of self" in order to shape their daily conduct, understandings and relations to self and others. Techniques of self are the practices, knowledges and norms that

> permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality (Foucault 1988: 18).

SNS-use is one particular practice for understanding and managing relations to self and others in the service of governing conduct in modern techno-social hybrid societies. Existing scholarship on SNSs commonly only considers them as tools for communication, networking and self-presentation. It proposes that SNS-use shifts conceptions of privacy (Livingstone 2008), intimacy (Valentine 2006), community-engagement (Hampton 2003; Howard et al. 2002) and norms and values (Buckingham 2008). Conceptualising SNSs as techniques of self (Foucault 1988) provides a more critical way of thinking about the formation of subjectivities through technologically mediated bodily techniques. Understanding the role of bodily techniques in technologised practices of self-formation evades simplistic assertions of the internet as the great equaliser where bodily appearance does not matter.

The body and online techniques of self

Mauss famously suggested that bodies offer the "first and most natural technical object, and at the same time technical means" for shaping conduct (1973: 75). Mauss acknowledged that the body plays an important role in shaping the conduct of individuals as opposed to being merely the transmitter of their actions. He established that people govern their bodies and their bodily behaviours govern their conduct.

In the early days of the internet, commentators claimed that in cyberspace the mind is detached from its fragile, superfluous bodily shell and liberated from constraints and prejudices to do with race, class, gender, age and appearance (Baudrillard 1983; Gibson 1984; Haraway 1985). They portrayed technology as equalising tool that frees possibilities of being from physical constraints. Some more recent literature still hails the internet as an

empowering setting where different identities can be explored and real-world physical barriers overcome (McKenna and Seidmann 2008; Turkle 1995; Zhao et al. 2008). These studies imply that shedding physical appearances enables the expression of a truer, more authentic depiction of self.

Other scholars concede that the body matters in shaping understandings of self however often only consider the body metaphorically, not physically (Casilli 2010; Lupton 1995; Muri 2003; Slater 1998; Whitley 1997). They suggest that an *awareness* of the body in the offline world shapes online conduct. They do not acknowledge that real bodily techniques are involved in shaping online interactions and understandings of self. The incorporation of photo and video-sharing practices into online interaction and self- presentation has made the physical body a visible part of technologised practices of self-formation. Online technologies like SNSs implicate the body into the formation of self in new ways. Some emerging studies on the presence of 'real' bodies in cyberspace (Kreps 2010; Slater 1998; Waskul 2010) implicitly acknowledge that bodily techniques are involved in the complex circulations between humans and technology yet generally portray the body as a static entity dislocated from selfhood. They fail to acknowledge the many intertwined processes and practices involved in shaping individuals and their conduct. Mauss can be applied to understand how the physical body is actively and visibly enrolled in processes of folding in and unfolding experiences in order to be made up. This deconstructs the division between virtual and 'real' spaces and accounts for the reciprocal networks between humans and technology in modern societies.

Chatroulette: 'nexting' and the transgressive body

Video-chat on SNS Chatroulette exemplifies how the physical, technological and social are involved in complex assemblages that shape the conduct of individuals in modern techno-social hybrid scapes. Chatroulette connects random strangers for video-chat. Users can choose to talk to their assigned interlocutor or hit the 'next' button to be connected to another available user, a process that has been termed 'nexting'. Often physical appearance determines whether two users engage or 'next' one another. An informally conducted small-scale study of trends in the use of Chatroulette revealed that a person's looks impact heavily on the length of a Chatroulette-interaction (NZSideways8 2010). A twenty-year-old (self-proclaimed) "average-looking" male Chatroulette-user was 'nexted' by nineteen out of twenty people within 2.9 seconds of being connected. By contrast, his good-looking female friend was engaged in conversations with nine out of ten of her assigned interlocutors for a minimum of two minutes or until she decided to 'next' them (NZSideways8 2010). 'Nexting' shows that bodily techniques mediate actions and interactions online as much as offline. Interacting online does not eliminate physical differences that can create inequalities and discrimination.

Some Chatroulette-users transgress social norms through explicit bodily behaviour. They expose themselves naked, masturbating, defecating, using drugs, dressed up in politically incorrect costumes and even staging suicide (Anderson 2010). This may be due to the anonymity (users do not have to register, create a profile or provide personal details) and transitoriness (clicking 'next' irreversibly removes users from conversations) of Chatroulette interaction. Chatroulette-users employ bodily techniques to portray themselves to others and to test and challenge norms. This then contributes to shaping their understandings and relations to self. SNS-use is a technologised technique of self that involves the body in how users "set themselves rules of conduct" and "seek to transform themselves" (Foucault 1992 [1984]: 10-11).

The anorexic body on SNSs

The body is also enrolled in processes of self-formation in the use of the SNS Pinterest. Pinterest allows users to collect and share images from around the web, which are linked to particular content. They display them on themed virtual pinboards and can follow and interact with other users. Common uses include sharing pictures of food, which link to recipes, clothes, which link to online shopping sites or holiday destinations, which link to resort websites. The visual and physical are key components of the practices involved in the use of Pinterest. Like with Chatroulette, users are able to remain fairly anonymous; all they are required to reveal about themselves is a username, which can be entirely fabricated.

The combination of physical visibility and individual anonymity of Pinterest has also sparked the transgressive use of bodily techniques on the site. Followers of "Thinspiration" and "Proana" movements that are connected to organisations that support sufferers of anorexia have used Pinterest as a technique of self. While the approaches of these organisations vary[1], they basically provide community-settings for anorexics to interact with one another. Pinterest is a tool for anorexics to collect and display pictures of thin bodies and to share tips on how to avoid eating and curb hunger. Posted pictures are often endorsed with inspirational quotes like "Nothing tastes as good as skinny feels". Pinterest is a forum for anorexics to engage with and shape their understandings of self, share them with others, seek guidance on how to conduct themselves and establish and transgress social norms.

SNS-use in pro-anorexia movements is a further example of how bodily techniques are involved in practices of self-formation in the context of modern techno-social hybrid societies. Anorexic SNS-users relate to themselves and others in order to govern their conduct and understandings of self by posting pictures that inspire them to diet, exercise and become thin(ner) and sharing them with like-minded individuals. Far from being disembodied, as argued by Locke (1998) and to a more nuanced degree by Pascoe (Pascoe and Locke 2000) and Boreo and Pascoe (2011), these online communities implicate physical bodies in virtual techniques of self. Pictures of thin bodies are used in processes of shaping self and relating to others. In this way, the physical body is visible, relevant and an inescapable part of ways in which people form an understanding of themselves, regardless of whether this occurs online or offline.

Self-formation in techno-social hybridity

In the use of both Chatroulette and Pinterest the body is an important part of how individuals conduct and relate to themselves and interact with others. It can be employed in mundane ways that abide by and reinforce social norms, in revelatory manners that seek to establish what the social norms are or in transgressive ways to evade and redefine norms. The distinctive relation between visibility and anonymity that these SNSs provide seems to encourage people to experiment with bodily techniques in the processes of forming understandings of self. The body is therefore not eliminated or only metaphorically involved in the use of the internet but highly relevant to the ways in which people use online sites as techniques of self.

Foucault and Mauss are useful in showing us how everyday practices and techniques come to shape and are shaped by culturally specific conduct, norms and understandings. Modern

individuals navigate the complex hybrid networks they are enrolled in and constitute themselves through technologically mediated bodily techniques. On SNSs, technological affordances, bodily techniques, power relations, norms and discourses meet to constitute ways for individuals to become selves. It is tempting to conceptualise technology as a great equaliser that liberates people from the constraints of physical gating characteristics (Zhao et al. 2008). However, technology should neither be seen as the one factor that liberates people to become better, happier versions of themselves, nor as the human creation that allows them to realise and activate the true selves that lie dormant underneath physical constraints. Technologies, like bodily techniques, mediate social actions and processes of self-formation. They are only a part of the complex networks through which modern subjects come to govern themselves and are governed in the context of modern techno-social hybrid societies.

Footnotes

1. Some Proana and Thinspiration organisations claim they provide non-judgemental forums for suffering and recovering anorexics to interact with one another and get help. They do not endorse unhealthy eating habits. Others seek to normalise the eating disorder, arguing for its acceptance as a lifestyle choice rather than an illness (Udovitch 2002).

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Greening Citizenship? Inequality in the Stakeholder Society

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Abstract

Highly normative theories of 'green' citizenship extrapolate from sociological observations that a long-prevalent *dualistic* understanding of society as completely subjecting nature is being displaced by growing support for a *holistic* view of society as a participant in nature. Theoretical differences between 'environmental' and 'ecological' interpretations of green citizenship aside, the normative theories share five social critiques: 1) The need to challenge nature/culture dualism; 2) dissolve the division between public and private spheres; 3) undermine state-territorialism; 4) eschew social contractualism; and, 5) ground justice in awareness of finite ecological space. This paper suggests that new insights into the formation of contemporary discourses of equality and inequality can be gained by conceiving of green citizenship, not in normative terms, but as having been partially realised. Following B.S. Turner and others, I argue that the *types* of social and political participation, *contents* of the rights and duties and the institutional *arrangements* of pale-green 'stakeholder' citizenship normalise a holistic representational grammar, one in which equality and inequality are cast as diffuse, whole-of-society problems. The tendency of stakeholder citizenship to privilege holistic 'one-world' discourses, citizenly rights to wellbeing as individual security from risk and duties to be 'self-responsible' for exploiting a 'stake' in society blurs distinctions between those advocating positive efforts to expand social equality and those calling for 'hands-off', and negative freedoms based on a principle of desert. In this view, it seems that aspirations that some decades ago appeared clearly emancipatory have, in the twenty-first century, come to assume far more ambiguous meanings.

Introduction

Contributing to a fragmentation of social citizenship amidst ongoing legitimation crisis (Habermas, 1975 [1973]), a certain *greening* of citizenship arose in the mid-1970s, propelled both by popular countercultural, lifestyle and New Age *and* new social movements, including environmentalism, which sought to universalise expectations that life should be meaningful, grounded in self-reflection rather than status-group expectations and conducted in harmony with nature (Habermas, 1971[1968]: 121-2). By the 1980s, this shift challenged the mass-societal *types* of social and political participation central to 'social' citizenship, which had for several decades been maintained through the institutional *arrangements* of the welfare state and grounded the *contents* of citizenly rights and duties in full-time employment, military service, the nuclear family and access to education, healthcare and mass-consumption (Susen, 2010, Turner, 1997, 2001). From the 1990s, it was noted that this greening of citizenship signaled that long-prevalent *dualistic* understandings of society as rightfully engaged in a collective effort to completely dominate nature were

being displaced by a *holistic* view of society as participating in nature (van Steenbergen, 1994). Against the backdrop of post-industrialization and the rise of the 'service economy', declining support for 'old' class-based social movements and shift to 'new' social movement concerns with identity and community and a loosening of conformist in favour of pluralist individualism, the greening of citizenship was regarded as the product of increasing demands that society, as opposed to 'government', address 'subpolitical' concerns with quality-of-life and 'wellbeing', concerns that were tied up with widespread awareness of 'risk' (Beck, 2001, Giddens, 1991).

Building upon observation of these trends, and seeking to 'green' classical political and social theoretical concepts, normative theories of green citizenship ground the idea in five central critiques:

1. The need to challenge nature/culture dualism;
2. to dissolve the divide between the public and private spheres;
3. to undermine state-territorialism;
4. to eschew social contractualism; and,
5. to ground justice in awareness of the finiteness of ecological space (Dobson, 2003, Barry, 2006, Bell, 2005, Wissenburg, 1998).

Elsewhere, I examine these five critiques as directly challenging the Fordist, industrial, state-centric politics of the bureaucratic welfare state by challenging ideological dualism as a condition of being 'alienated' from nature, mass-produced commodities as sources of inauthenticity, full-time employment and welfarism as stifling personal spontaneity and creativity and, the nation-state as failing to justly redistribute the spoils of industrial exploitation of the ecosphere (Scerri, 2009, 2011a, b, 2012). Something that I began to notice is in this work is that, in the early twenty-first century, the *types* of social participation, the *institutional arrangements* and *contents* of the rights and duties of what might be regarded as a pale-green form of 'stakeholder' citizenship partially put into practice the five critiques. Yet, while the post-Fordist, post-industrial state 'downloads services' and promotes 'workfare not welfare', 'social entrepreneurship', 'triple bottom-line corporations' and 'eco-modernization policy', inequality has increased. This is not to argue that the greening of citizenship has led to increased inequality. Rather, my suspicion is that the five critiques central to the normative theories might be *for another time*.

Assimilating critique: we're all green citizens now

Recognizing the partial and problematic realisation of the five central critiques highlights what for Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello is a defining feature of political change over time; 'The price paid by critique for being listened to, at least in part, is to see some of the values it has mobilised to oppose the form taken by the accumulation process being placed at the service of accumulation in accordance with a process of cultural assimilation' (2005[1999]: 29). In this perspective, it becomes important to explore how possibilities for debating equality and inequality are being reframed in light of the partial success of the normative green critique. Emerging in the 1990s as a product of the politics of the Third Way and more recent Big Society initiatives, stakeholder citizenship brings with it types of social and political participation that operationalize holism, non-contractualism, de-territorialization, eschewal of the division between the public and private spheres and raised subjective awareness of the finiteness of ecological space.

My point is that the major parties began in the 1990s to underplay what T.H. Marshall saw as appeals to citizens as the bearers of 'social', 'political' and 'civil' rights and duties in relation to the welfare state, representative democracy and the Rule of Law. Rather, the major parties took up new holistic discourses of 'beyond Left and Right' to appeal to 'stakeholder' citizens as the bearers of rights to wellbeing and security from risk and duties to be self-responsible for taking-up opportunities to participate in society (Giddens, 2000, Kelly et al., 1997, Glasman, 2010, Scott, 2010). Its proponents define it as 'the ethical and human capital development of the self organized around the possession of stakes' in society (Prabhakar, 2003). The key premise is that improving the economic and social capabilities of citizens will produce a more efficient and productive, cohesive and inclusive, socially and environmentally sustainable, globally competitive society that is geared to supplying 'existential' needs, most often through consumption but also community participation (Miller and Rose, 2008, Rose, 1999). The state in this sense gestures toward but is not bound directly to address socially created inequalities. Rather, policymaking channels the 'trickle-down' of individual opportunities while simultaneously managing, often with great public fanfare, the transition to a globally competitive green economy. Stakeholder citizens needing to access social services are called upon to demonstrate their willingness to act as self-responsible individuals, while as stakeholders in a firm, individuals are called upon to deal with employers on a one-to-one basis. This eschewal of social contractualism is demonstrated most clearly in the 'downloading' and deregulation of employment markets that extended across the West, beginning in the United States and Britain in the late 1980s, Australia, New Zealand and Canada in the 1990s and European states in the 2000s. This is not to argue that 'welfare' is completely dissolved but rather, that 'claims upon the state [are] linked to judgements of individual behaviour' (Rosanvallon, 2000[1995]).

Closely associated with this shift has been the embrace by the state of the global corporate social and environmental responsibility movement and the ideals of 'triple-bottom-line capitalism' (Scerri, 2003, Banerjee, 2008). Indeed, many global businesses and all of the major independent global corporate social and environmental responsibility reporting initiatives — the Standards International AccountAbility Standard, the Global Reporting Initiative, the International Standards Association and the United Nations Global Compact — refer to their signatories' embrace of horizontal negotiations with stakeholders (2003, 2009, 2008, 2010). Such discourses represent a combination of high-technology development and ever-further rounds of marketization and privatization as dragging society out of a depressing and dirty, polluted and uninspiring, socially homogenous and class-hatred ridden, heavy-industrial past: one that failed to compete in globalized markets and offered few opportunities to innovative and creative stakeholder citizens. Indeed, major Codes of Conduct, such as the United Nations' Global Compact and the Global Reporting Initiative, refer explicitly to the failed dualisms of industrial society and advocate a benign holism (2008, 2006) promoting an image of corporations as voluntary collectives whose members share the same values and aspirations and hold in common reciprocal obligations that do not depend on rules and discipline but on consensus and shared responsibilities to deliver 'excellence' (Salmon, 2007). That is, the state is effectively side-stepped in relation to its regulatory capacity to convert ethico-moral duties into political obligations. Both the Third Way and Big Society policy platforms promote social and political participation based on private choices — to work for 'ethical' firms or consume with 'green' discrimination, for example — but do not provide an adequate regulatory framework for ensuring that remuneration

or employment conditions are in keeping with community standards or that the claims of 'ethical', 'green' or 'fair' producers are verifiable or should be responsive to political obligations.

Contemporary citizens are in this view not the self-interested social atoms of Randian conservatism nor are they the agents of social solidarity championed by progressives in industrial society. Rather, contemporary citizens are enlightened and articulate, self-responsible individuals who hold 'stakes' in local communities while inhabiting an ambiguously 'greening' ecostate that competes on the global stage by reducing societal 'on-costs' (Supiot, 2006). Stakeholder 'politics' emerges when it no longer makes sense to situate or orient one's Self according to an assumed collective viewpoint (Gauchet, 1997[1985]), where what defines politics is a shared belief in the veracity of self-realization and personal authenticity as the final arbiters of ethico-moral duties *and* political obligations. Whereas 'social' citizenship had been anchored in rights to a 'fair share' of the spoils of industrial despoliation of the ecosphere and duties to serve in the armed forces, reproduce offspring and reject 'communism' (Turner, 2001), stakeholder citizenship is anchored by rights and duties that build upon a normalizing of Beck's subpolitics of risk, where inequality is defined in terms of low levels of wellbeing, an absence of security from risk or lack of opportunities for self-responsible participation in decision-making on 'existential' issues such as 'liveability'. However, such 'existential' rights and duties make it difficult to claim that wellness extends beyond personal health or wealth, or that the provision of personal choice and local action themselves do not necessarily constitute steps towards ensuring social equality. Moreover, emphases on subjective wellbeing, and self-responsibility for it make it difficult to delineate clearly between discourses and actions that have as their objective private ends, such as profitability, or social ends, such as environmental reparations or social equality.

Conclusion

If there is an advantage to conceiving of things in these terms, it may be that it sheds light on the reframing of discourses of equality and inequality away from a dualist frame, wherein social classes challenged each other in a Manichean struggle to divide the spoils of industrial subjection of nature, and towards one in which citizens act collaboratively across a local-global frame of reference to 'steer' the social development trajectory within the systemic constraints of the ecosphere. That is, stakeholder citizenship normalizes a holistic representational grammar, one in which equality and inequality appear as diffuse whole-of-society problems and where the distinction between the bearers of rights and of responsibilities is blurred. In contrast with views that it is no longer possible to clearly delineate between reactionary and progressive positions (Giddens, 1998, Delanty, 2000, McKnight, 2005), recognizing the partial assimilation of the five critiques amplifies divisions between the two. The progressive task — enunciating claims that the presence of social inequality is an injustice — has become more complex, while the conservative position — that inequality is inevitable, and that justice is a by-product of policy that enforces a principle of desert — is somewhat simplified.

On the one hand, whereas reactionary politics had long sought to 'conserve' structures of privilege based in particularist rather than universalist principles of desert, and sought to justify this through claims to be upholding tradition, fact over utopia or essentialism over contingency (Hirschman, 1991), such indirectness seems

no longer necessary. Contemporary calls to preserve social privilege demand directly the 'unburdening' individuals and communities; as with calls to privatize insurance against risk or pursue wellbeing through consumption. What is central are ever-expanding negative freedoms to realize an unbounded selfhood. Such post-dualist conservatism is expressed by the United States' Tea Party but also emerges in the Netherlands, Australia and Britain, for example. The Dutch politician Geert Wilders and the Cronulla Beach rioters make clear that what is at stake is not so much the need for tradition, strong leaders or exclusive ethnicity but the perceived threat to a relatively affluent quality-of-life. Similarly, for the British National Party/English Defence League, ultra-libertarian interpretations of freedom support a kind of untrammelled consumer philistinism (Scerri, 2011c).

On the other hand, whereas progressivism had sought to universalize freedom through economic redistribution —within a state that is committed to subjugating nature — the industrial solidarity underpinning such claims is no longer available. Stakeholder citizenship implies a rethinking of the idea of employment or, indeed, of the nexus of employment with equality:| income, as well as access to life-long education and professional training and independence, mobility, inclusion and participation are all demanded. Wellbeing itself emerges as a social problem of the provision of capabilities and capacities to confront risk in ways that respect future generations and the capacity of the ecosphere to support society at a global scale. Moreover, no longer can a single group in society — 'white male industrial worker' — monopolize citizenship to the deliberate or accidental exclusion of others. The progressive political position is bound to support political institutions that *redistribute* rights to ecological space fairly, *recognize* as equal all social participants and provide transparent *representation* or *participation*, while delineating the territorial reach of the political community of citizens against global aspirations to remain within the *capacity* of the ecosphere to provide for present and future generations (Schlosberg, 1999, 2007), such that 'it is not only the substance of justice, but also the frame, that is in dispute' (Fraser, 2009).

Keywords

Environmental/ecological citizenship; stakeholder society; left/right ideologies; individualization and risk; selfhood and the new economy

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‘I Act as the Tongue of You’: Open Source Politics and the Occupy General Assembly

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Abstract

This paper analyses the minutes of Occupy General Assemblies at five different occupations, including three in North America, one in London, and one in Sydney. It explores the General Assembly as a transferable feature of the Occupy movement, responding to commentaries that describe it as an ‘open source movement’, and looks at both the General Assembly itself and some of the internal practices such as hand signals and the people’s microphone. It also goes deeper into the processes of the General Assembly to highlight some of the tensions within the movement relating to process, by drawing out the discourses of process present in the minutes of these meetings and how certain processual features were framed by participants. The paper is a position paper for further research that makes comparisons between different occupations, testing the proposition that Occupy was a meme as well as a movement, and how this played out in its participatory practices.

Keywords: social movements, direct democracy, Occupy movement, political decision-making, political communication

“How many Occupiers does it take to change a light bulb? I don't know – we're still looking for consensus on if the room is dark, but we're putting together a light-bulb-changing working group and we anticipate a detailed press release sometime over the next week.”

- Joke quoted in Binelli (2012), *Rolling Stone* magazine online edition.

Introduction

The processes of the Occupy General Assembly were to a large extent transferable between Occupy sites. The General Assembly was the decision-making body of the Occupy movement. These processes and principles, among others from outside the General Assembly, were understood as “open source” features of the movement, exported from site to site and shared nationally and internationally. However, from my own experience of participation in the movement, I noted a number of differences in the way that these processes were implemented and managed between different Occupy sites. I also noted a number of tensions and contradictions between the aims and values of the movement and the political values encoded in the General Assembly processes. However, I was interested in finding out what these tensions and contradictions meant in terms of the way that the political values of the movement were enacted.

From publically available minutes of General Assemblies from five different Occupy sites, the paper provides a preliminary analysis of the discussion of process and the way that these processes were adaptable to each local and political context. Comparative analysis of the

processes will take place in another paper or several papers. In this position paper for research in process, the pertinent themes are explored to set the agenda for later analysis. Consensus and dissensus are drawn out as relevant concepts in the texts of the movement's administration and process. The practice of "blocking" in particular is analysed in this regard. The people's microphone is also analysed in relation to the texts, particularly in terms of when it is used and how its use is framed in the minutes of the General Assemblies.

Open source politics and the transferable features of Occupy Wall Street

Madrigal (2011) described the Occupy movement as having an organisational coherence that belies its lack of leaders and official institutions. "Local organizers", he explains "can choose from the menu of options modelled in Zuccotti [Park, New York City], and adapt them for local use" (Madrigal, 2011). Aspects of the movement were shared between sites, but others were optional. For example, in New York City, protesters responded to a ban on the use of public address systems and other forms of amplification by developing the "human" or "people's microphone" which was used elsewhere but was not relevant in places where public address systems were allowed by local police.

One feature of the Occupy Movement that was universally adopted was the practice of having regular meetings on each site where participants could discuss strategy and the outcomes of smaller "working group" meetings. The organisational structure of each site therefore often took on a similar hub and spoke structure, with the General Assembly the hub for the working group spokes. In these meetings, the values and procedures of each individual Occupy site were worked out simultaneously. My interest in this paper is in drawing out how political values were encoded in the practices and processes of the movement, or whether there were ambiguities, struggles, and contradictions embedded in these practices.

Methodology

On many of the websites for local chapters of the Occupy movement, website managers uploaded minutes from the General Assemblies. My data collection involved downloading and collating this documentation for three Occupy sites in the United States, including New York City, the original Occupy Wall Street site (Occupy Wall Street NYC 2011), Seattle(Occupy Seattle 2011), and Oakland(Occupy Oakland 2011), and two local Occupy sites outside of North America: the Occupy London site(Occupy London 2011), and the Occupy Sydney site(Occupy Sydney 2011). I limited the documentation to the first two months of the movement: from mid-September 2011 until late November 2011, because my interest was in how the movement's processes and practices evolved in different locations. Because New York was the first site and the model from which other Occupations developed their processes, data from other sites starts later and covers a shorter period of time. I also collected a number of procedural and training documents from the websites. The analysis in this paper focuses mainly on the New York texts, because there is no space for a comparative analysis in this introductory piece.

The Occupy movement's extensive web presence and principles of transparency and accountability led to a high level of documentation on the websites of each site of occupation. This paper forms a preliminary exploration of the documentary realities of the social movement (Atkinson & Coffey 2004). In studying these documents, I recognise that beyond the documents themselves, the experience of the movement is a text beyond the scope of my findings. This is a limitation of my study.

However, I did spend time at a number of the occupation sites under study, particularly participating in General Assemblies, from which I developed observations of the consensus process and its tensions and ambiguities for many participants. In particular I attended a week of General Assemblies (GAs) and two rallies at the Occupy Seattle site in early October 2011, and attended one very large GA at the Occupy Wall Street site in late mid-October 2011. I also attended a number of GAs at my local Occupy site in Sydney from early November to late December 2011. These experiences have increased my understanding of the process and how the minutes relate to the realities of participation in these and similar meetings.

Finally, my assumption is that the minute documents have left out some aspects of the meetings and included others. These inclusions and exclusions are part of the text in that they show the priorities of the actors involved. Also, it is usually impossible to distinguish, from the minutes, between individual speakers or participants. Therefore the minutes are treated as a co-constructed text that relies on input and curation by the minute-taker, the speakers, and the assembly as a whole.

Direct democracy and consensus decision-making

Occupy used a process of direct democracy based on consensus decision-making rather than majority voting. The Facilitation training document on the New York City General Assembly webpage describes it as follows:

> Instead of utilizing a voting system, which ensures a minority group is ignored or oppressed, the NYC General Assembly utilizes a consensus process to come to decisions on important issues. Consensus, based on the consent of individuals within a larger group, is a participatory dialog used to reach a general sense of agreement by all members of the assembly.

In the initial phases of the movement, the movement required everyone present to consent to a proposal before it achieved consensus. However, at times various chapters, including New York, moved to a modified consensus approach. This was often ninety percent, or “9/10”, but sometimes less. It is possible this was at least partly due to the overuse or misuse of “blocks”, a sign that communicated that the blocker felt that the proposal being put to the General Assembly went against the core values of the movement, and if passed would cause them to leave the movement itself. This question will be addressed later in the paper.

Facilitation

Facilitation was seen as central to the success of General Assemblies and the movement more generally. The facilitation team held training sessions to build the skills of potential facilitators. Successful facilitation was a skill but also framed as something that anybody could do.Facilitators were framed not as leaders but as distributors of power and voice to others in the assembly. It was reiterated repeatedly in the introduction at each General Assembly that everyone can be a facilitator. Over time this commitment to openness changed to a specific request for more diversity in the facilitation role:

> Facilitation is a process of shared power. They are not leaders. Everybody has the right to be a facilitator. Please come to the training and participate! (General Assembly minutes, September 29, 2011, Occupy Wall Street)

> Facilitators are not leaders, they are only here to help facilitate the process of the meeting. They are always looking for new facilitators, and especially encourage

> anyone from an underrepresented minority to join them. (General Assembly minutes, October 19, 2011, Occupy Wall Street)

The facilitation training document posted on the Occupy New York (Occupy Wall Street 2011b) website described the role in the following way:

> Facilitation roles are leadership roles but that doesn't mean anyone on the team is the 'leader'. Facilitation team members are simply there to keep the meeting on track and ensure people are being respected. It is best, as a facilitator, to remain neutral and unbiased.

Occasionally General Assemblies would see a breakdown in order and procedure. Facilitators struggled to regain control. People in the assembly would likewise call for order and for facilitators' roles to be respected:

> [Participant] wants people to be aware that the people who are facilitating are in power and lead the conversation in directions. And they need this power with our consent (General Assembly minutes, October 3, 2011, Occupy Wall Street).

Process and facilitation is something that was frequently contested and renegotiated within the movement. Towards the end of October, due to the unwieldy size of the movement in New York City and the General Assemblies there, there was a proposal to shift to a model of spokescouncils that run alongside the General Assembly. However there were concerns expressed about the likelihood of this structure changing the political make-up of the movement, and shifting it away from a leaderless movement and towards one with 'invisible leaders'.

Hand signals

Occupy Wall Street implemented a system of non-verbal signals in order for a large group of people to be able to communicate with the group leader or speaker without interrupting the speaker. This also allows anyone in the audience to signal that they have something to say in response to the speaker without interrupting their speech.

In the Facilitation training document from the Occupy Wall Street website, these signals are described as follows:

> **Agree** (Wiggle Fingers in the Air, 'Jazz Hands') – This means I like this, or I feel good. In a consensus process, it also can mean 'I agree'.
>
> **Unsure** (Hands out Flat) – This means I am unsure, on the fence or don't know.
>
> **Disagree** (Wiggles Fingers, Hands Down) – This means I don't like this or I don't feel good. In a consensus process, it also can mean 'I disagree'.
>
> **Point of Process** (Diamond with Hands) – This means the GA process has been derailed, someone is off topic, we need to get back on track.
>
> **Point of Information** (One Finger in the Air) – This means I have pertinent information about what is currently being discussed. It is not a question or a concern, it is merely information.
>
> **Wrap it Up** (Pointer Fingers Orbiting Each Other) – This means that we hear you, we understand but you're talking a lot, please be concise and to the point.
>
> **Block** (Arms Crossed in an 'X') – This means that you have a severe ethical or safety issue with what is being discussed. If it passes, I will leave the movement and abandon our cause. This is very serious!

The people's microphone

The people's microphone was a strategy used in the Occupy Wall Street protest in Zuccotti Park to deal with both large crowd size and the ban on the use of amplified public address systems. The New York Facilitation training document describes it as follows:

> On occasion a facilitator may call for volunteers to act as a human mic. The volunteer should stand on the edge of the general assembly and amplify the voices of the speakers outward.

This feature evolved from a tactic of expediency to a strategy of direct action and something that carried symbolic meaning in terms of voice and amplification:

> [W]e are all the people's mic. We can all contribute, so please contribute. (Occupy Wall Street minutes).
>
> Mic check! Help him, he's losing his voice (Occupy Wall Street minutes).

The rhythm of call and response that the people's microphone gave to discussion became a characteristic of speech within the movement. Participants literally re-sounded the words of the speaker, in effect amplifying them. Because of that, it was used in public events as a method of giving voice to the voiceless audience. Occupiers attended public addresses or assembled in crowded public places and interrupted the speaker with the call of "Mic Check!" and the reading of a statement from the movement.

However, the fact that the people's mic was derived from a particular local circumstance – the ban on public address systems – meant that it did not translate or transfer as often into other Occupations. In fact, while the human or people's mic was directly mentioned 35 times in the New York City General Assembly minutes, it was mentioned only 4 times in the Seattle minutes and once in the Oakland minutes. This does not mean it was not used in these places (in fact it almost certainly was used in certain situations in most occupations) but that it held a lesser importance to the day-to-day workings of the movement in these places.

Blocking

One of the most contentious features of the Occupy consensus decision-making process was the practice of blocking. Blocking, as described above, refers to the practice of a participant stopping a particular proposal from passing. After a block, the blocker is required to "speak to their block", in other words to explain their ethical or safety concern, or why they would leave the movement if the proposal was passed. Over the first few weeks, Facilitation in New York came to the following definition of a block and the process surrounding it:

> When we have a proposal, we try to reach consensus. If you block that means you have a moral or ethical concern with whatever is being proposed. A block is very serious. If we can still reach 9/10 majority, even with your block, you are choosing to walk away. We don't want anyone to walk away, so we will do our best to address all blocks (Occupy Wall Street General Assembly minutes, October 4, 2011).

Blocking was one of the most interesting and frustrating features of the process, because it allowed for radical dissensus – one person had the power to overturn the decision of all other participants. This was required to be a real ethical or moral grievance, but nonetheless participants became frustrated by its repeated use. In particular, this power was easily abused and was arguably to blame for the extended process of reaching consensus, as shown in the lightbulb-changing joke that opens this paper: "we're still looking for consensus on if the room is dark". Seemingly simple decisions became insurmountable.

However at other times participants would speak of the practice of blocking as the *most* necessary part of the process, precisely because it gave every person the power to intervene and to speak against a proposal. In particular the General Assembly on September 29 in New York became emblematic of the positive power of the block, when several people of colour objected to the wording of the Declaration of the Occupation of New York, and blocked the declaration in order to have the wording changed. However even this capacity to block was contentious, and showed the workings of privilege in the movement, in that people of colour had to push to have this recognised.

Participants objected to a wording in the document that referred to "being one race, the human race, [formerly] divided by race, class..." (Maharawal, October 3, 2011), andspoke to their block in the following way:

> [I have a g]rievance in supporting a document that claims that my oppression on the basis of gender, sexual orientation, religion, and things not mentioned on this document are something that happened formerly and not in the present day.(Occupy Wall Street minutes 2011)

And:

> That phrase erases so much history of oppression, it is idealistic, not realistic. We still think it should be changed, and we think it's an ethical issue. (Occupy Wall Street minutes 2011)

This example shows the strengths of the model in allowing minority voices to be heard.

In other ways the block represented a weakness of the movement, particularly when it was repeatedly misused. For example, here a participant blocked a proposal that sleeping bags be asked for in the list of donations:

> [Participant]: Blankets are cheaper than sleeping bags.
>
> [Facilitator]: I want to clarify what a block is. A block is if you have a serious ethical concern with the proposal (or a factual check) remember, if we reach consensus despite your block you are choosing to walk away. (Occupy Wall Street minutes 2011)

However, there is much work to be done to understand the political outcomes of a consensus process that also relies on a form of radical dissensus for its integrity as a movement.

Conclusion

This paper has briefly described the features of the Occupy Wall Street movement based on a preliminary analysis of General Assembly minutes and Facilitation training documents. It sets the scene for further research and analysis to draw out the political meanings and outcomes of these features, and a comparison of how these features were used in different sites of occupation. The Occupy movement was arguably a meme as well as a movement, and my interest as a researcher is whether and which political ideals and ideologies were encoded in the political features of the decision-making process, or whether the process itself is neutral and allows for differences in demographics and political programmes between Occupy sites. In particular I am interested in how the political content of the movement shifted from New York, to Oakland, to London, to Sydney.

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Resisting and constructing the good mother ideal: negotiation and knowledge in interactions between mothers and child health nurses.

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Abstract

In this paper we analyse mothers' and child health nurses' negotiations around conformity and resistance to the dominant discourse of the good mother, with a specific focus on the use of knowledge and authority in interaction. We draw upon data generated through 12 observations of consultations between child health nurses and low-income mothers and fathers, 12 interviews with child health nurses and 13 interviews with low-income mothers. Many interactions affirmed the importance of following expert knowledge, but we also find evidence of resistance by mothers, who privilege their experiential knowledge over medical knowledge. This resistance de-stabilises expert knowledge without re-constituting the good mother discourse.

Key words: the good mother, child health nurses, authority, resistance

Introduction

The good mother is a defining element of contemporary parenting but possibilities for resistance remain understudied. In this paper we argue that the good mother is a discourse that is dominant but contested. It can be destabilized through alternative configurations of power/knowledge that are available to mothers through their care practices and dispositions, and used in interactions with child health nurses[1] to affirm, negotiate and contest good mothering.

The discourse of the good mother generates a series of rules for good behaviour that charge women with the practical and moral responsibility for their children's wellbeing. This is a time, resource and knowledge intensive process: mothers manage their children's environments, consumption and activities and closely survey their children for signs of illness or non-normative development (Lupton 2011), and in doing so, also manage their own behaviour. However, mothers' conformity to these expectations does not make them authorities about the needs of their children. Rather, they are expected to enlist expert advice about how best to protect their children from risk and nurture their children to optimise their development (Hays 1996). This expert advice is an important element of a disciplinary regime that produces and sustains conformity with the good mother discourse.

Child health nurses are part of the web of power relationships reproducing ideals of the good mother. The humanistic claims of nursing emphasise care and empowerment (Shepherd 2011) but more critical academic work argues that in this context surveillance becomes a 'routine practice' (Wilson 2001) where mothers are enabled to become successful parents. Utilising scientific knowledge and medical authority and positioned as agents of the state (Perron, Fluet and Holmes 2005), nurses work to constitute mothers' practices and dispositions in ways that conform to the discourses of a good mother. Wilson (2001) characterizes the nurse-mother

relationship as a ‘precarious one’ – women are voluntary participants in the care relationship, thus surveillance is necessarily undertaken ‘gently’. These processes are not always intentional, and professional literature emphasises care and empowerment, not domination (Peckover 2002). Power relations are masked through professional discourses of care, and because nurses need to ensure that the mothers keep attending the service.

However Wilson (2001) and others (e.g. Bloor and McIntosh 1990) suggest that resistance to expert notions of the good mother is possible: ‘women are not passive victims of the tyranny of experts’ (Wilson 2001: 298). Discourses are not stable and can both reinforce and undermine power. Resistance is possible for even for those women who are marginalised or demonised in public and expert discourses, for example, working class women (Foster 2009). Within the micro-powers evident in interaction and everyday life, mothers may reject and reconfigure the discourse. With respect to knowledge, mothers may draw upon their own expertise, their ‘close, day-to-day observations and what they see as their unique, experiential knowledge of their own children’ (Lauritzen 1997: 438). This stance can place mothers in conflict with medical professionals, who may not acknowledge a mother’s situated knowledge. It also suggests the possibility of resistance through subjugated counter discourses and the knowledge and subject positioning they construct.

In the following discussion, we present findings that indicate both resistance and conformity in interactions between child health nurses and mothers. Child health nurses work to support women to become good mothers. They do so by affirming or redefining the practice of mothers, drawing on authoritative and expert knowledge in doing so. At times these constructions are welcomed by mothers, but mothers may actively negotiate alternative understandings or reject the imposition of the nurse expertise into their situation.

Method

In this research we explored how interactions between child health nurses and mothers shape and reflect women's notions of parenthood. We examined this from the perspective of low-income women because there has been little exploration of how the ideals of the good mother are absorbed, practiced or resisted by this group (with some notable exceptions, for example Foster 2009). A qualitative, interpretive study was designed whereby nurse-mother interactions were observed, followed by separate, individual interviews with the participants. Twelve consultations between low-income mothers, fathers and child health nurses were observed (on one occasion two mothers attended together), followed by 13 interviews with mothers (3 with the father also interviewed) and 12 interviews with nurses. Observations and interviews were audio-recorded, with observations supplemented with fieldnotes. Thus each data-set comprised at least three transcripts. Our methodology and analytic approach are informed by a constructivist perspective: the data we present are negotiated accounts of people's experiences. Data were analysed discursively with particular focus on how meaning was achieved (or not) between participants. In the excerpts below, pseudonyms have been used. The study was approved by the University of Tasmania Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Affirming the good mother

In some interactions, both the nurse and the mother used the good mother discourse to affirm the mother's knowledge and practices. The use of scientifically validated knowledge provides nurses with powerful tools to affirm women as good mothers. Perron, Fluet and Holmes (2005: 540) note that 'statistics define the norm and embody the current ideology'. This is most

evident in the weighing of babies – such knowledge provides an indicator of both the baby's health and the mother conforming to expectations. The persuasive power of numbers is shown in the interaction below between nurse Trish and mother Donna. There is the anticipation about what the numbers will reveal, then the result is received excitedly:

Donna Right, the moment of truth, are you nine pounds? I wouldn't be surprised if she's nine pound.

Trish I reckon she's that and more...(weighs baby)...Eleven pound five. (laughing)

Donna She's only two months old and she's put on ...

Trish Four pounds.

Donna Four pound. (Excited voice to baby) You little porky.

Trish (to baby) Your mother must be doing something right then huh?

Drawing on expert knowledge, Trish explicitly affirms that Donna is a good mother. The results identified through expert knowledge are unproblematic, indeed, they are welcomed, and Donna accepts, rather than contests, the discourse and the knowledge that constitutes it.

Negotiating and accomplishing the good mother

Additional work must be undertaken by both nurse and mother when it is evident that children may not be meeting milestones. In the following example, good motherhood is affirmed through the active interactional work carried out by both nurse Eileen and mother Jenni:

Eileen And toilet trained?

Jenni No, I haven't really attempted it yet.

Eileen	No, maybe just wait because of the brand new baby, and then it's winter months

Jenni's negative response could possibly reflect adversely on her parenting and identity as a good mother. However Eileen then offers reasons that confirm Jenni's decision to leave toilet training is a sensible one. Jenni's position is also reinforced by her experiential knowledge of her child and her seeking other (presumably) authoritative knowledge to guide her actions:

Jenni	But he does understand. He tells me to change him straight away so he's getting ready.
Eileen	That's good
Jenni	I'm waiting for the ready signs.
Eileen	Exactly. Good, clever
Jenni	Because I've been reading up on it.

The interaction above suggests that mothers and nurses can accept and value the good mother discourse. When mothering practices deviate from dominant expectations, mothers and nurses work together to negotiate a shared understanding of the situation. They reframe practices rather than contesting the discourse.

Resisting through counter discourse

In other instances, a mother and nurse may disagree about mothering practices or the needs of the baby, and mothers may resist expert medical framings of the situation. Resistance does not always imply rejection of expert knowledge. Rather, expert knowledge may be incorporated into an existing belief system to produce a counter discourse (Armstrong and

Murphy 2012). In the following account, Sharon recalled being upset by the advice provided by the nurse, which contradicted her own situated understanding of her child:

> Sharon [At the last visit] she said I needed to get him assessed by [a therapy service], his head was too big and he should be walking or something or other doing something or crawling or something or other. And I mean, I suppose that upset me a little bit because I thought well, you know, he seems all right to me.

In an interaction in a later visit Sharon imposes her own definition of the situation, on that Joy accepts:

> Joy I made a note last time of his head circumference. It looks as though…
>
> Sharon I asked the doctor about that and he wasn't that…
>
> Joy He wasn't worried at all?
>
> Sharon Nuh. Not at all.
>
> Joy Good. I won't bother now.
>
> Sharon He's just got a big head like his Dad haven't you, haha
>
> Joy It wasn't so much that it was big, it grew fast at one point.
>
> Sharon That's your brain growing, wasn't it boy.

In a later visit to the nurse, Sharon's actions and reasoning are legitimated because she had deferred to a higher (medical) authority, enabling her to resist the nurse's advice. However both nurse and mother ensure that their claims and reasoning are justified.

