Organisation, Identity & Locality (IV)

Exploring the local within the Aotearoa/New Zealand locality

A one-and-a-half-day symposium on being a critical organisational scholar in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Thursday 14th & Friday 15th February, 2008
University of Otago

Proceedings

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Acknowledgements
We would like to acknowledge the support of the Management Department at the University of Otago for providing conference facilities and refreshments during this event.

Background
OIL (Organization, Identity, Locality) is the term used to identify an informal group of academics engaged in research and teaching that offers critical analysis of management and organization in Aotearoa New Zealand. Annual OIL gatherings began with an informal meeting at Massey University’s Palmerston North campus in March 2004. This and subsequent meetings have focused sharply on the intersections of the critical and the local. Many of the contributions explore the nature of Critical Management Studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The conference places a strong emphasis on discussion and interaction. Conference papers are required to be short statements that identify the key ideas, themes and questions the author/s will be discussing. All conference statements have however been reviewed by two anonymous (to the author) members of the OIL community prior to the event.

The 2009 OIL symposium will be hosted by Waikato University. For further details see the website http://www.massey.ac.nz/~cprichar/oil.htm

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Call for Papers

Organisation, Identity and Locality IV
Exploring the local within the Aotearoa/New Zealand locality

A one-and-a-half-day symposium on critical organisation studies in
Aotearoa/New Zealand

Hosted by the Department of Management,
University of Otago

Date: Thursday 14\textsuperscript{th} & Friday 15\textsuperscript{th} February, 2008

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The Call:
Like its predecessors, the key objective underpinning OIL-IV is discussion
around the question: what does it mean to do critical organisation studies from
here in the Aotearoa/New Zealand (A/NZ) locality? In reflecting on this
question we are often drawn to thinking about the A/NZ locality in relation to an
‘outside’. Accordingly, interesting and valuable discussions continue to feature
around –for example- the politico-economic influences of a colonial history,
institutional hierarchies implicit within the global CMS discipline, and the use of
white European male meta-theorists to explain organisation within A/NZ, etc.
While our relationship with ‘the outside’ is important, a critical understanding of
organisation from within this location must also involve reflection on this
location. Hence, in OIL-IV we want to shift primary attention from the outside
to the ‘inside’.
The particular focus for OIL-IV is an exploration of how our location in specific local contexts—within the Aotearoa/New Zealand locality—influence our critical scholarship on organisation. Rather than treating local context as a given therefore, we invite you to consider how your location in a specific cultural, economic, geographic, historical, identity, institutional or social context within Aotearoa/New Zealand influences the sort of questions that you are prompted to ask or see as possible/appropriate to ask about organisation here, in this place.

**Background:**
The inaugural Organisation, Identity and Location (OIL) conference was held in 2004. Since then, OIL has become an annual fixture for Aotearoa/New Zealand-based academics with an interest in a broad range of issues on the theme of organisation, identity and location. The aim of the conference is to provide a relaxed forum with an emphasis on discussion rather than formal paper presentation.

An additional objective behind the OIL gatherings is to provide an opportunity for inter-disciplinary members of the critical organisation studies community within Aotearoa/New Zealand to gather together and discuss issues of shared interest. While many of us are located within management departments we are very keen to encourage those of you who are located within other disciplinary areas—such as sociology, anthropology, geography, cultural studies, physical education, leisure studies, tourism for example—to attend.

**Please note!** If your first reaction to this call is ‘my research is not in this area’ take a deep breath, take your fingers away from the delete button and make yourself a cup of coffee. We are not asking you rush off and design a new research programme. Rather, we are inviting you to consider what possible questions might be asked about your research, if you were to foreground the issue of specific local context. Maybe a wee look at previous OIL Conference papers (see [http://tur-www1.massey.ac.nz/~cprichar/OIL/oil.htm](http://tur-www1.massey.ac.nz/~cprichar/OIL/oil.htm)) will help you here?

**There is no conference fee.** While afternoon teas, morning tea and lunch will be provided, please expect to pay for your own drinks and dinners.
Key Dates:

- **Thursday 15th November 2007**: submissions due
  - Please send submissions as Word documents to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

- **The week of 19th November 2007**: papers sent to reviewers

- **Monday 3rd December 2007**: peer reviews due
  - Everyone who submits a paper to the conference will be asked to review two papers
  - Please send reviews to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

- **Friday 21st January 2008**: final draft for inclusion into conference proceedings is due
  - Please send final drafts for conference proceedings to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

Submissions:

- **Revised Submission due date**: Thursday 15th November 2007
- **Please note**: This year the conference papers will be available on-line January 25th 2008. For this to happen, we will need to adhere to the dates set in this revised call. Please be aware therefore, that later submissions are unlikely to be accepted.