Negotiating good motherhood – creating the good mother

In other instances, mothers and nurses needed to engage in complex negotiations around the 'good mother' discourse. The following exchange focuses on Jenni's parenting practice on introducing foods to her baby. The current health policy followed by the nurses is that babies be exclusively breastfed until six months and that solid foods be introduced at or around six months. However jars of baby food labelled 'suitable for 4-6 months' are sold in stores. In the following excerpt, nurse Eileen uses the word 'we' consistently, as though speaking for the baby, and affirms Jenni's identity as a good mother despite being presented with evidence to the contrary.

Eileen	And are **we** being offered food other than the breastmilk?
Jenni	A little bit. But not a huge amount at this stage. I thought I'd wait till six months plus and then go for it.
Eileen	That's clever, wonderful idea.
Jenni	But I make sure I breastfeed more and because of...
Eileen	Exactly, the history of asthma (J: yeah) in the family, which you've discussed before, and just introducing one thing at a time gradually.
Jenni	Yeah. I just introduced the cereal, because I thought that's safe, 'cause it's rice based and no wheat in it, so that's all.
Eileen	Yes. So it's probably more two weeks' time because we're now five and a half.
Jenni	Yeah, we're five and a half now.

Eileen So I'd tend to just breastfeed and wait till six months. And even if you wanted to um start even the vegetables, you can start the rice cereal they say six months and over.

Jenni I just got the 4 month ones to make sure it was safe for him.

Eileen Exactly, yes.

Jenni And I did try a little bit of veggies. He's just not keen on anything like that. (E: No) He likes his milk (laugh).

Eileen And that's wonderful.

Jenni I just thought he might have been a hungry baby, (E: yes) because he wasn't settling at night.

Finally the nurse makes a written record in the baby book reflecting the 'correct' way of exclusive breastfeeding for six months, generating a written record that demonstrates a good mother, an expert account that Jenni does not expressly reject although it does not reflect her chosen practices:

Eileen So we're not being offered food other than milk because we're five and a half months old. (J: Yeah) So I'll just put that [in writing].

Jenni: Give it a bit of time. (E: Mm) Not too much [said in a baby voice to her baby].

In such interactions, nurses and mothers can accommodate accounts of non-complaint practices within the discourse of the good mother. However the power of defining the mother as 'good' remains with the nurse, who fills in 'the baby book'. Thus, they

have charge of the official record of how well the mother is performing, and the 'concrete representation to them of their role as a mother' (Clendon and Dignan 2010: 973).

Rejection through redefinition

As Murphy (2003) argues, most women deviate from expert advice in some way, but we found strategies of redefinition rather than outright rejection prevail. Carolyn's three week old baby had not been breastfeeding well and remained below her birth weight. Carolyn and her ex-partner Graham want to implement shared care of the baby, which would mean that Carolyn would not exclusively breastfeed her baby. Joy's attempts to persuade Carolyn are evident throughout this interaction:

Carolyn	Graham wants to have her overnight … as soon as possible.
Joy	It might be better if you could avoid it because the most effective thing is to have her feeding from you really (Carolyn: yeah), just until she's at least above her birth weight.
Carolyn	I don't like the idea of not being with her overnight, I don't want it to happen.
Joy	So he wouldn't …
Carolyn	He's got every right to have her as well if you see what I mean. He doesn't live with us so …
Joy	Yes I know that but you couldn't, couldn't compromise by him having her four hours during the day or something?

Carolyn Well it's difficult because he works and he's got his boys from Wednesday to Friday and …

Joy I know you're obviously trying to be fair yes, it's just that the breastfeeding is quite vulnerable in the early stages so if there was a way around that … I mean just three or four hours two or three days a week even really.

Joy is encouraging Carolyn to focus on breastfeeding rather than the family situation, and sees shared care as a hindrance to the breastfeeding she considers best for the baby. Joy uses her knowledge around breastfeeding to give Carolyn an objective argument - of low weight gain - to use in arguing that the baby should not go to Graham's overnight:

Joy But if she keeps gaining 30 grams a day she'll be well and truly over her birth weight in the next couple of days but you don't necessarily have to tell Graham that (Carolyn: Yeah) just say she's below her birth weight. Really by six weeks she should be … ideally by about um six to eight weeks they're usually about 500 grams to a kilogram above birth weight and she's not going to be there so if you could at least wait to eight weeks if she's feeding well.

However Carolyn does make her own decision, which is contrary to what Joy hoped for. She defines her position without explicitly rejecting Joy's expertise. While acknowledging that Joy's knowledge may be appropriate for some families, she discusses how it is not relevant for her situation:

Carolyn I'm not an impolite person. I just, I don't think that, say for example if Joy is trying to prevent us from, or suggesting we don't put her on the bottle because of the difference from breastfeeding to bottle feeding, the transition from the teat and nipple and all that sort of thing, one of the main reasons why we got the breast pump was so that shared care could commence and he could have her overnight. But she's saying no it's better if you didn't worry about that and exclusively breastfeed, you know. Well we say to that 'no' you know, we've got our reasons and thanks for your input, we appreciate it but you know your way of thinking is good for maybe one set of parents who um don't need what, you know they've just got a different set up to us as individual parents.

In such circumstances, mothers are able to resist dominant constructions of the good mother through emphasising alternative dimensions of the discourse. However, the impact of expert knowledge remains, as Carolyn's difficulty in rejecting Joy's advice outright, shows.

Conclusion

In this paper we have analysed some of the ways in which the good mother is constructed and negotiated in interactions with child health nurses. The good mother discourse can be affirmed or negotiated, but this is open to counter discourse or resistance. Women draw upon their experiential knowledge and situatedness to do this.

Thus, we concur with Murphy (2003) that resistance is not a simple rejection of expert knowledge and we need more nuanced analyses that can highlight instances of micro-politics that hold within them a challenge to the dominant discourse of good mothering.

Footnotes

[1] Child Health Nurses are employed by states. They provide a range of services to parents (predominantly mothers) and their children, and are responsible for assessing and recording specified developmental milestones.

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The Externalisation of Risk and The Enclavisation of Intervention in Afghanistan

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Abstract

The paper applies some elements of Beck's most recent formulation of his theory of global risk society to risk-management regimes in the international intervention in Afghanistan, with reference to terroristic risk and risk war. The paper explores a tension in Beck's thesis between pluralisation and pervasiveness of risk and the dichotomisation or unequal distribution of risk. Based on field research, the paper provides an outline of responses to risk in this setting and indicates some of structural consequences of these relative to the sociology of risk. The externalisation of risk through devolution of risk-management to private sector institutions is identified as a primary response to risk, this operating through 'enclavisation' of intervening agencies and personnel, reflecting the risk-aversion of intervening civil-developmental institutions. Such risk-management regimes may increase the hazards they are intended to manage, and may increase hazards to other actors through a combination of 'blowback' and 'spill over', with effects on dichotomisation of risk. The evidence from the present case tends to indicate that risk is more dichotomised than pervasive even in a context where pervasiveness might be expected. The paper concludes that the tension in Beck's thesis is potentially unresolved.

Key words: Risk Enclavisation Private security Afghanistan Externalisation

Global Risk Society and Terroristic Risk

In what follows I will be drawing on Ulrich Beck's most recent formulation of his thesis regarding risk society in *World at Risk* (2009), as I am primarily concerned here with the contemporary risk referred to as 'terrorism'. I will also be focusing on this work as Beck himself regards it as the definitive formulation of his theory of world risk society (Beck 2009:19), superseding his previous formulations (Beck 2009:9) and reflecting changed global conditions of risk, of which terroristic risk is a key aspect (Beck 2009:20). This paper is concerned to examine Beck's most recent formulation of his thesis as it concerns global terrorism and what Beck refers to as "risk wars" (Beck 2009:149). A focus is Beck's parallel characterisation of terroristic risks as pervasive or as risks that are "everywhere and nowhere" (Beck 2009:149), constituting a world or global risk society in which everyone is relatively equally at risk, and at the same time as relatively unequally distributed because restricted to, or able to be transferred to, given locations (Beck 2009:38 and 58). This is in Beck's terms a question of the tension between

“pluralisation and individualisation” and “dichotomisation” as regards the effects of risk on relations between subjects (Beck 2009:143-4).

Beck distinguishes terrorism from the other forms of risk as an "intended" or "intentional" risk, that is to say, as intentionally "staged": this foregrounding of staging is a key element of Beck's most recent formulation of his thesis (Beck 2009:77 and 20-1). Staging represents "the difference between the anticipated risk and the really occurring catastrophe" (Beck 2009:10). Actual catastrophes are hazards; anticipations of catastrophe are risks: risk hence exists as a relation between actual catastrophes or hazards, and anticipations of catastrophe or risks (Beck 2009:10-11 and 30). It is important to emphasise that for Beck it is actual catastrophes that are staged; this underlies Becks conception of risk as institutionally constructed or as constituted by stagings of given actual catastrophes by institutions (Beck 2009:90-3); risk is not a question of a purely subjective anticipation, separate from actual hazards. With regard to terroristic risk the actual catastrophe most frequently cited by Beck is the World Trade Centre (WTC) attack of 2001 (for example Beck 2009: 67-71); he also cites a number of other specific examples "Tunisia, Bali, Istanbul, Madrid, Beslan, London" (Beck 2009:69), distributed globally. These actual catastrophes may be characterised as high salience and low probability; arguably, extremely low probability, or at the level of what may be considered ‘residual’, or close-to-non-existent, hazard, at least compared to other hazards that global subjects may be expected to face over their life courses, especially in less-advantaged global locations. However, it is in the staging of these hazards as pervasive that they acquire the character of pervasive risks, contributing to the constitution of global subjects as 'risk subjects' and as members of a global risk society. For Beck global terrorism takes its specifically global and pervasive character from being non-statist and de-territorialised (Beck 2009:149), however he also notes the relation of terrorism to “risk prone” states that act as “backers” (Beck 2009:30-1 and 156). Global terroristic risk is for Beck composed of “national and transnationally operating terrorism” (Beck 2009:149) and interdependent with the phenomenon of “risk wars”; he refers here to the “complementarity between the risk-transfer wars and the global political significance of terrorist attacks” (Beck 2009:156). These elements are in Beck’s model not readily separable: global terrorism as such and hence terroristic risk cannot be studied in isolation from these other aspects of contemporary global conflict.

Afghanistan is a site of risk warfare and of nationally and transnationally operating terrorism, where both terroristic hazard - actual catastrophes or incidents - and terroristic risk - anticipation of catastrophe - may be expected to be salient and pervasive. Examination of these conditions may shed light on both the relation between hazards and their staging as risks, and the potential tension between relatively equal and relatively unequal distributions of risk. Note that for Beck terroristic risk is inherently global: it hence should exhibit similar characteristics in any global location, with those characteristics particularly noticeable under heightened conditions of hazard and risk. In this regard the study represents an application of Beck’s “methodological cosmopolitanism”, which he indicates is the only appropriate methodology for the study of risk (Beck 2009:177 and 181), and hence an application of Beck’s macro model of risk to a micro level case, as he also advocates (Beck 2009:204-7). The following description of conditions in Afghanistan is derived from thirty-five in-depth semi-structured

interviews, and from direct observation of the setting by the researcher, in Kabul in late 2011, with participants from private security, humanitarian aid, development, UN coordination, ISAF stability operations and mine-clearance sectors. As the sample is limited, and sampling opportunistic, no claims of conclusiveness are made for any of the following. Owing to constraints of space and participant concerns re anonymity and direct quotation, the presentation of responses will for present purposes be confined to a general overview.

Civil-developmental Actors and Private Security in Afghanistan

The present intervention in Afghanistan, beginning in 2001 and slated to continue until the 2014 'transition', is referred to in both military and civil-developmental discourse as a 'stabilisation operation': the capacity of civil-developmental actors - development agencies such as USAID or AUSAID, diplomatic missions, UN agencies, private contractors - to implement programs acting to 'stabilise' conditions is seen as central to the success of the intervention. As Afghanistan is considered a 'high-risk' environment, all institutions engage in some form of risk-management, generally involving private-sector security provision. Security provision regimes vary from a minimal regime of risk-assessment and monitoring, where the autonomy of the institution or actor has relative priority, to a maximal regime of protection and control where the autonomy of the institution and it's actors are subordinated to the regime, and in a sense to the security institution. Minimal regimes are largely confined to humanitarian agencies, including UN agencies in the humanitarian sector, whose presence pre-dates the present intervention, and which are hence somewhat marginal to the present stabilisation effort. Maximal regimes characterise the civil-developmental actors who make up the non-military component of the present intervention, and who implement programs such as Afghan state capacity building and development aid to the Afghan economy.

Maximal regimes mean constant paramilitary protection and escort, residence in a fortified compound with work-spaces co-located, or, travel to and from the residential and (similarly fortified) work spaces in convoy, in protected vehicles and/or under escort, very limited access to a very limited number of spaces outside the residential and/or work compounds, and a general regime of close surveillance and monitoring including curfews and even more severely curtailed activity if any threat over-and-above the usual condition of risk is considered to be present (Montgomery 2008 and Duffield 2012). What this represents is an 'enclavisation' of the actors and institutions in question, or creation of spaces from which risk is relatively excluded or 'externalised'. A staging of risk as pervasive results in a risk-management response of enclavisation and externalisation on the part of those institutions, i.e. large scale international agencies, able to mobilise the resources required. There is to some extent a tension between the staging of risk of pervasive and the externalisation of the risk by enclavisation and attendant security regimes; the risk is located 'outside' the enclave and hence is experienced as unequally distributed amongst spaces. Risk as anticipation of catastrophe is residual within the enclave/regime; for international personnel habituated to these conditions, anticipation of catastrophe is associated with being 'outside'. Hence risk that appears pervasive at a

global or macro level – Afghanistan as a risk-prone space – is at an everyday or micro level highly dichotomised in the experience of actors.

For the actors subordinated to these regimes, there are effects deriving from the climate of restriction; while the shared restrictive conditions may act to promote cohesion amongst international actors, equally they may increase tensions by increasing the salience of a limited range of possible social relations. This, combined with a pervasive anxiety that the structuring of everyday activity in terms of hazards and security serves to reinforce, leads in many cases to a need for release from tension, and related attempts to avoid or subvert security regimes. This can manifest in deliberate flouting of local behavioural constraints and a related pre-occupation with asserting non-Afghan behavioural norms, for example by excessive drinking and establishment of 'international-only' spaces for what is from the Afghan perspective extremely inappropriate behaviour. By reinforcing perceptions of international actors as alien and unresponsive to local cultural conditions, this further exacerbates difficulties in relations with local-national actors, already severely curtailed by security regimes constructing virtually all contact with Afghans and Afghan settings in terms of unacceptable risk. Risk is here staged in terms of interaction with the local setting; again it may be characterised as pervasive in a sense but is experienced as externalised, as being ‘out there’.

Structural Consequences of Enclavisation and Externalisation

Intervening institutions can be considered more or less risk-averse in relation to how much disruption to program implementation by risk-management regimes is considered acceptable; this risk-aversion is obviously in tension with the requirement to operate effectively in a 'high-risk' environment. Institutional risk-aversion may be related to Niklas Luhmann's definition of risk, as for Beck in distinction from hazard, as concerned with decision-making regarding hazards, hence involving responsibility for the potentially catastrophic consequences of such decisions (Luhmann 1993). This leads to an institutional tendency to either avoid decisions regarding hazards as inherently risky, or, where this is not feasible, to devolve or otherwise 'externalise' such decisions and the possibility of responsibility for consequences to another position or institution: in this case private sector security institutions. However, as institutions concerned solely with minimising the risks to their clients, private security providers cannot be expected to prioritise implementation of stabilisation programs over limiting the exposure of their clients to risk. Potential risks to clients are often seen as problems best resolved by vetoing the potentially risky action on risk-management grounds, a veto that is difficult to contest as decision-making regarding risk has been devolved to the security institution.

A further difficulty concerns the role of the security contractor as a private-sector institution with an obvious interest in the continuance of their contract, by extension in reinforcing the risk-aversion of their clients. This, referred to in private security as ‘selling fear’, tends to follow from their occupational pre-occupation with risk, rather than as a deliberate policy of exaggerating risk or otherwise misleading clients. This is as much driven by the client's tendency to request frequent threat assessments, or insistence on 'knowing the risks', at once to palliate anxiety regarding risk by allowing clients a

sense of understanding and 'control' of the situation, and to justify the expense of security personnel by making as frequent use of their services as possible. Already insulated from alternate sources of information regarding local conditions, dependence on these threat assessments, combined on a personal level with the sense of pervasive threat referred to above, may lead to a pre-occupation with risk on the part of international actors. Where intervening states may be relying on agencies such as diplomatic missions for reports on local conditions, portrayal of local conditions as inherently and primarily risky, i.e. as 'unstable' and 'failing', due to this 'risk pre-occupation', may reinforce support for military or security-led policy responses, potentially increasing conflict and associated hazards.

There is also evidence, both in the accounts of participants in the present study and from other sources (Montgomery 2008), that the imposition of maximal security regimes by civil-developmental institutions pre-dated the increase in high-profile complex terroristic insurgent attacks to which these regimes are represented as a risk-management response. The risk-management regimes may have been instituted as institutional 'best practice' rather as a response to actual catastrophes, with best practice for a risk-averse institution tending to a maximal high profile approach on the military force-protection model, and tending to attract insurgent attention for precisely this reason. This may result in not only 'blowback' onto the institutions attempting to manage risk by enclavisation and externalisation, but also 'spill over' of risk onto institutions or actors whose less risk-averse regimes makes them more readily available as targets of opportunity. The increase in risk for the latter is often related to proximity to enclaves and enclavising institutions, for example near convoys, at gates or checkpoints, or along routes commonly used by enclavising institutions; here blowback becomes spill over in practice as personnel and populations are forced into proximity with externalising regimes and associated hazards but remain externalised. This is particularly noticeable in Kabul where the preoccupation of enclavising agencies with controlling access and approaches to, and transit routes between, their enclaves create multiple points of heightened risk (Montgomery 2008). Blowback onto enclavising agencies themselves, in the sense of actual breaches of enclaves as opposed to attempts resulting in spill over, remain relatively rare; relatively speaking the risk remains generally externalised. Attacks against the newer 'green zone'-style enclaves also generally involve 'suicide' terrorism, the most salient terroristic risk in Beck’s model (for example Beck 2009:57). That this form of terrorism was previously relatively rare in Afghanistan indicates that enclavisation or externalisation as a strategy of management of terroristic risk may serve to increase hazards that were previously residual.

Pervasive Risk, Externalisation and Global Risk Society

In Beck's terms, the staging of a residual hazard as a pervasive risk, where this staging is not merely discursive but is articulated materially and socially in particular security regimes and infrastructures, may have the effect of making the hazard more pervasive while maintaining or increasing existing differentials in the distribution of risk. Returning to the question of the potential tension between Beck's positing of risk as at once pervasive, or everywhere threatening, and unequally distributed between given global locations, the indications from the present case are that risk is unequally distributed even

under conditions in which it might be expected to be most pervasive. In the intervention in Afghanistan there are significant inequalities in the respective positions of international-intervening and local-national actors and institutions, allowing the former to enclavise in response to their own staging of hazards as pervasive risks. Given material inequalities, this may be expected to take place wherever hazards are staged as risks: the result of staging of hazards as risks is to generate enclavisation and externalisation as a response, externalising the hazard and hence restricting it to those who lack access to the institutional resources required for externalisation. Further, there are indications that the staging of a residual hazard as a pervasive risk may serve to increase that hazard if institutions treat the risk, the anticipation of catastrophe, as if it were a hazard, an actual catastrophe, as in the case of the precautions against suicide terrorism that have resulted in increased use of suicide terrorism against enclaves intended to externalise this hazard. In the case at hand, risk is not pervasive per se but rather located 'outside' the enclavised risk society of a relative elite, forming not global risk society but a risk society (or risk societies plural) in which risk is salient because staged as such, but where both hazard and risk are relatively residual as a result of relative externalisation.

The possibility of generalising from the case at hand is limited; however, with reference to Beck's methodological cosmopolitanism and characterisation of risk as essentially global (Beck 2009:177 and 205-6), Afghanistan may serve as in indicator of a possible trend towards increasing hazard and increasing dichotomisation of risk, with anticipation of catastrophe remaining salient within enclaves only with reference to risk-prone externalised spaces, which are experienced as the sites of risk. If risk is externalised whenever staged as pervasive, as is the case in Afghanistan, the thesis of global risk society may involve an unresolved tension, insofar as it depends on a condition of risk being sustained as pervasive rather than immediately devolving or being externalised along existing lines of material inequality in any given case. This is arguably also the case domestically within the sphere of the more-globalised materially developed risk societies of the global metropolitan 'centre', with the increase in privatisation of security, surveillance and enclavisation noted by Duffield (2012). This indicates a need for further systematic inquiry, both within the sphere of the risk societies themselves, and in risk prone spaces such as Afghanistan where Beck's global risk society most directly encounters terroristic and related conflict risk.

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Visibility cultures and transparent subjects: governing through revelation

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Abstract

Governance of subjects in recent decades has been greatly enhanced by an organizational and cultural naturalization of surveillance technologies and circuitries. These devices expose everyday social practices and reveal infinitesimal dimensions of social life in ever-finer detail, specifically the embodied actions and affective states of populations. Despite their obtrusive and invasive character, many surveillance mediums have become relatively taken for granted – even valorised – 'companion' structures in the geo-cultural fabric. Publics have been – and continue to be – seduced and moulded by an assortment of governmental promises which uncritically conceptualize emergent conditions of visibility and transparency as proffering greater security provision, and as facilitating general mobility speeds, communicational exchange and life convenience. Rather than deconstructing critically the political economic rhetoric sponsoring surveillance suffusion, this paper instead adopts an alternative approach to understanding public perceptions of surveillance and corresponding subject practices. It points to a need for more detailed analysis of the manifold cultural forces and circumstances effectuating a shift toward what might be termed, 'transparent living' – a situation in which individuals are complicit in their own exposure regimes and in perpetrating the exposure of external others. Yet, desires to self-expose and to encounter the personal data emissions of others, is not without attendant implications. It is argued that the widespread availability of recording devices and open source informatic portals, and a celebrity-obsessed culture celebrating visibility and encouraging the active consumption of interiority, are conspiring to cultivate a 'surveillant mentality' amongst the populous: a sensibility orientated to recurrent confession and intimacy externalization. The paper reflects upon ensuing social and political implications, specifically in terms of how subjects and subjectivity might be transformed and regulated through such transparency processes.

Keywords: Surveillance, transparency, scopophilia, governance, personal information politics

Introduction

Governance of subjects in recent decades has been greatly enhanced by an organizational and cultural naturalization of surveillance technologies and circuitries. It is almost impossible to conduct one's daily activities in privileged regions of the world without encountering an increasingly diverse set of data capturing probes. Monitoring and tracking devices such as Radio-frequency Identification (RFID) microchips and Global Positioning Systems (GPS) are now routinely embedded in all manner of mundane objects; credit cards, cell phones and

‘smart’ passports are obvious examples. These mechanisms extract personal data particles from the everyday practices of subjects and render social life and action visible in an array of novel ways. Despite their obtrusive and invasive character, many surveillance mediums have become relatively taken for granted – even valorised – ‘companion’ structures in the geo-cultural fabric, CCTV cameras, social media platforms, MRI scanners and loyalty cards being apt illustrations. Publics have been – and continue to be – seduced and moulded by an assortment of governmental promises which uncritically conceptualize emergent conditions of visibility and transparency as proffering more comprehensive security provision, and as facilitating general mobility speeds, communicational exchange and life convenience. Limited discursive space is reserved for reflection on attendant harms and costs. Sociological analysis, in contrast, tends to be orientated towards the critical deconstruction of political economic propaganda legitimizing a raft of extraordinarily intrusive surveillance interventions. This research has shown such systems of visibility and classification to a) operate in ways often unimagined by their designers and proponents and b) discriminate against particular social groups in often latent ways. It further considers how surveillance systems are purposefully harnessed by organizations to economise decision-making protocol, augment capital accumulation, dispose populations and perpetuate symbolic domination. This paper, however, moves beyond the hegemonic rhetoric espoused by interest groups and surveillance system advocates. It adopts, instead, a culturally-informed approach to understanding public perceptions of surveillance and to comprehending the contemporary governance of subjects. The paper identifies a need for more detailed analysis of the manifold cultural forces and circumstances effectuating a shift toward what might be termed, ‘transparent living’ – a situation in which subjects are complicit in their own exposure regimes and in perpetrating the lateral exposure of external others.

Visibility suffusion and sedimentation

Visibility naturalization: crafting surveillant subjectivities

Advanced liberal societies have endured a recent intensification in surveillance provision, CCTV camera networks, credit and loyalty cards, body scanners, cell phones, DNA swabs, Web 2.0 platforms and browser cookies constituting only some of the many tentacles which routinely extract personal information ‘particles’ from the everyday activities of social beings. Surveillance systems are the means through which the digitalized referents (or ‘data trails’) derived from mundane social interactivity are transported into cybernetic ‘calculation chambers’. These institutionally situated – typically clandestine – black boxes are the processing nodes where information is, according to coded algorithms, mechanistically assessed, collated and utilized. Rather than entrusting embodied corporeality, narrative and memory at face value, organizational actors increasingly prefer to recognize, constitute and define persons – that is, assess their moral worth, authenticity, prospective risk, etc. – by virtue of their chronicled actions. Principally derived from official or valid sources, these referents are deemed to comprise an accurate and ‘truthful’ representation of character disposition and behavioural intentionality. A subject’s personality type, social position and likely future orientation can be interpretively ‘read’ from informatic signifiers embodied in the surveillance text. It is the ‘flesh and code’ cyborg organism which is fast becoming the primary species of – or unit of currency in – the digital age.

Surveillance systems are diverse in composition and service multiple organizational objectives and interpersonal desires. Yet, the penetration of backstage social realities (to exteriorize a subject's interiority or to capture and visualize correlations) is a typical feature of most (Ball, 2009). Transparency of previously latent practices and processes is the defining operational rationality. Yet, surveillance systems are not simply technical enterprises, organisational circuitries and discursive abstractions operating in a social and affective void. Nor are they merely exploitative of the subjects to whom they touch. Instead, such systems are situated within complex socio-cultural relations and are exposed recurrently to concomitant interplays of contestation and negotiation (Smith, 2013). They provide a means through which everyday desires and purposeful pursuits can be actualised, permitting individuals to recount personal experiences, to enact performative displays of identity, to connect with audiences vicariously and to reflect biographically upon historically archived 'moments of existence'. Indeed, surveillance platforms and texts can function as mirrors to the soul, as pedagogical resources and as pleasurable distractions. They can be appropriated artfully to combat feelings of social isolation, to construct social status and to encounter the interiorities and behavioural expressions deposited by others. They provide a relational lens through which embodied experiences can be contrasted and behavioural expressions evaluated.

Responsibilizing initiatives enacted by social institutions have enabled in profound ways the cultural naturalization of surveillance structures. Medical programs, for example, mandate subjects to constantly volunteer personal information and to monitor proactively the conduct of external others. These practices are justified on the basis of improved personal/national health. Privileged residents are enlisted into 'neighbourhood watch' observational schemes that legitimize the spatial ordering of community around particular interests and the differential treatment of outsiders. These practices are justified in terms of fostering deeper relational bonds and asset protection. Indeed, it is fruitful now to distinguish contemporary citizens as both '*sur*veillance objects' (watched) and '*sous*veillance agents' (watchers). Several factors explain this situation. Whilst data-capturing transmitters are designed into most contemporary organizational technologies and platforms (generating a surveillance-object normativity), overseers of observational systems still depend fundamentally upon individuals perpetually wielding and activating mundane surveillance devices (such as credit cards or mobile telephones). People must be purposefully recruited into systems of visibility and practices of exposure by those wishing to sell technologies and those willing to reify/reproduce an existing structural order. A supermarket loyalty scheme, for example, works only if customers: a) enroll themselves in the program and divulge personal details, and b) proactively present 'rewards' cards at the checkouts. Moreover, surveillance systems rely heavily on individuals continuously yielding and transmitting in complicit ways digitalized informatic streams, data trails that eventuate from everyday transactional exchanges, communications and mobilities (the sending of SMS messages, for instance). In order to ensure the continued obedience and complicity of subjects in activities contributing to the constancy of data emissions and flows, system designers and governmental programmers have crafted regulatory schemes 'rewarding' compliance and 'penalizing' non-compliance. Access to key state and financial services, for example, is now conditional on one's registration status and corollary capacity to brandish individuating and identity-legitimating tokens of trust: a driving license, passport, bank card, credit rating, or the like. Similarly, international mobility requires travelers to produce citizenship identification

documents and to convey informatically to the host territory a low risk propensity and a high revenue return value. Consumers in the commercial sphere receive 'discounts' and earn rewards privileges from corporate entities for habitual, but de-anonymised, consumption. Seduction to reveal and to perpetrate one's own self-exposure also operates at the rhetorical level through governmental promises that increased transparency will evoke enhanced 'connectivity', 'convenience', 'simplicity' and 'security'.

The sedimentation of a cognitive disposition conceiving registration, disclosure and divulgence as routine – even idealized – practices has been a cumulative (perhaps unintended) effect of interplays between surveillance systems and subjects. Organizationally orchestrated 'identification-verification' processes condition populations into assuming a 'surveillant mentality'. Systemic specifications formally request subjects acquiesce in projects of visibility by requiring that they repetitively enroll in registries, habitually engage in communicative transmissions, recurrently complete documentation and chronically prove identity status. Having considered in brief the organizational context within which this attitude emerged and operates, I now wish to consider how and why the cultural sphere has further accentuated the person's active complicity in becoming a transparent subject. My contention is that cultural engineers have purposefully assembled products that both tap into and cultivate the subject's curiosity and concern with self. Panoplies of recording and envisioning technologies now permit self-fragments and life-moments to be captured and projected. Subjects have license to participate proactively in narcissistic self-reflexive and self-comparative endeavors: to willfully reveal dimensions of selfhood and compare effluences with the exudations of others. Thus, exposure rituals are routinely enacted to satisfy the requirements of systems and the curiosities of subjects.

Cultural economies of visibility and voluntary self-exposure

It is hard overestimating the influence of culture industry engineers in manufacturing the resources and conditions which have popularized a revelation-scopophilic relation. In concert with, and complimenting, associated processes occurring in the organizational realm, cultural producers have been influential in developing both visibility technologies and disclosure mediums (Facebook and the *Big Brother* game show being obvious examples), sedimenting norms on appropriate informatic conduct. Capturing/consuming the practices of others whilst simultaneously divulging/revealing (often relational) embodied-subject states, are the major expectations and demands associated with conventional surveillance platform engagement, yet there are rules and sanctions to restrict and regulate undesired expressions. A recent expansion in the cultural realm of capturing devices which transform banal moments of existence into marketable commodities has helped cultivate a widespread perception of surveillance systems/texts as relatively benign 'companion structures'. While at times encroaching upon our personal lives they, nonetheless, produce a diverse array of consumable goods. These material products provide a source of sensory gratification and pedagogical knowledge, a value generally negating any concern an individual subject may hold with respect to any perceived incursions. Desires for pleasure and stimulation, it seems, outweigh fears of privacy violation and liberty-reduction.

In tandem with explosions in reality TV programming and revolutions in Web 2.0 interfacing, the mass media-created culture of sensationalist journalism and celebrity has contributed to the fashioning of a 'surveillant mentality'. This sensibility valorizes and

validates affective and material *revelation*, specifically the disclosure of internal feeling states, the divulgence of consumption preferences and the exposure of corporeality. The body becomes both a means and object of capture. It becomes an instrument in and source of biopower enactments. As an emergent, seemingly unbounded, informatic resource, the body acquires an elevated biopolitical value as the surveillance-visibility machinery intensifies its scrutiny of body-state expressions and body-derived signification flows (Foucault, 1998). The ethos of celebrity culture also ritualizes the act of being watched and glamorizes the proactive courting and captivation of audiences (Van Krieken, 2012). Social success and standing is contingent upon one's ability to inspire and solicit a state of incessant attention, a relation helped in no small part by a) willingness to performatively exhibit transgressive and carnivalesque behaviours; and b) eagerness to reveal deeper facets of self ontology. By the same token, celebrity culture renders unproblematic the meticulous scrutinizing and fervent consumption of another's conduct (Denzin, 1995). Thus, a revealing disposition comes to be a desirable 'cyborg citizen' quality in a 24/7 'newsfeed' environment. Privileged embodied-subjects receive peer esteem for publicizing their global activities and whereabouts, while enrichment and amusement is derived from encountering the whimsical musings of others. The economy of this situation in governmental terms is that subjects a) no longer need be physically coerced into a confessional predicament – indeed, the construction of the proclivity normalizes and celebrates voluntary data particle emission; and b) will perform observational policing duties on behalf of the ruling oligopoly.

A culture of confessional divulgence is further accentuated by an array of cultural (community) pressures stipulating transparency and authenticity as socially and morally desirable expressive conditions. Peer group arrangements increasingly permit or block inclusion in various cultural/organizational circuits based on one's (in)actions in a 'revelation matrix' (receiving invites to events, for example, increasingly depends on Web 2.0 membership and participatory activity). Appropriate or artful expressions of habitus in transitioning cybercultural fields – that is, displaying online impression management prowess – can accrue social status ('followers', 'friends', even employment) and distinction amongst peer groups and other interested subscribers. In contrast, inappropriate habitus revelations can prompt exclusion penalties, stigma and social isolation (Bailey and Steeves, 2012). Informal (and evolving) interactional rules operate to govern and police, but also transform, acceptable conduct in these hyper-real spaces (the cyborg-subject must be socialized into understanding what are (un)acceptable 'self-posts' on Facebook, and these will vary depending on the audience arbitrating). Moreover, pleasure and pedagogical knowledge can be derived from a) consuming the vicarious intimacies of others and b) contrasting in a Gaddamerian 'fusion of horizons' idealized others' experiential broadcasts with one's own phenomenological renderings. The latter practice being closely aligned with the reflexivity projects characterizing late modernity (Lasch, 1991; Beck, 1992).

As such, currents of surveillance foster and normalize visibility acts. They add a further dimension to the surveillant mentality, a sensibility that is predisposed to the capture, transmission and exposure of data, and to accessing – and comparatively evaluating – in unrestricted ways informatic intimacy signifiers deposited by the activities of cyborg others. This consciousness conceives surveillance footage and processes as critical reference points – or models of representational truth – from which the social world can be perceived, accessed, comprehended and experienced, and from which one can determine a particular mode of

embodied engagement (Finn, 2012). Personal experience becomes orientated to public disclosure, rapidly dissolving imagined boundaries between the two spheres of life. Embodied biographical memory is diversified and supplemented by an 'informatic species', an archival (increasingly digital) and evolving chronicle of personal encounters and moments that an array of surveillance texts embody e.g. photos, Facebook posts, SMS messages, medical records, credit card transactions etc. The organizational and cultural pressures subjects endure to internalize and enact transparency ideals, that is, to reveal and to disclose, have fundamentally subsumed rules of engagement previously structuring the interactional landscape. Intimacy is increasingly interpreted as a marketable commodity – or a form of species-capital – and a communicative resource to initiate an exchange with a vicarious audience. An array of discourses encourage subjects to access, reflect upon and learn about the self during lifecourse transitions. Yet, attendant (latent) social harms are associated with these developments. The current molecularization and scattering of subjectivity particles, for example, generates a set of 'revelation politics', and it is to a consideration of these that I now turn.

Revelation politics

As has been argued, a central relation explaining surveillance complicity is the gradual devaluing of personal experience and intimacy by subjects embracing political economic discourses and servicing systems which encourage disclosure/scopophilia and which reward/demand expressions of interiority. Perhaps ironically, the subcutaneous information volunteered or relinquished by the subject in everyday commercial transactions and communicative exchanges, accrues surplus value in a complex 'species fetishization' process. As it transitions from a context which is embodied (a primary 'origin' space) to one which is informatic (a secondary 'calculative' space), interiority is subjected to a set of social, political and commercial classifications by a watching audience comprised of law enforcement officials, corporate marketers, insurance actuaries, compatriot consumers, etc. These actors render the data flow into either a knowledge/power currency or a textual commodity. Being granted free and unconditional access to particles of truth emanating from the souls of subjects equips anonymized viewers with extraordinary definitional, discretionary and juridical powers – and hence ownership claims – over particular expressions of subjectivity. A species of subject-alienation might emerge from this exploitative relation, particularly if an audience assigns a classificatory value to an informatic referent that ultimately acts against the interests of the performing subject. A lack of ownership over data emissions may evoke a secondary species of subject-alienation, specifically if the latter is not adequately socially or economically compensated for the immaterial labour invested in the exposing of corporeality, the expression of subject-states and the crafting of appropriate self-impressions. This is particularly the case when data surrendered accrues in the spaces into which it flows a capital 'interest'; a surplus value that is never remunerated to the subject from whom the personal information derives.

The penetrative reach of surveillance technologies into domains of personal experience reconfigures intimacy values among certain societal members, trivializing (or defiling) what once were defined as 'sacred' or 'exclusive' acts. As a pleasure-giving informatic resource with an increasing exchange value, moments of intimacy and viscerality (e.g. sexual conduct,

sickness, dying and death, personal relationships, feeling states etc.) are increasingly dislodged from traditional confidentiality fixings in the backstage regions of private and professional life. Instead, these conditions are relocated to frontstage regions of life where they become public property. Intimacy acts metamorphose into textual scripts/exhibits from which an audience can derive knowledge, power and gratification, and identify personality/intentionality clues in subject expositions. They become the means through which interiority can be revealed, chronicled, governed, commercialized *and* consumed.

The cultures of 'capture' and 'voyeurism' evoked by surveillance suffusion and the corresponding surveillant mentality emerging jeopardize elemental liberties, specifically one's freedom of expression and capacity to be alone – or to be unplugged from the matrix. Indeed, revealing the backstage regions of everyday life in ever finer detail can prompt 'performativity fatigue syndrome', a pathological cognitive condition endured by social actors who, partly through their own choices, can no longer a) preserve a voluntary invisibility – that is, experience an existence free or separate from regimes which reveal life; and b) retain exclusive autonomy and ownership over their embodied biographies – that is, cultivate a self-narrative or personal identity distinct from the 'replicant' organizational and cultural version assembled and circulating within the informatic realm. Indeed, a social actor's incapacity to prevent *intimacy* and *the intimate* from becoming an object of the gaze and a resource for consumption could have important ramifications for 'species-being'. The exploitation and trivialization of intimacy acts by an external audience, and the exposed subject's corresponding inability to own and/or control the text that is procured, is likely to induce feelings of alienation, anger, disenchantment, anxiety, shame, embarrassment and apathy. Moreover, declining 'free spaces' in which subjects can conduct creative behavioral experiments and commit transgressive acts without regulation or fear of reproach might inhibit the accomplishment of elemental existential objectives. These fissures afford social actors opportunities for the playful exploration of identity and provide temporary relief from oppressive routines and demanding interactive conventions. They permit periods of experiential excitement, rest and reflexivity, and enable biographical scripts to be developmentally assembled and rehearsed in preparation for future performances. Audiences have now privileged entrée to informatic versions of subject-biography and these prompts have the capacity: a) to sediment angst in the subject-performer regarding what is and is not known about them; b) to shape the audience's view of a subject prior to encountering them; and c) to influence the type of performance enacted and thus govern the outcome of an interaction.

Conclusion

Towards visibility ethics

A complex revelation politics, therefore, surrounds the sedimentation of surveillance as both a material apparatus and cognitive mindset. It has been suggested that such changes have largely come about as a result of governmental desires to identify intentionality 'truths' ('master patterns') in populations, and an insatiable popular cultural appetite for self-exposure and transparency in a marketplace prioritizing authenticity and consumption of interiority. The physical hardwiring of capturing devices into all sectors of the social world reflects and reifies an emergent cultural sensibility, a sensory attitude which courts the

mundane and the authentic, and which demands unrestricted access to the graphic and the intimate. Whilst transformations in both the material and social landscape heralds all manner of network-connectivity possibilities (political and social), increasing encroachments on an individual's desire – and indeed capacity – to retain 'secrets' about the self and to impression manage situations in everyday life, bears important consequences. Manufacturing a consistent and coherent or 'truthful' self-narrative, for example, becomes more demanding (and anxiety-inducing) when the accuracy of the story told must now accord with the multiple and multiplying verifiers or adjudicators of truth – that is, historical informatic records and digitalized self referents – which now supplement biographical disclosure. A visibility ethics is thus urgently required to ascertain exactly when personal data is extracted, where it travels and in whose interests it operates. A set of informatically-informed and socially just principles need be established which a) hold systems of exposure to account for their actions and b) act as critical counterbalances to the scopophilic desires and revelation practices of surveillance subjects.

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The neglect of economic capital in social exclusion

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Abstract:

The modern concept of social exclusion, while rooted in traditional theories, represents a significant cause of enduring and emerging inequalities. This paper argues that economic capital is a central determinant of both social exclusion and social capital. Understanding the relationship of economic capital to exclusion is important if the concept is to offer any utility to policy makers. Social networks have been found in the literature to demonstrate positive instrumental benefits that can help to overcome exclusion. This paper will consider how early research into social capital failed to adequately consider the importance of economic capital, and effectively functions to blame individuals for their own experiences of exclusion. We highlight the primary role of economic capital as a facilitator of an individual's ability to connect with others.

Key words: social capital; social exclusion; economic capital; intergenerational disadvantage

The neglect of economic capital in social exclusion

1. Introduction

Like so many concepts dealing with disadvantage, deprivation and poverty, social exclusion can exist on many levels. In this paper we argue that whilst material disadvantage is only one part of the problem, it is perhaps the most significant factor in enabling an individual to develop and maintain social ties. This choice of focus reflects the reality that social capital has an important role to play in explaining exclusion from mainstream society, but it must follow from an understanding of economic deprivation.

There are important similarities between social capital and social exclusion. For example, both ideas are concerned with the quality and density of social relations and stress the importance of active participation in opposition to the "contemporary tendency to social

isolation" (Daly and Silver, 2008:541). This paper engages at this intersection between social capital and social exclusion. We begin by outlining the history of social exclusion as a concept, followed by a critique of popular interpretations of social capital. Finally, we highlight the primary role of economic capital as a facilitator of an individual's ability to connect with others.

2. Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion has gained prominence in recent years as a way of framing both an understanding of ongoing problems of poverty, deprivation and disadvantage and the policy responses aimed at addressing these issues. A precise definition of social exclusion is elusive and the concept remains contested (Hayes et al, 2008; Saunders, 2003; Burchardt et al, 2002a). Yet, in its broadest sense, the term 'social exclusion' has come to describe the situation in which some people are, for one reason or another, unable to participate in mainstream society (Burchardt et al, 2002b). Cast in a more sceptical light, some argue that, given the negative reality of long-term poverty, utilising a less stark term such as exclusion, is a way of diverting attention away from the inability of governments to make inroads in addressing poverty and ultimately their responsibility for its existence (Pierson, 2002).

In either case, more sophisticated understandings of exclusion have emerged and are useful in helping frame the development of policies aimed at tackling exclusion. In particular, we turn to the definition by Pierson (2010:12) which sees social exclusion as: "a process that deprives individuals and families, groups and neighbourhoods of the resources required for participation in the social, economic and political activity of society as a whole". Importantly, by looking at exclusion as a process, Pierson recognises that, while material resource constraints play a role, other facets of social structure, such as institutions, networks and the

social environment, are also important in creating exclusion. Here, the focus is on those excluded from participating in the mainstream life of a society, including from: "jobs, education, homes, leisure, civic organisations, and even voting, and on how this disconnection tends to coincide with vulnerability to poverty, crime and family breakdown" (Perri 6, 1997:3). Certainly, as Byrne (1999) asserts, better definitions of exclusion should include the role of unequal power, not just material inequality.

Several key dimensions of exclusion are commonly identified (Burchardt et al, 2002b; Bradshaw, 2003; Saunders, 2003). The first is consumption-related exclusion, involving the inability to consume or purchase goods and services. Lack of access to basic services, both public and private, can exacerbate consumption exclusion and may result from prohibitive costs or locational disadvantage. The second dimension of exclusion is production-related exclusion, and this is often linked to exclusion from the labour market which is required to generate income needed for consumption. However, this feature also includes lack of participation in social or volunteer-type activities. A third facet of exclusion is the lack of political engagement or involvement in decision-making processes. A final form of exclusion results from a lack of social interaction. This affects the amount of emotional support people may draw on, the size of their social networks or their level of integration in society. While Bradshaw (2003) found 54% of people had at least some form of practical or emotional support, Saunders (2003) found that the lack of social interaction was the most prevalent form of exclusion. Hence, while participation and networks are central to addressing exclusion, economic exclusion is the most prevalent, and we argue the most important, way in which individuals are prevented from participating in society.

Participation in activities and institutions separate from income generation are held as a prerequisite for inclusion. This argument stresses the importance of networks and individual participation – namely social capital building. However, the approach for government is usually reduced to the cheaper and more visible strategy of increasing participation and network building, rather than the arguably more important and difficult task of addressing the structural causes of depleted wallets. Whilst there has been a shift away from purely income-based indicators of exclusion, we argue that income and wealth remain key factors in enabling individuals to build and maintain social networks.

3. Social Capital

Social capital is a central component in understanding exclusion. Indeed, the lack of social interaction is argued to be the most prevalent form of exclusion (Saunders 2003). We argue that interpretations of social capital that focus on the embedded and dependent nature of networks provide the way forward for the application of the concept of social capital in tackling exclusion. Broadly speaking, social capital describes networks, organizations or other linkages between individuals, with the implication that group members adhere to specific norms of behaviour. It has been linked to many and varied outcomes such as civic engagement, local and national economic growth, mortality rates, juvenile delinquency and organizational effectiveness (Edwards and Foley 2001:11-12).

Social capital has an extensive conceptual heritage (see Farr 2004; Gabrielson 2006; Portes 1998; Woolcock 1998), and a summary of the contributions of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988a, 1988b) and Robert Putnam (2000, 1993) is an almost compulsory part of any writing on this topic. In this paper we critique Putnam's popular and populist approach

and begin to explore how a Bourdieusian, or heterodox, reading of social capital can contribute to understanding social exclusion.

Putnam's interpretation of social capital is based on the idea that social networks foster norms of reciprocity and trust that are essential to the functioning of modern democracies (Putnam 2000:18-20). Putnam also draws attention to the ways in which social capital is a public or collective resource (1993:167), defining the concept as follows: "social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000:19).

This approach argues that effective norms of trust and reciprocity are supported by: "dense networks of social exchange" (Putnam 2000:136). A virtuous circle is created, where generalized trust leads to reciprocity and social networks, and reciprocity and networks create trust (Siisiäinen 2000:4). In Putnam's analysis, social problems such as poverty, unemployment and crime are a direct result of a lack of civic engagement, and in the absence of that engagement citizens lack the skills and attributes necessary to collaborate on economic and political projects (Edwards and Foley 2001:10).

3.1 Critiques of Putnam's Social Capital

The critique of Putnam's approach to social capital is extensive (e.g. Arneil, 2006; Booth and Richard, 2001; DeFilippis 2001; Fine, 2007; Portes, 2000; Siisiainen, 2000; Tarrow, 1996), but the most relevant critique to our argument is Putnam's failure to recognise that an absence of civic engagement may not be due to a lack of social capital. If instead civic disengagement and a lack of social capital are: "the by-product of politics, state building, and social structure, then the causes of the malaise…are more likely to be found in such structural

factors…while the indicators of malaise may be civic, the causes are structural" (Tarrow 1996:396).

By privileging the role of the community in creating social capital, individuals who do not have access to sufficient resources "are in danger of being labelled powerless in their pursuit of outcomes" (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh 2005:5). From this perspective Putnam's argument can be seen as blaming the victim for his or her lack of social capital. Responsibility for declining social capital is placed squarely on individuals and communities, instead of the economic and political changes affected by corporate and state actors (Portes 1998:19; Schuurman 2003:1002). As Schuurman (2003:1000) puts it:

> In short, if you are marginalised, poor and underdeveloped it is basically your own fault. Not only that, you have the key to progress in your own hand … according to the social capital logic the poor are expected to pull themselves out of a problematic situation by developing the right kind of social capital. In an era where structuralist approaches to understanding reality are increasingly traded for more actor-oriented approaches, this sounds just right.

There are important similarities between social capital and underclass theories, such as Oscar Lewis' 'culture of poverty', social exclusion and third way perspectives (Welshman 2006; Muntaner, Lynch, and Smith 2001). What unites these theories is their focus on individual behaviour in contributing to disadvantage and a reluctance to attribute that disadvantage to structural causes (Welshman 2006:273). Accordingly, it is not structural or objective inequality that determines wellbeing but rather the subjective responses of individuals and communities to those inequalities. This places control and responsibility for change solely on those individuals and communities (Muntaner, Lynch, and Smith 2001:225). Putnam's

discussion of social capital contains similar reasoning; social problems such as poverty, unemployment and crime are a direct result of a lack of civic engagement and effective norms of trust and reciprocity, which are the responsibility of families and communities to foster. We need to move towards a stronger understanding of exclusion that rejects blaming the victim, incorporates the role of social structures and power in analysis, and reasserts the centrality of economic deprivation as a cause of social exclusion.

3.2 Heterodox Social Capital

Bourdieu has largely been excised from the social capital literature (Fine 2001:17). However, many authors have argued Bourdieu's theories of capital, habitus and field, offer a corrective to the flawed Putnamian concept (e.g. Arneil 2006; Carpiano 2007; Morrow 2001; Pichler and Wallace 2009; Smart 1993). According to Arneil (2006:9) what distinguishes the European school, and Bourdieu in particular, from the American school of thought on social capital, exemplified by Putnam, is: "both a critical perspective, and a preference for networks and resources rather than the functional theory of social capital, which depends on the transformation of connectedness into trust and with that, the lubrication and glue that make societies function better". Instead of arguing only for the role of networks in determining outcomes, the heterodox school of social capital focuses on how the shape of networks and the kinds of resources that can be accessed through them are heavily influenced by pre-existing factors (Daly and Silver 2008; Morrow 2001:541, 544).

In Bourdieu's analysis, the volume of social capital possessed by an individual is represented by the size of the network and the volume of capital possessed by each member of that network (Bourdieu 1986:249; Lin 2001:22). The existence of a network, and the reproduction of social capital are the result of a continuous investment in social relationships that are

directly useable in either the short or long term (Bourdieu 1986: 249; Ihlen 2005:494; Lin 2001:12). This interpretation of social capital has little to do with idealistic notions of pluralist democracy and participative citizenship and is instead focused on understanding the influence of class structures and inequalities on an individual's ability to accrue and reproduce capitals.

A key element of Bourdieu's conceptualization of the social world is that economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital – social, cultural and symbolic – and that all types of capital are fungible, or interconvertible, although not necessarily commensurate: "The different types of capital can be derived from economic capital, but only at the cost of a more or less great effort or transformation, which is needed to produce the type of power effective in the field in question" (Bourdieu 1986:252). Portes (1998) notes that, whilst Bourdieu maintains that the other forms of capital are reducible to economic capital, the processes that produce them are not. Each form of capital possesses its own dynamics and transactions which involve social capital. O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh elaborate on the transformation between economic and social capital (2005:8)

> Economic capital on its own, however, is not sufficient to buy 'status' or position – rather, it relies on the interaction with other forms of capital. One other such form is social capital. This exists as a set of lasting social relations, networks and contacts…Investment in social capital, then, acts as a kind of strategy which (unconsciously or otherwise) further serves as a mechanism to exchange other capitals.

Bourdieu has been criticised for his argument that action is always utilitarian and interested; conduct always appears to be directed towards accruing power and wealth (Swartz 1997:78).

Field (2003:23) argues that this leads to a somewhat circular argument: "privileged individuals maintain their position by using their connections with other privileged people". Superficially, it would therefore appear that Bourdieu's contention that all forms of capital are in the last analysis reducible to economic capital is another demonstration of economic imperialism (e.g. Labaron 2003). Bourdieu does however note that *actions* are not reducible to economic calculation (Svendsen and Svendsen 2003:617). So, whilst the critique cannot be ignored, it is important to note that Bourdieu's interpretation of capital is deployed in an effort to unmask relations of power and conflict, and explain the perpetuation of disadvantage, without constructing agents as economic rationalists.

This perspective argues that social capital reflects and perpetuates existing patterns of socioeconomic stratification (Schneider, Teske et al. 1997; Baum, Bush et al. 2000; Pichler and Wallace 2009). Indeed it has been established that participation in social and civic activities is reflective of "distinct patterns" in income, education, gender and health (Baum, Bush et al. 2000). If you are poor, old, unemployed, have a disability or a low level of education, you are: less likely to be able to receive and provide support in times of crisis; less likely to volunteer; less likely to participate in sport and physical recreation; less likely to attend cultural venues and events; and less likely to frequently interact with family or friends (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006). Importantly, we can see through this interpretation of Bourdieu's work the primacy of economic capital as an enabler of social interaction. The lack of economic capital reduces the likelihood that an individual can access or develop the social capital needed for social inclusion.

4. Conclusion

Research demonstrates that both inequality and social capital are transferred intergenerationally and that inequality undermines the formation of social capital (Gold et al. 2002; Li, Savage, and Warde 2008). Indeed, Mowbray argues that as inequality increases, trust and cohesiveness decline (Mowbray 2004:21). Therefore, Putnam's solution to increase the number of local, voluntary associations, on the assumption that these associations will transform into the 'right kind' of engagement, fails to adequately explore how social exclusion is reproduced. By failing to enunciate the mechanisms by which civil society supports effective government, or discuss the role of government in building social capital, Putnam's thesis relies on an idealistic formulation of civil society which results in families and associations bearing the blame for the theorised decline of social capital and their own social exclusion (Levi 1996:50-51).

Both social capital and social inclusion theorists are at risk of promoting a vision of society where people are simply encouraged to "slot in", instead of a focus on the need for transformation. From this perspective, society is constructed as "fundamentally just and stable" (Bates and Davis 2004:203). Working on social capital must not become a cheap alternative to reducing income inequality and must not divert us from the task of developing services that provide for basic human dignity (Bates and Davis 2004:205).

Importantly, if policy makers are to usefully draw on theoretical concepts such as social capital as a way to tackle exclusion then they must direct their efforts towards addressing what we have argued is the primary underlying cause of enduring inequality: the deficit of economic capital. Economic capital is central to an individual's capacity to engage and interact with others and society. It represents the resources needed to purchase the basic

material goods that are the hallmark of modern capitalist economies and disrupt the cycle of intergenerational disadvantage.

Governments in Australia do make efforts to assist the most excluded to build economic capital, not only through redistribution via the tax and transfer system, but by supporting programs that specifically target financial exclusion. Governments also increasingly support programs that encourage 'joining behaviour', 'participation' and 'community capacity building'. These institutions and strategies are laudable, but the populist rhetoric and comparatively inexpensive program responses of 'building social capital' cannot alone address social or financial exclusion, particularly if the version of social capital adopted is one which blames excluded individual and families for their own disadvantage, and neglects how much the accumulation of social capital so heavily depends on the lottery of birth.

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Women's protest and International Women's Day in the Australian media

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Abstract

This paper examines the frequency and content of Australian media reporting of International Women's Day between 1970 and 2005. The data presented here has been drawn from the protest events database compiled as part of the Mapping the Australian Women's Movement (MAWM) project. While quantitative analysis of the data collected has revealed definite trends in the number and type of event recorded, in this paper I have taken the opportunity to use the materials collected for this purpose to more closely examine how the Australian media has responded to and reported women's activism, using International Women's Day (IWD) as a case study. Mining the material in this way also allows us to at least partially negate some of the weaknesses of using protest event analysis to examine feminist activity (Bagguley 2009). This is achieved by considering gaps in media coverage as well as the way the 'public identity' (van Zoonen 1992) of the women's movement can be constructed in the media in ways that can work counter to the aims of the movement.

Keywords: feminism, protest, activism, media, gender

Introduction

This paper examines the frequency and content of Australian media reporting of International Women's Day between 1970 and 2005. The data presented here has been drawn from the protest events database compiled as part of the Mapping the Australian Women's Movement (MAWM) project. This ARC funded project has aimed to 'provide data to test and build theories around social movement life cycles, shifting repertoires and sites of action, and the nature of institutional and cultural legacies' (Mapping the Australian Women's Movement, 2012). The protest events database section of this project was designed to construct a picture of the activities of the women's movement, with a "focus … on the *visibility* of protest events [by] surveying media coverage of events rather than events themselves as a way of mapping the extent to which issues were in the public eye" (McLaren & Strong 2009: 6). While quantitative analysis of the data collected has revealed definite trends in the number and type of events recorded (see McLaren 2011), in this paper I have taken the opportunity to use the materials collected for this purpose to more closely examine how the Australian media has responded to and reported women's activism, using International Women's Day (IWD) as a case study. Mining the material in this way also allows us to at least partially negate some of the weaknesses of using protest event analysis to examine feminist activity (Bagguley 2009). This is done by considering gaps in media coverage as well as the way the 'public identity' (van Zoonen 1992) of the women's movement can be constructed in the media in ways that can work counter to the aims of the movement.

International Women's Day in the events database

International Women's Day has been celebrated for over 100 years, usually around March 8 annually. While the forms that IWD activities take and the main message associated with the day have shifted over time, during the period covered by this database IWD has been closely linked to the concerns and goals of the women's liberation movement (Stevens 1985). Data collected on IWD has been analysed here in two ways; first, in a quantitative manner by looking at the number of events reported, in which years and in which publications; and second in a more qualitative manner by using discourse analysis to examine the contents of the articles to determine how IWD was framed and how this might have changed over time. The articles in the database have been sourced from mainstream print media, particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH*) from 1970–86 and publications available through the Factiva databases after this date. Concerns have sometimes been raised regarding the of validity protest event analysis that relies on a limited selection of 'mainstream' publications (Grey 2010). In response to these, the newspaper of the Australian Communist Party, *The Tribune*, was also included in the database. As will be shown below, this addition added valuable extra information about both the activities of the women's movement and gave further insight into the media's response (or lack thereof) to these activities.

Quantitative analysis

From 1970 to 2005, there are reports on IWD in 31 years, with a total of 104 events recorded, almost all of which were demonstrations. However, coverage in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and other mainstream papers is quite sporadic, despite increasing after the Factiva databases allow searching of publications beyond the *Sydney Morning Herald*. There is coverage of IWD in almost every year; however, no mainstream publications cover IWD every year, and on only two occasions does the same publication publish on the event two years running (the SMH in 1991 and 1992, and the *Illawarra Mercury* in 2002 and 2003). Coverage in the Tribune is much more consistent, which is unsurprising given the close links between IWD and the Communist movement (Sawer 2011). The paper tends to run multiple stories on IWD each year, a minority of which are articles noting that events are upcoming. Overall, the Tribune covers 86 events until its closure in 1991, as compared to only 30 in mainstream papers across the entire time covered. The inclusion of the Tribune data here gives a clear demonstration of the way continuing feminist activity may not be at all accurately reflected in media coverage, and also of the way the agenda and background of a media source can have an impact on what it publishes. The information from the Factiva database and the Tribune shows IWD related activities occurring in diverse geographical locations across Australia, from capital cities (where events are most often reported on) to rural areas such as Taree, suggesting that the number of IWD events in the country certainly exceeds the number that have been reported in the media, possibly quite significantly.

Qualitative analysis

Given the quantity of articles collected for the database, it would have been very difficult to do any sort of qualitative analysis of the content of all of these. Using the IWD articles as a

subset allows us to examine more closely the rhetorical strategies deployed in the media when discussing the activities of the women's movement, and how these might have shifted over time in relation to this one recurring event. The thirty-five articles from the mainstream press only have been used, as these may give us more insight into how IWD, and the women's movement more generally, was framed in the public imaginary.

To begin with, when conducting a discourse analysis the significance of the sporadic coverage of IWD is something that needs to be addressed. Van Dijk (1993) notes that power can be measured in some part by looking at who has the ability to set agendas and decide what will and will not be the subject of discussion. The media can play this role in society and by contrasting the occasional coverage of IWD with, for example, the predictably thorough coverage of occasions like Anzac Day we can immediately see the difficulty IWD has had in developing a meaningful and consistent 'public identity' (van Zoonen 1992) through the media. In the case of IWD, the fact that it is an annual event may play a part in the lack of coverage it attracts. In general, protest events have 'decreased in newsworthiness' since the 1970s as they have become more institutionalised (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, & Soule 2004: 71), and a protest event that occurs every year may therefore lack the novelty to attract press interest.

Examining the articles reveals that there has been much variation in how IWD has been framed over the period being looked at. Although studies have shown that the women's movement tends to be treated negatively or trivialised in the print media (Ashley & Olson 1989) the coverage of IWD did not entirely fit this pattern. Rather, the reports were more in line with the findings of Sheridan et al. (2006) in their study of reporting of women's issues in the Australian media, where they noted that 'media representations of feminism are plural and various, the varieties not necessarily compatible with one another' (Sheridan, Magarey, & Lilburn 2006: 25). There were articles – in particular opinion pieces by women's movement scholars – that were unambiguously positive, about both IWD and the women's movement in general, and others that were clearly negative. There were also a number of 'neutral' articles that reported information such as where and when upcoming events would be held without any commentary, although the positioning of these sometimes had an impact on how they would be perceived.

The most coverage that was given to IWD was in 1975, which was also International Women's Year. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (and its Sunday edition the *Sun Herald*) gave substantial coverage to the Sydney rally on 8 March that year. This included articles advising that the march was coming, including a detailed, factual piece on March 7 that outlined the groups involved in the march and the claims they were making. This apparently neutral piece appeared, however, next to an article headlined 'Women's Rights: Can the family cope?'. The Herald covered the actual march with a front-page headline ('5000 Women on the March') and an article that emphasised the inclusiveness of the march, particularly in relation to men. At the same time, however, it also included trivialising remarks from attending police officers ('I like ladies'), and gave little space to the claims being made by the marchers. This type of coverage, that gives space to the women's movement while at the same time ignoring or undermining its claims, has been well documented by the Australian National Advisory Committee (1976) as being a feature of the media's response to International Women's Year more generally. The Committee did note, however, that by the end of the year media coverage had improved, and 'the words "sexist" and "sexism" began to be used in news reports in a way that suggested some understanding of the concept' (1976: 65).

However, by the following year coverage had decreased substantially, and headlines such as 'Yes, we're still around ...' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March 1976: 3) suggested a sense of either boredom with or surprise at the continuation of protests by women activists. After 1975 IWD almost disappears from the SMH for six years. The 1979 march in Brisbane is mentioned, but only because of an incident involving a member of the Queensland police 'rescuing' his girlfriend from being arrested; all the coverage of the march focuses on this and the state of the Queensland police (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 1979: 11; 12 March 1979: 1). This lack of coverage occurs despite marches – often with turn outs equal to that of 1975 – taking place throughout this period (as documented in coverage in the Tribune).

When reports on IWD start to reappear after 1982, there are two definite trends that can be seen to be emerging. First, there is certainly a trend towards what might be called a 'historicisation' of IWD that begins as early as 1984 and increases over time, whereby IWD is presented as having existed for a long period and on an international scale, and as such being responsible for forging links between women across time and space. It is these articles that present IWD in the most unambiguously positive light, and this seems to stem in part from the authors or sources for the articles. These tend to be scholars or leaders in other fields and as such are granted legitimacy and authority to speak in their own voices (for example, Sawer 1997; Mackinnon 2003). These articles also often mention other IWD related activities such as breakfasts, dinners and seminars. What may have been missed by the database, with its focus on protest events, is an increase in non-protest activities such as these that may be another indicator of an 'abeyance' period in the women's movement as women gather to consolidate the legacy of what they have achieved, and maintain connections and networks in the absence of high levels of visible activity (Sawer & Grey 2008). The history-making in the newspaper articles could be seen as one aspect of this.

The second trend, particularly after 1991, is the way the events that are reported on are linked to other important current issues in the media. Although IWD marches often focused on specific current issues (for example, marches in 1979 attacked the Lusher motion, and in 1988 the Sydney march highlighted Indigenous land rights as a counterpoint to bicentennial celebrations) in the mainstream media this may have influenced decisions to cover the event. For example, the relatively well reported protests in 2002–04 had peace as their main theme, and the organisers used the marches to focus attention on the plight of women in the Middle East affected by war, particularly the War in Afghanistan and threatened war in Iraq. The women's movement has always had strong links to the peace movement, as well as being active in promoting rights for other disadvantaged groups (Sawer, 2008). The establishment of strong connections between IWD and high-profile issues may reflect attempts on the part of organisers to increase interest in the event by tapping into topical events, or alternatively (or in conjunction with this) it may show an increased likelihood that journalists will cover a protest event involving women if it is in some way linked to other current affairs. This trend reflects the findings of Sheridan et al. (2006) in that coverage of the women's movement is often reliant on other political trends.

One of the most interesting uses of language in the articles on IWD is in relation to the word 'feminism' (or 'feminist'). The 'f' word crops up surprisingly infrequently in the coverage, and when it does appear it is only ever used in a negative or disparaging manner, or in a way that uses such negative connotations as presupposed readings of the word. For example, on 3 March 1976 the *SMH* refers to a rally with 'speakers including lesbian feminists, Trotskyists and Australia Party members', imbuing the term with a certain amount of deviancy by association. Feminism is mentioned more often in the late 1990s and early 2000s, but in a

way that is either directly attacking feminists or asking women about feminism. The former tactic sees feminists attacked for a variety of reasons that have been well documented as occurring throughout the media (for example, Ashley and Olson, 1989). For example, feminists are attacked for being too educated and out of touch with 'ordinary' women, or younger women (Delevecchio, 1995: 13), or for being too radical and anti-men (O'Brien, 2005: 20). The latter tactic sees feminism framed in a very negative way, and the women in question are then put in a position of either denying being feminist or having to defend feminism. Either way, this makes the supposed shortcomings of feminism the focus of what is written, even if the women being spoken to are supportive of it (Howell 2002: 4).

Conclusion

On the whole, with the exception of a period in the mid-1970s, the information we have about IWD marches is more likely to come from newspaper reports that focus on other events, or IWD is used as a type of segue-way to discuss 'women's issues', whether these be to do with employment, pay or women's identities as feminists. Detailed information on marches is rarely given, particularly in relation to the claims being made; when these are given, they are more likely to be related to other political issues (such as war) than to systematic inequalities suffered by Australian women. IWD – and the claims that women are making in relation to it - therefore tends to be sidelined, even as it is being reported. This, in combination with the sporadic coverage it attracts even when it is well-attended, may be part of the reason why IWD has never gained a strong hold in the imagination and collective memory of the Australian public. For feminists, on the other hand, the space that is made available in the media to commemorate and celebrate IWD, limited though it is, still plays a role in maintaining the movement and creating a record of it over time.

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Positioning corporate reputation risk management in risk society

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Abstract

The purpose of this conceptual paper is to consider the rise of corporate reputation risk and corporate reputation risk management in the risk society theoretical framework. The paper considersthe relationship between corporate reputation risk and risk society concepts of individualisation, subpolitics and multiplying rationalities. It also considers the effect of structuring processes inherent in corporate reputation risk management strategies (such as auditing and Corporate Social Responsibility) on social relationships, using Telstra's reported 'community investment' in 2011-12 as an example. This paper makes the conceptual argument that as it is inevitable that individuals who live in a society will be exposed to social structures, the theoretical loss of freedom should be considered with a broader perspective of how individuals engage in these structures to benefit. The value of the paper is found in the sociological approach to a field that is still dominated by economics.

Keywords: risk society, corporate reputation risk, theoretical approach

Introduction

It is rare to read the business section of a newspaper and not to come across the concept of corporate reputation. In July 2012, for example, Telstra breached customer privacy by providing information on customer web browsing activity to a third party in North America. The Sydney Morning Herald reported that Telstra CEO David Thodey (earlier chosen as CEO of the Year by The Australian's business magazine, The Deal) had written an email to employees in which he stated that by the time action was taken, *"the damage to [Telstra's] reputation was already done"* and that Telstra customers were entitled to feel that Telstra had *"broken their trust"* (Sydney Morning Herald 2012). This paper considers the contextual social dynamics that may have ledThodeyto comment on the mistake's impact on Telstra's reputation and trust, rather than the ineffective internal regulation and inefficiencies that probably gave rise to the company's misconduct.

When one looks at the proliferation of research into the value and management of corporate reputation since 1990s, it is apparent that the corporate reputation concept, although logically having existed for as long as corporations themselves, is attracting more interest. One will find a growing number of books on the topic (e.g. Larkin 2003; Rayner 2003; Neef 2003; Gottschalk 2011), the founding of the Corporate Reputation Review Journal (in 1997) and new research consultancies such as the Reputation Institute (founded in 1997) which index corporate

reputation. Harzing's Publish or Perish program (Harzing 2007) finds that of the top 1000 academic works on 'corporate reputation', five are from the 1980s, almost 150 are from the 1990s, and the rest are from the 2000s and beyond.The economics field, concerned with questions of profitability, efficiency, money,has in the main part generatedthe growing research on corporate reputation. To complement economics' focus, social scientists may consider the qualitative presence of corporate reputation in contemporary society; its changing meaning, significance and impact on social relationships.

This paper first critiques Ulrich Beck's risk society thesis (1992, 2009) by using it to explain the increasing significance of corporate reputations in contemporary western societies. The paper then considers the effect of structuring processes inherent in corporate reputation risk management (such as auditing and Corporate Social Responsibility programs) on social relationships and in so doing, moves away from the standard conception of reputation as something shaped wholly by perceivers. Ultimately, this paper acknowledges the inevitability ofrisk society exposing individuals to re-embedded social structures of individualisation and subsequently makes the conceptual argument that theindividual's theoretical loss of freedom on account of being exposed to corporate reputation risk management strategies should be considered in a broader framework that also accounts for the benefits that individual derives from such emerging structuring processes.

Corporate reputations in risk society

In discussing Beck's thesis on therisk society, this paper draws on the corresponding concepts of individualization, subpolitics and multiplying claims to knowledge (Beck 1992; Beck *et al* 2003; Beck 2009).A pillar of risk society is Beck's theory of individualization—that in risk society individuals are removed from historically prescribed social forms, strippedof traditional security brought about by guiding norms and knowledge and subsequently re-embedded into a new type of social commitment (Beck 1992). The individual'snew social commitment in risk society forces them to assemble and perform their biography themselves under the general conditions of the welfare state (Beck 1994). The relationship between agent and structure in risk society is one that gives the individual the responsibility of monitoring risks and making decisions accordingly, however all within a framework structured by the welfare state.

In risk society, individualisation has contributed to the rise of subpolitics.Beck (1992)argues that subpolitics politicize the relationship between business and society and have emerged due to the uncoupling of the political-economic and techno-scientificspheres. Government(historically legitimised by citizen participation in institutions of representative democracy) is positioned in the former whereas business (historically legitimised by the pursuit of progress away from public scrutiny) is positioned in the latter. Beckwrites that the political-economic sphere was historically set up with a role to regulate the techno-scientific sphere. Since the 1980s however, the political-economic sphere has not been successful in regulating scientific developments, in large part because of the speed and complexity of such developments.Individuals, now with greater access to information, media, and courts and with increased responsibility, find themselves in a position to pressure companies to engage in 'legitimate' conduct (Beck 1992).Whereinstitutional changes have politicized the relationship between business and society,

I propose that corporate reputations—as society's evaluation of business conduct against set values and standards—have acquired a greater significance.

In a more recent paper, Beck *et al* (2003) present concepts intended to help identify the changes in contemporary society that indicate institutional changes, including individualisation, in risk society. One of these is the *"multiplication of claims to knowledge"* (Beck *et al* 2003: 20). Beck *et al* (2003) argue that as society realizes that science alone is not able to solve major contemporary issues—including climate change, terrorism, risks associated with flexible employment—conclusions to debates are constructedby drawing on information and rationalities from various knowledge bases. The more this is done, the more boundaries between previously separate fields of knowledge—e.g. the boundary between science and politics; experts and laymen—are redrawn and multiplied (Beck *et al* 2003).Consequently, society is experiencing a multiplication of valid means of justification, which gives rise to a constant multiplication of claims to knowledge (Beck *et al* 2003).

Applying Beck *et al*'s (2003) ideaof multiplication of valid means of justification tothe dynamic of subpolitics—wheresociety increasingly criticallymonitorsbusiness conduct—addscomplexity to the issue of corporate reputation.Corporate reputation is not measured solely against economic terms of fiscal performance (conventional bottom line) but increasingly against new, now valid,rationalities such as social impact (double bottom line), environmental impact (triple bottom line) and other impacts (Rayner 2003; Larkin 2003) as the quadruple and quintuple bottom lines emerge in the future. Where subpoliticsincrease the significance or value of corporate reputations, multiplying rationalities increase their complexity, and thus make them more unpredictable and risky.

To assemble the argument of complex corporate reputations from a different angle, individualisation—risksociety's social structure which makes the individual responsible for monitoring risks and managing their biography accordingly—fragmentssociety and in so doing, complexes the threats and opportunities that will shape corporate reputations in the future(Walker 2010). To identify threats and opportunities to corporate reputations, one must first locateor identifysocial groups.Yet it is difficult to neatly find the divisions and linkages between contemporary social actors because in risk society (Beck 1992), actors are liberated from traditional bonds such as nation, class and gender. Divisions in society which emerge in response to similar exposure to risk, similar values, expectations and standards, are ever changing to suit situations as they arise. Although one may still speak of 'interest groups', by the nature of social structure in risk society (Beck 1992), this concept will always refer to groups of individuals that situationally come together and separate just as casually.Consequently corporate reputations, in being created byfluid interest groups in society, exist as not only significant but also risky and unpredictable conglomerates of knowledge.

Effects of corporate reputation risk management on the perceiver

Corporate reputation is described in the economics literature as being*"fundamentally about perception and beliefs"* (Rayner 2003: 1) or being*"based on perceptions of the characteristics, performance and behaviour of a company…how well or how badly different groups of people –*

stakeholders – view a commercial name" (Larkin 2003: 1). Despite the clear indication that perceivers create corporate reputations, both authors go on to discuss strategies for how corporations can manage risks to their reputation. This assumes that corporations, with effort, can take on a role of shaping their reputation by managing its threats or risks. Yet if a risk is a possible event in the future, what exactly arecompaniesable tomanage, change oraffect?Rayner (2003), for example, lists seven threats and opportunities to corporate reputation that can be managed, one of which is Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).She writes that through CSR, businesses can address their social, ethical and environmental impactsand in so doing, can aim to meet the expectations of key stakeholders (Rayner 2003).

A founding father of the CSR concept, defines it as "*the obligation of businessmen to pursue those policies, to make those decisions, or to follow those lines of action which are desirable in terms of the objectives and values of our society*" (Bowen 1953: 6). Practically, these 'politics' and 'lines of action' encompass activities such as philanthropy, sponsorships, employee voluntarism, community skills development workshops and community consultationsessions. Considered individually, these activities have been performed by business since long before the 1980s, generally as acts of good will (Carroll 1999). Now positioned under the umbrella of CSR, however, I argued that they take on new meaning and purpose.Contemporary CSR programsgenerally remain voluntary acts, however often as components of business reputation risk management (e.g. Rayner 2003; Kytle and Ruggie 2005; Gottschalk 2011).

To give an example, Telstra issues sustainability reports on an annual basis that describe its 'investment' in the community. In its most recent sustainability report, Telstra informs readers that it spent $4.01 million, or 4.09% of its domestic pre-tax profit, on social and community investment in the 2011-12 year (Telstra 2012). Of this, 90% was spent on increasing digital literacy in Australia, including building awareness of online safety (Telstra 2012). Telstra provided grants to local communities to "enhance digital inclusion" amongst young Australians and to deliver training courses and other events to help senior Australians use mobile and internet technology. Telstra reports to have initiated direct contact with stakeholders through 2,285 consultation projects, which were carried out in response to communities' concerns about electromagnetic energyarising from new mobile base station proposals (Telstra 2012).On the final page of its 2012 sustainability report, Telstra provides assurance to readers by referring to the experts—Banarra provides moderate assurance and Ernst & Young provides limited assurance (Telstra 2012: 13). This type of report, which shows and assures readers that a company has invested in managing its relationship with community stakeholders, is not uncommon in industries such as mining, finance, retail, construction and manufacturing in Australia and other contemporary western societies.

Telstra's 'community investment' was presumably undertaken with the aim of making a profitat a later time—beckoningthe question:what will Telstra gainfrom its investment (other than potentially acquiring the loyalty of new consumers)?Consideringthe question in the broadcontext of corporate reputation, I posit that in the case of its digital inclusion programs Telstra would have theoretically fosteredthe growth of particular values, skills and 'needs' in program participants thatwould likely make them more sympathetic to Telstra's business goals and rationalities. In the case of community consultation, Telstra arguably minimised the threat of a dynamic performance of subpolitics by 'standardising' a particular political domain. Through

community consultation, the direct interaction between Telstra and groups of concerned individuals may have allowed Telstra to position its own messages before the potentially skewed messages from the mass media, and develop a shared rationality with the concerned individuals to have a similarconception ofthe mobile base station proposals. Through its 'community investment' strategies, Telstraarguably influenced the shaping of its own reputation by changingthe environment individuals perceive to create Telstra's reputation.

It is not controversial to argue that companies engage in activities with the intention of deriving some benefit. Concerns arise, however, when companies benefit at society's expense. To a sociologist it would be problematic if Telstra, as a private sector entity, embedded particular values and expectations in social structures and consequently limited individuals' subjectivity and freedom. However individuals living in risk society, with the responsibility of managing their own biographies, would generally also engage in activities with the intention of deriving some benefit.Opportunities to raise one's level of digital literacy hold positive implications for increasing one's social inclusion – from employability, to accessing social services, to increasing political participation and fostering growth of social capital.As social inclusion/exclusion is a concept developed separately of CSR (e.g. Silver 1994; Smyth 2010), it presents an appropriate method of assessing whether Telstra's structuring is balanced by positive outcomes for participating individuals. A proper evaluation demands empirical workand would also consider who participatesin programs and who does not, how participants come to participate in programs andthe depth of relationship and power distribution that is developed between company and individual through the programs. From a theoretical standpoint, caution of the structuring effects of CSR programs is warrantedbut could be addressedby evaluating CSR programs against non-business frameworks such as social inclusion.

Following implementation, Telstra markets its CSR programs to the wider public through annual sustainability reports, crucially, with guarantees from auditors.In line with my preceding argument, auditing CSR programs can theoretically be framed as corporate reputation risk management in that it alters the rationalities circulating the environment which individuals perceive in shaping Telstra's reputation. Structuring the environment through publications and audits becomes problematic when one considers the benefits perceivers may or may not acquire.Power (1997), who researches the meaning and function of auditing in contemporary society, argues that where audit has historically carried meanings of transparency and accountability, it has now emerged as a practice which, through trust in experts,often deters public scrutiny. Yet in many cases,audits are necessary because of the complexity of the subject matter being audited.On a conceptual level, the structuring effects of reporting and auditing may be warranted if the subject matter of the audit is indeed too complex for public scrutiny, and society has stable grounds on which to trust the auditor.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that corporate reputation risk management strategies—in response to the increasingly politicized relationship between business and individuals in risk society—have an inherent structuring effect which can theoretically limit citizen freedom.When considering business activity such as CSR and audits that shapeaspects of interaction between business and

society, one can see that corporate reputation becomes more than just an "*aggregate perceptual representation of a company's past actions and future prospects"* (Walker 2010: 370). Rather, it is often an "*aggregate perceptual representation*" of a prior representation of business that has been in part designed and filtered by the business itself. Although individuals in reflexive modernity, as the ultimate perceivers and creators of corporate reputations, are theoretically placed in empowered positions because they are free to draw on and create multiplying rationalities, the structuring effects of CSR programs and audits can be argued to limit this subjectivity.Yet, as discussed in relation to Telstra's participatory CSR programs, there is potential for participants to gain opportunities for greater social inclusion by engaging in CSR programs e.g. to increase digital inclusion or participate in consultation. So as it is inevitable that individuals who live in a society will be exposed to social structures, the theoretical loss of freedom should be considered with a broader perspective of how individuals engage in these structures to benefit.

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Warriors, warfighting and the construction of masculine identities

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Abstract

This paper explores some of the cultural, institutional, and discursive ideologies and practices involved in the conceptualisation of the modern 'warrior.' In particular, this report highlights the nexus between institutional practices which employ a specific rationality of (hegemonic) masculinity and their relevance to individual identity formation. In doing so, I argue that representations of the modern warrior are sites for contestation as they invariably draw upon particular expressions of masculinity to the exclusion of 'Others,' while simultaneously providing opportunities for the creation of a more inclusive masculine and warrior identities informed by evolving operational exigencies.

Key words: warrior, masculinity, identity, warfighting, Army

Introduction

The warrior spirit, or ethos, remains an essential part of Army history, culture and doctrine, and is recognised as playing a crucial role in hardening/preparing soldiers for battle. However, the resoluteness of this ethos and of the warrior identity itself has been contested by a series of social, political, and organisational transformations that have challenged the very definition of war and its closely related counterpart, the soldier. War has become a more chaotic and complex undertaking, comprising of a diverse array of actors ranging from more traditional soldiers to guerrillas, militias, warlords, and terrorists (Kiszely, 2008). Moreover, we have witnessed significant changes, not only in the methods of warfare due to technological innovation, but also the nature of warfare itself through increased military participation in state building, law enforcement, peacekeeping and counterterrorism.

Cognisant of these issues, I examine some of the cultural, institutional, and discursive ideologies and practices involved in the conceptualisation of the 'warrior' and ask, 'how are warrior identities constructed, and what ideologies, technologies, and raison d'être are employed in this process? I also explore the extent to which socially constructed notions of the warrior coalesce with notions of masculinity. In doing so I argue that representations of the modern warrior are sites for contestation as they invariably draw upon particular expressions of masculinity which alienate 'Others,' while simultaneously providing opportunities for the creation of more inclusive masculine and warrior identities due to evolving operational exigencies.

Warriors

In its most common usage, the warrior is "a person…distinguished in fighting…a hardy, courageous or aggressive person (Hastings, 2005: xi). In order to remain effective in combat, the Army needs its members to see themselves as fighters, and enact this view through a desire to close with, and kill an enemy.

Army culture is governed by a (moral) code of conduct that regulates the behaviour of personnel. Non-compliance to orders incurs sanctions or penalties that may appear harsh in comparison to civilian standards (Winter and Woodward, 2003). Similarly, the conduct of the warrior is also highly regulated by a code that also provides a moralistic framework for behaviour (Poole, 2001). This code separates the actions of warriors during warfare from the non-legitimated use of violence inflicted on and by others within civilian populations. Warriors do not indiscriminately take life without reason. Warriors 'kill' rather than 'murder.' Furthermore, they kill for a purpose – usually for a 'just' or greater cause rather than personal gain. Hence, warriors approach killing in a highly disciplined manner insofar as they must "learn to take only certain lives in certain ways, at certain times, and for certain reasons" (French, 2003: 3). In this sense, the term 'warrior' conveys moral superiority.

The term warrior, however, has been appropriated by civilian groups to describe a variety of social events and actors. There are 'weekend warriors,' a term used to describe: a group of surfers tackling big surf around the globe; a club for recreational musicians and singers who meet to form a band; as well as people who drink and party hard on weekends (Urban Dictionary, 2012). Walking or Road warriors refer to fund raising walking and running groups. Most often, the term warriors is used in reference to sport, describing players or competitors, or names of sporting clubs – with injured players becoming wounded warriors.

Shifting meanings of warrior

Within a military context, the warrior concept is not inviolate, undergoing several transformations in response to larger historical, societal, and technological transformations. During the American Civil War, for example, warriors were those men who displayed fearlessness in battle befitting the uniform they wore. Here, combat presented the ultimate test of masculinity/manhood, closely aligned with notions of bravery, honour, valour, sacrifice and patriotism. The societal impact of high casualties however meant that nexus between death and honour lost its salience (Linderman, 1987: 8 cited in Daddis, 2001).

Within the Australian context, the Army draws upon the ANZAC legend for its inspiration in modern times. In many respects, the 'digger' is the military equivalent to the Australian bushman. Diggers are often characterised as those readily adept, courageous, and daring amateur soldiers whose acts of heroism in Gallipoli culminated in the symbolic birth of the Australian nation (Howe, 1995). These diggers, in turn, came to symbolise 'Australian-ness' – synonymous with Australian qualities of larrikinism, mateship, and 'a fair go' (Donoghue and Tranter, 2011).

Several authors have examined the **c**onnections between military, national, and masculine identities invoked by ANZAC or similar legends. Nagel (1998) notes the symbiotic relationship that exists between nationalism and masculinity, and thus the gendered content of nation building. She states:

> …like the military, most state institutions have been historically and remain dominated by men. It is therefore no surprise that…masculinity and nationalism articulate well with one another, and the modern form of Western masculinity emerged at about the same time and place as modern nationalism (1998: 249).

The culture of nationalism resonates with masculine cultural and militaristic themes associated with bravery, courage, independence, duty, and patriotism. Consequently, concepts like warrior and nationalism are intertwined. Both terms refer to goals to be achieved, and a belief in collective commonality, invoking images from past and present, simultaneously implying both unity and Otherness. Authors such as Dandeker and Mason (2001) and Jans and Schmidtchen (2002), for example, note that traditional articulations of warrior not only exclude women, but also fail to include ethnic minorities into their symbolic representation. As a primarily Anglo Celtic construct, ethnic minorities are not part of the ethnic majority which national myths like ANZAC represent. Thus, whilst highly regarded and revered, one of the problems with the ANZAC ethos and mythology is that it "cannot divest itself of its nationalistic, militaristic tradition nor of its class-based, race-based, ethnocentric and male-centred origins" (Howe, 1995: 309).

Throughout World War II, the warrior spirit was personified by acts of 'heroism' wherein courage was understood as endurance or perseverance in the face of adversity. Australian and American commentators have noted the shift within the Army from the traditional warrior ethos to an ethos of professionalism (Jans and Schmidtchen, 2002; McCausland and Martin, 2001).