- Please send submissions as Word documents to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

The OIL forum aims to maintain a level of informality such that active collegial interaction is encouraged. As such, the written submissions are designed to help structure the day’s discussions and assist submitters in developing an idea for future publication. For these reasons, your submission - of approximately 2000 words - should take the form of the development of a research question.

While informal, the aim is for a rigorous and informed discussion. As such, your submission must contain:

- a) A question that links directly to the conference call;
- b) A question that is explicitly grounded in a theoretical framework;
- c) An explicit statement that addresses the possible consequences of asking this research question;
- d) The usual stylistic and referencing conventions of academic writing.
- e) The title, your name and affiliations on an additional (separate) page/attachment
Reviews:
- Everyone who submits a paper to the conference will be asked to review two papers
- The reviews will be blind (ie: the front page will be removed before being sent)
- Papers will be sent to reviewers during the week of 19th November 2007
- Reviews are due on Monday 3rd December 2007
- Please send reviews to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

As stated above, everyone who submits a paper to the conference will be asked to anonymously review two other submissions. Reviews should be constructive and developmental. Reviews should be about 2-300 words and should address:
- a) The contribution of the paper to the conference theme;
- b) The adequacy and coherence of the theoretical grounding of the question;
- c) The thoughtfulness and relevancy of the statement concerning possible consequences;
- d) Further questions or issues the author may wish to reflect upon -for discussion at the conference or in relation to a subsequent publication.

Conference Proceedings:
- The final draft for inclusion into conference proceedings is due on Monday 21st January 2008
- Please include your name, contact details and the conference name, place, date and website (so they are self-contained if downloaded)
- Please send final drafts for conference proceedings to Bronwyn Boon [bboon@business.otago.ac.nz]

Conference proceedings will be published online and in hardcopy. Inclusion on the programme is subject to timely return of reviews and the final drafts.

Presentations:
Please prepare a 10 minute (max) presentation of your research question. The aim of the presentation is to stimulate points of discussion with your peers. There will be power-point, OHP and a white-board available to presenters. Given the emphasis on discussion it would however, be good to keep your presentation succinct and the visual aids/formats simple. The sessions will be actively chaired to facilitate egalitarian ‘airtime’.
Graduate Student Workshop:
We warmly welcome Masters and PhD students to the OIL Conference. There will be a Graduate Student Workshop on Thursday 14th February from 9am to 2pm. This workshop will be co-ordinated by Dr Malcolm Lewis. The aim for this workshop is to provide participant relevant sessions and discussion. To ensure that this workshop is what you want it to be, please send your suggestions and ideas to Malcolm Lewis [mlewis@business.otago.ac.nz]. Further information about this workshop will be posted on the OIL website at a future date.

Conference Programme:
- Thursday 14th February
  - 9am - 2pm - Graduate student workshop
  - 2-2:30pm - arrive & mingle/afternoon tea
  - 2:30 - 3:30pm - meet & greet session
  - 3:30 - 5pm - Session I
  - 5:30pm drinks (pay for own)
  - 7:00pm dinner (pay for own)

- Friday 15th February:
  - 9-10:30am - Session II
  - 10:30 - 11 - morning tea
  - 11 - 12:30 - Session III
  - 12:30 - 1:30 - Lunch
  - 1:30 - 3pm - Session IV
  - 3 - 3:30pm - Afternoon tea
  - 3:30 - 4:30 - Plenary/AGM session
  - 5:00 - drinks/dinner with those who remain

We look forward to seeing you here at Otago. Please contact us if you have any questions about the conference.
Presentation Schedule

Session I (Thursday 14th February 3:30- 5pm)
Chair: Bronwyn Boon
Craig Prichard:
   Tatou Ariā; Concepts for a Critical Organization Studies of This Place
Hans Doorewaard:
   Hegemonic Power and Locality
Roy Stager-Jacques:
   The "Covert Curriculum" and Post-Industrial Aotearoa / New Zealand
Deborah Jones:
   What do you mean 'we', white man? On whiteness, organisational theory and being Pākehā?