In response to the complexities of the modern battle space, others have extended the definition of warrior to incorporate notions of human and intellectual capital as in the case of the 'warrior scholar.' Such warrior scholars are not only culturally, socially and politically aware and technically competent, but also adept at operating in different roles, managing people and crisis (Efflandt and Reed, 2001). Having a cultural framework which generates a conducive environment for the development of deep and critical thinkers, and challenging ideas, is central to growing these scholars. Palazzo (2012) contends that such an environment does not exist within the Australian Army, or the ADF for that matter. He argues that a sense of 'anti-intellectualism' pervades the Australian Army, and the broader Australian society. Within the Australian Army context, anti-intellectualism takes the form of a "preference for 'doers' over 'thinkers' (Palazzo, 2012: 9).

When looking at the relationship between war's instrumental and existential aspects, Coker (2002) argues that war today lacks the human intimacy and values of the past. In this respect, the traditional war machine of the First and Second World Wars is a romantic and antiquated idea. War, Coker suggests, is now a completely instrumental endeavour designed to meet political ends. Today's modern war machine involves a

competition between rival technologies, and as such, a disconnected and impersonal affair wherein responsibility for human action becomes blurred.

With the privileging of science and technology over humans, Gray argues that the human factor in modern warfare has become less significant, even redundant, all but for the integration of humans into "cyborgian (human-machine) weapon systems" (2003: 216). In this sense, war has become cyborged, predicated on closely interconnected human-machine relationships. Within this context, both authors intimate the potentiality for soldiers to become technicians, and 'technowarriors' emotionally divorced from the battlefield. To prevent this from occurring there needs to be a balance between the technological and human dimensions of warfare. This balance can be achieved through the adoption of technological innovations that support, rather than supplant the warrior.

A shift in the ideology of the war machine also has implications for traditional representations of warrior and masculine identities. Social trends like technological and organisational rationalisation have contributed to the erosion of the warrior image and its association with heroic masculinity. As discussed earlier, the warrior is constructed around and through physical capabilities associated with close combat. The above trends however have resulted in creating greater distance between the soldier and means of destruction (French, 2003). Or as Ignatieff similarly observes, technological innovation and modern weaponry has increased the 'moral and geographical distance between warrior and prey' (1999: 157) separating individuals (warriors) from the results of their actions.

Nonetheless, the changing methods of warfare with their increased emphasis on technologies for surveillance, digitised information systems and information collection, has opened the door for more women to work in these fields, in the process expanding their roles within the military. Technology and its utilisation is gender neutral, and consequently, the 'digital gender gap' in this domain is closing. Significantly, servicewomen can gain valuable leadership roles through their involvement with information technology (IT) (Brower, 2002: 62). Consequently, technology has the potential to reconfigure the gender identities of soldiers and warriors, leading to a 'redefinition of war's masculine nature' (Gray, 2003: 220). Indeed, technology has spawned a new enemy – cyber warriors engaging in attacks against domestic and foreign governments (Nauert, 2012). In response, military and security institutions have recruited their own cyber warriors (often computer hackers) to tackle cyber warfare (Srivastava, 2012).

Thus, the term warrior is far from static, acquiring new meanings that reflect changing societal and military expectations of soldiers, as well as the shifting nature of modern warfare.

Creating warriors

The idea of the readily adept amateur soldier who displayed proficiency and heroism, exemplified in the ANZAC myth, has led to the belief in the 'natural fighting abilities' of men (Jans and Schmidtchen, 2002). This belief has since been proliferated by a series of authors who associate the warrior (and corresponding patterns of

behaviour) with a 'normative' or 'essentialist' form of masculinity which is understood as being an expression of, or determined by, biology. In this respect, abilities to engage in 'war fighting' or 'warriorhood' are governed by the possession of specific 'traits' such as aggression, physical or mental toughness, tenacity, and bravery, which are frequently sex-specific in application and thus coded as masculine (Gutmann, 2000; Ricks, 1997).

These essentialist theories of masculinity have been critiqued by a number of sociologists on the basis that they tend to ascribe or 'fix' an individual's identity and behaviour to anatomical or genetic difference, and thus fail to account for creativity or individual agency, in the process, denying possibilities for change (Buchbinder, 1994; Connell, 1995).

In general, cultures of hegemonic masculinity pervade most military organisations and institutions. Hegemonic discourses of masculinity within military settings frequently employ an action typology in order to define masculinity. Masculinity is something men do, an accomplishment, or performative act, with the physicality of men's bodies playing a crucial part in how they come to understand gender and warrior identities (Higate, 2003). Militarised masculinity as a discourse is reinforced by valorising traditionally-ascribed 'masculine' tropes, such as rationality, stoicism, bravery, and aggressiveness in the military, and discouraging characteristics that could be considered feminine (Tacey, 1997).

Militarised masculine identity construction is facilitated through the articulation and inculcation of institutional, collective and social values during training. Training is a period of intense identity construction, one that aims to disconnect recruits from their previous (civilian) identities so they can develop new masculine and warrior identities that are aligned to institutional expectations and goals. As Kovitz explains:

> …military masculinity has less to do with men's essential characteristics than with what they seem to represent in relation to the military's mandate. The military's need to segregate its members from civilian society and to develop and sustain in them a solidarity…" (2003: 6).

Thus, 'solidarity' is achieved through a process of social integration which entails the formation of a social identity which emphasises the commitment of an individual to a group or collective (Durkheim, 1964).

The discussion above highlights the extent to which masculine 'traits' are socially constructed. Indeed, such traits are designed to improve the organization's operations as they assist in constructing a soldier who is able to go to war and perform various duties perceived necessary for military operations. However, the expanded role of military operations into Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) (Franke, 2000), such as humanitarian and peacekeeping roles, has led to a re-evaluation of the warrior and warfighting. These roles necessitate a greater breadth and depth of competencies, including the application of soft and hard power (Kiszely, 2008) – an amalgamation of warrior and un-warrior like attributes such as compassion, tolerance, empathy and emotional intelligence (Australian Army, 2007).

Female warriors

Recent changes to defence force policy has increased opportunities for servicewomen to engage in 'direct combat duties.' Debates surrounding the expansion of women's roles within military organisations, and the perceived effects their increased participation has on organisational structures, cultures, and operational capabilities, are frequently articulated in essentialist terms. Opponents argue that women's innate physiological inferiority in terms of strength and endurance, as well as the added 'incapacitating' effects of menstruation and childbirth, make them ill-suited to combat roles. The recent proposal for female participation in frontline roles draws on this discourse, with the legitimacy of women's serving capacity strongly caveated under the proviso that they meet the demanding 'physical requirements' necessary for such roles. In tandem, concerns over the maintenance of selection standards also feature (Dodd, 2011). In this respect, the current discourse surrounding the exclusion of Australian women into front line combat roles de-emphasises equity related concerns in favour of an emphasis on operational effectiveness (with related reduced physical capacities viewed as potential threats to effectiveness). According to the *Review into the treatment of women in the Australian Defence Force* (2012), providing female soldiers with the full combat experience increases their promotional opportunities, and enables them to "prove themselves a 'real' soldiers…cementing their authority as leaders" (Febbaro, 2003 cited in Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012: 304).

The inclusion of women into front line combat roles is one thing. Having female enlistees willing to apply and undertake these duties is another. As one 'female digger' reported in an interview with Patrick Lion for the Daily Telegraph:

> I'm sure there is a minority of women who are capable of killing but I don't know any who would be up for it. It's not the norm" (Lion, 2012).

Other female personnel interviewed voiced their concern regarding women's increased vulnerability to rape and torture while on operations. One noted that meeting the required physical standards meant that women would "almost [give] up everything that it means to be a woman – including having children." (Lion, 2012) The impact of violence, threats of rape and torture, bullying, balancing family and career here are framed as women's issues, rather than issues affecting all personnel irrespective of gender.

Thus, the discourse surrounding female warriors draws to the fore the relational character of masculine and warrior identities which are often expressed in essentialist terms. However, the relational character is not solely confined between the sexes. As masculine identities themselves can be viewed as being hierarchically organised (Connell, 1995), these configurations take on greater significance within a hierarchical organisation such as Army. Here notions of rank would intersect with masculinity, suggesting the possibility of Commissioned Officer and Other Rank masculinities. Additionally, these expressions of masculinity would conceivably differ in their expression according to functional roles, giving rise to infantry, signaller, engineer corps, and Special Operations identity formations.

Conclusion

I have argued that warrior identities are socially constructed – evolving and acquiring renewed significance as a consequence of historical, social, and technological transformations. At the organisational level, warrior identities are shaped by a code of conduct governing and regulating the behaviour of soldiers. More significantly, the expanded role of the Australian Army into military operations other than war, in conjunction with technological innovation, has implications for the conduct of warriors, as well as traditional notions of warfighting. Thus, these transformations necessitate the acknowledgement of there being multiple warrior identities, or warrior(s) (plural).

I have also argued that warrior identities are 'made,' or constructed, through indoctrination into military cultures and participation in established practices like training. In turn, cultures of military masculinity shape this training process. Indeed, warrior identities are produced in accordance with an organisational rationality which favours expressions of hegemonic masculinity so that soldiers can meet operational imperatives. Thus, the inculcation of the warrior is both a discursive and instrumental process achieved through the performance of specific tasks, and exposure to institutional norms, values and cultures that are coded masculine. Military masculinity is therefore not a fact of nature or monolithic, but a socially constructed identity that is shaped in accordance with other considerations such as rank, function, corps, and warfighting abilities.

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Searching for 'wilderness': environmental protests in *The Mercury* and *The Age*

Bruce Tranter

Abstract

'Wilderness' is a highly contested concept but one that has been used effectively by environmentalists to frame environmental issues and valorise wild places, particularly the wild rivers, lakes and old growth forests of Tasmania. Content analyses of articles sampled from *The Mercury* and *The Age* suggest substantial variation in the reporting of 'wilderness' between the two newspapers. In the Tasmanian *Mercury* 'wilderness' is only weakly associated with coverage of environmental campaigns in areas environmentalists claim to be wild places, but is more strongly associated with environmental campaigns in *The Age*. Over a similar period, the phrase 'forest protest' also emerges as a distinctive frame. Yet while 'forest protests' occurs more frequently in *The Mercury* than *The Age* over time, it is only associated with 'wilderness' in *The Age*. The findings suggest that while differences in the tone of 'wilderness' articles in the two newspapers may have softened since the Franklin campaign of 1982-83, when it comes to framing and reporting 'wilderness', substantial differences remain between the two papers.

Introduction

Environmentalists in Australia have for decades used the concept of 'wilderness' to valorise wild places. Attaching the label 'wilderness' is an attempt to signify the 'wild', unspoilt quality of these remote areas. The process of setting aside wild areas as distinct, of differentiating them as other than human, is a powerful way of highlighting what for many environmentalists is their intrinsic value. Categorising wild places as 'wilderness' is a strategy used to great effect by environmentalists in Australia, particularly in Tasmania, with its long history of environmental campaigns and protest actions aimed at the preservation of wild rivers, lakes and old growth forests.

Such campaigns began with the attempt to save Lake Pedder in the Tasmanian southwest in the late 1960s and early 1970's (Gee 2001). The beauty of Lake Pedder and other photogenic areas were publicised by environmental aesthetes, the photographers, painters and musicians who played a pivotal role in bringing wilderness areas to the public. The (literally) trail blazing photographer Olegas Truchanas was the first to promote the value and beauty of the Tasmanian 'wilderness' to the Tasmanian public through his popular slide shows in the early 1970s. The baton was later taken up by Truchanas' protégé Peter Dombrovskis (Cica 2011). The latter's iconic image of *Morning Mist, Rock Island bend* powerfully symbolised wilderness and brought the Franklin River to national prominence during the federal election campaign in 1983, when it appeared in colour advertisements in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age*.

Yet the notion of 'wilderness' as Nelson and Callicott (2008: 1) suggest, 'remains emotionally highly charged, contested, and controversial'. Cronon (1995: 85) argues that wilderness:

> tends to privilege some parts of nature at the expense of others. Most of us, I suspect, still follow the conventions of the romantic sublime in finding the mountaintop more glorious than the plains, the ancient forest nobler than the grasslands, the mighty canyon more inspiring than the humble marsh.

Labelling this the "received wilderness idea", Nelson and Callicott (2008: 4) explain that wilderness 'connotes many different and sometimes contradictory things to many different people. To some it connotes a place for a certain kind of physically challenging recreation; to others...a place of solitude and reverential reflection; to still others...a habitat for big fierce predators'. But what is 'wilderness' and how has the concept been employed by environmentalists? A common theme running through definitions of wilderness is the notion that it is 'untouched by human hands' (Nelson 1998:154). Rothenberg (1995: xiv) succinctly explains how the concept evolved:

> First, it was [a] dangerous expanse beyond the frontier that needed to be tamed in order to be ready for human habitation. Now as the world has been mowed over by our renovations, nostalgia for the natural has set in. We long for the wilderness. We pine for the shrinking grandeur of nature untrammelled by humankind.

While problematising 'wilderness' potentially undermines its efficacy as a concept in environmental campaigns, many are highly critical of the concept. Bayet (1998: 318), for example, points out that '[T]he concept of wilderness as nature without any trace of human interaction dehumanises the indigenous peoples living within that landscape'.

'Wilderness' therefore, is very rarely pristine or untrammelled by humans. Wilderness is also argued to be a social or cultural construction. For example, Cronon (1995: 69) argues 'It is

not a pristine sanctuary where the last remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization. Instead, it's a product of that civilization and could hardly be contaminated by the very stuff of which it is made'. Rather for Cronon (1995: 12; 11), wilderness is 'a complex cultural construction' that 'embodies a dualistic vision in which the human is entirely outside the natural. If we allow ourselves to believe that nature, to be true, must also be wild, then our very presence in nature represents its fall'.[i]

Lester (2005:125) suggests that '...even into the 1960s, as organised efforts to protect the southwest of Tasmania began, the word 'wilderness' maintained a specific, descriptive and uncontested meaning. It defined a particular type of place – a place without roads or human interference (indigenous histories were ignored), not an inherent promise of something more' (Lester 2005:125). However, the meaning of wilderness shifted over time. A decade later 'Wild lands had become desirable for what they offered in their wild state', so that by 1982 during the Franklin campaign 'the idea of wilderness as desirable has begun to enter the mainstream. When used in news, the word was powerful, emotive and loaded' (Lester 2005: 126). While eco-philosophers, environmentalists and others may argue over the term, this preliminary study is focussed upon how 'wilderness' in the context of wild places and environmental campaigns has been reported in print media.

If Lester (2005) is correct and 'wilderness' became mainstream during the Franklin campaign, this should be reflected in print media coverage of subsequent environmental campaigns related to wild places. To what extent do the print media and environmentalists engage in a struggle to shape the agenda on environmental campaigns? Are print media sometimes resistant to the attempts of environmentalists to shape public opinion (see Hutchins and Lester 2006)? If 'wilderness' is used as framing device (e.g. Gitlin 1980; Noakes and Johnston 2005) by environmental organisations and groups, is this reflected in print media coverage of Tasmanian environmental campaigns after the Franklin?

Routinisation of Environmental Issues

Lester's (2005) claims regarding the mainstreaming of 'wilderness' is supported by the work of Pakulski et al. (1998). Drawing upon Max Weber, they argue that environmental issues in Australia have become 'routinised' as radical new issues and 'unconventional' forms of political participation enter the political mainstream. Routinisation involves the 'absorption of social innovations into the established, and typically institutionalised, ways of doing and experiencing things through repetition and habituation' (Pakulski et al. 1998: 239). Referring to the Australian case, they suggest that symptoms of routinisation include declining levels of environmental group membership (Pakulski et al. 1998, p. 241), a 'shift from new, unusual and unique' (e.g. the environment as a 'new' political issue) 'to old, expected and familiar' (i.e. environmental issues are absorbed into the platforms of political parties) (Pakulski et al. 1998: 239).

Pakulski et al. (1998) suggest environmental issues divide into 'green' (i.e. logging of forests and wildlife preservation) and 'brown' clusters (i.e. pollution and waste disposal), claiming mass media tend to concentrate upon 'brown' issues, while environmental groups focus their campaigns around 'green' issues. In the context of protest campaigns 'wilderness' is clearly a 'green' issue. In fact, according to Pakulski and Crook (1998: 9), ''the environment' hit Australian headlines in the early 1980s defined almost exclusively as a political issue related to wilderness conservation and opposition to logging', although it is not clear when 'wilderness' was first used in the framing of environmental campaigns. Coverage of

environmental issues also varies across print media, with Lester (2005: 123) finding that '[I]n up to half of its stories on the Gordon-below-Franklin dam issue over much of the 10-week blockade period, the *Age* used the word 'wilderness' in its naming of the region under threat. The *Mercury* used it less than five times in total'.

To an extent this research extends Lester's work on 'wilderness' in the Franklin River campaign and examines, empirically, aspects of the routinisation thesis. Following Pakulski et al. (1998), 'Wilderness' is expected to be treated by print media as a 'green' issue that is associated with campaigns seeking to protect 'wild places' (e.g. old growth forests) to a greater extent than other environmental campaigns. Further, if Pakulski and Crook (1998) are correct and environmental issues have become increasingly routinised and the incidence of protest actions has waned, 'wilderness' should be portrayed in a less divisive manner in relation to environmental protests, and, we should witness a shift in the 'tone' of articles toward more positive coverage over time.

Data and Method

Two approaches are adopted here. First, findings of keyword searches of electronic databases for *The Mercury* (1988-2011) and *The Age* (1991-2011) newspapers are reported to show the incidence of the term 'wilderness' over time. Second, preliminary content analyses were conducted of 'wilderness' articles in *The Mercury* on every Saturday for selected years (1988; 1995; 2004; 2007) with some excerpts from articles presented as examples of 'wilderness' coverage. The earliest year of *Mercury* data capture, 1988, acts as a reference point, with three years chosen due to their high incidence of coverage (1995; 2004; 2007). 'Wilderness' articles were also coded for tone (positive, negative, neutral) and any links to environmental campaigns were recorded.

Results

The occurrence of the keyword 'wilderness' in *The Mercury* newspaper between 1988 and 2011 is shown in Figure 1. The top line represents all articles containing 'wilderness', the bottom line those mentioning The Wilderness Society (TWS) only, and the middle line 'wilderness' articles with TWS articles removed.

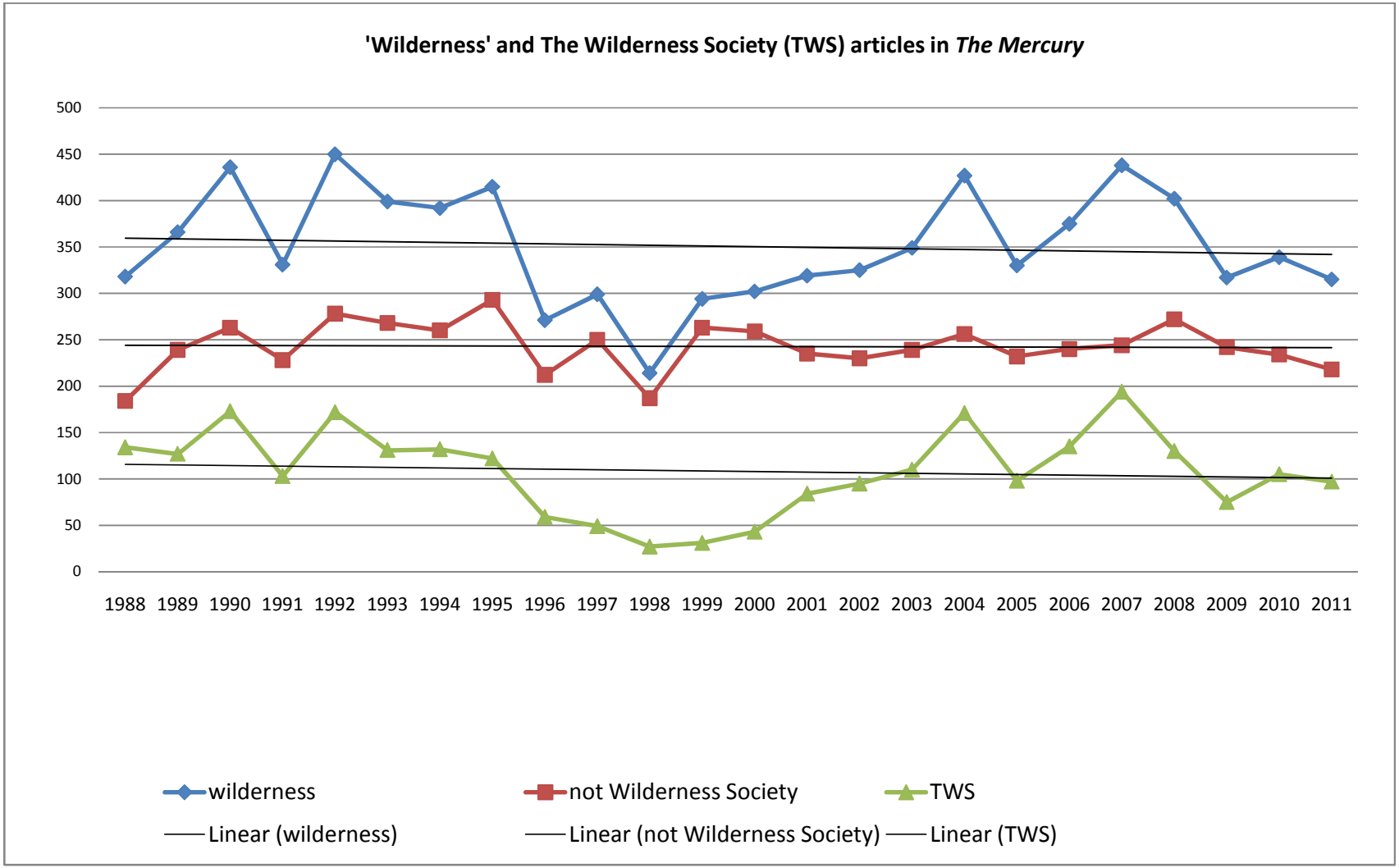
'Wilderness' and The Wilderness Society (TWS) articles in *The Mercury*
500
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011
wilderness
not Wilderness Society
TWS
Linear (wilderness)
Linear (not Wilderness Society)
Linear (TWS)

Figure 1

Certain environmental campaigns and election years align with 'wilderness' peaks in *The Mercury*. The state election year of 1992 was notable for the formation of the Australian Greens, the 10 week forest blockade at East Picton and calls by TWS and the Tasmanian Green Independents to halt logging in the Tarkine. Another peak for 'wilderness', (although not for TWS) occurs in 1995, relating to actions to save the Tarkine from the construction of the Heemskirk Link Road. TWS coverage dropped when campaigners moved to distance the organisation from the 'radical' protest actions of the 'Tarkine Tigers', as Law (2001: 21) explained, 'TWS tried to do things other than direct action to stop the road'. The withdrawal of TWS from high profile direct action tactics in the mid to late 1990s, accounts for their lower coverage during that period.

Clear peaks also occur in three federal election years, the 'green' election of 1990 (Bean et al. 1990) and more recently in 2004 and 2007, where the increased 'wilderness' coverage is due to TWS related articles. Detailed analyses of articles for these two years is ongoing, but these peaks are likely to be related to the joint TWS /Greenpeace protests in the Styx valley, including the Global Rescue Station (TWS 2012a), and to Mark Latham's ill conceived foray into the Tasmanian logging debate during the 2004 election campaign. Coverage of the 'Gunns 20', the 20 individuals and groups involved in a law suit initiated by Gunns Ltd (TWS 2012b) is expected to account for much of the TWS coverage in 2007. Alternatively, the federal election year of 1998 was a low point for 'wilderness' in *The Mercury,* again influenced by TWS' withdrawal from direct actions in the mid to late 1990s.

Content analysis of article text sampled in 1988, 1995, 2004 and 2007 indicates that the framing of the Tarkine as 'wilderness' by environmentalists was viewed sceptically by *Mercury* journalists. For example:

'Protestors stage-managed their own arrests in a day of theatre and farce on Tasmania's so-called road to nowhere yesterday…The 50 kilometre, four wheel drive dirt road passes through what is known to green groups as the Tarkine Wilderness" (Mercury 1/3/1995).

'Tasmania's so-called Tarkine wilderness area was the focus of national protest action yesterday' (Mercury 20/5/1995).

'Dr Brown was arrested on February 23 with 12 others for trespassing in the so-called Tarkine wilderness and later spent five days in jail for failing to agree to bail conditions made against him' (Mercury 3/6/1995).

Not all coverage was critical however, with one story beginning 'Conservationists have had a big win with the listing of Tasmania's Tarkine Wilderness on the national heritage register.' Quoting the Australian Heritage Commission chair, the article continued: ' "We will keep campaigning to stop the road" Commission chairwoman Wendy McCarthy said: "The Tarkine contains an excellent example of a large area of relatively undisturbed rainforest and is an important wilderness area in Tasmania" ' (Mercury 18/3/1995).

Yet while journalists were sometimes sceptical, the unproblematic use of 'wilderness' by journalists, environmentalists and occasionally their opponents is also notable in *Mercury* articles. For example, in the excerpt above, the Tarkine is claimed to be 'relatively undisturbed rainforest' (i.e. not untrammelled) but also 'wilderness'. A mill proponent maintained, 'We do not want to use wilderness, we can use regrowth [logs]' (Mercury 21/1/1995). Such application of 'wilderness' tends to support Lester's (2005) claim of mainstreaming, that routinisation of the concept has occurred. The fact that even opponents of environmental campaigns engage with the concept, suggests that by the mid 1990s, Tasmanian environmentalists had been successful in framing wild areas as 'wilderness'.

Interestingly however, TWS and 'wilderness' rarely co-occur in *Mercury* articles sampled here. TWS spokespeople did not tend to refer to 'wilderness' in relation to forest actions or other protests, perhaps because they are well aware of the problematic notion of the concept. 'Wilderness' is a particularly sensitive notion in a state where indigenous interests are sometimes aligned with those of environmentalists, on other occasions at odds with them. Still, when veteran TWS campaigner Geoff Law was interviewed for a human interest story and asked 'What makes you angry?', he did not hesitate in replying 'The hideous destruction of Tasmania's wilderness' (Mercury 7/8/2004).

Table 1: 'Wilderness' and major Tasmanian environmental campaigns

	The Mercury	*The Age*
Franklin	.14	.30
Wesley Vale	.10	-.10
Tarkine	.13	.59*
Styx	-.10	.29
Florentine	.09	.18
Forest Protests	.04	.36*

Notes: Correlations are Kendal's tau b; * p<.05

Table 2: Coverage of 'Wilderness' and Forest Protests over time

	The Mercury	*The Age*
Wilderness	*-.09*	*.12*
Forest Protests	*.33**	*.25*

Notes: Correlations with year (Kendal's tau b).

Some limited statistical analyses (Table 1) have been conducted, correlating *Mercury* 'wilderness' articles and those containing keywords representing high profile environmental

campaigns (i.e. Franklin River, Wesley Vale, Tarkine, Styx and Florentine). Wesley Vale, a campaign against building a pulp mill on farming land in northern Tasmania was not a 'wilderness' issue and serves as a reference point. The other campaigns relate to areas claimed to be 'wilderness' by many environmentalists - a 'wild river' and old growth forests. While further analyses will be undertaken, these preliminary results provide a sense of the relationship between 'wilderness' and individual campaigns. Associations for *The Age* are reported for comparative purposes, again extending Lester's (2005) research.

None of the environmental campaigns as reported in *The Mercury* are associated with 'wilderness' at the 95% level of statistical significance, with the magnitude of correlations close to zero. However, the Tarkine campaign is positively associated with 'wilderness' (tau b .59; $p<.05$) in *The Age*. The phrase 'forest protest' is also positively correlated with 'wilderness' in *Age* articles (tau b .36; $p<.05$), although not in *The Mercury,* suggesting that 'wilderness' and 'forest protests' are both frames associated with environmental actions in the Victorian newspaper.

Correlations with 'wilderness' and time are not significant at the .05 level for either newspaper (Table 2). While 'forest protests' do increase over time in *The Mercury,* suggesting a potentially distinct frame, the question of whether their portrayal is positive or negative requires further research. Finally, examinations of the tone of 'wilderness' articles in *The Mercury* indicate that the proportion of positive 'wilderness' articles has increased across the four years sampled (Figure 2).

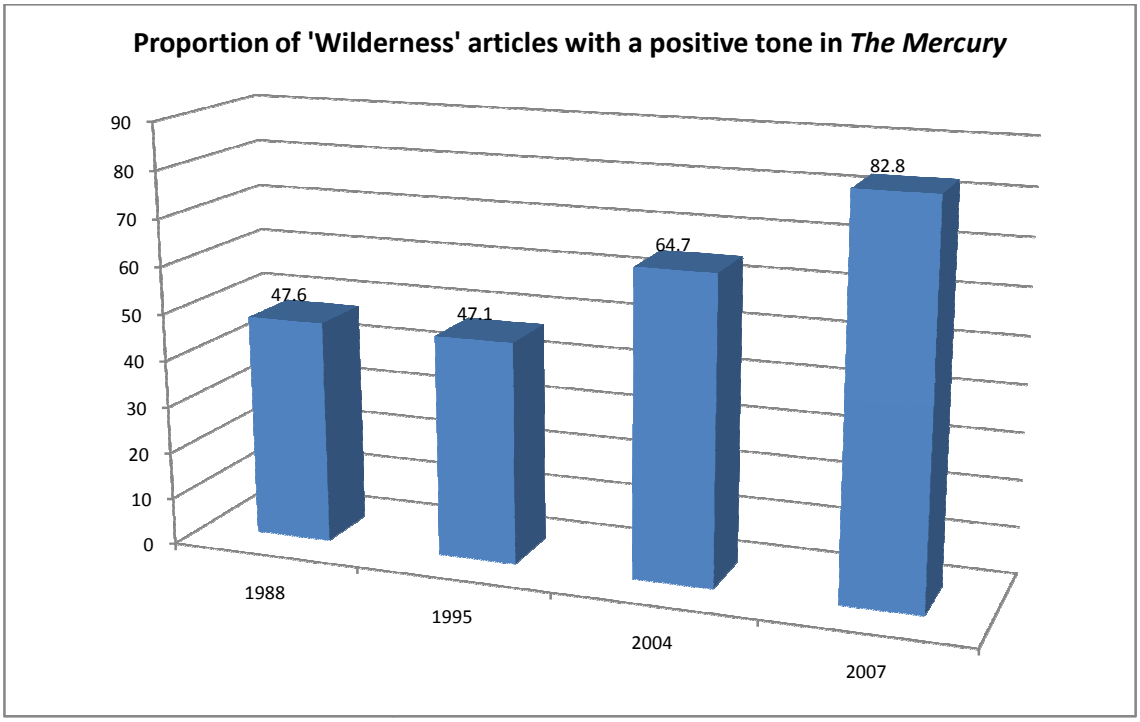

Figure 2

Conclusion

This research supports claims that 'wilderness' is an important frame used in environmental campaigns to protect 'wild places' (e.g. old growth forests). However, there appears to be considerable variation across print media sources in the way 'wilderness' is reported in association with environmental campaigns, with 'wilderness' rarely appearing in *The Mercury* in this context. There are several potential reasons for the relative absence of the term 'wilderness' in this Tasmanian newspaper. Although Tasmania is in many ways the 'greenest' Australian state, with several influential environmental organisations and groups, 5 Greens in state parliament and 2 Greens Senators, it is also home to a large and vehemently anti-environmentalist constituency. Perhaps, as Lester (2005) argues, newspapers tend to employ language deemed to be compatible with the preferences of their readers, in this case the majority of whom are not environmentally sympathetic. Editorial influence upon journalistic content may also serve to remove potentially divisive terms such as 'wilderness'. These reasons may partly account for 'wilderness' being downplayed to a greater extent in the Tasmanian *Mercury* than in *The Age* with its (relatively) urbanised, environmentally aware audience.

Yet major newspapers are commercial enterprises that must respond to shifting consumer demand in order to survive. In earlier research, Sylow (1994: 209) found that 'Increasing public support for environmentalism and declining newspaper sales also contributed to the change in press coverage' in *The Mercury* after the Franklin campaign. Following a period of declining readership that was identified as a response to 'unsympathetic and biased treatment

of the Franklin dam debate...*The Mercury* started portraying conservation issues more favourably' (1994: 209).

There is some evidence here that 'wilderness' has become a less divisive issue for *The Mercury*, with a shift toward more positive coverage over time. In 1995, twelve years after the Franklin blockade ended, *Mercury* journalists adopted what could be interpreted as a sceptical tone in referring to the 'so-called Tarkine wilderness'. Perhaps, as Lester (2005: 133) maintained in relation to coverage of the Franklin campaign, '*Mercury* journalists may have been aware of the political power of the idea of wilderness, and thus the importance of not identifying the area as such, or perhaps they simply did not believe the area to be wilderness'. A more positive interpretation is that journalists recognised the conceptually problematic nature of 'wilderness' and tended to avoid it when referring to wild places in Tasmania. It remains to be seen how environmental campaigners will respond to the threat of hunting in national parks, following the passing of legislation in New South Wales in June 2012. However, regardless of the contested nature of the concept, it is likely that 'wilderness' will once again be employed as a frame in an attempt to defend these wild places.

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[i] In a critique of Cronon, Booth (2011: 283), drawing upon Naess, argues that wilderness 'is not a cultural concept, but a fluxing and complex gestalt that includes both human and more-than-human-agency'.

Gender, Inequality and Bushfire: Putting Australia in international context

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Abstract

The study of gender and associated questions about inequality and the social construction of masculinity and femininity are important elements of social science research. While gender has often been a focus in disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, the social construction of gender is now analysed in areas ranging from criminology to international political economy. The importance of gender is also recognised in the trend towards "gender mainstreaming" evident in many national and international policy discourses. Disaster studies, however, adopted the use of gendered analysis quite late, and it was not until the 1990s that a body of literature started to emerge. Since then, there has been a steady increase in international research dealing with the relationship between gender and disaster. Australian research on bushfire has yet to make use of the insights from this work. In this paper, I offer some reasons as to why a gendered analysis of bushfire preparedness, response and recovery is important. I also highlight some of the shortcomings associated with the few attempts that do exist to understand bushfire through a gendered lens.

Key words: Gender, Masculinity, Bushfire, Wildfire, Disaster.

Word count (inc. references): 3,004.

For decades now, gender has been a focus in disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, with the social construction of gender now analysed in areas ranging from criminology to international political economy. The importance of gender is also recognised in the trend towards "gender mainstreaming" evident in many national and international policy discourses (Walby, 2005). Disaster studies adopted the use of gendered analysis quite late, however, and it was not until the late 1990s that the influential collection *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster* (Enarson & Morrow, 1998) was published. Since then, there has been a steady increase in international literature dealing with the relationship between gender and disaster but there is still only a limited amount of work that mentions gender in the context of bushfire in Australia (Beaston & McLennan, 2005; Beaston *et al*., 2008; Cox, 1998; DeLaine *et al*., 2008; Eriksen *et al.*, 2010; Maleta, 2009; Poiner, 1990). For the most part, gender remains a peripheral rather than central theme in bushfire research. This paper draws on research into gender and disaster, as well as literature dealing with masculinity, to propose some ways in which insights from these areas may be used to better understand bushfire preparedness, communication, response and recovery. The idea is to move beyond simply looking at "women and bushfire" and to incorporate an analysis of constructions of masculinity as well.

There is now substantial evidence to suggest that, globally, women are at greater risk from the effects of disaster than men. The groundbreaking collection *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster* (Enarson & Morrow, 1998) outlined gendered dimensions to the following nine stages of disaster:

1. Exposure to risk
2. Perception of risk
3. Preparedness behaviour
4. Warning communication and response
5. Physical impacts
6. Psychological impacts
7. Emergency response
8. Recovery
9. Reconstruction

What emerges from this work on gender and disaster is that women are more vulnerable to the effects of disaster than men. It is important to note that these gendered differences do not emanate from some innate or biological difference between men and women. Rather, they are the result of socio-political factors, including gender inequality. Marginalised groups are more likely to suffer from the effects of disaster, so women may be disadvantaged because of their social position.

For example, women are less likely than their male counterparts to have been taught how to swim. They are also more likely to wear restrictive or inappropriate clothing as a result of gendered expectations of dress (Enarson & Chakrabarti, 2009; Enarson & Morrow, 1998). It is, therefore, not surprising that women are over-represented in deaths from drowning during floods and tsunamis. Indeed, following the Asian tsunami in 2004, women made up as much as 80 per cent of the dead in certain parts of Indonesia, India and Sri Lanka (Ariyabandu, 2009, p.11).

In some instances, regardless of type of natural hazard, women are hampered in their attempts to flee because they are more likely to experience restrictions on their outdoor or public movements (Ariyabandu, 2009; Chakrabarti & Walia, 2009). Women are also more likely to take on care-giving responsibilities for children, the elderly and the infirm, and it has been theorised that these responsibilities often impede a woman's ability to escape imminent danger (Enarson & Morrow, 1998). Internationally, in terms of preparation and communication, women are less likely to be literate and therefore the odds of women being able to read and understand preparedness information are diminished (Enarson & Morrow, 1998).

While factors such as literacy and restrictions on public movement are less likely to impact upon women in secular, industrialised states, there are still important gendered differences relating to social and economic inequality. In Japan, for example, single mothers are substantially over-represented in injury and death-toll statistics from earthquakes (Masai,2009). There are several aspects which help explain why this is the case. First of all, there are significantly more single mothers than single fathers with care-giving responsibilities, so the risk for women is increased. Second, single parents generally are more vulnerable in disasters as there is often only one adult in the household. Third, single mothers tend to have a lower than average income, and in

the case of Japan (and numerous other places), single mothers are also socially stigmatised. They therefore tend to live in substandard housing, in poorer parts of cities, and this housing is ultimately more likely to collapse on them during an earthquake (Masai, 2009).

The most obvious way in which the gendered nature of disaster response tends to be recognised, is the heavily male-dominated nature of formal emergency services organisations. While women's actions are an important part of responses to disaster events – the international evidence suggests women's contributions are crucial to disaster mitigation and recovery – women tend to be largely excluded from official emergency response agencies (Ariyabandu, 2009; Fothergill, 1998; Mishra, 2009; Robertson, 1998). The reasoning follows, that if women are not part of these organisations, they do not have the same access to the education and information these organisations possess and are therefore more likely to be disadvantaged when disaster strikes.

There has been some attempt to make room for "women's voices" and consider women's experiences of bushfire in Australia (e.g. Cox, 1998) but there has been almost no attempt to understand how this relates more broadly to the social construction of gender and the institutionalised inequality between men and women. In a rare exception to this rule, Eriksen and colleagues (2010) recently produced the first peer-reviewed article dealing with bushfire and gender in Australia from a social constructionist perspective. Advancing such a perspective in bushfire research, however, can prove a challenge.

There is some recognition in Australia of the male-dominated nature of the emergency services. Emergency management has been described by Robertson (1998: 201), for example, as being: "[b]y tradition if not by right, a male prerogative in Australia." Recent research into fire services has shown that women make up less than a quarter of all rural fire volunteers in Australia and many are placed in non-operational or supportive / administrative roles (Beaston & McLennan, 2005). Even into the early 2000s, some rural fire brigades did not admit female members (Tyler & Fairbrother, forthcoming).

To try and rectify this substantial gender imbalance there have been intermittent attempts to recruit more women into rural volunteer fire-fighting (Beaston et al, 2008) and a few isolated bushfire safety programs exist which specifically target women (e.g. see: DeLaine et al., 2008). There are, however, problems with both of these approaches. Firstly, attempts to recruit women into the fire services, even if extremely successful, will not necessarily transform the masculinised construction of fire-fighting. That is, emergency and disaster management organisations are often highlighted as having heavily masculine and often military-based histories (Fordham & Ketteridge, 1998; Robertson, 1998). Fire-fighting is therefore associated with traditionally masculine attributes, and if women become part of these organisations they are largely expected to conform to masculine norms rather than transforming them (Maleta, 2009). Thus, despite more inclusive recruitment, fire-fighting remains culturally masculinised.

Of equal note is the institutional perception of women's responses to bushfire. This issue is well illustrated by the "Fiery Women" program in South Australia. The program, which consists of four workshops, ostensibly aims to teach women about bushfire preparedness (DeLaine et al., 2008). While the first workshop covers the issue of deciding whether to "stay or go" when bushfire threatens, the second workshop on "preparing your property" is quite clearly about how to prepare the property *if* you want to stay during the fire, with topics including: "creating a defendable space" and "water supplies". These workshops were deemed a success by researchers from the Bushfire Co-operative Research Centre (CRC) and the South Australian Country Fire Service (CFS) because while only "39.39% of the participants reported a 'stay and defend' bushfire strategy before the workshops…this increased to 84.84% at the conclusion of workshops" (DeLaine et al., 2008: 9). This quite clearly shows how, particularly prior to the Black Saturday fires in Victoria in 2009, many agencies equated appropriate bushfire education with the decision to "stay and defend" a house during a fire.

The analysis of the "Fiery Women" program (DeLaine et al., 2008) inadvertently shows, at least in part, how this misperception took hold. The researchers claim that intervention is necessary to target women because they are likely to have a lack of knowledge around bushfire. Given the exclusion of women from the fire-fighting

services, this may be plausible, but the researchers rely primarily on a study by Beringer (2000: 12), who makes unsupported claims about women's lack of bushfire safety knowledge. He states, for example, that:

> "When asked whether they would evacuate if another fire were to threaten, 23% [of residents surveyed] said they would evacuate their home. Of those respondents who would evacuate, 67% were female and 33% were male. The responses from females indicates that they may have a poor understanding of bushfire behaviour as well as the role of the CFA [Country Fire Authority] and hence may perceive the bushfire to be a greater threat which would lead to a greater likelihood of evacuation."

No evidence is presented in support of this statement. Beringer's assumption is that a preference for evacuation indicates a lack of knowledge about bushfire safety.

Such assumptions tend to underpin much of the agency-dominated discussion around bushfire in Australia but the international conversation is markedly different. International studies on gender and disaster evacuation preference show that women are more likely than men to favour evacuation (Enarson & Chakrabarti, 2009; Enarson & Morrow, 1998). In some places, this is actually seen as virtue. Enarson (2009), for example, shows that women's more common preference for evacuation is seen by many emergency agencies overseas as a valuable asset in promoting risk aversion. There is an understanding that a preference for evacuation is less likely to stem from ignorance and more likely to stem from gendered norms of responsibility.

This understanding is supported by studies on risk perception which show that the most privileged groups – in particular, wealthy, white men – are much more likely to have low risk perception (Finucane et al., 2000). While the poor, minority groups, and women are more likely to have high risk perception. Finucane and others (2000) suggest this stems, not from a lack of education, but rather from inequality, different environmental factors, and life experience. Those who are most privileged tend to experience the least to fear in their everyday lives and, as a consequence, may under-rate risks associated with events such as natural disasters.

The suggestion that women prefer evacuation because they are over-concerned or ill-educated about bushfire would be almost laughable if only it were not so dangerous. Unlike the trend in disasters internationally, where women are over-represented in death tolls, in Australia, more men than women die in bushfires (Haynes et al., 2010). In a survey of bushfire deaths in Australia from 1900-2008, Haynes and colleagues suggest that one of the reasons men may be over-represented in bushfire fatalities is that they are more likely to "actively defend a house" during a fire while women are more likely to "shelter passively". This clearly contradicts the idea that the best model of bushfire safety is therefore to teach women to, essentially, adopt a masculinised model of "stay and defend".

Part of the problem is that the issue of masculinity is rendered largely invisible in discussions of bushfire. The existing view of gender and bushfire in Australia is that both policy and practice for bushfire response are thought to be based on objective and empirical, if not scientific, bases. This focus overlooks the effect of male dominated and culturally masculinised emergency management, bushfire response and fire-fighting (Beaston & McLennan, 2005; Eriksen et al., 2010; Poiner, 1990; Robertson, 1998). Therefore the largely masculinised activity of "staying to defend" becomes represented as simply the objective norm. Women become seen as different, and are deemed in need of programs to teach them the "correct" response to bushfire.

The invisibility of masculinity problem is not new (e.g. Campbell *et al.*, 2006; Campbell & Bell, 2000; Tyler, 2012). As Campbell and Bell (2000: 536) explain, masculinity is generally a "generic, unmarked category of power" and, as a result, masculinity remains invisible "while femininity is continually marked for special emphasis." It is therefore imperative that future research into gender and bushfire, and disaster events more generally, makes the construction of masculinities visible. The need to consider masculinities is also intertwined with the understanding that gender is relational, that is, gender roles are constructed in relation to each other rather than existing autonomously. Campbell (2006) explains this aspect further in the context of rural masculinity by stating that: "rural masculinity is equally an aspect of the lives of men and women…The way rural men conduct their lives has a huge impact on how rural women live their lives, for gender is a relational matter" (p. 2). It is therefore

important to understand the construction of both masculinity and femininity when considering gender and disaster.

Given the anomaly of men's over-representation in bushfire fatalities in Australia, it is imperative to consider the social construction of masculinity and, in particular, rural hegemonic masculinity (Tyler & Fairbrother, 2011, forthcoming). Focusing on rural hegemonic masculinity is important, not only because of the bushfire threat in many rural areas, but also because notions of rural masculinity as "real masculinity" still have extensive influence in urban or peri-urban contexts (Hogg & Carrington, 2006). Furthermore, understanding the gendered dynamics operating around bushfire can quite literally be a life or death issue. In an environment where "staying to defend" is valorised and masculinised, while leaving is seen as weak, ill-informed and feminised, respecting women's preference for evacuation, while vital, will remain difficult.

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Affinities in multicultural neighbourhoods: shared values and their differences

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is based on the 'affinities' that exist between various ethnic groups (including long-established non-migrant communities). The research is concerned with what we have in common across groups, examining and comparing the values (concepts or beliefs that guide our behaviour and actions) people define as important for themselves, as individuals and members of ethnic groups or communities. In many western democracies there is concern that some ethnic groups are not integrating because their cultures or values are 'too different' from the mainstream. Generally, the 'common values' expressed are those of the receiving society, such as in the 'Australian Value Statement' or 'the importance of British values' publicly noted by three British Prime Ministers since 9/11.

In this paper I will examine solidarity as a theoretical problem: its meaning, its contexts and foundations and will then systematically consider the relationship between affinities and difference. Based on findings from research conducted in Sydney, my analysis indicates that in everyday life in the multi-ethnic neighbourhood there are significant affinities (similarities in values and practices between ethnic and religious groups) that far outweigh differences; and that these affinities provide the basis of connectivity that sustain social, local and ethnic sense of belonging. I conclude by considering that the differences between generations might be greater than differences between ethnic groups; and that the hierarchization of values can set up unequal power relations in the process of cultural production and solidarity.

Keywords: affinities; solidarity; values; belonging; difference; social cohesion; multiculturalism.

Affinities in multicultural neighbourhoods: shared values and their differences

Introduction

Despite many decades of large-scale immigration in advanced industrial societies, public debate about ethnic and religious diversity has recently become increasingly focused on issues of social cohesion, cultural values and national security, especially in the wake of incidents of international terrorism (Kymlicka 2007). Such anxieties exist in Europe where it is alleged that different or inferior values may threaten national identity and have a damaging effect on social cohesion, leading to violence, a loss of freedom and national and personal security (Entzinger 2003, Vasta 2008). At the heart of the debate is not simply the idea that too much immigration is a problem, but that state policies have failed due to a misplaced tolerance for cultural difference on the part of the receiving society (Koopmans 2006). In the UK, it has been argued that the recognition of different values and the loss of common values, challenges Western democracies where the promotion of cultural diversity will only exacerbate the problem (Goodhart 2004).

In Australia, there have been similar debates around the consequences of diversity, especially for social cohesion, citizenship and national identity. Australian multiculturalism has also been criticised and undergone transformation since the mid-1990s, despite its centrality in social policy from the early 1970s. For many, multiculturalism remains highly contested, ambivalent and unsettling (Markus et al. 2009) or elicits contradictory reactions (Goot and Watson 2001). One of the most controversial aspects of the new Citizenship Act 2007, for example, was the introduction of a citizenship test, which questioned new migrants on their knowledge of Australian history and culture. The booklet on *Life in Australia*, provided by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship for people applying for visas to live in Australia, begins with an 'Australian Value Statement'. However, as Jakubowicz (2009: 30) points out, 'the supporting documents make no mention of multiculturalism as an Australian value or even a momentary dimension of Australian policy'.[i] Similarly, in her analysis of the Citizenship Test, Tilbury reveals how the test focuses on homogeneity, mainly targeting Muslims 'who are seen to have values diametrically opposite to those of 'Australia'' (Tilbury 2007). Concern with 'social cohesion' and 'shared values' remains. In some quarters, ethnic difference is still seen as a problem that needs to be overcome.

In this paper, I examine data from people's narratives on values. Although people highlighted many values, including self-expression, tolerance, honesty, usefulness to society, I will examine a number of themes that begin to answer two of the main research questions of the project which provide the analytical focus of the paper. The first is concerned with how affinities outweigh differences, thus providing the basis for forms of connectivity and sense of belonging. The second considers how other social characteristics such as generation can create greater differences than do cultural differences among and across ethnic groups.

The Project

This project on *The Affinities in Multicultural Australia* is currently in pilot phase in Sydney.[ii] So far we have conducted 30 interviews with Australians of Shanghainese, Indian, Lebanese, and Anglo background. We are currently interviewing Australians of Sudanese, Italian and Ghanaian backgrounds. We have recruited respondents through contacts and community

organisations. We have interviewed both Christians and Muslims in our Sudanese and Lebanese samples. In the pilot project we have asked respondents to talk about the values or ideas that guide their lives and to discuss those they think are significant to them and their ethnic communities; and to consider similarities and differences in values with other ethnic groups.[iii]

Some Conceptual Considerations

Theories of affinity, alliance and solidarity, especially within modern urban contexts, have a lineage to the roots of sociological theory. But some of the earlier theorists such as Wirth and Simmel, provide a legacy based on the assumption that affinity and community are undermined by diversity. One main plank of Australian multiculturalism is the recognition of difference which has meant that people of immigrant background can continue to speak their mother tongue and practice their religion freely. Indeed, multiculturalism in Australia constitutes both a set of government policies and lived experiences. Research has shown the myriad ways in which immigrant groups practice cultural and religious values and traditions. For example, the family is an important value and social institution. However, family values are diverse and can vary significantly according to class, gender, generation and numerous of other factors.

These issues constitute some of the key elements of classical sociology concerned with the question 'how do we live together?' Concentrating on just two classical sociological theories, one highlights the question of commonalities between people, that is, what is it that people have in common in order to act collectively. Within this tradition, Durkheim, for example, was concerned to show that shared understandings and beliefs were necessary, that common interests alone were inadequate. A second perspective is the neo-marxist dynamics of solidarity, concerned with the effects of unequal power relations among different groups. Here, the dynamics of alliances were strongly influenced by class position which endowed people with distinct interests but also reproduced systematic inequalities (Crow 2002: 24). Contemporary theorists believe that because the social world has changed, so too has solidarity in the 20th century (Beck 1999; Bauman 2001; Komter 2005; Vasta 2010). Others, like Young (1990) question the connection between solidarity and community, concentrating on various forms of exclusion. According to Parekh (2008), social solidarity needs to be negotiated and constantly re-created and expanded to incorporate new diversities and changing identities. Similarly, Sennett suggests, that 'strong bonding between people runs far deeper than the often superficial sharing of common values…Strong bonding between people means engaging over time with their differences' (Sennett 1999: 143).

We can define *affinities* as the condition of being alike, based on qualities, such as values, histories or circumstances that are comparable. This does not necessarily mean people are the same, but that they find aspects of their lives which identify a commonality: living in the same area, being migrants, having children, and so on. Examples of values include self-direction, compassion, conformity, respect for difference. Values also play an important role as guiding mechanisms for people's behaviour and actions. The commonalities between people might be less about shared values per se than about comparable experiences, circumstances and histories.

Shared values and their differences

When respondents stop to consider, they believe there are more similarities across ethnic groups than differences. Family, they say, is a universal value, although it comes in 'different shapes and sizes'. They compared and contrasted their notion of *family* and *family practices*

with what they thought it meant to other ethnic groups. They mention varios ethnic groups they think they may have more in common with. For example, Zaina,[iv] a young Lebanese Muslim woman, claims Christian Lebanese, Greeks and Italians are similar to Muslim Lebanese. Having met some Macedonian-Australians, she discovered they have similar values in *child-rearing practices*:

> ...I've noticed a lot of similarities in the way they were brought up and the way we were brought up... and I asked her whether she would let her kids work while they were in school coz that's what a lot of Anglos do. And she said no, we don't like our kids to work we just want them to study and not worry about income. And simple things like living at home until you get married which they do the same...[and] we don't charge our kids rent while they live at home. They're similar in that way.

When asked about differences in values, Zaina replied:

> I'm probably gonna say Asians[v] just because I don't know that much about them and I see that they're very different in the ways that they bring up their kids... I think it all goes back to values. *You know, actually, maybe they are similar because they do value their boys a lot more than the girls.*

Zaina's child-rearing practices are positively similar to some European groups while the poor treatment and inequality of women has a negative similarity with 'Chinese Asians'. Indeed, Norris and Inglehart (2002), using results from the World Values Survey, find that contrary to the Samuel Hungtington thesis, about the core clash of values between western democratic values and Islamic religious values, the cultural fault line is concerned with gender inequality.

Mateship

Mateship is considered one of Australia's most important values. It is commonly linked to Australian national identity that includes a 'matter-of-fact egalitarianism', 'a tolerant ideal of 'a fair go' for all', and with a 'masculine emphasis on mateship' (ACPEA 1982:5), and it conjures up images of Gallipoli and war. Because the characteristics of 'Australian mateship' are traits generally attributed to Anglo-Australians males, it works as an exclusionary notion for Aboriginals, women and migrants. Hence, matehsip represents a hierarchized value, creating a sense of superiority against the values of other cultural groups.

One Anglo-Australian woman says:

> The mateship thing, I think it's definitely true...It's definitely a boy/boy thing...But where that idea came from bothers me, too. When we were fighting a war, we stuck by each other. Well, any country, their men would do that! It's not an Australian thing, and it drives me insane. It's like saying the Germans or the Chinese wouldn't stick by each other. Of course they would!

The notion of mateship rotates around a number of contradictory meanings. The ideas in this quote reflect the general understanding of 'Australian mateship' – it is a 'boy-boy thing' and it is generally linked to the mateship that develops during wars – 'helping each other out'. But in Australia, matehsip represents a hierarchized value, creating a sense of superiority against the values of other cultural groups. As noted earlier, the Australian Value Statement

and the Citizenship test is more than just informing people about Australian values. In the wake of the anti-Muslim sentiments that emerged after 9/11, western democracies felt compelled to showcase their values as superior to those of many other cultures.

Nevertheless, amongst Australians of immigrant background, 'mateship' has become a contested value – it is not uniquely Australian. Arjan, an Indian-Australian man, says:

> I think mateship's very important. I don't think that's unique to Australia. I think Australia thinks it is, but it's not. I've seen it in different cultures. It might be expressed in a different way, and I think in other ways it's expressed more openly and more to a grand extent. I think they're important values. A fair go, mateship, they're all important values, but I don't like them being (thought of) as unique to Australia. I don't think they are, and I think that's just something that's used in the media to try and differentiate people from other people.

Thus, mateship works as a distancing mechanism. It is a club that distances women and ethnic minorities. It is also embedded in the Anglo-Australian national identity. The idea of the superior, unique value sends out the message of inferiority to those (women, migrants) who have not had that experience. This is part of the assimilationism that is inherent in the Australian Value Statement. It sets up unequal power relations in the process of cultural production and solidarity. '[T]he strength of the ethical claim may be precisely its ability to divide the world into good and bad and to challenge notions of coexistence that appear unworkable' (Bhattacharyya 2009: 3). It undermines the strong bonding that Sennett talks about by creating a distance that doesn't exist.

Arjan continues:

> So, Australian values –it's the same values I've described before about myself and my community, because *I'm an Australian*. So, I actually get a bit annoyed... [with] an ex-Australian football player who does these commercials for lamb where he talks about how you have to eat lamb on Australia Day, and he really annoys me because I'm an Australian and I'm vegetarian...I'll tell you how I would like to define [Australian values]. I'd like them to be defined by being a multicultural society of, you know, people being vegetarian or going to a temple or going to a mosque or going to the beach or going for a walk...*that's the sort of Australian values that I hold.*

Arjan is reframing mateship as an Australian value about friendship that is universal. He is well aware that Anglo-Australian cultural traditions dominate in the media. As a result, Australians of immigrant background, particularly younger people, often highlight 'respect for diversity' as an important value that is sometimes lacking in multicultural Australia. One of Prime Minister Gillard's (2011) listed Australian 'shared values' is 'multiculturalism - a proud history of overcoming difference, of finding common ground'. Finding common ground and developing solidarity focuses on how social relationships can be based on cooperation and negotiation, rather than on assimilation, in order to contribute to the common good (Parekh 2008). In other words, it is concerned with the capacity of people to find ways of living together, despite their differences, in ways that are mutually beneficial.

Generations and Change

Differences between generations are another important theme. Arjan's words highlight generational differences, and sense of security relating to belonging and change:

> I think the main difference is probably the emphasis on culture, so the emphasis on maintaining your culture, on keeping it strong. The group I come from, there's a strong emphasis on that...'This is how you're supposed to be', because they want to protect it, and they want to make sure it survives, and they want to make sure that what they know stays around, as opposed to something different coming in. And they don't know how they'll cope or how they'll adapt...whereas I think in the Australian culture, broadly speaking, there's less emphasis on that because everybody is secure in who they are and what they're doing, and the people around them, much more than, I think, people from my ethnic background.

Arjan makes two main points here. Firstly, those born and bred in Australia have a certain sense of security inherent in that status. First generation immigrants migrate precisely to provide that sense of security and belonging, particularly for their children. Inglehart's research supports Arjan's claim, 'If one grows up with a feeling that survival can be taken for granted, instead of the feeling that survival is uncertain, it influences almost every aspect of one's worldview' (Inglehart 2000: 223). Secondly, Arjan points to a difference between the generations in his community. His parents aim to preserve their cultural traditions, while Arjan, although respecting his cultural traditions, strongly claims his Australian identity and sense of belonging. Again, Inglehart suggests that 'age and economic circumstances (rising economic and physical security) bring about changes to value orientations between generations due to different experiences in their formative years' (Inglehart 2000: 221).

Conclusion

Two - Three concluding points: Jupp (2007) argues that those who claim that in Australia social cohesion is crumbling due to ethnic differences tend to highlight worst-case scenarios. He suggests Australia is one of the most cohesive societies but that other social divisions create a greater social divide than does ethnicity, including differences between generations, between religious and secular Australians, and those with differing levels of education and class position (Jupp 2007: 16-18). The difference between the generations is often raised. And although many younger ethnic minority Australians claim a strong respect for their parents' cultural values, the difference is considered not as a conflictual problem but as an issue of change. The younger generation inhabit a world of cultural values that are complex and contradictory, cross-cultural and flexible.

Three - Secondly, people are keen to discover affinities among and across ethnic groups. Consideration of cultural values across ethnic groups offers an understanding that shared values are more common than absolute differences or divisions, where identity is not static, but based on a relationship that links continuity with change and difference with affinities.

One - Thirdly, there is a dominant ideology about what constitutes Australian values and they are brought to light during periods of national insecurity. In many countries of immigration, in Europe and Australia there is a lingering concern that migrants are not integrating which in turn is said to create a barrier to sense of belonging. These hierarchized and unchanging values, such as mateship, remain a part of the national imaginary yet generate distance and discrimination. But in a similar twist to the results of Hussain and Bagulley (2005) who report that second generation British Pakistanis draw upon citizenship rights to assert their

identity and sense of belonging, Arjan exemplifies how many younger and second generation Australians assert their sense of belonging and Australianness by constructing and claiming certain Australian values and identities, however different from the mainstream, as their own. This is the lived experience of multicultural Australia.

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[i] Recently, current Prime Minister Gillard (2011) instead of referring to Australian Values talks about 'Shared Values'.

[ii] This research is, in the first instance, a pilot project funded by Macquarie University Safety Net fund. A proposal has been submitted for a large ARC Discovery grant. The pilot project is as much about testing methods and questions as about collecting data.

[iii] I use the term 'ethnic group' to refer to the communities who identify according to ethnicity. Anglo-Australians are one ethnic group among many.

[iv] Names have been changed

[v] She specifically refers to the Chinese one-child policy as an example of gender inequality.

Gender inequalities: Enduring and emerging paradigms

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Gender inequalities: Enduring and emerging paradigms

This paper argues that dominant feminist critiques of microfinance are based on the *enduring inequalities* paradigm, Gender and Development(GAD). GAD evolved from a western liberal feminist perspective in the early 1970s, to a radical and social feminist perspective which it adheres to presently (Singh 2007). Using examples of GAD informed critiques, the paper highlights the limitations of this paradigm to undertake concrete, historical and socio-political analysis. While not dismissing the GAD paradigm's usefulness in studying how social institutions have been structured by gender relations and the need to address the inequitable power relations (Cook 2007), this paper centres the debate on the ways in which women as a category of analysis have been incorporated into GAD critiques of microfinance. In doing so the paper seeks to put forth an *emerging inequalities* paradigm, Capability Approach (CA), with its focus on 'what people want to do and be'. The paper makes the case that CA could potentially provide not only concrete, historical and socio-political analysis but also suggest concrete ways to organise for change. The paper is structured into three main parts. The first is an introduction of the GAD paradigm, its merits and limitation vis-a-vis the CA paradigm. The second interrogates the value of these paradigms through the use of qualitative data from microfinance program consumer. The final part summarises the incorporation of women as a category of analysis in GAD and CA paradigms concluding with examples of ways to move beyond the impasse of gender differences to capability expansion.

Introduction

Dominant feminist critiques of microfinance programs are informed largely by the Gender and Development paradigm (GAD) (Drolet 2010; Singh 2007). The GAD paradigm and its evolution over the decades, demonstrates the impact of feminist theories and perspectives on development discourses (Bhavnani et al 2003; Rathgeber 1990). The GAD approach is based on the premise that women in most societies are a disadvantaged group and emphasises the need to challenge the existing gender status quo (Moghadam 1998; Moser 1989). Gender relations are framed as socially constructed rather than biological absolutes and therefore amenable to change. Using this line of reasoning, GAD advocates have been successful in incorporating gender strategies into development policy discourses, specifically in dedicating resources, producing policy spaces and creating a core of professionals (Cornwall et al 2007). The GAD paradigm's focus on patriarchy and social inequality (Singh 2007) is reflected in the dominant critique of microfinance programs. The most common themes being that i) microfinance programs reinforce patriarchal norms of women's subordination and ii) microfinance programs mobilise and discipline gendered subjectivities towards neoliberal ends.

This paper suggests that GAD informed critiques of microfinance programs focus primarily on utility, resources and the sum total of commodities that women lack vis-a-vis men rather than on a person's ability to achieve things that they value given their personal, locational, and social factors. Using the Capability Approach and it its concepts of *functionings*, *capabilities* and *conversion factors*, this paper brings into sharp focus the process elements or enabling conditions which affect people's ability to lead flourishing lives (Sen 1999). The concept 'functionings' refers to what people are able to be and do, in other words, what they are able to achieve such as being literate. 'Capabilities', on the other hand, refer to freedoms

to achieve ’functionings’ which people value. While the exploration of capabilities highlights opportunities or freedoms at the individual level, the concept of conversion factors brings to bear a focus on structural aspects affecting individuals’ ability to realise their choices.

‘Conversion factors’ include personal factors (such as literacy, sex, physical condition, metabolism), social factors (such as social norms, gender roles, power relations, public policies) and environmental factors (such as climate, infrastructure, public goods, institutions) (Robeyns 2005: 99). By way of example, let us suppose two women have equal access to scholarships and obtain the same educational degree with similar goals to acquire a functioning, such as employment. One woman belongs to a cultural group that restricts women’s participation in paid employment while the other does not. The concepts of capabilities and conversion factors allow us to make note of the capability deprivation (freedom to be employed) of the first women, as well as the socio-cultural, historic and political factors influencing the decision. Therefore, a policy which recommends equal command over resources does not automatically translate into equal opportunities since individuals differ in their ability to convert resources into functionings. But a policy that creates opportunities for flexible and culturally sensitive modes of employment might create opportunities or pathways of change for certain groups.

This paper categorises GAD critiques of microfinance as belonging to an *enduring inequalities paradigm,* privileging gender differences as the main reason for the disempowerment of women. On the other hand, CA informed analyses of microfinance have been categorised as belonging to an *emerging inequalities paradigm* which takes into consideration gender differences as well as other material, historical, socio-political factors which affect gender inequalities. These two approaches to gender and microfinance – GAD and CA – are contrasted through the use of primary research data to interrogate the usefulness

of these approaches. The following section provides a brief overview of the methodology used for the qualitative study, which is then followed by the section which revisits GAD informed critiques of microfinance programs using CA concepts (see Table 1 for a comparison of both paradigms) in order to provide concrete, historical and socio-political analysis of the complex processes of addressing gender inequalities.

A note on the study

This paper is based on a larger research study which seeks to critically engage with understandings of gender inequalities in the policy and practice of microfinance in developing and developed country contexts. The aims of the study are to find alternate ways of conceptualising, assessing and addressing gender inequalities through the narratives of microfinance program consumers. Guided by the theoretical framework of CA which seeks out what 'people want to do and be', the research methodology is based on a qualitative exploration using a combination of document analysis, participant observation and interviews. The study has elicited multiple and varied meanings of the relationship between microfinance and gender inequalities through interviews with 28 microfinance program consumers in 2 different countries, one developing (India) and one developed (Australia). As this paper is concerned with representations of the relationship between microfinance and gender inequality in the GAD literature, the discussion draws on interviews conducted in India with 15 female program consumers and 6 male kin of female program consumers.

Dominant critiques versus individual realities.

This section will interrogate how two key themes are contested in the narratives of microfinance program consumers. The goal of this exercise is to bring into sharp focus the limitation of a GAD paradigm and the usefulness of the CA paradigm to understand gender

inequalities in the context of microfinance programs. The two key themes which emerge in the dominant GAD based critiques of microfinance programs are i) microfinance programs reproduce rather than disrupt gender inequalities and ii) microfinance programs cultivate gendered neoliberal subjectivities.

Reinforcing patriarchy or reconfiguring freedoms?

Microfinance programs, especially in the context of developing countries are conventionally critiqued on the basis that they rely upon and reproduce existing patriarchal structures in the implementation of programs. Critics have suggested, for example. that the representation of women as deserving and creditworthy relative to men is an ideological cover used to implement a loan program via a group that is less mobile, easier to monitor and more likely to succumb to pressure of repayment (Kannibaran 2005; Rahman 1999). Another critical feminist narrative in the microfinance literature is that loans made to women are in practice controlled by their male kin (Goetz and Gupta 1996; Leach and Sitaram 2002). In addition, Garikipathi (2008) refers to the 'impact-paradox' whereby loans to women may benefit their household but do not necessarily benefit the women themselves. In fact Garakipathi suggests that women's lack of authority over family assets means that loans to women can potentially lead to domestic dissidence and disempowerment of women.

These types of critiques suggest that autonomy and independence are important characteristics in the project of addressing gender inequalities. Critics therefore, put forth recommendations such as the "patriarchal hold on family's productive assets needs to be challenged" (Garikipati 2008: 2638) and "women develop meaningful control over their investment activities"(Goetz and Gupta 1996: 45). But, it is argued here, that there might be a gap between these critiques and 'what people want to do and be'. The following two examples of Meena and Raju will illustrate this disconnect.

When questioned about the focus on women in the microfinance program, both female and male participants noted the 'joint-ness' of the process of procuring the loan, utilizing the loan as well as repaying the loan. Participants noted, for example, that the microfinance programs required a joint photo as well as signatures of both husband and wife while applying for loans. As Meena put it

"That is why they started putting husband photos on the enrolment forms. That means the husbands are held responsible for the loans taken by their wives. So in case the wives are unable to pay, the husbands are liable to pay. So in way, the responsibility has been put on them jointly, although the loan might be on the wife's name, it's the two of them who are responsible to pay back. We are smarter than the men, we make sure they sign. Even if I am not there, they will at least make sure to ask the husband. We will inform the husband, there is sangam (group) meeting, and we can't be present so make sure to make that payment. If the husband's signature was not on the form, then he would never have paid. If you ask mother-in-law and father-in-law to pay you think they will? In fact they will ask us to bring money, not pay for us." (30, married, female). Meena's narrative demonstrates the opportunity microfinance provides to include men as responsible stakeholders.

Similarly, when Raju, a male kin of a microfinance program consumer was quizzed about the specific focus on women versus men, he noted "*They will not be able to gather men at a particular time. Because we knew that you (interviewer) are coming here, we stayed at home. Women will not go anywhere. They will stay at home. The women can gather at a particular time. They are good at paying or returning the loan. They will not roam around.* While Raju confirms the GAD critique that microfinance relies upon fixed ideas about what men and women are 'women are good at repaying', he further adds "*When we give to them then only they can (re)pay. How can they (re)pay if we don't give them?"(50, married, male).* Here he emphasises the interdependence of husband and wife, 'we give to them'

The gender analyses within the GAD paradigm focuses on the relationship between men and women based on who does what (gender division of labour) and who has what (gendered

control of resources). While this is necessary to highlight gendered social positions(women 'stay at home', men 'roam'), an important part of the CA informed analysis is what opportunities and freedoms do those in inequitable positions have to reconfigure 'who does what' and 'who has what'. The goals of autonomy and independence become unrealistic and perhaps risky in contexts where principles of inequality between men and women are taken for granted and women are dependent on the family for economic, social and psychological needs (Kabeer 2011; Singh 2007). The example of Meena clearly demonstrates the appropriation of microfinance policy of joint photo and signature, as an opportunity, to enlist the husband as a guarantor, for any liabilities that the wife might incur. In other words, Meena was able to exercise strategic control over 'who has what', within the prevailing structures of constraint (patriarchy) in a way that does not upset her everyday life.

Cultivating neoliberal rationalities or renegotiating economic subjecthoods

As discussed above, in addition to concerns about entrenching rather than addressing gender inequalities, critics of microfinance have been concerned with the synchronicity of microfinance with neoliberalism. As such, the second dominant critique attends to the ways in which microfinance programs collude with neoliberal rationalities to cultivate gendered subjectivities of the "entrepreneurial, empowered and nurturing 'rational economic women'" (Rankin 2008: 1975). Critics have cited for example, a change in the nomenclature of program subjects from 'beneficiaries' with social rights to 'clients' with responsibilities to be indicative of the neoliberal influence (Beneria 2003; Fraser 2009; Rankin 2001). The neoliberal narrative, of the entrepreneurial poor woman who saves and repays regularly and is committed to the wellbeing of her family, is implicated in entrenching existing gender inequalities. This implies that microfinance programs in their articulation as 'roll-out neoliberalism'(Rankin, 2008:1967) are unable to address the structures of gender inequality.

But it is argued here that such line of critiques pay limited attention to the agency level processes in the project of addressing gender inequalities.

When questioned about their experience with microfinance programs, the majority of the interviewees responded positively. As Ramana stated *"I think it is better to have them (microfinance groups). Instead of going to work elsewhere to pay off loans, we can do our own business. If they give us a loan we can buy a goat or a buffalo, something and we can be better off. Doing something on our own is very important and we can do so through such programs" (45, widowed, female).* Freedom from waged labour was a significant theme in the responses of the interviewees. Especially for poor men and women with limited assets and only their labour to sell, small loans helped them negotiate the market economy.

One male interviewee, Kamal, noted that prior to microfinance programs, often male members of the families and sometimes entire families would migrate to the cities to work as labourers. He explained *"Both men and women in our village used to lock their houses and go to cities. That was 4 years back. Now only 10% are going. The rest are staying here only."(50, married, male).* Another interviewee, Urvasi, who invested her loan amount in purchasing buffaloes and later sold them to open a tea shop noted the convenience of running her business in her own village rather than look for seasonal agricultural work in other villages.

The GAD informed critiques of microfinance programs are correct in highlighting gendered subjectivities likely to emerge from a market economy. But what these critiques fail to capture are the range of economic subject positions available to women and men in microfinance contexts, and the distinctions between them. Given the limited opportunities for work in their context, Ramana, Kamal and Urvasi have used the loan amount in a manner that has freed them from waged labour and the need to migrate to cities. A capability informed analysis marks the distinction between achieving economic subject positions and the ability

to achieve (freedoms) economic subject positions. As Urvashi notes *"I think inequalities will arise. Men will say, these women have nothing better to do hence they are joining sangams (groups). What do men know? Those who don't care and are fearless will continue but there are others who will think I don't want to bother and not join" (45, deserted, female).* As this narrative demonstrates, if the ability to achieve does not exist, then those who 'don't care' or are 'fearless', will not be able to negotiate the structures of constraint in which their lives are enmeshed. A CA paradigm with focus on opportunities that people have and the personal, social and environmental factors impinging on their ability to convert opportunities into valuable outcomes is more suited to explain how poor women and men are working the spaces of neoliberalism.

Conclusion

This paper highlights the way in which women as a category of analysis have been incorporated into GAD informed critiques of microfinance programs. That is, women are defined by their object status – as victims of patriarchy and neoliberalism. It is argued here that such an analysis blurs the characterisation of women as "material subjects of their own history" (Mohanty 1986: 338) capable of renegotiating the spaces of patriarchy and neoliberalism. The GAD critiques of microfinance have been categorised here as belonging to an *enduring inequalities paradigm* which privilege the explanatory potential of gender differences as the raison d'être for the disempowerment of women. The object status of women together with a generalised notion of their subordination leads to a binary understanding of power which Mohanty famously explained as "people who have it (read: men), and people who do not (read: women). Men exploit, women are exploited" (1986: 344). On the other hand, a CA informed analysis of microfinance has been categorised here as belonging to an *emerging inequalities paradigm* that provides the conceptual tools of functionings, capabilities and conversion factors to account for the material, historical, socio-

political specificities which might constitute women as subordinate, marginal, or powerful vis- a- vis other women and men. Such an analysis brings to bear the dynamic and changing identities of women who resist or surrender, challenge or yield, subvert or uphold unequal power hierarchies in covert or overt ways. For example, the capabilities (freedoms to achieve) afforded by microfinance programs to women, such as Meena who covertly use loans to uphold interdependence in their relationship or in the case of Urvasi to overtly resist inequitable status quo, demonstrates the usefulness of the CA paradigm to move beyond the impasses of gender difference to capability expansion.

Table 1.Comparing key features of the Enduring and Emerging inequalities frameworks.

Adapted from Shweta Singh 2007: 102 – 103.

	Enduring Inequalities - GAD informed critiques	**Emerging Inequalities – CA informed critiques**
Approach to development	Promotes incorporation of social construction of gender into development	Promotes expansion of individuals capabilities to achieve development
Concepts	Patriarchy is the single most important construct providing the overarching assumption of most traditional societies.	Capabilities, conversion factors and human diversity
Analysis	Systems of gender stratification; primary focus on structure (social systems)	Focus on agency (through exploring capabilities)and structure(through unpacking conversion factors)
Contribution	Integrated women's existence within the household with the labour market.	Integrating economic and non-economic aspects of individual's wellbeing.
Limitations	Gynocentric, reductionist understanding of gender.	Underspecified theory (no definitive list of capabilities or conversion factors)limiting practical and operational significance
Deconstruction of agenda	Western feminist ideology with made-to-fit categorisation of development and women	Concrete, historical and socio-political analysis of inequalities.

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Sociology, the Military and Civil-Military Relations: an under-explored field.

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This paper outlines and reviews the field of sociology and the military in Australia. It argues that sociology and the military have an impoverished relationship in Australia. A brief history of the field is outlined. Key events are described to outline the importance of building the relationship between sociology and the military. The idea of military criminology is floated to describe the richness of a research field that describes and explains institutional behaviour that results in criminality or misconduct.

Keywords: Military Criminology, Australian Defence Force, Skype Affair

As a sociologist with a keen interest in the military, the field of civil-military relations appears ripe with possibilities for sociological research. Even a cursory glance reveals subjects including power, gender, cultural conflicts, violence, crime, politics, governance, the media and numerousscandals involving sex, violence and bizarre initiation rituals. Yet despite the fact that the Australian media and public are clearly fascinated by all things military, there has been remarkably little attention given to this area by Australian sociologists.

In this paper I will give a brief historical overview of sociology's engagement with the military and civil-military relations, and drawing on my own engagement in this area, I will survey the key areas which I believe should be the focus of further research. In this sense this paper is a review of the field within which I have been research rather than a discrete research report.

Sociology and the Military: An Overview

Since the establishment of the Journal of Sociology (JOS) in 1965, one can count the number of articles published in that journal on the military or civil-military relations, on one hand. Two articles represent the key sociological contributions to this field in the JOS. The *Study of Militarism in Australia*by Sol Encelwas published in 1967, and*The Changing Military Profession*by Hugh Smith and Ian McAllister, was published in 1991.

Matthewman wrote and talked about the neglect of the military by mainstream sociology at the 2008 TASA conference. In articulating this claim he makes an important distinction between military sociology and a sociology of the military:

> War and peace research has largely proceeded at the behest of military institutions less concerned by the general human condition than the efficacy of their own force. The resulting military sociology is inner directed, considering the military as its own society. Instead of military sociology we advocate a sociology of the military, one which sees the manifold ways in which society at large is militarised (2008)

Jansmakes a similar pointin an article published in the Australian Defence Force

Journal (ADFJ) in 2008.

> Military sociology focuses on why people behave as they do within military organisations and on the underlying social issues associated with important practical matters, such as military professionalism, the military ethos, recruitment, retention, career development, combat motivation, leadership, family adjustment, military–civilian career transitions, and military–civil/ political relationships (2008: 43).

From this perspective, military sociology is characterised by a preoccupation with the profession and the institution, in contrast to the sociology of the military's concern with military institutions and their apparatus within the context of the changing relations of militarism. Indeed at the 2010 TASA conference Jans, with Talbot and Eijkman (2010) extends this to include concerns with external factors including the state and society. Yet this vision excludes engagement with a critical sociology of militarism, something that Matthewman (2008), with whom I concur, is trying to distinguish for clarity of purpose.

Journals such as the*Australian Defence Force Journal* (ADFJ), *Security Challenges*, *Armed Forces and Society* (AFS) and internal documents do have sociological contributions, but they fall into the "military sociology" category.

This type of military sociology has attracted some interest within the Australian Defence Force Academy (ADFA) at the University of New South Wales (UNSW). The Australian Study Group on Armed Forces and Society (ASAGS), which was established around 30 years ago by Dr Hugh Smith (RMC/ADFA), has taken a similar approach.This group met annually for small conferences/symposia, and it was eventually taken over by the Australian Defence Studies Centre at the Defence Academy (ADSC). Jans (2008:43) explains that:

> While the ADSC continued to champion the field for another 10 years, its later conferences focused on politics and strategy, with little attention to military sociology. And even this potential forum was removed when the University College disestablished the centre in 2004 and replaced it with a 'Defence Studies Forum', the activities of which are modest indeed.

The lack of importance given to this area by the military is further underlined

by Jans, when he says:

> It would be safe to say that very few Australian officers are aware that there is such a field as military sociology and that it can inform on practical 'people issues' in the military institution. (Jans, 2008: 43)

The late Phillip D'Alton took a "sociology of the military" perspectivein an undergraduate topic he ran at the University of Wollongong in the early 1980s. However, at this point there is no national engagement with a "sociology of the military" approach, although the Australian National University runs a Masters in Military Studies out of the national capital.

The situation is rather different in the USA, where sociology constitutes elements of military education, and is seen as a productive contributor to military and Defence discourse (see Caforio, 2005, 2007). International options for interested Australian sociologists include membership of the Inter University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS AFS), which is aligned with the International Sociological Association (ISA).

To find significant contributions to the field of sociology and the military, it is necessary to engage with literature that emerges from critical sources such as feminisms, social theories, post colonialism and other critical theoreticalperspectives. However, sociology of the military is not to be conflated with a range of literature that is more aptly categorised as inhabiting the field of international relations, political science, or social psychology, for example (although much work is multidisciplinary).

My own theoretical approach to researching the military is heavily influenced by a critical appraisal of militarism and militarisation in terms of hegemony and difference. I draw on British cultural studies and corresponding social theory to de-camouflage the military. From this perspective, the military and/or militarism are ubiquitous, pervasive and influential.

Over the past decade I have undertaken research from this perspective on the reform of the military justice system, case studies on abuse within the ADF, discourse of women in combat, an exploration of military art and the notion of camouflage to develop a critical framework for making sense of the military and research on young Australians' attitudes to the ADF and military service. I have developed an archive on military culture and its relationship to the tradition of bastardisation and I am now analyzing the cultural reviews that Defence undertook over the past 2 years[1].

Militarism in short comprises those structures, practices, beliefs, and values that adopt or embellish militaristic values. Militarism is a major force that shapes our lives, yet is cloaked. In the first instance militarism and the military are cloaked in the sense that the institution is highly secretive, it is set apart from broader society and it engages in secret state business. On the other hand militarism is profoundly naturalized, so it tends not to be noticed – it is ubiquitous (Wadham & Hamilton, 2009: 1). What does it mean to uncover the military and make it evident to us all, to name, mark and describe it? This, I argue, ought to be a central function of a "sociology of the military".

The Place of the Military in Australian Society

Since the late 1970s the ADF has greatly increased in size and activity. At the time of writing this paper the Department of Defence (DoD) is the largest Australian government department and it employs around 102,685 people (ADF Census 2011). It has an annual budget of $24.2 billion that accounts for 1.56% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Thompson, 2012: vi). Since the early 1990s the ADF has sent deployments to Bougainville, Cambodia, Rwanda, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, East Timor, Iraq and Afghanistan. The ADF has contributed to various regional disaster clean–up programs, such as those following the Asian Boxing Day Tsunami and the Queensland Floods.

[1] All papers relating to these studies are referenced in the paper.

Along with the growth of the military, the ANZAC culthas regenerated and thrived since the mid 1980s as a core element of Australian nationalism (Howe, 1995).Rituals of military remembrancehave flourished, particularly among young Australians travelling to places such as Vietnam and Gallipoli to see the places where Australians fought (Reynolds & Lake, 2010). The Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA) has established an ongoing history curriculum program that spends around $5,878,000 for the development of school military history lessons each year (Lake, 2010: 138).

It has been the work of revisionist and/or feminist historians particularly that has argued that ANZAC is a mythology that distorts the national narrative through conservatism. The ANZAC tradition, despite being attended increasingly by 'new' Australians, perpetuates a conservative valorization of whiteness and Britishness (McKenna, 2010: 110).

The Military in a Democratic Society

One very important question, which emerges from an examination of military culture, is how it fits within the wider context of democratic values in a modern, western society.

The Australian constitution establishes a distinction between the civil and military spheres. That distinction renders the military servants of the state who must respond to civilian orders - the military is supposed to be controlled by civilian society. Kohn (1997) explains that the point of a civilian-controlled military is to manage militaristic values and culture in the broader civil domain: "the purpose of the military is to defend society, not to define it."

The civil-military challenge is to maintain a military with the capacity to achieve any task they are consulted to do, but with suitable deference to civilian authority (Janowitz, 1975, 1971, Huntington, 1957). As Peter Feaver explains:

> *This is a special case of the general problem of political agency: how do you ensure that your agent is doing your will, especially when your agent has guns and so may enjoy more coercive power than you do? (Feaver, 1996:149)*

This is a structural relationship and the integrity of this relationship is of great importance to the shape and form of democratic values.

This distinction, however, also structurally embeds a contest between egalitarianism and authoritarian militaristic values within our society (Gronke, 2001). Wolfendale (2007: 129) draws on the words of an American Officer explaining this tension:

> *Vital to combat operations and therefore a necessary part of the traditional military professionalism is a set of values which to some even appear contrary to those held by liberal civilian society. Military organization is hierarchical, not egalitarian, and it is oriented to the group rather than the individual; it stresses discipline and obedience, not freedom of expression…*

Richard Kohn, a sociologist of the US field of civil military relations, argues that:

> *The military is, by necessity, among the least democratic institutions in human experience; martial customs and procedures clash by nature with individual freedom and civil liberty, the highest values in democratic societies (1997)*

Given the centrality of the military, and their antithetical cultural disposition to civil society, the organisation is ripe for ethnographic appraisal. Not only is the divergence in cultural mores of interest, but also the manner in which this institution adapts to and changes in response to the challenges presented by broader social change. By its very nature as a conservative and insular institution it is resistant to change (Fleming, 2010:32).

The Civilianisation of the Military

One important set of changes that has overtaken the military in recent decades, relates to an increasing civilianization of its structure and practices. The DoD was structured as a diarchy in 1973, placing authority for the DoD with both the Chief of Defence – military personnel – and a Secretary for Defence – a civilian counterpart - and this structure of shared authority has continuedto evolve until the present time.

Associated with thisprocess of "civilianization" has been an increased engagement with peace-keeping activities, which require much closer engagement with civilian populations than does traditional conflict-based military action. From the 1990s until the present, the ADF has been involved in peace-keeping activities in Bougainville, Rwanda, Cambodia and East Timor, and even theatres such as Iraq and Afghanistan come with far greater expectations of engagement with civilian populations than would have been the case in the past.

At the same time, the ADF has developed and implemented a range of policies and practices associated with the civilian realm and modern democratic values. These include complicated machinery relating to public health and health promotion, drug and alcohol prevention and education, gender and cultural awareness, equity and diversity.

There is a tension inherent in these developments. On the one hand the ADF, and militaries in general, must keep pace with changing community values and practices, and on the other such changes impel activities (i.e. gender sensitive training) that challenge the cultural disposition of the military (e.g. anglo, male, militaristic). The burgeoning policy development, which implies regulation and accountability, works against the disposition of the military to be autonomous from state and civil society and to be the master of its own affairs. There is considerable resistance to adopting the machinery of civil society when it is feared to reduce military effectiveness.

It has indeed been 'people' issues that have produced some of the greatest challenges facing the ADF. In brief, key matters such as bastardisation and hazing, the

incorporation of women into the ADF and the question of cultural diversity loom large for Defence as they attempt to modernise.