Session II A: (Friday 15th February 9-10:15am)
Chair: Sara Walton
John Farnsworth:
   Managing Local Mental Health Care: The Dunedin Case
Mary Simpson:
   Developing research question(s) for the critical-interpretive study of retirement living organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand: A case of intersecting localities
Bronwyn Boon:
   Contestable ‘communities’: representations of local ‘community’ through not-for-profit funding processes

Session II B: (Friday 15th February 9-10:15am)
Chair: Roy Stager-Jacques
Judith Pringle:
   Positioning workplace diversity in a local context: Applying Bourdieu
Saumya Pant:
   Creating Business: Professional Identities in an advertising agency
Edgar Burns:
   How fundamental is professional identity?
Session III A: (Friday 15th February 10:30-11:45am)
Chair: Deborah Jones
Janet Sayers
The role of family photograph albums in organizing New Zealand identity: A personal view in words and pictures
Damian Ruth
Images of metaphors for organization and strategy
Armin Beverungen
The business school as a locality for CMS

Session III B: (Friday 15th February 10:30-11:45am)
Chair: Sara Walton
Morag Gray
The Instrument of Virtue: The 19th Century Otago Free Church Settlement and the Protestant Ethic.
Todd Bridgman
From Hero to Villain: Graham Henry, Rugby World Cup 2007 and the Perils of Hero Leadership
Robyn Walker
“quardle ardle oodle ardle wardle doodle”: Work, organisations and management in Aotearoa/New Zealand fictional literature and film

Session IV: (Friday 15th February 1:30 - 3pm)
Chair: Craig Prichard
Alison Henderson
‘Healthy’ Foods - a New Zealand Context
Helen Tregidga
‘Natural identities’: Constructing business opportunities from nature
Sara Walton
Flying over there? Connectivity with international communities and treading lightly on the earth.
OIL (IV) Papers
Introduction
I would like to offer and discuss three particular themes that emerge out of a contemporary (Marxist) discourse on the university, which to me should belong to critical management studies (CMS). The important thing here is that CMS applies its thought also to its own locality, i.e. the university and the business school. Particularly the first theme will be familiar to a CMS audience, but the latter two are perhaps less widely debated and thus merit further discussion within CMS and the business school. I am taking these themes up here because all of them deal with the locality that is the university, and thus also the business school, and the way we as academics relate to this locality. Insofar as some of the trends in the university are global, these counter discourses might also be applicable in Aotearoa/New Zealand (A/NZ), and they are certainly global in intent. I am not, however, very familiar with the particular context of A/NZ universities, so would like to discuss with the audience in how far all this applies or can be applied in A/NZ.

University without ideas
This particular aspect of contemporary discourses on the university deals with the idea of the university, or, rather, its absence. This was most clearly expressed in Bill Readings’ *The University in Ruins* (1996). Readings’ argument is that whatever ideas of the university might have served in the past to guide university life and to unite it, none of them are functional today. Neither the model of the university as a place for the indoctrination of national culture, nor any other such image still reigns. Instead, Readings outlines an image of ‘the university in ruins’ that only holds together because of an administrative apparatus geared towards ‘excellence’. ‘Excellence’ here can mean anything, and anything can be done or performed ‘excellently’. For Readings this is a nightmare, in the way the discourse of excellence purges university life of any other value systems that might guide its operations.

While Readings is critical of this plight of the university, Stanley Fish (2005) is keen to endorse it. He embraces the image of the university as only united by administration, which he sees as merely facilitating whatever academic activity might be going on there. Fish “celebrates disciplinary insularity and resists all efforts to explain or evaluate what we do in the academy by measures or aspirations larger or more general than the measures (again internal) and aspirations academics stipulate for themselves” (2004: 279). He considers himself to be ‘the perfect dean for the modern posthistorical university’:

If you ask me in the service of what do you perform your pragmatic acts of middle management, I will respond with a blank stare and a glassy eye. And if you ask me what is your theory or vision of education – the question behind all the others – I will immediately run in the opposite direction. No theory, no urgent mission, no socio-political cause. (2004: 280)
What of course is missing in Fish’s pragmatic perspective is any account of what else, other than his personal vision or theory, might be driving the university and its administrative apparatus. And here the work done in CMS and elsewhere on the commodification and managerialization of the university is most relevant (e.g. Aronowitz, 2000; Giroux, 2002; Parker and Jary, 1995; Prichard and Willmott, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004). What emerges here is a picture of the university that is driven more by the market, corporate interest, and managerial imperatives, than it is by academic logic. And what becomes necessary is to conceptualise the struggles that are taking place within these ruins of the university, and to develop and defend an image of the university and practice of university life that puts the academic problematic at its centre.

Academic labour
An area of work on the university that is perhaps less known to scholars within organization studies is that emerging out of the struggles, mostly by postgraduate students, regarding academic labour in the US (e.g. Aronowitz, 2000; Bousquet, 2008; Martin, 1997; Terranova and Bousquet, 2004). A lot of this is succinctly summarised and discussed in Marc Bousquet’s *How the University Works*. Drawing on his own experience of and engagement with the political activity of graduate employees at US universities, he draws out an image of academic labour that is quite shocking. He discusses such trends as the move towards contingent labour in the academy; the move towards the employment of more ‘nondegreed’ labour (PhD and Masters students) as opposed to degreed and tenured faculty, and the concomitant hierarchization of faculty; and the labour performed by students.