Military Culture and Public Scandals

The question of "military culture" must be a central focus in any sociological analysis of the military, and civil-military relations (see Moore, 2010, Winslow, 2004; Moore, 2003, Theweleit, 1987). A particularly rich entry point to this area is the long history of public scandals surrounding publicly unacceptable military behavior, such as the "Skype Affair" in 2011. In this incident, five men colluded to secretively broadcast one of their mates having (consensual) sex with an unwitting female colleague via Skype as they watched in an adjacent dormitory room. The incident attracted widespread community disgust and outrage, generated a suite of cultural reviews, and placed civilian and military relations at the centre of public discourse.

As the "incident" evolved into an "affair" it came to represent the many complex facets of civil-military relations. These included military culture and its relationship to broader community values, the relationship between the Minister and the Chief/Secretary of Defence, the role of the media and its place within these relations, and place of women within the ADF.

The question of military culture has always been of interest to the Australian public, while the military establishment energetically rejects the very idea that there is such a thing as "military culture" at all. Certainly, the media have had a long-standing interest in reporting military culture stories, and recruitment and public attitudes to the military are influenced by military scandals. This is not unique to Australia, and similar relations exist in the UK, the USA, Canada and New Zealand.

The first scandal concerning military culture reported in the Australian media was sparked by an initiation ritual at the Royal Military College (RMC) in 1913. It is described in detail by Moore (2001: 349) in his history of R.M.C. It included,

amongst other things, climbing a greasy rope, whipping with belts and wet towels, a mock trial, rough haircuts, hosing down with a fire hose and being dunked in a bath of icy water.

Hazing or fagging rituals such as this became a steadfast part of RMC tradition. While hazing is not restricted to RMC and is part of entry into, and controlling practices within, the ADF more generally, RMC provides an instructive case study.

On this occasion the initiation was considered scandalous by the main Sydney newspaper. The College, however, felt the newspaper completely misunderstood and misrepresented the ritual. The College Journal wrote: "needless to say everyone at the College was very indignant at this point of view taken by the paper" (2001:349).

From the outside, the ritual appeared to be perverse, bordering on abuse, by a group of young, tribal men. From the inside, according to General Bridges, this was merely boys having fun. What's more 'it was nothing different from that which occurred at similar institutions such as universities' (2001:349). These opposing perceptions of military practice are a marker of the ongoing civil military divide, and the civil military culture gap.

Occurrences like those in 1913 have continued to mark the RMC story throughout its history. Bastardisation scandals hit RMC in 1969/70, in 1983 (see Savva, 1983, Baulderstone, 1984) with the Melbourne Age *Officers and Not So Gentlemen* expose of hazing and initiation by Andrew Rule, and in 1992 (Easterbrook, 1992) with five cadets reporting the prejudice displayed toward them. Other minor incidents scattered these decades.

Scandals such as these are important because they provide an entry point into military attitudes and behaviours, which are otherwise largely inaccessible to civilian researchers.

Gender and the Military

Given the iconic status of the military as a bastion of traditional, dominant masculinity, it provides a very fertile ground for a sociological engagement with gender issues. The areas open for research include the gradually increasing opportunities for women across the services and the broader issue of cultural diversity in the context of broader Australian demographic change (Smith, 1991, see Wadham, 2010). The ADF is 87 per cent populated by men, and around 90 per cent of them are white Australian born settler men (ADF Census 2011). Several interesting research foci emerge. Firstly, the question of gender, sexuality and masculinities is rich ground for considering military and civil attitudes to women's service (see Agostino, 1997, Woodward 2000, Hockey, 2003 Wadham, 2004). This extends to how women are treated within the Defence force, the history of male predation against women in the military (see Gyles, 2011, Hindi, 2011, Flood, 2008) and the policy, planning and practice for enhancing women's engagement with the military. Moreover, questions about men's bonding and military performativity are of great interest (see Cooper & Tugwell, 2012, Baker & Mackenzie, 2011, Loy, 1995, Wadham, 2010, 2005, Kirk, 2004). These include bastardisation, and physical, sexual and social abuse against other military men.

National Reviews and Inquiries

The long history of military scandals has generated an equally long history of official reviews and inquiries. These provide a rich source of material for the sociologist of the military. In just the last year, evolving from the Skype incident, were a series of DoD cultural reviews, covering the areas of social media, complaints handling, women's employment pathways, treatment of women at ADFA, and abusive behaviour within the defence force. The resulting *Pathways to Change*(2012) document presented a platform for cultural change;cultural change that had been presented to the ADF in many of its preceding reports and inquiries, yet rejected in

public statementsby the Defence establishment, in what amounted torationalization and minimization of its members' practices.

The DLA Piper review of sexual and other abuse within the ADF provides a fascinating insight and entry point into an under-researched field of inquiry, which encompasses the sociology of law, organisational sociology, military criminology and the sociology of policing. The *Defence abuse* phenomenon invites questions about military culture, authority and the use of violence. How does sexual and physical abuse become a cultural tradition within the institution?How is it transmitted and how does a culture of hierarchy and command dissuade reporting, or undermine complaints handling? What is the real incidence of this phenomenon? How is data collected and analyzed?

Of particular interest to me has been the way in which Defence understand and account for culture in its response to these reviews. Culture is a dirty word to the Defence establishment(see Wadham, 2011), and the very existence of a "military culture"has been resisted forcefully ever since the earliest scandal in 1913. These reviews and the key reports, scaffolded by public representation of the issue by the Chief of Defence, for the first time refute the 'few bad apples' justification and accept that culture is the site of badly needed investigation and reform.

Conclusion

The military is not an incidental element of liberal democracies. It is a structural element of the state/military/civil society triad. In this sense, its centrality and significance is especially deserving of sociological interest. The manner in which relations change between the state and the military underlie cultural change nationally.

How can such a massive and significant institution avoid sociological scrutiny in Australia? In providing a short and incomplete history of sociology and the military in Australia I have distinguished between military sociology and the sociology of the military. Both provide rich opportunities for Australian sociology to contribute to public policy, critical citizenship and the study of militarism.

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Historical re-enacting and affective authority

How 'living' the American Civil War results in orthodox political activism

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Abstract

While there has been considerable literature written on the ideology of the new right in the United States, little is known about the process by which many of its 'average' proponents become political active. Sociology has tended to limit itself to attitudinal data in understanding such cultural conflict or go no further than seeing it as an illustration of postmodern social forces. Performance analysis as articulated within cultural sociology provides us with a way to understand how attitudes become converted into political action. While new social movements literature has emphasised the significance of embodied experience within the act of protest, this paper develops the concept of affective authority to explain how people become politically active. Focusing on interview data with American Civil War re-enactors, a notable group of white conservative males, this paper demonstrates the significance of them attaining a sense of 'living history' within re-enactments for motivating them to undertake voluntary educational activities, including at schools and museums, where orthodox understandings of the past are promoted. This particularly occurs through challenging the dominant belief that the war was fought over the issue of slavery.

Introduction

Performance has recently become popular in cultural sociological analysis, applying the dramaturgical notions of acting, genres, stages, scripts and audiences in ways that see the symbolic as central to contemporary social and political change. Its application to cultural engagement with the nation and its history has been particularly significant. Where social theory has tended to either comprehend national attachment as being determined by its modernist origins or disintegrating in the face of global social and economic expansion, this performance literature avoids such structural determinism, envisioning multiple futures with the meaning and role of the nation tied to the outcome of 'ritual-like' engagements with it. This is not to argue that performances are always culturally significant but rather they have a potential to be consequential, with the emphasis being on their variable influence and contingent outcomes. Despite the analytic advantages of this perspective in analysing the nation, I argue that it overly associates the symbolic power of performance with its production and reception by audiences. Where this binary is apt at analysing new forms of symbolic engagements with history that visibly get played out in the public sphere or new "dark tourism" museums and memorial sites that are produced for a particular audience (West 2010), the power of performance also needs to be considered in terms of the affect of performance on the performers themselves. This is particularly the case for participatory forms of national performance where a significant number of actors attain a distinctive embodiment of the sacred symbol to which the performance is orientated.

A failed performance?

Examining Civil War re-enacting is useful in thinking about the relevance of participatory performances in terms of cultural conflict. It is a popular recreational activity with an estimated 50,000 participants in the United States. It is undertaken independent of the state and in tension with state institutions such as the National Parks Service, which have designated it as an inappropriate way of remembering warfare. However those resisting the state's history in this case are not traditional activists that sociologists are familiar with analysing but politically conservative white working class men. Where the literature on new forms of performative engagement with national history conceptualise symbolic power in terms of how particular symbolic acts are interpreted by a viewing audience that subsequently results in debate in the public sphere (Taylor 2003), these battle re-enactments do not often attract large numbers of spectators and seldom do they result in public debate (cf. Young 1999). Perhaps for this reason existing studies of re-enacting have been dominated by a postmodern perspective which has interpretively conceived of them in terms of weak emotional ties. Certainly as a performance genre Civil War re-enacting broadly suffers from inherent difficulties in providing realistic and authentic representations that "fuse" with audiences, the basis of which Alexander largely judges the political significance of performances (Alexander 2004b:529). For example, as a voluntarily organised recreational pursuit its portrayal is altered by a number of production pragmatics. Where the site where blood was spilt has typically provided a sacred stage for commemoration, the United States National Parks Service has banned any form of re-enactment being undertaken on the original battlefields. Various other difficulties are encountered in the choreographing of scripted battles. While a significant degree of effort is taken in arranging the performance, portrayals

remain highly contingent as re-enactments are reliant upon cooperation between and within the multiple independent units of the two armies of re-enactors. A key issue is the willingness of participants within and across different units and armies to conform to certain role restrictions. Unequal numbers on either side of the frontline is a significant problem. Such is the frequency of this practice that various re-enactors have both a union and confederate uniform, an activity that is known as galvinizing. Another ongoing issue is the willingness of re-enactors to die in battle scenes, particularly in significant historical battles in which participants would like to feature. Despite various strategies in choreographing battles, circumstance often results in historical inaccuracy and indeed in the battles going completely off script or failing.

> "Like when we did the Sunken Road at Antietam… we finally went up for a final push, we were to cross the fence, cross the road to 50 yards beyond and then the battle was going to be over. Well we got up there …hand to hand combat in most reenactments is a no no… And that's all it was! We got across the fence and the Confederates didn't want to (relinquish) their spot so we got across and it was like real. And I watched guys swinging rifles and stuff… They couldn't have stopped it if they wanted to… after it was over everybody was hugging everybody else and crying and its just a feeling, it's just unreal. (Union Captain, Age 40, Motor Mechanic)

As explored below, where these emotionally charged moments misrepresent the past and as such have the potential to diminish the experience of historical accuracy for the viewing audience and other participants, such moments for re-enactors can also often provide times in which they conceive that they have attained a true comprehension of

what it was like to be involved in the Civil War, an affective experience which we will see is critical to subsequent political activity by re-enactors.

Achieving living history

The highly contingent nature of recreational re-enacting is something that differentiates it from both traditional solemn forms of commemorating warfare in the West and the symbolic action of participating in 'disciplined' military training and tactical exercises (Foucault 1977). In many ways this reflects the experience of re-enacting as a recreational pursuit. To only understand re-enacting in terms of its carnivalesque character, however, is to neglect the sacredness that re-enactors also attach to it (Geertz 1972), something which can drive subsequent social and political action. Following the logics of living history the aim of re-enacting is learning of the past and in so doing honouring it. To do so re-enactors willingly endure various discomforts, including the wearing of stifling wool uniforms, sleeping on the ground and not bathing for entire weekend and sometimes for an entire week. While re-enacting is only a simulation of fighting it does also involve a level of danger, in particular that associated with explosives, cavalry and the acting out of hand to hand combat scenes. Such sacrifices and risk evidence the re-enactors dedication to worshiping national history, and works to build solidarity within the subculture. However, these factors are also important in helping re-enactors achieve a sense of authentically experiencing the past. This is not only in terms of mimetic understanding of what Civil War soldiers had to endure and the high likelihood of death (cf. Gibson 1994), but in facilitating the required emotional work (Hochschild 1990) to achieve a sense of what re-enactors refer to as 'time travel'. In Victor Turner's terms, for re-enactors to attain a sense of living history they must achieve

‘flow’ (Turner 1982), where the actor gives themselves up to the role, creatively defying the temporal classifications which embed reality. Where this has a trance like quality it is not achieved without environmental influences. As we see in the below quotes, appropriate environmental conditions, including weather and noise, as well as self-presentation and that of others, are particular important in bringing on a heightened sense of living history.

> “Almost impossible to describe without actually being there. When you’re looking at a line of men, then all of a sudden there’s 3000 rifle muskets all aimed at you. It certainly does get the adrenalin going… That is very close to what it is like” (Confederate, Age 38, Museum Director).

> “Just looking down and seeing the feet and the dust and how your vision is limited if you’re in a rear rank or in the middle of a column. All of that and sometimes at night too. The campfires and the way the lighting is really gives you an idea of the way it was.” (Union sergeant , Age 46)

However, when this metaphoric time travel is achieved, re-enactors in the interview sample note that it seldom lasts for any significant period of time, and as such is wrongly conceived of in terms of a postmodern schizophrenic state. As illustrated in the quotes above, it is something more fleeting and amongst most re-enactors does not involve a complete loss of reflexivity. The difficulty in achieving this state though privledges it rather than diminishes its significance.

Re-enacting and Political Activism

Unsurprisingly re-enactors already hold a strong commitment to the nation, underpinned by a desire "to revert to the simpler ways of an alleged Golden Age in an earlier lifestyle" (Smith 1986: 175). Where such nostalgia was once widely held, as Hunter (1991; 2006) argues, today it is part of a meta-divide and new form of cultural conflict in the United States and the West between those holding two different worldviews, that of orthodoxy and progressivism. The majority of re-enactors subscribe to orthodoxy, believing in "an external, definable and transcendent authority"(1991:44) that "is predicted upon the achievements and traditions of the past as the foundation and guide to the challenges of the present..." (Hunter 2006:14).

> "There was a lot more belief in God.... And you don't have all that now. (Confederate, Age 21, Labourer)

> "I think in modern life people have no respect, no responsibilities." (Union Captain, Age 40, Motor Mechanic)

> "Back then you worked for it… but in life today you can put your best in (and) you still can't make it. Big brother up there always trying to knock you down" (Confederate, 40 years old, technician)

Nostalgia from this perspective is not simply backward looking but seeks from the past "reinvigoration and realization of what are considered to be the very noblest ideals and achievements of civilisation (Hunter 2006: 14). Progressives, by contrast,

are “defined by the spirit of the modern age, a spirit of rationalism and subjectivism” and are indifferent to the ideals of patriotism and sceptical towards the relevance of national history (Hunter 1991: 44). As such the interest in the Civil War by re-enactors is inherently political. However, from a performance perspective it is important not to reduce our understanding of re-enactment to the political beliefs of its participants as involvement in symbolic action both plays a significant role in attenuating these and orientating subsequent political action. In Geertz’s terms the symbolic frame of performance allows re-enactors to “not only feel but know what we feel and act accordingly."(1973:69).

Civil War re-enactments not only provide an opportunity for like-minded history enthusiasts to gather collectively. Rather the experience of re-enacting itself alters participants, providing them with a belief that they have a newfound truth into how history occurred. Re-enactors are able to claim such knowledge by having achieved what I term as affective authority, a claim to know the past through experiential and empathetic experience of it (Crang 1996). This allows the individual to engage in political activity, not only by motivating them but by providing them with a unique basis to claim an authoritative knowledge of the past which others do not have. This is not simply an alternative way of understanding the war that focuses on minutiae and the first person perspective prominent within living history. Rather it involves a rejection of established historical understandings of the past in terms of socio-political shifts and conflicts.

> If we can get one person to change their attitude or rethink their opinions and give them a new direction we really have done a whole lot" (Union Private, Retired Prison Guard, Age 42)

> "The only way the story is really going to be told is by people who really do their research, really learn, live it and show it" (Union Private, Age 55).

This principally occurs through re-enactors engaging in frequent voluntary educational activities with the public. These are undertaken in a variety of setting, including in local schools where teachers often take up offers by re-enactors to come into the classroom, seeing this as a strategy for enhancing student learning. Re-enactors also frequently undertake encampments outside and within museums, with the historical understandings of re-enactors empowered by being associated with a more established remembrance institution. Re-enactors too engage with both young and old spectators at re-enactment, either as the public wander through camps or as part of formally set up educational sites within the re-enactment. So orientated is the culture of re-enacting to the achievement and use of their affective authority that many re-enactors prefer to refer to themselves as history teachers. This teaching though does not simply aim to encourage a greater awareness of the Civil War but is directed at challenging dominant historical accounts which they see as misrepresenting the past. The focus on minutiae and the everyday is connected with a desire to rescue this key historical national moment from intellectual accounts of history which view the past negatively in reference to contemporary rights and equalities.

> "What you receive in your history classes is a filtered down version and the politically accepted version of what happened. And you learn through re-enacting and research of your units and research of battles and research of people through local records and through personal accounts and diaries that what you learnt in school is not what it was at all. It was very different." (Confederate, Age 38, Museum Director)

The attack against progressive historical revisionism, indicated in the above quotes, is focussed on the particular issue of slavery. Most re-enactors, from both Union and Confederate armies, propagate in their educational activities that the Civil War was not fought over the issue of slavery.

> "It's a lot of fun going out there and blowing powder and playing war but the main part of it is teaching the public exactly what went on because a lot of them think it was fought over slavery which it wasn't. It was fought over state's rights" (Confederate, 40 years old, technician)

> "I guess you almost become more of a crusader for the truth. Because you are learning you want to go out and say hey everybody it wasn't just fought to free the slaves, it was so much more than that the way it started out." (Age 50, Union Captain)

The Civil War and slavery has been a continual site of cultural politics and a central trauma narrative around which Afro-Americans have become culturally accepted as

full United States citizens (Eyerman 2002). As Barry Schwartz notes, a key aspect of this has been the historical linking of Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation (Schwartz 1997) to modern civil rights beliefs about racial equality. To challenge the contemporary tie between slavery and the Civil War is not necessarily historically inaccurate but it does seek to untangle the cultural basis around which the majority of black community in the United States have been able to legitimately identify themselves as being both American and of African heritage. As such I argue that rather than the power of re-enacting only reflecting some larger socio-structure it is performative and involves the attainment and utility of an affective authority. Where prior to being re-enactors these actors may have expressed similar opinions about history, it is their experience and status of being re-enactors that provides the access to engage in educational activities with the public.

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Health Hazards of Insecure Work

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Abstract

This paper draws on data collected in interviews with 72 rural workers in rural Victoria. It documents the impact of insecure and casual work on the respondents' health: that they come to work sick, that they continue working while injured, that they conceal OH&S accidents, and that they forgo health interventions. All of these actions are a direct consequence of the major transformation in the social organisation of work towards more flexible and less secure forms of employment such as temporary and contract work that exclude workers from many of the benefits enjoyed by fulltime, ongoing workers.

Key words: rural health, occupational health, work, inequality

Introduction

This paper examines the ways in which non-standard employment arrangements affect workers' health by exposing workers to physically more hazardous work conditions, as well as by motivating workers to adopt riskier health behaviours (Quinlan, 2010). We show that fear of job loss and the need to maintain a positive impression with their employer so as to secure future shifts and employment contracts may motivate workers to come to work sick or injured (presenteeism), or to take on more hazardous job tasks (Clougherty, Souza and Cullen, 2010; McNamarra, 2006). In some cases, fear of job loss may also motivate workers to conceal OH&S accidents and lead to putting their health on hold (Aronson, 1999, Facey and Eakin, 2010). Work intensification pressures from a lack of job security also lead to working while fatigued and in acute muscle pain (Cummings and Kreis, 2008; Lewchuk et. al., 2008; Standing: 2010; Virtanen et. al., 2005). Repeated international studies show that temporary workers 'are exposed to more hazardous working conditions, work more often in painful and tiring positions, are more exposed to intense noise, [and] perform more often repetitive movements.' There is also evidence to suggest that they 'suffer from a higher risk of occupational injuries as compared with permanent employees' (Benach and Muntaner., 2007: 90). For example, a review by Quinlan, Mayhew, and Bohle of research into the OHS impacts of temporary employment found that, in more than 80 percent of studies, these work arrangements were associated with 'increased risk of injury, disease, and hazard exposure' as well as 'reduced knowledge of occupational health and safety issues and regulatory responsibilities' (Lewchuk, de

Wolff, King, & Polanyi, 2005: 8; Quinlan, Mayhew, & Boyle, 2001) see also (Quinlan & Mayhew, 2001:5–6).

This study provides qualitative insights into the impact of neoliberalism and economic rationalism on workers daily experience of work and health in rural Australia. While cognisant of this broader political economy literature (see Collyer and White (2011) for extensive reviews of current developments) we draw more on the tradition of the social determinants of health (Benach et. al., 2007) and the leverage it provides to explore qualitative data and capture the lived experience of the health insults experienced by workers facing casual, contract and precarious employment (Rafferty and Yu, 2010).

Sample

A total of 72 people took part in this study at locations in and around East Gippsland, Mildura, Shepparton, Ballarat, Bendigo, Leongatha, and Hastings. Prospective research participants were screened by gender, age, industry and occupation, and employment status so as to seek a representative sample of participants mirroring ABS data on casualised and insecure workers (for full details: McGann, Moss and White, 2012). Participants were recruited via a variety of channels. Assistance in recruiting research participants was initially sought from a number of unions and trade organisations—Maritime Workers' Union of Australian, the National Tertiary Education Union, the Australian Education Union, Master Builders' Association of Victoria, CEPU—in key industries with large concentrations of non-standard workers (identified using ABS data), while two regional trades hall and labour councils (Ballarat and Bendigo) also contacted their members about participating in the study. A series of advertisements were also placed in local newspapers in Mildura, East Gippsland, Shepparton, and Bendigo to ensure that the data sample was not limited to union affiliated workers—indeed, the vast majority of research participants were *not* union members—while a number of large employers in the Agricultural and Horticultural sector in Mildura, Bairnsdale, and Shepparton also agreed to pass on details about the study to their casual and contract employees. Finally, CentaBrace, a job network agency, also provided assistance in recruiting a small number of research participants in Mildura and Ballarat.

The interview sample included 46 (64%) casual employees, 12 (17%) independent contractors, 6 (8.3%) fixed-term contract employees, and 8 (11%) permanent "irregular" workers. This last group self-identified as casuals during the recruitment stage, although they do not fall strictly under the ABS measure of casual employment since they are formally entitled to holiday and sick pay, albeit on a pro rata basis. However, these workers had highly uncertain work schedules and their income and shifts varied substantially from week to week. Interviews followed a semi-structured guide, were recorded and transcribed and lasted on average forty minutes. The transcripts were cross coded for validity by two of the authors and Nvivo software was used to code and categorise the data around central themes identified in previous studies and on the basis of new issues that emerged from the data.

Those who took part in this study could broadly be classified into three different categories in terms of the reasons why they were working in non-standard

employment: *content casuals* who valued the flexibility of that non-standard work afforded them terms of work/life balance, *reluctant casuals* who resigned themselves to the fact that no permanent positions were available in their industry or location, and *indifferent casuals* who accepted non-standard work as simply the way people in their industry and occupation had always been employed.

Presenteeism

As McNamara argues in a study of the hidden costs of casual employment in Australia, '[j]ob insecurity and especially the fear that absence from work or even refusal to do overtime might increase the likelihood of redundancy, means that some workers may avoid taking time off when ill' (McNamara, 2006:26). The financial costs of missing a day's work through sickness or injury can also be a further source of motivation for presenteeism, especially for casuals and independent contractors who are formally excluded from sick leave entitlements. This is particularly likely to be an issue for workers who experience high scheduling uncertainty as these workers may not be in a position to afford to take time off, even when sick, if they do not work many shifts on a regular basis.

With the exception of fixed-term employees and permanent irregular workers—who were entitled to paid sick leave, albeit on a pro rata basis—presenteeism was common amongst interviewees, especially among reluctant casuals who either could not afford to take time off when sick or who were afraid to do so for fear that they would lose shifts. 'Well in the past as a casual, explained Adam, a stevedore with a young family to support, 'you basically have to be shitting in your pants not to go into work really. Because this work, the money, you wouldn't give a shit if you were sick, you'd still go in…You can't afford not to [go to work]…At the end of the day, when you're a casual, you've got to do the job. If you don't, you don't get paid. Simple as that.' 'I'd have to have a leg off or something to stop me going,' explained Trish, a TAFE teacher, who would frequently be out of work during the summer months. 'I need the money – because I need the money to pay back the debts I've accumulated all over summer really' (2010 Interview).

It wasn't just casuals who would work sick. Many independent contractors would also work sick, principally because they needed the money. For example, Tom, a carpenter explained that he had worked "crook" for three days the week before the first interview because, 'well, you have bills – you have to pay your bills, so you have to go to work' (2009 Interview). Presenteeism was similarly common amongst fruit-pickers, who felt that they would be penalised by the farmer if they went home sick or injured or if they take the day off work because they were sick. As Toni, a picker in her late 30s explained, 'say if you have an injury at work, you can either go to work or you can say to your boss, "Well, I've hurt myself," and they might say, "Well, you're out." What do you do?' 'You go to work,' as her husband, Michael, explained (2009 Interview). Fishermen too reported incidences of presenteeism as, somewhat surprisingly, did contented casuals. In the case of contented casuals, the fact that they wouldn't earn a wage if they didn't go to work acted as an *incentive* for presenteeism. As Chris, an agricultural contractor explained, 'I've got to get the job done so I get paid and so that I get the next job. But, if I'm honestly, really, really crook, I'll stay at home. But, yeah, probably if I was working for a company and I had sick days owing

to me, there's a lot of days that I probably would've stayed home.' For fishermen, it was more a case of not wanting to let their fellow crew members down, since they knew that it would be difficult to find a replacement crew member at short notice. But for casuals and fruit-pickers reliant on their job and who were struggling to get enough shifts, they simply couldn't afford to be sick while there was work available:

> You need money, it doesn't matter how sick you are…that's the time I get really sick and I push myself to the edge and there's a time that I fainted. I remember one time I fainted at a block because the heat was too much, the heat was too much but I pushed it, because I need more boxes, because the price is not the much you know. I'm lucky to get $500, $400 [per week] you know, and if I don't push myself what can you do with $100 a week? (Nicola, Fruit-picker, 2009 Interview).

Intermittent and irregular work scheduling motivates presenteeism while compounding illness. Workers who have little security regarding the scheduling of future work feel they cannot afford to take time off due to illness while work is available. Hence, they come to work sick, which only exacerbates their illness. Further, when worker's health is so bad that they simply cannot push themselves to go to work, anxieties about getting future work and being able to make ends meet creep in, similarly undermining their recovery. For example, Helen, a personal care attendant in her mid 20s, works at an aged care facility in East Gippsland. Even though she works in health and community services and is well aware of the risks to her patients and co-workers, Helen still comes to work sick if she can. This is because her shifts are so irregular and uncertain—the fortnight before the first interview, Helen only worked a shift and a half, leaving her with only $230—and she simply can't afford *not* to work when she is ill:

> If I'm not feeling well and I know I'm not getting any shifts, I'll rock up anyway. I had the flu a couple of months ago and I was coughing all over the place and I turned up for a shift. I didn't do it very well but I was there (2009 Interview).

Concealing injuries/Pressures to take on more dangerous work

The pressures that non-standard workers can face to conceal any work injuries or OH&S concerns for fear that speaking out or making a Work Cover claim might jeopardise future employment prospects are considerable. For example, Claire, a casual worker in her 50s who had worked in retail and as a factory labourer, explained that many of her co-workers at a food company where she had previously worked, had worked injured for fear that they would lose future shifts if they reported OH&S incidents:

> 'You would pick up safety things that were a problem and they would just be ignored. The level of speed that they have to work at…it was terrible for the muscles. Your muscles would be screaming, and I was quite fit back then. Your muscles would be screaming out because they had been involved for too long at a particular pace, but you did not dare and a lot of them were injured, working injured, but they would not

> speak up because they were scared they would lose their place. Health things, there was a cockroach that came through in a fruitcake one night and nothing was done about that. Everyone knew about it, it was an old building, it happens' (2009 Interview).

Frank, a permanent irregular stevedore, had a teenage son who worked as a labour hire employee in a nearby factory. Just before the second round interview, Frank's son had crushed his fingers in a rolling machine. He was sent home without pay and didn't put through a Work Cover claim. Frank tried to persuade his son to make a Work Cover claim but his son was reluctant to "upset the apple cart":

> No, oh no he's still bandaged up, his hands, his fingers…had his fingers taken off and he can't go back, he's got to rest up for at least a week before he goes back… Lucky the thing stopped, he could have had his arm taken off. I questioned the OH&S and that. I think it might come back and bite them because I think they maybe, they think they won't get him back. And that's the way casual workers, that's the way they work…[I]n the end he didn't [make a claim] because he said, "Look I think my hand will be right in a few days Dad and I don't want to upset the apple cart." I said, "Well look you know, I believe you should do it 'cause at the end of the day, people don't do it we're no better than a third world country." Do you know what I mean? People are scared to take them on and do the right – they advertise on TV, the girl in the meat slicer on TV – they're advertising for people to do the right thing with WorkCover, WorkSafe and everything else but people are scared to do it (2010 Interview).

There were multiple examples, not all of which were necessarily OH&S related, where workers—and casual employees in particular—had been threatened with (or feared) job joss for speaking out or rocking the boat. In some cases, casual employees and permanent irregular workers that were desperate for work were taking on tasks that permanent employees would refuse to do because they felt they had no choice. Susan, a lone parent who worked on the production line in a soap factory, explained that 'the permanents sometimes manipulate the situation so that you get the poorer job.' She gave the example of sitting on a chair monitoring the production line machinery so that it doesn't jam up. As she went to explain, 'you're each supposed to have a turn for half an hour…because you can get motion sickness if you don't know how to look at it. And the permanents will very conveniently manipulate it so that they don't have to have a go at it. Or the casuals might swap between themselves but the permanents don't take their turn' (casual labourer, sole parent, 40s, 2011 Interview). Angela, another sole parent who had worked for four years as a seasonal labourer in a cannery, had learned to 'behave':

> And they know that we're desperate for work and like you're there, your day to day, you don't know which day they're going hook up to say, "Right, you're out of here." So yeah, you behave. (2009 Interview).

'Behaving,' for Angela, included not bringing any problems to management's attention. As she explained, 'if you have a problem you don't go to management, you

try and handle it yourself…cause if you go to management, they put you off anyhow' (2009). For this reason, she had concealed an injury she had suffered at work:

> I now have a doctor's report where I have a bulging disk as well. But see the thing too is, you don't report when you get hurt, alright, because if you report to them you've gotten yourself hurt, you're out of there, so, and because I didn't report it at the time when I got hurt, I don't have the leg to stand on now to do anything about it (2009 Interview).

Putting health on hold

Income uncertainty from the irregular and intermittent scheduling of work not only motivated those interviewed to come to work sick or injured, many of those interviewed explained that they would also regularly put-off looking after their health because they had more urgent needs and couldn't afford the costs of managing their health. This was particularly true of permanent irregular workers and casuals employees in the reluctant casual group, who were the workers with the most intermittent and uncertain work scheduling. These workers reported regularly forgoing health and dental care either because they couldn't afford the costs involved of going to the doctor, having surgery, or going to the dentist, or, if they could afford the costs, they were worried that work might dry up in the near future and they would need to rely on their savings to get them through a period of under- or unemployment. For example, when we first interviewed Yvonne, an aged care attendant from a single-income household, she explained that she had needed a sinus operation for quite some time. As a casual employee, she couldn't afford to have the operation, especially as it would mean taking 'about four weeks off' from work. 'I had to wait until I went permanent part time,' she explained, to which she had recently been promoted. A year later, Yvonne still hadn't had the operation because the level of work she had been getting was so little. However, she had recently taken up a permanent, ongoing job, inter-state and was hoping to have the operation the following year:

> I know say sometime next year, I'm going to have to, like, take some sick time off because I have to have like a nasal operation on my sinuses…And I can do that now because I can get sick days and get some sort of time off. Whereas before I had to keep putting it off because I just couldn't afford to take the time off…I just haven't financially been able to do it. So I was kind of waiting and hoping that I would get a good job, and I did, and now that I have I can maybe look at doing that next year (2010 Interview).

Dental care was one of the first things that workers in insecure employment would forgo Matt, who cycled in and out of casual labouring work, would avoid the dentist altogether. Instead, if a severe tooth ache developed, he would go to the nearby hospital to have his tooth pulled out as this was cheaper:

> With the dentist, my mouth is full of really bad teeth. I don't bother going to pay myself for the dentist. I just wait til I'm absolutely in terrible pain. I pay me $25, go to the hospital, and just have a tooth

> ripped out, rather than just have it all fixed up and all that. So, when it comes to that, it's only cross that bridge when it gets to it, because otherwise, you know, you've got more important things to spend the money on (2010 Interview).

Conclusion

As the examples above clearly illustrate, the ease with which non-standard workers (especially casuals) can be dismissed accompanied by their need to maintain a positive impression with their employer so as to safeguard future shifts and employment contracts can motivate workers to conceal work-place injuries and OH&S concerns, as well as broader concerns (e.g. incidences of bullying and harassment) within the workplace. Similarly, many non-standard workers refuse to take time-off work when they fall ill or suffer an injury; firstly because, in the case of workers whose shifts are intermittent and uncertain, they cannot afford to go without pay, while, secondly, some also worry that they will lose out on future shifts or employment opportunities if they take time-off due to illness or injury and are seen as unreliable. Those that do fall ill for an extended period or suffer an injury that keeps them out of work can find returning to work difficult, while the economic costs of being out of work for extended periods can be severe, particularly as many non-standard workers don't have income protection insurance to cope with these costs.

One of the key insights from research on the social determinants of health over the past 30 years is that efforts to reduce social inequalities in health cannot concentrate on the provision of improved health care services alone. While health care services are important in protecting and recovering health, the quality of people's educational and employment opportunities and the conditions in which they live have an equally, if not more important, role to play in contributing to their health (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). 'Achieving health equity,' as the final report of the WHO Commission on the Social Determinants of Health stresses, 'requires safe, secure, and fairly paid work, year-round work opportunities, and a healthy work-life balance for all' (WHO, 2008:8). Consequently, if the health of people living in rural and regional areas is to be improved, and the gap in life-expectancy between better and worse off social groups reduced, careful decisions will have to be made about the allocation of resources and policy options right across the spectrum of government. Trade-offs may need to be made between directing resources towards the provision of improved and expanded health care services—the preferred strategy of the National Health and Hospital Reform Commission (2009: see chapter 3)—and targeting resources towards the provision of wider work opportunities, more stable employment arrangements and better psychosocial work environments.

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Do we in sociology know what we are doing when we do 'theory'?

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Abstract

After revisiting the scene of a minor sociological accident, in which attempts to impose a certain style of doing 'theory' undermine historical insights, I am prompted by a suggestion from Stephen Turner – that 'theorizing' is a type of *bricolage* – to ask whether we in sociology know what we are doing when we do theory. The terms of Turner's argument suggest that a yes answer is not a given and his Weberian way of dealing with this harsh truth is uncomfortable.

Introduction

In a recent piece (Wickham 2012, forthcoming), I explore the way in which a number of the contributors to the collection *Sociological Objects: Reconfigurations of Social Theory* (Cooper, King, and Rettie 2009) effectively undermine their own historical insights when they adopt aspects of the persona 'the theorist'. I criticise them for doing this, with considerable help from Paul du Gay's essay in the same collection. I don't now wish to backtrack from the position I take in that piece. I think I was right when I wrote the piece

and, on that matter, I still think I'm right. But I have since been given pause for thought by reading Stephen Turner's new essay 'Theorizing as *Bricolage* and *Bildung*' (2012, forthcoming).

After establishing a number of problems with the manner in which sociologists have, over the last fifty years, thought about 'theorizing', Turner suggests that a better way to think about this task is to treat it as a form of *bricolage*. This suggestion, especially as Turner expresses it, is enticing, but it is also somewhat discomforting, containing as it does the further suggestion that we in sociology cannot fully know what we are doing when we do theory. No less discomforting is Turner's proposition that we can strengthen our approach to theorizing by facing up to the rigours of what's actually involved in being a theorist, in just the way that Weber argued that scientists must face up to what's involved in being a scientist.

In the first section I will briefly present my arguments about theory undermining historical insights, by way of setting the scene for my meeting with Turner's account of theorizing as *bricolage*. In the second section I will attempt to capture not just the main points from his account but, more importantly, the unnerving dimension of his underlying suggestion that as sociologists we can never fully know what we are doing when we do theory (it certainly unnerves me). In the conclusion I will discuss the 'cold shower' Weberian option he prescribes for dealing with this situation (which I find only a little less unnerving).

Theory undermining history

In my piece that focuses on the *Sociological Objects* collection (Wickham 2012, forthcoming), I praise Geoff Cooper and a number of the other contributors for their important historical insights about sociology's dealings with the notion of society. Here are two such insights, one from Cooper and one from another contributor:

- Cooper uses the historian Peter Wagner to discuss the 'fortunes' of the 'concept of society … as a "scientific object" from its relatively recent emergence … to its possibly imminent passing away'. In doing so he highlights 'Arendt's apparently negative view of the social', which she compared unfavourably to 'the political', particularly with regard to 'the rise of "mass society"', and Garfinkel's commitment to the details of the operation of society, especially as it is exemplified in his 'refusal of a sociological meta-language' (Cooper 2009: 10-12).
- In her chapter on Durkheim's complex dealings with the object society, Irene Rafanell (2009: 62) explores and extends his proposition that social facts need to be understood through the particular uses made of them.

I then argue that when they turn to knowledge they call theory, these same contributors exempt it from the historical investigation they use in dealing with other types of knowledge. More than this, they wrap it around themselves as the uniform of 'the theorist'. For this persona, sociology is not to be conducted on the plane of historical facts, it is to be conducted on the much higher plane of theory. Here is just one example (there is room for no more) of how I demonstrate the 'persona of the theorist' in action:

- Rafanell (2009: 63) turns abruptly away from her historical insights and towards 'two radical social constructionist accounts that I believe provide useful tools for grounding Durkheim's notion of social objectivity', one a 'performative theory of sex and gender', the other a 'performative theory of social institution'. Her empirically grounded historical points about what Durkheim was doing as he put together his account of social facts quickly give way to these two 'higher level' theories – a theory that seeks to read the empirically grounded material through the lens of 'the performative force of linguistic utterances' and a theory that seeks to read it through the lens of 'a process of self-referentiality within … referencing dynamics that denotes a clear social construction behind human knowledge and practices in general'.

After suggesting that the term 'social construction' is used here as a marker of the priestly theorist who is qualified to take readers where they would not be capable of going were they to remain trapped in the empirical realm, and after outlining Ian Hunter's (2006) basic proposition that knowledge which is called theory is in fact knowledge in exactly the same way as is other knowledge – produced at a particular time and place, with the usual constraints and foibles of any down-to-earth human endeavour, including the usual scramble for status and prestige – I call, as noted earlier, on du Gay's chapter in the book. Drawing on some of the burgeoning literature that deals with the history of theory as a practice and the theorist a persona (see esp.: Hunter 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2008a; 2009), du Gay argues that '[T]he power of theory … is proportional to the allure of the persona it allows one to occupy. Its prestige and reach should not be underestimated' (2009: 179).

He goes on (2009: 180) to explore various 'sociological consequences of "the moment of theory"', particularly that by which 'social constructionism … has often ended up akin to an all purpose, across the board formula, and, as such, has frequently evacuated that which it purports to analyse of any of its positivity'. In particular, he asks three rhetorical questions:

> First, do we actually learn anything positive about that which is subject to this theoretical exercise? Or is it the case that the social constructionist move is precisely designed to take away self-evidence from that which forms its object? Second, given that the same moves can be made on anything – robots, death, corporations, fish – what exactly is the status of the critical claim being made? Thirdly, why does deployment of the mantra "socially constructed" … give the theorist any sort of advantage in the practice of revising something, compared with those who do not buy into the social constructionist programme, those who maintain a belief in "objectivity", for example (du Gay 2009: 180)?

This short account of what I try to do in the piece in question captures pretty well the way I was feeling as I finished it: aware of the dangers of theory but also confident these dangers could be overcome with a good dose of history. Then I bumped into Turner's essay. Suddenly I was not at all sure that I knew what is involved in doing theory in sociology.

Turner's *bricolage* account of theory in sociology and its capacity to unnerve

In leading into his account of theorizing as a type of '*bricolage*', Turner first acknowledges the many attempts over the past fifty years to define theory for sociology, but he does so only to express dissatisfaction with them: 'They say something about the form of "theory" in sociology, and provide a kind of reconstruction of the logic of theorizing at a low level, but they do little to help anyone understand what and how theorists think when they theorize' (Turner 2012, forthcoming). He is dissatisfied for a very particular reason:

> The conventional and endlessly repeated terminology of "theory" in sociology, that a theory is a set of logically interrelated propositions, is seriously misleading. The "propositions" are actually assertions about correlations. Correlations do not "logically interrelate" in the sense of deductive logic. At best they provide relatively weak warrants for claims about the correlations that "relate" to them. Sociology editors have traditionally claimed that they welcome "theory" in this sense. Not surprisingly, they don't get any. There is little to be had, even in this diminished sense of vaguely connected inventories of correlations, and even less of it has any intellectual interest, plausibility, or significance … "Theories" of the sort envisioned by Merton, few if any of which were actually produced, would have a claim, but a very weak one, to remedy problems about spuriousness. The best methods for solving them do not involve theory in this sense (Turner 2012, forthcoming).

Turner adds a salutary and somewhat frustrated footnote to this argument: 'I have written extensively on this topic, to little avail, at least with sociologists, who seem curiously

immune to the logical issues with this notion of theory' (Turner 2012, forthcoming). He has good reason to be frustrated, for it is, in my experience at least, an unusual sociologist who uses theory in anything approaching a logical manner (for a discussion of the more common ways in which sociologists use theory, see esp.: Harley 2005; 2008; see also: Isaac 2010; 2012).

In building his '*bricolage*' account, Turner heads in an unconventional direction (unconventional for most of us anyway; he has been down this path before: see esp. Turner 1994; 2001):

> The capturing of ideas and thoughts from the fleeting mass of associations that the mind makes is mysterious. Everything of importance operates on the tacit level. Insights may come from thinking that goes on while one sleeps. It is a commonplace experience to face a series of unsolved problems, or simply to get stuck in writing, and to find in the morning, or even to awake to find, that there is a solution to them or a path around them. Michael Polanyi wrote about these processes as they figure in scientific discovery … and the lessons apply to "theorizing" of all kinds. People often report coming to a new insight while lecturing on a topic (Turner 2012, forthcoming).

Is this what we sociologists do when we are doing theory? Sleeping? Lecturing? Doing the washing? Doing things that we can't really know are theory at the time we are doing them? Doing things that we will probably never know are theory, for we will never be in a

position to know how, when, to what extent, or even if they contribute to the activities that are more likely to be acknowledged by us as theory – reading, writing, teaching, presenting papers at conferences, etc.? I suspect it is. This is taking Hunter's point – about theory being knowledge in exactly the same way as is other knowledge – to a whole new level. I'm not sure why it unnerves me, but it does. I suppose I have to confront the possibility that even as I finished writing a piece which explicitly acknowledges that the persona of the theorist is, among other things, a route to academic prestige, I was not as ready as I thought I was to ditch that prestige. Now I'm wondering whether Turner is telling me that doing theory is no more prestigious than doing the dishes. I think he is, and I think he's right. It's unnerving, but it's good for me (good like an enema, perhaps).

In pushing on with his account, Turner provides more detail about just how theories produced as *bricolage* can help produce clearer pictures of objects:

> Here we see the beginnings of what Levi-Strauss called *bricolage*, which I always associate with the opening of V. S. Naipaul's novel *Miguel Street*, 'I making the thing without a name' … Perhaps the authors of … [these type of theories] made them with a general picture in mind, which they filled out. But the thing they made was to some extent dictated by the materials themselves. And the materials were the ideas and 'theories,' perspectives, and whatnot that they had lying around the workshop, or, as the case may be, the office or seminar discussion, or the results of undirected reading around. They may have had an outcome in mind, or been driven by some sort of dissatisfaction with the available pictures. The task

> is to make something, something coherent enough to present as a picture, and to make a better picture than the one you were dissatisfied with (Turner 2012, forthcoming).

This quote from Turner is not so disconcerting. Here the theorist is at least doing something like what we might think of as doing theory – reading, writing, teaching, presenting papers at conferences, etc. – albeit with whatever he or she finds lying around. But while it is closer to a conventional account of doing theory/ being a theorist, the overall effect of Turner's argument is still, to me at least, unnerving. Not only will one never be able to know for sure when one is doing theory, one will also never know what one will be using in doing theory. Again, I can see that this is not a dreadful outcome. But it still leaves open the question of who can be a theorist. Is it anyone who does the dishes or the washing? Surely not.

Conclusion: the rigours of being a theorist

Turner uses Weber's 'Calling's' essays to build a picture of the sort of person one must be if one is to be a theorist, in the *bricolage* sense of the term. He invites his readers to follow the spirit of Weber's investigation of what is needed if one is to be a scientist: 'Who might be suited [to be a theorist]? Only a very odd person, a person with very special passions and mental qualities'.

So far, this not a flattering job description. When we are doing theory in sociology, it seems, we will only do it well if we are odd, with very special passions and mental

qualities. More than this, Turner continues, we will only do it well if we are prepared to put ourselves through some hoops. He sets out just what sort of hoops when he offers us a passage from Weber and invites us to substitute the word 'theorizing' for the word 'science':

> "whoever lacks the capacity to put on blinders, so to speak, and to come up to the idea that the fate of his soul depends upon whether or not he makes the correct conjecture at this passage of this manuscript may as well stay away from science. He will never have what one may call the 'personal experience' of science. Without this strange intoxication, ridiculed by every outsider; without this passion, this 'thousands of years must pass before you enter into life and thousands more wait in silence' – according to whether or not you succeed in making this conjecture; without this, you have *no* calling for science and you should do something else. For nothing is worthy of man as man unless he can pursue it with passionate devotion" (Turner 2012, forthcoming, quoting Weber, emphasis in original).

How many of us in sociology can put our hand up and say 'This is me'? How many would want to? I don't think I've earned the right to put my hand up. And I don't think I'd want to. But I do think the points Turner makes are worthy of serious debate, if for no other reason than that he has made it so difficult to confidently answer yes to the question, Do we in sociology know what we are doing when we do 'theory'?

Keywords: theory, doing theory, being a theorist, sociology, Weber

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Using the empty shops index as a measure of climate change-related social change in the Murray Darling Basin

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Abstract

This paper describes a new study that builds on a previous project using empty shops as an indicator of the wellbeing in rural and regional towns largely in Victoria. The present study applies the empty shops concept to a much larger sample of approximately two-hundred towns and townships in the Murray Darling Basin catchment. This concept is in most cases treated by locals within rural communities as having intuitive validity in capturing something of the wellbeing of their towns. At the same time, however, a variety of methodological issues are raised in attempting to systematically assess rural and regional wellbeing in this way. This paper discusses some of these issues in this first iteration of the new project.

Keywords: Community research, empty shops, irrigation, Murray Darling Basin, rural wellbeing

This discussion moves from considering the social consequences of climate change back to empty shops in rural towns, as one local measure of health and wellbeing, looking at the Australian Murray Darling Basin. Humankind faces an environmental problem, in complexity and magnitude, the likes of which have rarely been seen in human history. In the last few years, widespread if not unanimous acceptance has grown that a fundamental global environmental change is occurring, with many effects on society in general and human health, especially in the developing world. In a joint statement, medical journal *The Lancet* and University College London Institute for Global Health Commission argued, 'Climate change is the biggest global health threat of the 21st century… the effects of climate change on health will affect most populations in the next decades and put the lives and wellbeing of billions of people at increased risk' (Costello et al., 2009: 373).

For Sociology, climate change represents a fundamental challenge in general ways and in medical sociology in particular. Sociology came into being at a time of rapid social and economic change associated with industrial and political revolutions. It appears likely that climate change will also result in fundamental social change. Sociology has a lot to offer in understanding and responding to these issues. As Furze (2012: 479) argues, environmental problems have to be understood as social problems. Yet social scientists in general and sociologists in particular have been slow to come to the study of climate change. Only very recently has there appeared a specific social science literature such as the anthropologically oriented Baer and Singer (2009) contribution. Lever-Tracy (2008: 445) attributed this 'strange silence' in mainstream sociology to an uneasy tension in sociology about environment around the epistemological basis concerning constructivism versus realism:

> most sociologists, outside the specialism of environmental sociology, have had surprisingly little to say about the possible future social trajectories they may portend. Wary of accepting the truth claims of natural science, but aware of our own inability to judge the

> validity of their claims, we have generally preferred to look the other way, although these developments can affect the very core of our discipline's concerns.

Despite challenges, Lever-Tracy (2010) repeated this assertion, notwithstanding an emergent literature from scholars such as Giddens (2009) and Urry (2010). A more ecological view of health is slowly emerging, utilising some of the classical insights of early medical sociology, especially the work of Dubos (1987). He conceptualised health as a state of balance with the natural environment. Such an approach would provide the basis for social science research that integrates social, natural and medical systems.

This theme has been taken up more generally by McMichael (2003: 1-3), who argues

> The long-term good health of populations depends on the continued stability and functioning of the biosphere's ecological and physical systems, often referred to as life-support systems. We ignore this long-established historical truth at our peril: yet it is all too easy to overlook this dependency, particularly at a time when the human species is becoming increasingly urbanized and distanced from these natural systems…. Appreciation of this scale and type of influence on human health entails an *ecological* perspective. This perspective recognises that the foundations of long term good health in populations reside in the continued stability and functioning of the biosphere's life-supporting ecological and physical systems.

As climatic conditions change in the general direction of warming, researching sustainability receives greater emphasis. Under these conditions how are human communities to be sustainable? The paradigm that has emerged is one of 'triple bottom line sustainability' involving the interrelated features of environmental/ ecological, economic and social sustainability. The catchy phrase was 'people, planet and profit' (Elkington, 1997).
The likelihood for climate change to harm health, not simply 'affect health' in some generic way has manifold avenues. Where public health resources are applied to achieve the immunisation rates currently accepted by medical scientists, these are likely to be compromised (McMichael & Kovats, 2000). Higher temperatures increase the spread of infectious diseases and require higher immunisation rates. Already counts of French deaths from summer heat waves 2003, 2006 provide empirical insight into mortality risk in vulnerable populations (Fouillet et al., 2008). But age and poverty are merely two elements of social health risk. Farming and horticulture patterns and survival of existing communities and towns may be compromised on what types of crops can be grown, what available processes or labour decisions are made. Water availability and quality has both production and human consumption implications quite apart from disease burden.

The Australian context: the case of the Murray Darling Basin

The issues to be evaluated were foreshadowed in the decade-long drought from 2000–2010 in Eastern Australia. The effects on the Basin can be considered one of the canaries in the global goldmine of climate change-related social change. Caused by the climatic effect known as 'La Nina', the drought provided a foretaste of challenges ahead in the twin processes of mitigation of and adaptation to climate change. Peaking in 2006-07, the drying of the climate sharpened the issue of sustainability especially of rural communities, and received new impetus with government action to study human adaption processes.

The Basin formed by the catchment of the Murray and Darling rivers is about a quarter of the Australian land mass, approximately the size of France. It has long been an important part of

Australian agricultural production. The largest engineering scheme ever undertaken in Australia was the Snowy River Scheme. Built from 1949 to 1974, with 16 major dams, the scheme turned spring snow melt-water inland into storage lakes to be released down-river over the agricultural growing season. As a result, the Murray Darling Basin (MDB) grew to be the premier agricultural production area of the continent. As the report (MDB, 2012: 8) on the proposed basin plan summarises:

> Agriculture is a defining feature for many of the Basin's communities. Production from the Basin accounts for 40 percent of Australia's agricultural production and is estimated to be worth $15 billion annually, while around $5 billion of this production is produced with the assistance of irrigation. Of the 60,000 agricultural businesses operating in the Basin in 2005–06, almost one third (18,600) applied water in some form as part of their production processes.

Many regional and rural communities service these agricultural pursuits (MDB, 2012: 8).

> The Murray–Darling Basin is home to over 2 million people... who rely directly or indirectly on its water resources. The majority of the Basin population (over 70 percent) live in either Canberra or the inner regional areas in the south-east and east of the Basin. ...In 2006, there were 922,000 people employed in the Basin, with over 21 percent of this employment located in Canberra. The distribution of employed persons across the industries of the Basin is not too dissimilar to the national distribution. The significant exception is agriculture, forestry and fishing which is a dominant industry in the Basin.

The significance of individual communities is then set out:

> Agriculture and the communities of the Basin that rely on it have been undergoing significant change for many decades. Particularly since the 1980s, economic reforms and market changes have exerted pressure on agricultural producers. In response, agricultural producers have increased their productivity, farms have grown larger and labour intensity has declined. This has led to significant demographic and social change for Basin communities. More recently the millennium drought had significant impacts on many communities in the Basin.

Then the connection between agriculture and communities is described (MDB, 2012: 8-9):

> Over the longer-term, the proportion of those employed in agriculture has declined. For example, recent Census figures show that between 1996 and 2006, the number of people identifying themselves as 'farmer' or 'farm manager' in the Murray–Darling Basin declined by 10 percent—from 74,000 to 67,000... Many larger communities in the Basin have grown significantly. Analysis by the ABS has shown that 10 major urban centres in the Basin grew by more than 30 percent over the period 1976–2001. However, some smaller rural communities have grown relatively slowly, or may even have experienced population decline.

The decade-long drought, then, has posed a serious issue in terms of the future viability of the Basin. However, conversely, reduction in the quantity of water flowing down river also serious challenges future viability and sustainability of some agricultural production and associated communities.

Inevitably then in this context of reduced flow—to the point where for many years the mouth of the huge system into the sea has only been kept open by dredging—contestation over water has arisen. This contestation has been exacerbated by the fact that the river flows through four of the seven states of Australia and indeed is used as a boundary between states in many places. The issue of how to share river water so the triple bottom line of sustainability can be achieved is now highly contested and politicised. Not all accept the reality the river is not like the Australian children's story of the magic pudding, endlessly producing. This is a critical argument if the ecological health of the river system, its wetlands and forests, are to be maintained to protect the flora and fauna of the basin against threats of salinity, etc. The health of the ecosystem that all settlement ultimately depends on depends on increasing the water-flow down the river system such that less is available for other purposes, especially irrigation.

The latest in a decade-long attempt to find a solution to these issues has been a government report published first in 2010, and then in revised form in November 2011 (http://www.mdba.gov.au/proposed-basin-plan). The original target of water kept in the system to meet the aim of environmental sustainability was argued by some major stakeholder's—big irrigators—as too high, and a lower saving figure substituted, much to the chagrin of environmental scientists, and ongoing controversy. Consultations between states representatives have revealed further differences. The eventual outcome is far from settled.

Studying Climate change induced Social change

Returning from the Murray Basin example to more general issues, it is clear that climate change in the direction of global warming, the drying of the climate, will bring about social change of a magnitude deserving of sociological research and analysis. Already some social changes are evident, most particularly the voluntary decision of two irrigator groups in different regions to cease irrigation-based agriculture and move away, or engage in dry-land farming. Dairy farmers at Rochester (Ker, 2010) in Victoria, and rice and cereal farmer irrigators at Wakool in NSW (Jopson, 2010), have voluntarily made decisions accepting that continuing irrigated agriculture is too difficult for their marginal farms—with all the attendant consequences at community level that will follow as a result of less population.

But the question of 'how do we know' what the effect of these social changes will be, is a difficult one. How can the effects of climate change on society in general and rural communities in particular be studied? What measures might be used to assess MBP impact in whatever form it is eventually finalised? How can social sustainability be investigated and assessed? These questions are likely to frame sociological research in this field for the foreseeable future.

The Empty Shops index as one way forward?

In the final part of this paper, one such measure for assessing the impact of climate change related social change is considered. A decade ago a three-year research and training project called the 'empty shops project' was conducted based on Albury-Wodonga. The purpose of that project was to ground analysis of regional and rural issues in the lived experiences of tertiary students who became co-researchers for the project at the same time. The original aim with the research was as a teaching exercise to orient students to broad epistemological questions about 'how can we know about the social world' as well as standard methodological questions of validity and reliability. This work has been written up from several angles

including the training perspective (Willis and Burns, 2011a), the collation of data (Burns and Willis, 2011), and communication and community significance of rural social research (Willis and Burns, 2011b). The study applied the logic of the empty shops concept as intuitively and symbolically recognisable by rural communities in capturing wellbeing or community health, even resilience.

Now as the debate rages over the likely impact of the eventual implementation of the MBP, this relatively simple measure is again being embarked upon as a research tool for assessing the impact on rural communities and ultimately shedding light on the issues of sustainability especially social sustainability.

Questions of validity and reliability

Data collection consists of counting publicly visible and accessible shop frontages in small town main streets—visiting, collecting and recording the numbers and ratios of empty shops to occupied shops in each community. This conforms to unobtrusive research protocols (Bryman, 2012: 325-326).

The sampling strategy we have developed is a combination of opportunistic and selective. The research exercise was again set as an option for social research methods students in the first semester of 2012 resulting in approximately 60 towns being surveyed. Then a more systematic data gathering exercise has been conducted by colleagues and RA's[1]; the aim being a total in excess of 200 towns in Eastern Australia both inside and outside the Basin.
In discussing this research strategy, particular attention was paid to the consultancy report commissioned for the MBP (EBC et al., 2011) which constructed a vulnerability index depending on reliance on irrigation water, using the concepts of 'social catchments' and community vulnerability. Four levels of vulnerability were identified and the sampling strategy incorporated all of these.

The present project was operated from La Trobe University campuses. At the time of writing the data is still being collected from the research trips undertaken. At this stage the intention is to use the information collected in 2012 as longitudinal base line data to compare in subsequent years as the MBP takes effect.

Research objectives

A number of research questions are contemplated and which data currently being gathered will contribute answers, or at least partial answers, and these can be reported in subsequent research outputs.

1. Whether there is a Murray-Darling Basin effect compared to other towns outside the basin?
2. Whether there is a State effect in terms of empty shops.
3. What irrigation/not irrigation effects can be discerned in the data?
4. How useful is the vulnerability index as a heuristic device to assess community impact over time?

Other questions like these are likely to emerge from the data set generated.

We plan where possible to consider other possible explanations, such as the following:

1. How valid a measure of community sustainability and wellbeing is the empty shops measure? Arguments against its validity would include changes in the nature of retailing generally including the concentration of businesses in larger units (supermarkets replacing butchers) and the growth of internet shopping; also changes in agriculture towards broad-acre farming and transport economics.
2. Issues of reliability in counting empty shops as indicators of rural wellbeing from year to year.
3. What alternative measures might also be useful in assessing rural communities' health. Might amalgamation of sporting teams with neighbouring towns, or schools closures, be better measures? Or perhaps the involvement of towns in alternative activities such as tourism, 'book towns' etc?

Conclusion

Having planned at the time of our previous final publication (Willis and Burns, 2011b) that if circumstances allowed it would be valuable to apply the empty shops concept to a wider set of empirical data, the present Murray-Darling Basin baseline study offers an opportunity to do just that. First, the enormous importance of the Basin for agriculture and the communities within the Basin, and indeed for Australia as a whole, can hardly be underestimated. Secondly, in terms of water recovery, and ecological sustainability, the political contestation over water and land use is likely to become more intense not less intense in coming decades. It may take another drought to regain the political will to tackle the unpalatable realities that nature and social desire are at point at odds with each other. Thirdly, in the light of possible patterns of social and farming community disruption, whether empty shops or any other measure can provide adequate measurement of the change processes must wait. But attempting such research, as one potential contribution to the multi-faceted issues facing the Basin, is an imperative worth pursuing.

Footnote

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Producing 'Real' Public Space or Constructing the Good Citizen?: Spaces of multiculture in the suburban library

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Abstract

The paper addresses recent calls to spatialise understandings of multiculturalism, migration and difference in the city. Drawing on ethnographic research of a socio-culturally diverse suburb in south-western Sydney, the paper explores the production of spaces of multiculture in relation to the public library. Based on an initial analysis of observations and interviews with library staff and users, the multiple spaces of the library are examined. The library, it is argued, is a key site facilitating everyday encounters across difference or 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise and Velayutham, 2009) and thus creating a kind of micro-public (Amin, 2002) space that engenders possibilities for emergent and transversal sociality. These interactions are simultaneously constrained and facilitated through multicultural policy and programmes, discourses of community cohesion and inclusivity, governmental functions, including the socialisation of new migrants/citizens, and the spatial ordering of the library itself. Embedded within the cultural and material landscape of the suburb, the library is also shaped by a range of local factors, including histories of migration to the area, migrant geographies and urban planning trends. Analysing the everyday production of the library space explores how migrants are included in the production of suburban space, and thus possible tensions around who is, and who gets to define, the legitimate dweller in public space.

Key words: multiculturalism; public space; cities; urban space; ethnicity; migration

Introduction

The shift within the social sciences towards a more spatially grounded analysis of social relations in the city has seen an increasing emphasis on the grounded, everyday dimensions of urban encounters across difference. Contemporary literature on urban citizenship (Holston and Appadurai, 1999; Iveson and Fincher, 2010, Varsanyi, 2006), everyday multiculturalism (Wise and Velayutham, 2009), 'micro-publics' (Amin, 2002), cosmopolitan urbanisms (Binnie et al., 2006) and discussions of diversity and urban planning (Fincher and Iveson, 2008; Sandercock, 2000), have been particularly useful for addressing forms of everyday sociality and differential access to city space as it relates to migrants (and other groups). The focus on urban scales of belonging also enable a more nuanced understanding of migrant geographies and forms of migrant agency in (sub)urban settings – the ways in which migrants shape and are shaped by the socio-spatiality of cities. In this way this literature points to alternative ways of framing the relationship between migrants and urban space, beyond critiques of self-segregating migrant enclaves. It also counters the tendency in migration research – and in popular discourse – to continue to frame migrant urban belonging and incorporation in reference to migrants' transnational trajectories. Indeed, exclusionist constructions of an imagined national space of belonging continue to profoundly shape the everyday experiences of migrants and 'ethnic

Others', not least in Australia, as convincingly argued by scholars such as Ghassan Hage (1998) and Kay Anderson (2005).

While much of this literature has examined access to the production of *urban* space, the everyday production of *suburban* space in relation to socio-cultural diversity has remained relatively understudied from an ethnographic perspective, particularly in the Australia context (however, see Wise, 2011; Wise and Velayutham, 2009; Poynting et al, 2004). In Sydney in particular the majority of new arrivals settle in suburban areas, often in 'gateway' suburbs and areas with existing migrant populations.[i] However, the spatial inclusion of diversity in suburban Sydney varies significantly, depending on a range of factors such as the history of migration in the area and presence of ethnic precincts, gentrification, place-marketing strategies of local governments (intent on harnessing 'the diversity dividend'), the increasing privatization of public space, and housing affordability. Multicultural policy and representations of multiculturalism in public discourse also play a significant role in shaping – in diverse ways – the equitable access of migrants to the production of urban space. As Thompson and Dunn (2002) argue, the implementation of multicultural policy in local government is crucial for addressing the unequal social and spatial access to services for diverse groups in society, which in turn "has an important impact upon the spatial conditioning of citizenship" (Thompson and Dunn, 2002: 266). Here I focus on a particular site – the local public library – as a lens through which to consider how suburban public spaces facilitate or constrain everyday multiculturalism, which in turn has implications for the degree to which migrants are included or excluded in public spaces in the city.

The multiple spaces of the library

The paper draws on doctoral research examining new migrants'[ii] use and access to public spaces[iii] and housing in a highly diverse suburb in south-western Sydney. The research involves an ethnographic study of the neighbourhood, qualitative interviews with migrant-support service providers, local government and 'new migrants', participant observation, mapping and photography to examine migrants' place-making practices in suburban space.[iv] I focus here on the quasi-public space of the local library, which is located in the administrative and commercial centre of the suburb. The services provided by the library have greatly expanded in the last 10-15 years, in response to significant changes in the provision of public services in Australia, and the impact of the internet on library usage and service provision (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). The library is open seven days a week and is perpetually busy, used by a significant cross-section of the local population. It has observable daily rhythms: the morning rush of elderly residents under the rolling library door at opening time, heading for the current editions of local and foreign-language newspapers; the chatter of mothers, young children and English language students attending mid-morning activities; determined job seekers trawling job sites on the internet; the boisterous school children playing on the computers and doing homework post-3pm; the more orderly post-work visits of parents and children; the gradual quietening of the space in the early evening. There is an attempt to prescribe appropriate modes of behaviour in certain areas in the library (the quiet reading area, youth study area, language learning area), however these frequently 'spill over' and require constant negotiation. I focus in particular on the way in which the library is constructed simultaneously as a space of multicultural inclusivity, as a site of

governmentality and socialising 'citizens-in-becoming', then consider its possibilities as a site of encounter.

The library as socially inclusive space

As one of the quintessential nodes for local redistributive policies, the inclusiveness of the library is based on its underlying premise to provide free and equal access to all citizens. The opening hours, the spatial layout (open plan, clearly sign-posted, liberal seating and workspaces) and attempts by management to create a 'welcoming atmosphere' all contribute to the representation of the space as socially inclusive. The library attempts to cater for the diverse ethnic communities in the area, and its agenda of social inclusivity has a strong multicultural dimension. This partially reflects the repositioning of libraries as a key site of neighbourhood regeneration and community cohesion strategies in Australia. Multicultural programmes in the library are not part of the council's directed multicultural programmes, but represent the mainstreaming ('integration') of multicultural and social inclusion principles across council services. This mainstreaming has worked to some degree to address the fragmented implementation of multicultural policy in local government in NSW, which, as Thompson and Dunn's (2002) study demonstrated, had produced uneven social geographies of access and equity to local government services. The library's multicultural services include a multi-lingual catalogue, collection and brochures, the provision of English language classes, and multi-lingual information sessions. More celebratory forms of multiculturalism include Refugee week activities and cultural diversity awareness exhibitions, which represent 'Cultures' as largely visual, 'colourful' and 'educational'. The library staff regularly consult with local communities about these activities; a responsiveness that is seen as another dimension of the 'publicness' and inclusivity of the library's programmes. However, the communities' needs must fit within the dominant frame of non-political multiculturalism and community cohesion; as one staff member noted, these activities explicitly attempt to stay away from political or religious themes.

The 'publicness' of the library can be interpreted in a number of ways. Free access was considered a key dimension of its function as a public space. The significance of this was partially reflected by the fact that the library is one of the few non-commercialised spaces in the centre of the suburb, whose local economy and identity is based on its 'vibrant' shopping centre, which draws customers from both the adjacent suburbs and further away. As an accessible, resource-rich, child-friendly space the library provides an alternative to the more consumer-focused main street, particularly for residents on lower incomes or with limited resources. It is where identities and ways of inhabiting space *other* than that oriented around the identity of the consumer-citizen, are facilitated.[v]

However, inclusivity is carefully managed, both socially and spatially. The provisioning of multiple spaces for different activities is reinforced through signage, the physical layout of the library and a relatively high number of staff assisting, monitoring and directing users. Inclusiveness here involves a differentiation of users and assignment of activities to a particular socio-spatial ordering. While at best only loosely followed, the social norms embedded within the spatial layout of the library clearly designate what is considered appropriate modes of being and acting. The library also defines its inclusivity in relation to other 'public spaces' in the neighbourhood. Compared to the range of socialities enacted in the local public square, it is seen by its users as a safe, family-friendly space where ethnic otherness is transformed into 'colourful', consumable difference, and where unfamiliar or dangerous 'others' (more likely to

frequent the park or square) are definitively *out of place* in the library space – groups of youth[vi], certain categories of the unemployed and homeless.[vii] The 'public' that it addresses through its discourse of social inclusion is thus a particular public. In this sense, it can be understood as a managed space of idealised community, where disorder is contained.

The library as a space of socialisation

People enter the library with a shared common identity of library users. Users are implicitly and more explicitly identified as 'citizens', not only through access to and use of public resources, but also in the way in which library users' obligations as citizens are communicated back to them in the library space. The council holds regular information events that articulate how to properly enact different dimensions of substantive citizenship, scaled from local rights and duties to political citizenship of the nation-state. Seminars include, for example, 'how to vote' seminars, issues of tenancy rights, or information sessions of appropriate forms of waste disposal. Most of the seminars are aimed at newer migrants to the area, and are provided in addition to English language classes and resources, job-seeking resources, and links to local migrant support agencies. Indeed, local migrant support organisations include a visit to the library as an initial settlement orientation activity for new migrants and humanitarian entrants. This reinforces the extent to which the new migrant communities are constructed as 'citizens-in-becoming'. Through information sessions and the liberal distribution of these materials around the library, the library becomes an important site for the socialisation of new residents into forms of local governance, and their obligations as local citizens. Thus moving beyond the traditional remit of libraries, it becomes an important space of public address by the state and other organisations, informing citizens about the types of social capital required to achieve substantive citizenship.[viii]

The library as a space of encounter

Recent scholarship on the socio-spatial dimensions of the negotiation of difference have highlighted the everyday, mundane, embodied, substantive forms of intercultural exchange (Amin, 2002; Noble, 2009; Wise and Velayutham, 2009). This approach highlights the transformative possibility of encounter as enabler of new kinds of social identities, ways of interacting, and ways of recognizing others' legitimacy to inhabit shared spaces (Noble, 2009). From these discussions emerge an emphasis on the importance of creating spaces for/of encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). Can we, then, think of the public library as a 'genuine' space of encounter?

The library played a significant role in the everyday social lives of many of the new migrants I spoke to. Indeed, this was emphasized by one staff member who asserted that the library represented a 'third space' for some residents of the suburb – that is, a key site of social activity in addition to work/school and home. While providing an interesting parallel with Soja's (1996) concept of Third Space as a representational space of radical difference and mobilization, this framing of the centrality of the library highlights the tendency for the library to be appropriated into the everyday activities of residents, particularly newer migrants. As one elderly resident asserted: "I come here a lot, there is not enough space at home with my son and grandson… [I am often] reading the newspapers, talking to my friends… I use the internet to talk to my sister in New York… It's a good space for me". This example also points to the extent to which the library functioned as a hybridized public/private space; many of the users (especially those living in higher density housing) used the library as a de facto sitting room: relaxing in

easy chairs reading papers and magazines, playing games on computers, communicating with family (albeit sometimes transnationally). But it was also a place in which to engage in activities that transgressed traditional boundaries between public and private: for example, young people appearing to study, while socializing, texting and flirting.

Both older and younger residents used the library as a space of socialization, not only for maintaining existing social networks, but also for encountering others – whether through the creation of new friendships or merely fleeting encounters in the everydayness of inhabiting the same space. New migrants found the English language classes in particular a key site for making friends from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In this way, the library operates as a 'micro-public' space (Amin, 2002); a space in which people were able to engage in "moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance out break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction" (Amin, 2002: 15). However, as some scholars have argued (Fincher and Iveson, 2008; Binnie et al., 2006), while these forms of quotidian intercultural exchanges can be facilitated, they cannot be engineered or coerced; as to do some runs the risk of a 'colonisation of the encounter' by government or the market. Thus, the forms of sociality in the library must be critically understood in relation to complex of political, economic and social discourses which shape it as a quasi-public space.

Conclusion

The continued focus on the potential of urban spaces as sites for the negotiation of inter-ethnic (and other) difference continue to be highly relevant in an era of growing socio-economic disparities in Australian cities, and the lingering presence of exclusive, territorially-bound notions of a homogeneous national community (Hage, 1997; Anderson, 2005). This paper represents initial attempts to trace the multiple spatialities of a suburban library as a space of encounter across difference. The library space embodies tensions and negotiations between different ways of inhabiting and representing 'public' space. It is a nexus in which forms of governance, substantive citizenship practices, and a range of community interests are continuously negotiated; one that is particularly important in the changing socio-spatiality of the Australian multicultural suburb. Future research will look more closely at the way in which the lived, representational and emergent dimensions of public space are negotiated and shaped by new migrants, and the extent to which this facilitates their place-making claims in suburban space.

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[i] The suburb in which I am conducting research (and the wider LGA) represents one such ‘gateway’, where almost 62% of the population was born overseas (60% from non-English speaking backgrounds), and 28% had arrived in the last 5 years.

[ii] The criteria chosen to define 'new' migrants in this study is that they have resided in Australia for 10 years or less (i.e. arrived after 2002), and are resident in the suburb in question. This includes a range of recently arrived and 'longer-standing' migrants. Participants come from a range of ethnic backgrounds and migration streams.

[iii] The notion of 'public space' is problematic as it often assumes a direct correlation between spatial boundaries and 'publicness'. Iveson critiques this way of framing public space, which he refers to as a topographical approach, arguing that it tends to "miss the messy and dynamic urban geographies of publicness" (2008: 8). My research will instead focus on examining the 'spatialities of publicness' in (sub)urban spaces, thus exploring how publics are created and contested, their spatial articulation, and the role of new migrants in these dynamics.

[iv] The research will involve around 25 migrant service providers and local government representatives, and approximately 30 new migrants. The doctoral research has been approved by the University of Sydney's Human Research Ethics Committee.

[v] However, at another level, many of the identities and activities facilitated in the library are informed by the ideal status of the consumer-citizen: the potential employee, the student, the newly arrived migrant or citizen-to-be.

[vi] Teenagers (or groups of teenagers) are one group of citizens who are less likely to fit into definitions of appropriate use of space in the library (unless studying). This is exacerbated in this suburb by a significant lack of space for youth.

[vii] The library uses surveillance systems and staff reported that they had on occasions in the past employed security guards and coordinated with police to monitor certain problematic residents, groups of youth and gangs.

[viii] The library fulfils another function as a space of socialisation: in post-school hours the library appears to function as a de facto childcare centre, with significant numbers of school-aged children regularly colonising the computers and other spaces in the library between 3-6pm. It is partially explained by staff in relation to the demographic, economic and spatial factors: a significant number of families from lower socio-economic backgrounds (a high proportion are new migrant families), struggling with expensive afterschool care, and high numbers of young children residing in multi-unit apartments with little recreational/outdoor space.

Understanding the debate over affordable and sustainable housing

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Abstract

This paper explores the meanings of the concepts of affordable and sustainable housing. These terms are widely used in Australia to describe two difficult to resolve issues in the Australian housing market but are rarely defined in measurable terms. The meaning of these terms is unpacked in relation to the debate over how to provide affordable and sustainable housing. A residual income approach is described as a way of making sense of this debate and providing a measure of affordable housing. It is argued that measures of housing affordability tend to gravitate around numerical measures, whilst giving little consideration to measuring social and environmental components. A discussion surrounding the concept of affordable living and residual income suggests that affordability might be determined not only by what income households spend on housing but more importantly what income households spend on non-housing related needs. It is argued that research into the experiences of persons who reside in what has been branded as affordable and or sustainable housing is minimal and more research is required in this area.

Introduction

The term affordable housing is a slippery concept that has many different meanings to a myriad of different people, groups and levels of governments. When discussing the concept of affordable housing, quite often the question that is raised is *who is the housing affordable for?* The following paper will discuss the history of housing policy in Australia with a special emphasis on housing policy and the evolution of housing provision in South Australia. It will attempt to define and differentiate affordable housing from housing affordability by reviewing the literature in this field and seeking to address how these two concepts are discussed. The concept of affordable living will be introduced as too will be the residual income approach to understanding housing affordability. The paper will seek to relate these concepts to sustainable housing and the so called Triple Bottom Line (TBL) approach to

sustainable development. This review will investigate the economic, social and ecological spheres of sustainability of newly constructed and pre-existing homes and will also discuss the important role of undertaking home improvements as a way of delivering economic and environmental benefits to households.

Background

Australians have generally always enjoyed relatively high levels of home ownership due to its abundance of prime cheap urban land coupled with relatively low housing costs (Wilson et al. 2010; Beer et al. 2007). However, the provision of housing in Australia has not always enjoyed the same positive outlook. Kathy Arthurson has pointed out that since the 'post World War 2 period, demand for housing has out-stripped supply in all Australian states, and much of the existing housing was of poor quality' (Arthurson 2008: 484). Since this time the treatment of housing policy in Australia has been erratic and the Commonwealth government's role in this area has been influenced more by the electoral needs of the government of the day rather than the needs of the Australian people (Milligan & Tiernan 2011). Predating this time the visionaries of those who established the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) in 1936 did so as part of the South Australian industrialisation policy, with its primary role to build sound inexpensive homes for workers (Hutchings 2007). It was set up in such a way that the cheap rents would result in lower living costs and wages compared to that of the eastern states (Hutchings 2007). Due to its effectiveness and the increased demand for housing in South Australia post Second World War, its operations expanded. By 1950 the SAHT was responsible for 30 per cent of all dwellings built within Metropolitan Adelaide (Hutchings 2007).

Nationwide a change in policy direction associated with the signing of the 1956 Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) encouraged home ownership through the

sale of publicly funded and constructed housing (Milligan & Tiernan 2011). This was an early manifestation of the emergence of the new political agenda of neo-liberalism, which became more apparent from the1970's onward. Neo-liberalism has been associated with the long term decline of the provision of state owned housing in favour of a market mechanism for allocating housing (Milligan & Tiernan 2011). More broadly neo-liberalism has influenced 'government services either being reduced or restructured to meet the needs of a market-orientated economy' (Beer et al. 2007: 12). Between 1956 and 1972 the CSHA contained no mechanism to direct housing assistance to those on low incomes (Monro 2000). This change in policy direction contributed to the decline in housing affordability nationwide and was seen as a precursor to new policies that caused low-income people to be confined to housing related poverty as there was little choice of housing type and location in newer public housing (Milligan & Tiernan 2011). The 1973 CSHA moved towards targeting housing assistance to low income earners and new eligibility requirements were introduced for both rental and home ownership (The Parliament of Australia 2001). This coincided with the establishment of the Department of Urban and Regional Development (DURD) under the Whitlam Government and the states were required to establish corresponding Land Commissions (Troy 1978). The South Australian Land Commission (SALC) was established in South Australia at this time, and some of their objectives were similar to that of DURD. This included stabilising the price of urban land and to divert the flow of land value from rural to urban development (Hutchings 2007; Troy 1978). Unlike the SAHT, the SALC had compulsory objectives to purchase land which was funded by the federal government. Despite efforts made by the Whitlam Government to actively engage with urban issues (Milligan & Tiernan 2011), the DURD was abolished under the Fraser Government in 1975. By the 1980's the term affordable housing started to appear on the political agenda as affordability challenges moved up the income distribution chain and government agencies

retreated from public responsibility towards social housing and low income housing (Stone 2006).

More recently the debate surrounding the provision of housing comes on the back of the housing affordability crisis which has featured widely in media headlines across Australia (Yates 2008). In its ranking of housing affordability in 2009, Demographia (cited in Burke & Hulse 2010) ranked Australia as the least affordable English-speaking country compared to that of Canada, USA, Ireland, UK and New Zealand. This has resulted mostly from house price growth rising faster than household income and is influenced by the cost of finance, demographic factors and the supply and demand for housing (Abelson 2009; Wilson et al. 2010; Yates 2008, Hall & Berry 2006).

Affordable and Sustainable Housing

For the purpose of this paper it is important to differentiate *housing affordability* from *affordable housing*. In Australia, housing affordability relates more broadly to a households ability to pay for their housing and is seen as a general goal across the housing market (AHURI 2011; Ruming, Gurran & Randolph 2011). Stone suggests that housing affordability directly expresses the 'challenges each household faces in balancing the cost of its actual or potential housing…and its non-housing expenditures…within the constraints of its income' (2006: 151). Stone also acknowledges that 'affordability is not a characteristic of housing - it is a relationship between housing and people' (2006: 153). There is still debate surrounding the issues of when housing is considered to be unaffordable, however a common measure of housing affordability is that households should spend no more than 30 per cent of their gross household income on housing costs (ABS 2011). It is when households spend more than 30 per cent on housing costs that they may start to experience housing stress (AHURI 2011). However, even this seemingly simply measure of housing stress attracts much debate

amongst not only academic researchers but also within the circles of policy makers across the nation as it excludes extremely low income earners and may underestimate the number of people actually experiencing housing stress (Nepal et al. 2010).

Affordable housing on the other hand refers to housing that is affordable to those on low or moderate incomes to rent or purchase and is priced so that households can meet other living costs (Abelson 2009). Milligan et al. (2004: ii) suggests that 'affordable housing is intended generally to [provide households]...access [to] appropriate housing in the market without assistance'. This concept is explored in more detail by Disney (2007) and highlights that affordable housing should reflect general public usage while also being compatible with appropriate policy goals. The most widely used measure of affordable housing is the "30/40 split" and calculates that low or moderate income households (bottom 40 per cent of incomes groups) should spend no more than 30 per cent of their gross household income in meeting their housing costs (Radford & Sarris 2002; PIA 2007; Disney 2007; Pullen et al. 2010; Ruming, Gurran & Randolph 2011). Disney (2007: 1) continues to give meaning to the concept of affordable housing as ‘housing that is reasonably adequate in standard and location for lower or middle-income household’s [and] does not cost so much that…[households are unable] to meet basic living costs on a sustainable basis’. This implies that there are much deeper social, economic and environmental factors that need to be explored when developing affordable housing.

Burke and Hulse (2010) suggest that separate from the affordable housing and housing affordability debate is the concept of affordable living. Affordable living is closely aligned to the theory of Residual Income Approach proposed by Michael Stone in his 2006 article *What is Housing Affordability? The Case for the Residual Income Approach.* Stone proposes that housing affordability is an 'expression of the social and material experiences of people, constituted as households, in relation to their individual housing situations' (2006: 151).

Residual income is explained simply by Stone as 'nonhousing expenditures are limited by how much [income] is left after paying for housing' (2006: 163). Or more specifically a household will experience a 'housing affordability problem if they cannot meet its nonhousing needs at some basic level of adequacy after paying for housing' and taxes (2006: 163). This measure differs from the well known 30/40 split as the residual income is expressed as income that is left over after paying for housing rather than a ratio (Stone 2006). On this matter, Burke and Hulse (2010) believe that affordable living has been pushed onto the policy agenda more recently due to the problems associated with increasing living costs such as the price of energy and fuel. Similar to that of Disney (2007), their argument focuses on the issues associated with poor location of housing and that the long term affordability of households are jeopardised due to poor access to public transport and high dependency on cars (Burke & Hulse 2010). Second to this, in the Australian context increasing affordability often results in housing being located on cheap land and constructed to minimises costs, this in turn has resulted in low environmental performance housing coupled with potentially contentious social acceptability (Arman et al. 2009a, cited in Pullen et al. 2010).

Closely aligned to the concept of affordable living is ‘sustainable housing’, which adopts the TBL framework to seek better options for housing (Maliene, Howe & Malys 2008). More broadly the concept of sustainability is a 'framework for understanding economic development, community development and natural resource management' (Schlossberg & Zimmerman 2003: 643) The economic side of sustainable housing includes the financial costs associated with new and existing housing stock, the original purchase price of housing and on-going costs associated with housing. It also explores the notion that future generations should enjoy and afford the same housing standards as past and current generations (Yates et al. 2007). It is suggested that socially sustainable housing is achieved when social relations, customs, structures and values are maintained (Zillante et al. 2010). More specifically, it

includes ease of 'access to hospitals, schools, shops, good public transport and a clean and safe environment' (Maliene, Howe & Malys 2008: 268). This too can improve the quality of life for households and have positive impacts on households physical and mental health (Winston & Eastaway 2008). It is also widely recognised that the housing sector is largely responsible for greenhouse gas emissions, energy material use and changes in land-use dynamics (U.E. UN Habitat, 2008, cited in Wallbaum et al. 2012). Addressing the ecological sphere of sustainable housing it is suggested by Chance (2009) that you not only have to deal with carbon emissions by improving energy efficiencies but also take into consideration the impact of construction (including its embodied energy and carbon emissions), personal transport, food and waste. It is suggested that by addressing the above it will improve energy efficiency and will maintain on-going economic benefits to the household (Pullen et al. 2010).

Another area that also needs to be considered in the sustainable housing debate, separate from newly built homes, is the popular home improvements movement. More often than not, home improvements are generally undertaken by home owners rather than tenants. This is because tenants or renters have less freedom to engage in physical alterations or undertake energy improving measures to the homes that they reside in (Maller & Horne 2011), notably because they may lose these investments when their lease ends. In Westernised cultures increasing expectations, aspirations and opportunities to modify homes on a more frequent basis has changed the practice of home making and has become deeply entrenched within household culture (Maller & Horne 2011). However, under the TBL framework undertaking home improvements or retrofitting homes is generally only able to address the ecological & economic sphere as the social sphere is already pre-determined. Home owners who actively engage in home improvements are the target of vigorous government policies and non-government organisations (NGO's) environmental reform agendas that actively encourage

environmental responsibility by reducing household ecological footprints (Connolly & Prothero 2008). This is achieved through 'campaigns, educational programs and regulation...[that] are aimed at reducing household energy and water consumption' (Maller & Horne 2011: 60). Incentives and rebates encourage the uptake of sustainable technology and are promoted to home owners as a way of saving money and improving efficiencies (Maller & Horne 2011). Typically the types of retrofitting that occurs to improve the environmental performance of dwellings include installing insulation, solar hot water and electricity, rainwater tanks and water reticulation systems (Maller & Horne 2011).

This review of affordability and sustainability in housing suggests that previous research treats these two concepts independently of each other. On this matter, Pullen et al. (2010) aim to draw these two concepts together and give greater meaning to the concept of affordable and sustainable housing and define it as:

> Housing that meets the needs and demands of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their housing needs and demands. Affordable and sustainable housing has strong and inter-related economic, social and environmental components (Arman et al. 2009a, cited in Pullen et al. 2010: 53).

The benefits associated with sustainable housing are aligned with the needs of households that are placed in the affordable housing sector of the market as it is generally understood that low income households spend more income on utilities and transport and are less likely to undertake energy efficient improvements to their homes without financial support (Arman et al. 2009; Winston & Eastaway 2008). It is also acknowledged that low and medium income households also have less 'choice of environment and may be concentrated in areas of dereliction, with considerable air and noise pollution, and limited access to quality green space' (Winston & Eastaway 2008: 214). This can result in a reduction in the quality of life

and reduce the mobility of residents as they try to reduce energy and fuel consumption (Burke & Hulse 2010).

Whilst the above definition of affordable and sustainable housing provides an outline of what is meant by this term, it lacks clarity in relation to how it might be operationalised, specifically in relation to observable and hence measurable quantities. It is suggested that to address this lack of observable and measurable quantities that an integrated framework of sustainable and affordable housing might need to be developed (Zillante et al. 2010). There are four main ways that sustainability can be modelled and related to affordable and sustainable housing. This includes a cost-benefit analysis, material and energy accounting, building assessment tools and the use of indicators (Blair et al. 2004). It is suggested that indicators are best suited at an urban scale as they are more holistic in evaluating entire communities and are said to be very 'useful for identifying, synthesizing, and communicating conditions and trends' (Blair et al. 2004: 6). Studies that utilise indicators based on the TBL model have been conducted by Blair et al. (2004) who focused on traditional development and master planned communities in New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland, and more recently by Pullen et al. (2010) who conducted assessments on already established affordable or sustainable housing projects both locally, nationally and internationally. However, where Blair et al.'s (2004) case study focus was on mainstream housing located in the outer suburbs, Pullen et al. (2010) aligned their indicators with metropolitan urban infill projects and endeavoured to reflect best practices in one or more components of affordable and sustainable housing projects (Pullen et al. 2010). Such indicators include energy efficiency, water efficiency, construction materials, construction methods, affordability, desirability, transportation, density and urban form, waste management, dwelling size, adaptability, social acceptability, safety, quality of life, quality of place and health as the key indicators (Pullen et al. 2010; Blair et al. 2004).

However, moving forward from developing assessment indicators that help determine the sustainability and affordability of housing is an area that has largely remained in the shadows of related policies. This mainly includes the experiences and perceptions of households who live in affordable sustainable housing and how they engage with new technology and systems to determine their own affordable living component (Maller & Horne 2011). Understanding the behaviour of households can provide policy makers with a useful insight into the attitudes and motivations that influence human action in using new technology and systems (Maller & Horne 2011) to reduce energy and water consumption once households are in situ. Holloway and Bunker (2006) suggest that using new technologies such as Smart Meters can reduce household energy and water consumption. The benefit of such meters allows households to measure their usage at different times of day and to determine when peak billing periods occur, therefore, encouraging household members to change their behaviours and reduce consumption (Holloway & Bunker 2006). It is suggested that such behaviour changes include household members performing domestic duties during off-peak periods when power is cheaper (Sydney Morning Herald 2005b, cited in Holloway & Bunker 2006). However, assessing and reporting on household behaviour can be challenging as:

> 'occupancy behaviour related to buildings, especially dwellings, are beset with problems...[as] neither buildings nor occupancy patterns are ever identical...[,] occupants may be reluctant to engage with intimate questions...and occupants being studied may change their behaviour as a direct result of a study, and therefore provide atypical data' (Pilkington et al. 2011).

It is therefore suggested that the differences between study areas are identified and that researchers indicate that their presence itself may cause residents to change their behaviour during the study period (Pilkington et al. 2011).

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to bring greater clarity to the meaning of affordable and sustainable housing and its subsequent aspirations. In Australia, there is no single accepted definition of what constitutes as affordable housing (Milligan et al. 2004). Differentiating affordable housing from housing affordability might provide a degree of transparency to the debate. That is, measures of affordability tend to gravitate around numerical measures, whilst giving little consideration to measuring social and environmental components. The discussion surrounding the concept of affordable living and residual income approach highlighted that affordability might be determined not only by what income households spend on housing but more importantly what income households spend on nonhousing related needs. This concept adds more complexity to developing a singular definition of what constitutes as an affordable housing measure. Relating affordable living to sustainable housing via the TBL unpacked the economic, social and ecological variables as a way of delivering on-going sustainable benefits to households. This paper has demonstrated that the current literature relating to affordable housing and sustainable housing treats these two concepts independently of each other. However, by identifying a workable definition of affordable, sustainable housing the ambiguity surrounding the concept might be removed. Giving greater clarity to the definition of affordable, sustainable housing might be achieved by developing this concept through key indicators of affordable and sustainable housing. The review has found that whilst research in the discourse of affordable and sustainable housing is comprehensive, research that relates to the experience of persons who reside in what has been branded as affordable and or sustainable housing is minimal. Finally, this literature review has highlighted that it is important to gain greater insight into the behaviour patterns of these households so that all levels of government might develop economic, social and environmental policies that facilitate housing that is both affordable and sustainable.

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The Rise of the Temporal Precariat: Conceptualising Inequality among Young People in the Context of Labour-Market Change

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Abstract

Casual, insecure and variable patterns of work are rising across the developed world. Guy Standing (2011) argues that increasingly precarious employment conditions are changing the experience of work and provide the foundations for the emergence of a new class, the 'precariat'. Young people are among the most likely to find themselves part of this group. Focusing in particular on increasing variability in the scheduling of work hours, this paper discusses the value of the concept of the precariat for conceptualising patterns of inequality among young people. Drawing on an example from a longitudinal study of the post-secondary school transitions in Australia, I show how variable work patterns impact on young people's lives and relationships. Many, but not all, participants spent extended periods in work where the hours varied, sometimes each week and often with little notice. This meant that the timetables shaping their everyday lives were inconsistent and individual, making it difficult to find regular periods of time together with significant others. The growth of variability in the scheduling of work, as a dimension of the rise of precarious employment, points to a new mechanism by which control over time is functioning in the production of inequality.

Key words: Youth, employment, precariat, time, inequality

Introduction

Conceptualise class based inequality is a central concern of the sociology of youth and working towards a more equal social world drives many youth researchers. Current debates in youth sociology about inequality are closely interwoven with questions of social change. While assertions of significant, even epochal, shifts in the conditions of youth are common, a number of scholars have argued that the extent of change is overstated and that a focus on change risks deflecting attention from continued patterns of inequality (Brannen and Nilsen 2005; MacDonald 2011; Pollock 2008; Roberts 2007). While a valid caution, calls to focus on continuing inequalities themselves risk oversimplify the relation between continuity and change through an unacknowledged slip from highlighting continuity in unequal outcomes to an assumption that the mechanisms behind these outcomes are stable and unchanging (Woodman 2010). There is a tendency among youth researchers who highlight the predictability of educational, employment and other outcomes for young people based on age, gender or class, to present this as clinching evidence against claims of significant social change (see for an example Roberts 2012: 394). An alternative framework for engaging with theories of social change – instead of seeing them as dangerous and in need of debunking – is to instead treat them as laying out a challenge to trace the workings of class, and other forms of stratification, in contemporary conditions (Woodman 2010). Taking this avenue facilitates a more nuanced approach to the relationship between continuity and change.

Highlighting the dangers of exaggerating change and a lack of empirical evidence behind some claims of social transform is an important contribution to youth studies (Goodwin and O'Connor 2005; MacDonald 2011: 429). Yet youth research is arguably most productive in tracing patterns of inequality when it is open in its empirical investigations to the possibility that relations between social positions are produced and reproduced in new ways as social

relations are reconfigured. The great promise of youth studies for the discipline of sociology is not so much the possibility of tracing social change, or highlight patterns of continuity, but instead to investigate how the two are intertwined (Woodman 2010).

On this foundation this paper investigates, in the context of youth research, the value of Guy Standing's (2011) recent account of the reshaping of class inequality. Standing argues that changes in the workings of capitalism to give an ever greater emphasis to short-term profitability and flexibility in labour markets is reconfiguring class patterns and the potential of a class based politics. I draw on an illustration from the Life-Patterns Project, a large-numbers longitudinal study of young people in Australia, using this to argue for the importance of one element of this new precariousness, variability in the work schedules shaping the lives of young employees, for understanding contemporary work related inequality among young people. I suggested that increased variability in the scheduling of work hours for young people, and how this impacts time with significant others, provides an example of how pre-existing patterns of inequality can emerge at least in part in new ways due to broader change.

The rise of the precariat

Standing (2011), in his recent writing on the rise of the *precariat*, takes on this aim of conceptualising class for contemporary times. Instead of the proletariat, or working-class of the 20th Century, Standing sees the beginnings of the rise of a new class experience and potentially a new politics built around multiple aspects of income and identity insecurity. The precariat is defined by its lack of multiple dimensions of security, including security of employment tenure, insurance against illness and accident, and security of income. This growing precariousness arises from the move towards more 'flexible' labour market

regulation. What for employers means flexibility, for employees tends to mean instead greater risk and insecurity (Standing 2011: 43).

This increasingly precarious relationship with the labour market is not the same experience of work as that of the 20th Century working class. There were significant inequalities in 20th Century institution of paid-work in the global North, including economic inequality and an inferior status and conditions given to women as workers and carers. Despite these inequalities, following others Standing argues the welfare state did provide a sense of security, identity and life-course trajectory that is being dismantled (Sennett 1999; Standing 2011: 64). In other words, labour market precariousness does not only impact on the experience of work but spreads through other spheres (Standing 2011: 38). The skills needed to survive in, and the attitudes imbued by, the flexible labour market do not necessarily fit well with other areas of life, such as family, where continuity and commitment, and a sense of the long-term continue to be highly valued by many.

Standing sees the emergence of the precariat as a global phenomenon and the conditions for increased precariousness have emerged in Australia over the past quarter century. Decentralised bargaining began in Australia in the early 1990s, and since this time employers have made their principal aims in bargaining to weaken controls over standard working hours and job security (Campbell 2004). The shift of rights from employees towards employers and their demand for flexible labour markets and flexible workers continues today, despite some *temporary* relief with the election of a Labor government four years ago. At almost a quarter of the workforce, this country has among the highest proportions of casual employees in the OECD (Campbell 2004). This group is given no legislated regular pattern of working hours, no holiday leave entitlements, nor are their employers required to give a period of notice of

the hours and times they will be required to work, or notice if these hours are changed (ACTU 2012).

Some young people may not want to emulate in full the long-term trajectory common, at least for men, in their parents' generation, there is little to suggest they no longer value a sense of control over their work and security of employment. Yet young people make up the core of the new precariat. For Standing (2011: 66) this is not by choice, 'the flexible labour markets forged by the older generation of politicians and commercial interests condemn most youth to spending years in the precariat'.

This notion of a youthful precariat suggests several avenues for conceptualising inequality. Some young people will escape some or all of these precarious work conditions as they get older, a potentially large group may not, as precarious conditions of employment seem to be spreading across the life course. Many will live their working lives moving in and out of relatively more precarious employment, or with the fear of such a move. Here however I focus on another immediate effect of precarious employment for young people and its impact on other spheres of life, increasing variability in the pattern of hours worked, as it provides an example of the way patterns of inequalities that follow familiar social divisions can emerge in new forms.

A consequence of the industrial relations changes listed above is a major shift in patterns of working hours. While shift work has always existed, and impacted on others spheres of workers lives, this has increased rapidly since the labour market deregulations beginning in the 1980s and now less than half of Australians now work to 'standard' hours of 9am-5pm Monday to Friday (ACTU 2012). It is younger workers in particular who are at the front line

of the move towards casual and variable work (Furlong and Kelly 2005). As the example below shows, while precariousness may characterise the experience of many young workers, relative levels of control over work and its impact on other aspects of life can vary based on access to other resources.

Precarious work and inequality

To explore the wider impact of these precarious patterns of employment, I interviewed 50 young people aged 18-20 living in Australia who were part of a larger cohort in the *Life-Patterns* longitudinal study of young people in Australia[1]. Briefly, the sample was selected for a representative spread by socio-economic status, engagement in further study, and gender. Interview questions asked about patterns of work and study, how these two were combined with each other and other spheres of life, such as unpaid work, family time/commitments, time with friends, leisure activities, and what or who helped and hindered the participants in managing their time. I used a mix of pattern coding to reduce the textual data to commonalities, and the building of extended narrative case studies for each participant to explore how these commonalities emerged in particular cases. A full description of the research and the research design are available in Woodman (2012). Here I present the experience of two of the participants. The two are not chosen as representative of the average experience, but to best illustrate unequal impacts of this shift towards variable patterns of work.

Working outside of the 9-5pm, Monday-to-Friday workweek was common among the participants, with most working evening and night shifts. The primary issue raised by the interviewees (26 out of 50 participants) was the impact of their work schedules on the rest of their lives and in particular relationships. If a number of people in a group of friends work to

differing hours then there is no longer a standard timetable or rhythm into which to fit. One the participants, 'Henry'[2] spoke about the impact of this type of work:

> I probably found most friends sort of disappeared…separate ways, different jobs I mean retail and hospitality they're not a great combination… You can say 'oh what are you doing? Do you want to catch up?' and they'd say 'look I'm working I can't go out'. Like there's one good friend, he says I can't go out during the week when I could go out during the week. That's the problem he can't go out during the week; he can go out during the weekend. In the hospitality industry, normally you're working [non-standard shifts]. So you can't go out. It's one of those things that are a bit of a shit, but hey everyone's got to deal with it.

Often combined with post school study, which has become a majority experience in Australia, increasingly individualised work schedules are part of a new set of generational conditions shaping the lives of young people (Woodman 2012).

Young people in Australia today may have more acquaintances than any before as they on average hold a greater number of jobs, take more courses of study, and also live in the age of online social networking. Yet, what many participants have found difficult however is to regularly find time to spend together with the same group of people. Regularly eating a shared meal with family members, or meeting close friends for a drink, have become more difficult and requires more coordination. As patterns of work become less standard, doing these and other activities like team sports on a regular basis become more challenging.

While complaint about variable work schedules was common among participants, it was not the case that 'everyone's got to deal with it' as Henry believed. Some, generally from higher socio-economic backgrounds, were relatively protected from the restructuring of work toward greater 'flexibility' for employers. While still often working in casual positions, and often

combined with university study, financial support from their family gave some participants more autonomy over their work times, in particular a greater ability to turn down shifts when a manager asked them to pick up extra work or to adjust hours of work with short notice. People from higher socio-economic backgrounds also tended to have social networks comprised of people with a similar level of relative control over the variability in their work schedules. In this, 'Ryan's' experience contrasted with Henry's:

Ryan's mother helped him find part-time work, linked to his field of post-school study.

> My mum and this other guy were in the same group [in a short course she was taking] and he was very high up in an engineering company. Mum asked him if he could pull some strings and get me some work experience and he goes sure thing… and yeah I like it. That confirms that I made the right choice [to do engineering].

Ryan is engaged in employment primarily for career development and is financially supported by his parents. He works 9am to 5pm, one day a week and always on Friday. In part because of these work arrangements, Ryan did not find it difficult to synchronise his life with his close friends and on the night before I interviewed him, he had been able to go out with 'all' of his friends.

> Yeah yesterday I finished a big [university] assignment… so I took the night off study and we [his group of friends] all go out. They are smart people. It's good to be around smart people. You have good conversations with them. You feed off one another … just getting good advice from them as well.

Employment for participants like Ryan, even if in some ways fitting a definition of precariousness because based on a casual contract with no long-term guarantees, was likely to extend their networks and give them useful work experience while not having a negative

impact on relations outside of work. While control over time has long been identified as a factor in inequality, from Marx's theory of surplus value to Bourdieu's theorising on the time needed to cultivate cultural capital, the increasing individualisation and changeability of work patterns is a new central element of work-related inequality for young people in contemporary Australia.

Conclusion

One of the primary aims driving many youth researchers is to understand inequality, and following this to work to alleviate it and highlight the way that marginalised young people resist the status quo. The challenge facing youth researchers is to trace the way the possibilities available to young people are made and remade over time, as it is on this basis that it is possible to trace how patterns of stratification are emerging through processes that can shift over time or are otherwise actively reproduced. In this paper I have suggested that the concept of the precariat is an example of this approach to theorising and conceptualising class inequality. Here I have attempted to understand the impacts of changes in the temporal schedules of young people's work lives as 'temporal precariousness' shaped by the emergence of 'flexible' labour markets. I have also suggested that for young people, precarious work itself does not necessary lead to being part of this temporal precariat. Nor will all the young people who experience this precariousness remain precarious over the coming years. To understand precariousness demands a focus on the interaction between different spheres of life and a longitudinal perspective. With these caveats, the concept of the precariat facilitates exploring the mechanisms of inequality in a way that answers the challenges made to class research in youth sociology, openness to the possibility that familiar patterns of inequality between groups of young people can emerge through new mechanisms over time.

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[1] For details of the study see http://www.edfac.unimelb.edu.au/yrc/life_patterns/

[2] The below excerpts from 'Henry' and 'Ryan' (pseudonyms) also appear in Woodman (2012). That article focuses on the emergence of an increasing desynchronisation in the timetables of the lives of significant others. It is less concerned with the 'precariat' and understanding inequality in the context of change, which is my focus in this paper.

Soldiers, Work and Emotions – Perspectives from the Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty

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Abstract

Since the seminal work of Hochschild (1983) on the emotion management[1]of flight attendants,the early focus on women's work in the service industryhasbeen broadened. More occupationsand different dimensions have been examined. The article contributes to thisresearch using the sociology of risk and uncertainty to advance understandings of emotion management.It argues that the modern distinction between reason and emotion is still central to the feeling rules in many occupations, such as for soldierswhoare trained to overcome exhaustion and existential anxiety to function even under extreme and hostile conditions.Two caseswill be discussed which show different strategies to deal with emotions. They illustrate thetensions betweenorganisational and societal feeling rules: firstly, the contradiction between the satisfaction of being efficient and reliable as a soldier,and the feelings of guilt and shame that go along with breaking one of the strongest social taboosof the inviolability of the life of others; secondly, the contradiction between the public presentation of soldiering as highly honourable and the chaotic and brutish reality of combat. The article concludes with questions about the price societies and soldiers have to pay for training people to kill.

Key words: soldiers, emotions, risk and uncertainty, emotion work, emotion labour

Introduction

Managing emotions is part of being successful at work, whether as academics, fire fighters, stewardesses, doctors or soldiers. Emotions such as excitement, shame or fear, whether controlled or uncontrolled, displayed, suppressed, or utilised are experienced and learned from our first day of life. We use and manage emotions[1] in everyday life and at work, and how we do so is largely influenced by who we are (our class, gender, ethnicity etc.) and what we are doing (family work, occupational work etc.).

Hochschild's seminal work *The Managed Heart - Commercialization of Human Feelings* (1983)has been crucial tosociological research on work and emotions. Positioned in a Marxist framework, Hochschild tried to make sense of how the growing service industry shifts the exploitive mechanisms of capitalism to the realm of women's work. Identifying 'emotion labour' as typicallyprovided by (middle class) women, she identified emotional alienation as the central danger of the thenrapidly-growing service industry. However, though *emotion work*, *emotion labour* and *feeling rules*[1], as well as *deep acting* and *surface acting*, have become key concepts, later work has engaged in expandingthe original scopeof Hochschild's work. For example, some have introduced different kinds of emotion work (e.g. Bolton & Boyd 2003), while others have examined in increasing detail emotions in organisations

(Fineman 2008), or have linked Hochschild's work to 'labour process theory' (e.g. Brook 2010).

Typical critiques of Hochschild's work addressed the focus on commodification of emotion and how market pressures influence emotion work (e.g. Bolton & Boyd 2003). The feeling rules of many professionsare primarily driven by rationales other than profit,such as help (social work), health (doctors, nurses), or national security (soldiers). Substantial emotion management is not the sole preserve of women and the service industry, as Hochschild originally assumed, but is also undertaken by male employees in male-dominated occupations and professions,such as bouncers, firefighters, rescue workers and soldiers. However, the feeling rules in such occupations differ from the feeling rules typically applied in the female-dominated service industries. They focus more on controlling one's own emotions than on shaping the emotions of others.Accordingly, emotion management of soldiers differs from Hochschild's assumption that it ismainly done as the public expression of a specific emotion to shape feelings in others (e.g. in customers to increase profit). Instead, the idea of rational warfare implies that soldiers are able to control their emotions to follow orders under extreme conditions and even to sacrifice their own life if operationally necessary (Jolly 1996; Bourke 1999). Therefore, soldiers are trained in controlling, suppressing, and channelling emotions such as fatigue, anxiety and aggression in a way thatis functional for a mission.

One of the key issues in managing emotions results from differences in 'feeling rules' and displayed feelings ('surface acting'). Hochschild highlighted how market pressure can reduce the available time for 'deep acting' necessary to adapt real feelings to the organisation's feeling rules while the resulting emotional dissonance has been identified as a source of lower job satisfaction and increased stress (Wharton 2009, 160). The problem of differences between feeling rules and experienced feelings is crucial tomany occupations, though they might not always result from economic pressure. Instead, I argue that combat soldiers – whoseprimary task is tofight on the ground facing anenemy (Royal Marines, Infantry) – exemplify how displaying the right attitudes to other soldiers or the enemy canbe important, but the internal management of emotions is essential to their performance.

Furthermore, I suggest distinguishing feelings regarding their intensity and how deeply they are rooted in one's personal self. Feelings of a low intensity may be used as a kind of advisor to reflect on our inner states, while intense feelings tend to overwhelm us (Lowenstein et al 2001). Military training might directly aim to alter the self in the first place to enable soldiers to control intense and deeply rooted feelingsthat can potentially endanger operational functionality.In this context, Hochschild's distinction between 'surface acting' and 'deep acting' doesn't go far enough. She states that the employees'attempt to comply with feeling rules of an organisation or profession by 'deep acting', push their "'real self' further inside, making it more inaccessible"(Hochschild 2003, 34).But we get little sense of the effects of employees'attempts to deal with high intensity emotions,which constantly try to break free and require continuous efforts and training to be kept in check(Jolly 1996).

Conceptually, this article suggests examining soldiers' emotion management through the lens of the sociology of risk and uncertainty, and thus applying a modernist framework (compare for an overview: Zinn 2008). Central to our understanding of modernisation has been the dichotomy of reason and emotion, which constantly reappear in different configurations, such as in the dichotomous distinctions of culture and nature, male and female or rational risk calculation and metaphysics. These dichotomies shape the modern dream of controlling the inner (body, emotions) and outer nature (social and natural environment), and are still strong

when societies, organisations and individuals manage risks and uncertainties in everyday life. Since there is now evidence that emotion and reason are systematically connected and interwoven rather than clearly separate (Power and Dalgleish 2008), Turner and Stets (2006) have argued against this distinction on ontological grounds. However, this article suggests that on an epistemological level, the reason/emotion dichotomy is still one of the most powerful socio-cultural orientationin present day societies, which continuesto significantly structure, for example, risk regulation, gender roles and occupational behaviour.

In order to overcome deeply rooted emotions and to ensure efficient functioning in combat,soldiers require intense training, refreshment and reinforcement (Katz 1990; Ben-Ari 1998). As Jolly (1996, 48) already suspected, despite all such attempts to secure high performance standards, the experience of being a soldier has several de-institutionalising effects thatfollowsome soldiers out of active duty. I focus here on two aspects:Thecontradictions between the feeling rules of the military and society;and the contradictions between official presentation of the job in the media and the experienced reality on the job. The article concludes with the question of how the overcoming of deep emotions as a prerequisite of efficient performance might impact upon individual behaviour and wellbeing.

Learning Emotions

The followingtwo case studies are taken from an explorative study 'The Biographical Management of Risk and Uncertainty-British Veterans' which was carried outfrom 1st May 2007 to 31st November 2008.The studyapplied a biographical narrative approach in examining the experiences of 14 British ex-servicemen from different generations and positions, but mainly from lower ranks (Zinn 2010). This approach was chosen to give the interviewees as much space as possible to outline and express their experiences fromtheir own perspective and to allow detailed analyses of a wide range of dimensions to better understand individual managing of emotions (Jenkins et al. 2011).

Whilethe experiences of the soldiers- here called 'Albert' and 'Jo', - in professional training and military culture weretypical for the Royal Marines and the Army,their responses were quite different, and were a reflection of their earlier biographical experiences. As with many soldiers, both Albert and Jo are from lower middle class or working class backgrounds (Dandeker et al. 2003) andexperienced what is usually understood as a 'troubled family' context.Both went through a military training thataims to select the best candidates, capable of dealing with high pressure and physical and psychological challenges. However, when they talked about their life, they emphasised different aspects of their strategies to deal with professional experiences.

Feeling Rules – Organisation versus Society

Training soldiers is mainly about learning to effectively kill others, whether at long, mid or close range,but emotionally, close contact with the enemy is more challenging (Grossman 2009). Confrontation with the consequences of their action and the possibility of being killed themselvesis quite imminent. Traumatic experiences are regularly linked to intense close range experiences of high danger or killing of others (Grossman 2009, Bourke 1999).[2]Training to kill is quite a challenging task since it contradicts both the fundamental

values of democratic societies[3] and most religions where the sanctity of human life is considered inviolable. Such values become deeply engraved during socialisation processes or, as Bourke (1999) claims, are part of human nature. There would be lessnatural instinct to kill than not to kill.

In the first case study, Jo expressed a strategy thatfollows the modern orthodoxy and could be called *dichotomic control.* It is characterised by the clear distinction between reason and emotion,whereone side controls the other. He describes how he has been trained

> "to control [his] adrenaline, to control [his] emotions.When you shoot or you take a shot, take 3 breathes, first, second, third.The third you squeeze back on the trigger, eye, rear sight, foresight, target,yeah?And by the time the round has hit the target then you can breathe your third breath out and that's it.It doesn't matter how excited I can get about something. I'll still have a 48 to a 43 depending on what I'm doing.*We switch off our emotions.*Our target isn't a human being anymore, it's just a target. All it is is a piece of paper with a photograph on it. That photograph might be walking across, yeah, and that photograph's gone, end of story." (Compare for similar narrations byIsraeli soldiers: Ben-Ari 1998, 45)

What he describes as his professional attitude does not exclude showing empathy, but for Jo his professional attitude comes first, which includes fulfilling the task and bringinghis comrades back home alive.

In an occupational environment where emotional control is crucial toprofessional behaviour, Albert found a different way to deal with emotions, which could be called *integrated control*in that reason and control are not separated. Contradicting the modern orthodoxy, this approach takes reason to be emotionally supported, and emotions themselves are seen as guiding mechanisms for reason. When Albert spoke about his training and learning experience to become a soldier, he emphasised how he has learned to deal with emotions. He learned that "having fear" is acceptable. In his eyes good soldiers are characterised by the ability to overcome their fear, by *controlled aggression,*for example:

> "I can remember my corporal saying to me this…I boxed when I was in the Marines.I did 37 fights and I won the Inter-Championship in the Marines and then fought between the services, the Marines against the Navy, the RAF and the Army and I was never defeated so I was pretty good at this. But I always shook every time.I could never stop my knees and my legs from shaking. .. I was shit scared and my Corporal just kept saying to me this is the same with any man. If they hide it, they hide it better.Pick your first 3 blows, it doesn't matter if they don't work, by the time you'rehit you'll be angry enough to fight back, and he was so right.And I used that in battle with all my men.There's nothing wrong with shaking, it will give you clarity."

Integration has another meaning as well. Albert always "trusted his emotions". For him emotion and reason had to be one. "If something made me angry it made me angry, it was wrong and it needed to be fought against and that's what I did". Consequently he described how emotionally disappointed he was when he failed to perform well in his first mission:

> "The first person I shot was a girl. We were at a check point when a car bashed its way through and I can remember firing 5 rounds at the driver's seat, because that was mine, I could fire where I needed to fire and hitting every one of them and getting to

> the car 150 meters down the road and opening the door and pulling this person out and realizing it was a girl and not being upset because it was a girl or anything like that but *being angry that my 5 rounds hadn't killed her*[4]. She was still alive. I can remember distinctly being really, really angry that she wasn't dead and *what a bad soldier I was*".

Feeling Rules – Public Presentation versus Experienced Reality

There is an abundance of evidence that soldiers in combat are not primarily driven by honourable motives such as risking life "for Queen and country" (Woodward 2008). Also, the often-presented ideal of efficient and controlled combat activities doesnot quite correspond tosoldiers' combat experiences. Instead, in life-threatening situations the concernis much more with the preservationof one's own life and that of one'sbuddies rather than anything else (e.g. Woodward 2008). The official presentation of the honourable killing of others does often not fit the experienced reality of combat, the messy, loud, chaotic and brutish reality of war.

Jo explains how he *neutralised* experiences thatmight usually cause strong emotions:

> "My rounds must have killed females and children alike, yeah, but as far as I was concerned, they're expendable.If it gets a job done, I could drop in a grenade into a house to clear that house. It wasn't a problem to me. It got blurry after a while. … But don't get me wrong, if it was a case of keeping the boys alive and dropping a grenade into a family home. Yeah. But saying that if a little kid was walking out into the street and I knew rounds were coming down I'd be the first fucking arsehole running for the little kid."

However, he also justifies his ability to deal with the reality of war as being a personality characteristic:

> "You need a certain type of mentality.Me personally 'I'm a cold hearted bastard'.I've been called it too many times in my life, you know?There's no heart inside me."

This account contrasts with Albert's report on his experience of shooting a girl; inhindsight he wasvery ashamed about the feelings of disappointment he had at the time. He, as many other professionals, loved his job and bad performance was a great disappointment. This touches on another dimension of soldiers'experiences thatisoften sidelined in the recently intensified reporting on the reality of combat. Many soldiers are not only reluctant to speak about their experiences of war because they have been so horrible and traumatic. There is also good evidencethat soldiers thoroughly enjoy combat and killing (e.g. Hedges 2002) what might make it even more difficult to speak about it in a civil context.

Conclusion

This study leaves us with some fundamental questions regarding the price societies have to pay for training some of their citizens to be able to kill others, such as health costs related to mental disorders and trauma such as PTSD, physical disabilities, alcohol and drug addiction as well as problems of re-integrating soldiers into civil life accompanied by violence,

homelessness and suicide (e.g. The Mental Health Foundation 2003, Grossman 2009). What are the consequences for the well-being of soldiers when trained to overcome deeply rooted emotions to kill others? The difficulties of the long de-institutionalisation process of ex-serviceman have been described by Jolly (1996). However, her work hardly touches on the question of whether post-traumatic stress, as well as the kind of atrocities reported in the media,might somehow be linked to the training and the tasks (combat) soldiers perform. Since the separation of reason and emotion has been identified as a socio-cultural myth, the pressing question is how rational attempts to control and change emotions impact on the conscious and subconscious of individuals. The sociology of work and emotions has not yet developed a good understanding of how occupational training might result in ethically undesirablebehaviour and (mental) health problems.

Footnotes

1. 'Emotion management' refers to the ways of how people accommodate their emotions according to normative expectations of what should be felt (feeling rules) in specific situations.

2. The technological transformation of warfare allows soldiers emotional distancing from combat (Grossman 2009). However, many missions today have much more the character of civil-war where the enemy could be a mother or a child (Kassimeris 2006). Under such conditions distancing becomes difficult and even undesired when sensible dealing with civilians is necessary for the success of a mission.

3. Though there are well known differences between countries that impose the death penalty and those that have abandoned it.

4.Italics within quotes indicate that the interviewee emphasised the words.

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‘Not on people’s radar’: Employer responses to women’s experiences of intimate partner violence

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Abstract

The impact of intimate partner violence on women’s employment is a serious, emerging public issue. This paper presents research findings about the impact of intimate partner violence on women’s employment. Findings demonstrate the invisibility of intimate partner violence in the workplace, the tactics of perpetrators which disrupt, jeopardise and end women’s employment and the discrediting of women’s testimonies of violence. The research findings highlight the importance of making gender and power inequalities visible and addressing the institutional denial of the impact intimate partner violence has on women and their work.

Key words: public-private, intimate partner violence, employment, ignorance.

Introduction

A considerable amount of attention has been paid to the problem of violence against women. However, little research exists in Australia that links the impact of intimate partner violence to paid work (Murray and Powell 2007), despite its social and economic significance. Australia’s national study of violence, the ABS Personal Safety Survey (2006), shows that 15% of women had experienced violence from an intimate partner at some time in their lives and 2.1% reported such violence occurring in the past 12 months. Violence is defined as any incident involving the occurrence, attempt or threat of either physical or sexual assault, which would be deemed an offence under criminal law (ABS 2006). Intimate partner violence involves a range of controlling behaviours, including emotional, psychological, financial, social, sexual and physical abuse. Violence in general and in intimate relationships is primarily

committed by men (Bagshaw and Chung 2000) and women of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin are at high risk of family violence (Mouzos 1999:19; Summers 2003:79-83).

Women are disadvantaged in public and private or family domains. Women continue to be disadvantaged at work compared to men. The distribution of women across the labour market is uneven, they predominate in casual, low paid fields of work and their work is less valued. The majority of higher paid positions with management and institutional power are occupied by men (Pocock 2003; Franzway et al 2009:3). However, labour force participation for women has steadily increased, increasing the likelihood of women workers who are or have experienced intimate partner violence being present in many workplaces. Intimate partner violence impacts on the individual, the employer, work colleagues and the community (Franzway et al, 2009). International research shows intimate partner violence has a severe impact on women's paid employment (such as Brush 2000; Brush 2003; Kwesiga et al 2007; Logan et al 2007; Lindhorst et al 2007; Swanberg and Logan 2007). American research found that 50% to 74 % of employed battered women were harassed by their partners while they were at work (Family Violence Prevention Fund 1998).

According to the ABS Personal Safety Survey, 55% to 70% of women that have and are experiencing some form of violence (stalking, harassment, physical assault and threat, sexual assault, violence by current and previous partners) are working full or part time (ABS 2006). In Australia, the total annual cost of intimate partner violence to the economy in 2009 was $13.6 billion- the largest contributor being pain, suffering and premature mortality at $3.5 billion per year (NCRVAWC 2009). The direct costs to employers of 'domestic violence' in staff absenteeism and replacement was estimated to be over $30 million per annum, and the total cost to the corporate and business sector around $1 billion per annum (Henderson 2000; Phillips 2006). These costs and statistics cannot be ignored.

Drawing on Tuana's work on epistemologies of ignorance, the research paper analyses the impact of intimate partner violence on women's employment by exploring how gender inequalities can be rendered invisible through dominant practices in workplaces. Tuana (2006:1) uses the women's health movement as a case

study for cataloging the production of different types of ignorance. She examines the production of knowledge through a taxonomy of ignorance and how 'not knowing' is produced and sustained in power differentiated communities such as Western society (Tuana 2006:3). This theoretical frame has informed the analysis of the findings of this study.

The Research

This research was approved by the University of South Australia Human Research Ethics Committee. The qualitative study aimed to

- Explore the barriers and support for women living with or escaping from intimate partner violence who are seeking employment or in employment.
- Identify policy and program responses in South Australia and what needs to change for women affected by violence to be able to maintain economic stability and have sustainable futures.

The research design was applied and collaborative, with the strong involvement of a supportive reference group comprising of key stakeholders, including the South Australian funding bodies, the Department of Families and Communities and the Office for Women. A qualitative action research methodology was used and researchers worked in mutual collaboration with key stakeholders to consciously seek to change or improve the situation for women, through the research processes of development, implementation, analysis, refinement and re-evaluation (Berg 2001).

The research was conducted in two stages. It gathered the perspectives of workers in services as well as women who were affected by intimate partner violence. The worker informants were recruited through contacts provided by members of the reference group and the direct canvassing of services through telephone calls and emails. First, thirty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted in rural and metropolitan South Australia with 33 informants employed in domestic violence services, women's health and advocacy services, Aboriginal and CALD (culturally and linguistically diverse) services, employer representative agencies, trade unions, employment services and policy departments. Thirty-two informants were female and

one was male. Six informants were Aboriginal women who worked in a range of policy and practice areas relevant to women, employment, intimate partner violence, health and legal services. Nine of the informants worked in rural services. Workers offered over 100 case examples of how women's employment was affected by intimate partner violence, with mixed employer responses.

Second, in order to access the perspectives of women whose employment was affected by intimate partner violence, a 'phone-in' was held in March 2008. The 'phone in' was widely promoted through various media such as newspaper and talkback radio and run over two days. A total of 38 participants responded to the 'phone-in', including 34 interviews with women whose work has been affected by domestic violence and 4 people who were witnesses to those affected (such as a father calling about his daughter's experience). In total, the study included 71 participants.

Broadly, the research questions included: How does domestic violence impact on employment? How do government and non-government services, employers and trade unions assist women? What needs to improve for women to access and maintain employment? The face to face interviews were recorded and transcribed and notes were taken during the telephone interviews. The interviews were analysed thematically, by identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). The interviews were analysed inductively and coded into main themes that were relevant to the research questions. Drawing on Tuana's analytical frame, the analysis found that the impact of intimate partner violence is sustained through the processes of 'refusing to know' about private or family matters in the public or work domain (Tuana 2006).

Analysis of findings

Tuana's (2006) framework of ignorance offers six examples or categories of how ignorance is sustained and constructed. These six examples of how ignorance is sustained include 'how we know that we do not know but do not care to know', 'how we do not even know that we do not know', 'how one group of people prevent another group of people from knowing', 'systemic willful ignorance', 'ignorance produced by the construction of epistemically disadvantaged identities' and 'loving ignorance' (Tuana 2006). Franzway et al (2009:2) notes that feminist politics aim to

overturn women's inequality by transforming oppression and gender disadvantage. However, the lack of sexual or feminist politics in many workplaces often means that women's inequality and gender disadvantage is reinforced and ignored.

A number of themes emerged in the study that sustain invisibility and ignorance about women workers' experiences of intimate partner violence, which included masculine assumptions about the nature of work, constructions of private and public spheres and that paid work is perceived as being less important to women's identities than men. Tuana's analytical categories of ignorance such as 'how we know that we do not know but do not care to know' as well as 'how we do not even know that we do not know' relates to how intimate partner violence is invisible or 'not on people's radar' in the workplace. Tuana's ignorance category related to 'they do not want us to know' was obvious through the analysis of the tactics of perpetrators that prevented women from obtaining information about available services. Finally, it was evident that the discrediting of women's testimonies by institutional structures (such as the police) when they did disclose violence by their male partners constructed women as less credible knowers with epistemically disadvantaged 'victim' identities (Tuana 2006). The findings are further discussed next.

'Not on people's radar': the invisibility of intimate partner violence in the workplace.

When the researchers in this study approached employers to ask them to participate in research about the impact of intimate partner violence on women's employment, some employer representatives said 'domestic violence is a personal problem and not relevant to us' or 'we had that here but we don't want to talk about it, we have moved on' or simply, 'we don't have that here'. These responses from employers reflect community attitudes that deem intimate partner violence as being a personal issue, which is relegated to the realms of the private domain. Employers have other priorities and believe that intimate partner violence does not affect them, ignoring the existence and prevalence of intimate partner violence. One assumption underpinning this belief by some employers is based on stereotyped notions of a victim of male violence, that they are women who will look 'battered', be upset and emotional and be likely to be poor and not in paid employment.

When researchers asked a question about the impact of intimate partner violence on employment, research participants said they had 'never thought about it'. Some participants stated that they 'did not know that they did not know' about intimate partner violence and women's employment prior to the research naming it as an issue affecting employment. As one Aboriginal participant working in the public sector said:

> Well it is just not on people's radar. That is the biggest issue.

When intimate partner violence is 'not on people's radar', ignorance is sustained because 'we do not know that we do not know'. However, the next section of this quote is:

> So then people don't know how to approach it, when they see suspicious and out of ordinary behaviours, or if they see bruising or tell tale signs, they are still not sure about whether that is domestic violence and not sure if it is okay to talk about, or how to approach the person.

This section of the quote illustrates 'knowing' about something is not so clear-cut. Ignorance is maintained when employers and colleagues do not respond to or ignore the signs of abuse and disclosures of violence. Employers may 'know that they do not know but do not care to know' about it. However, because of the stigma associated with acknowledging the violence and asking for assistance, the person affected by the violence may also deny its occurrence. For example, the woman coming to work with a black eye may say 'I ran into a door', which leaves colleagues or managers confused about how to respond. The fear instilled by the tactics of perpetrators also has an impact on women being able to disclose their experiences of violence.

An overall finding about workplaces was that intimate partner violence is often invisible in workplaces and that smaller organisations had less ability and infrastructure to respond to intimate partner violence when it impacts on the workplace, compared to for example the public sector. As well, women are more vulnerable in family owned businesses and in rural areas such as stations and farms, where few services exist and women are living in isolated areas with limited transport. There were very specific issues for culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) women related to immigration policies and cultural and language barriers. As well,

Aboriginal women (and Aboriginal people) are particularly disadvantaged in their ability to access and sustain employment due to a range of factors related to social, economic, health and educational disadvantages.

Tactics of perpetrators: 'They do not want us to know'

This research found that the tactics of perpetrators systematically prevented women from obtaining knowledge through power and control strategies. For example, women were being prevented from knowing when men stopped women from obtaining information about domestic violence services. When reporting on women's experiences, one participant working in a women's service noted:

> The man could become very obsessive and controlling, stalking the woman, basically controlling her, driving her to work, picking her up from work, controlling all social life after work.

In this context, the abusive man is systematically preventing the woman from gaining knowledge that may assist her to become more independent of his influences, which is a common experience for women who experience intimate partner violence. Women reported a number of tactics used by perpetrators to prevent or disrupt women's employment and education. Tactics used by perpetrators included preventing access and entry into employment or education, interference by perpetrators at the workplace, threatening to harm women and their children, verbally abusing them before work and withdrawing assistance with childcare to impact on women's hours of work. These tactics occur whilst in an abusive relationship and following separation (Swanberg and Logan 2007). As well, men in state authorities (such as in the police and criminal justice system) designed to protect victims of violence discredited women's testimonies.

Discrediting women's testimonies: constructions of epistemically disadvantaged identities

These research findings indicate how denial of abuse is sustained in women's workplaces, through the processes of how men are constructed as credible knowers and women's narratives are discredited. There is a long history related to 'victims' of incest not being judged as credible 'knowers' because their testimonies and memories are discredited and questioned (Tuana 2006:13). This is also relevant to female

victims of intimate partner violence. One worker in a rural town explained how police responses discredited women's testimonies of violence:

> One of the issues here is that the police play football and drink at the local pub with the perpetrators, so they would be deemed a 'mate'. We have comments like 'oh she must like that sort of stuff' or 'he wouldn't do it' or 'you don't need a restraining order'. Women have been sent to the city to get a restraining order because they wouldn't put one on him here.

This response to this woman's disclosure and experiences of violence constructs the male perpetrators as the 'trustworthy knowers' and blames the women for being vengeful and untrustworthy. This gendered construction of credibility functions to maintain unequal gendered power relations, ignoring women's accounts of violence and favouring men as the privileged group of 'knowers'. These finding is supported by the work of Canadian author De Kerseredy (2011, p. x) who argues that men's violence against women is supported by broader social, political and psychological practices related to 'peer group membership , pornographic media and both familial and societal patriarchy'.

Conclusion

This article highlights how the maintenance of gender and power inequalities is central to ignoring or denying the effects of intimate partner violence on women's employment. The research findings indicate that ways of 'not knowing' about gendered violence are produced across a range of interpersonal interactions and are supported by social structures and institutional practices. To conclude, the importance of addressing intimate partner violence in the workplace is most strongly made by one of the women participants who had experienced violence:

> Domestic violence cements women into the casual sector of the workforce. The workforce acts as a secondary oppressor. Addressing domestic violence is a significant factor in improving the employment of women. (Robyn)

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