For example, with regards to what he calls ‘job market theory’ – i.e. the idea that doctoral students, not to mention other students, are training for a job, in the academy or elsewhere – he writes:

> From the standpoint of the organized graduate employee, the situation is clear. Increasingly, the holders of the doctoral degree are not so much the *products* of the graduate-employee labor system as its *by-products*, insofar as the labor system exists primarily to recruit, train, supervise, and legitimate the employment of nondegreed students and contingent faculty. (2008: 21)

The PhD student emerges here not as a scholar lucky enough to be on the road to full-time permanent employment as faculty, but rather as one exploited in the academic labour machine along the way to his (useless) doctoral degree. Similarly, Bousquet highlights the plight of more and more undergraduate students, who are supposed to be in education, but are often used as cheap labour in the service industry and elsewhere. Tiziana Terranova notes succinctly:

> There is this weird conjuring trick where they are really ‘sold’ this image of themselves as customers in the university supermarket, while for many of them the reality is that they are working in supermarkets, hospitals, and temping in offices to pay for their maintenance while they are studying. (Terranova, in Terranova and Bousquet, 2004)
This literature also points to the consequences this has for tenured faculty, with regards to their labour being undervalued as a result of the cheap labour employed elsewhere. What emerges overall is an image of the university not as excluded from the economy, or one that merely produces trained labourers, but one that is already part of the economy, and one in which the exploitation of labour already takes place on a daily basis.

What seems to be relevant in the CMS discussion of the university and the business school is that this kind of work on academic labour turns our discourses on work and the economy inwards towards an analysis of our own labour, and thus leads towards an understanding of our own locality. In how far these trends, which were mostly identified and are perhaps most prevalent in the US, also apply to universities in the UK or A/NZ is something I would like to discuss.

**Common knowledge**

Another contemporary discourse on the university has to do with the production of knowledge. There is certainly a wide debate within CMS regarding the function and production of knowledge within the academy and the business school (e.g. Pfeffer and Fong, 2002; Tinker, 2004; Starkey and Tempest, 2005; Bridgman, 2007a, b). The framing of the question here has more often than not revolved around whether the business school is or is not producing ‘useful’ knowledge, mostly with regards to its perceived clientele, managers, and an attempt to redefine what the clientele of the business school, and thus the kind of knowledge required, might be.

As Harney (2007) has pointed out, what is odd about much of this discussion is that it still assumes that the business school is a site for the ‘socialization’ of managers, i.e. that students of the business school will at one point become managers, if they aren’t already. The question of the production of knowledge is thus framed in terms of how an academic might engage with a manager, and what the former might have to offer to the latter, and how a critical engagement might take place. At this point it might be worth considering what kind of students we are meeting in our classrooms, and how many of them will be managers.

What kind of knowledge might be useful for these students? How are we to address them? This question is not answered by ‘as future managers’ but rather by ‘as working subjects’ by much contemporary Marxist work (e.g. Moten and Harney, 2004; Terranova and Bousquet, 2004; Tinker, 2004; *edu-factory*), much of it currently being discussed under the activities organized by the *edu-factory* collective, and inspired by autonomist Marxism. The discussion above on the commodification of the university and academic labour already produces a certain knowledge that does not resemble what is usually on offer in business schools, and one that is already not geared towards managed, but rather towards the labouring subject.

It is also a discourse which imagines a different organization of society. To borrow the words of Jason Read (2008):

> Is knowledge a social good, a common, which must circulate in order to produce effects? Or is it a commodity, something that can be purchased, an investment that has value only as property? These conflicting understandings of
the value of knowledge are conflicts that are embodied in practices of the university, in its structure. As such they have the potential to extend beyond the ivory towers of the university, to spill over into two very different understandings of the organization of society: one based on the commodity, on private possession of knowledge, resources, and rights, the other based on the commons.

What the discourse that employs terms such as ‘mass intellectuality’ and ‘general intellect’ aims at is a conception of knowledge that serves the masses and not managers (much of the imagery is closely associated with informatics and the promises of the internet). To properly present such an account of knowledge and its relation to a certain Marxist conception of the role of theory etc. would require more space than is available here. What I would like to discuss though with participants, is how they address their students, that is, who they think they are talking to, what kind of people their student body is made of, and what kinds of knowledge they seek to provide for them.

References


Contestable 'communities': representations of local 'community' through not-for-profit funding processes

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Introduction:
This piece of writing documents my first steps into a new research field for me –the nonprofit (NP)/ third sector organisation arena. My intent here is to begin an engagement with the identity politics of local ‘communities’ through the structures and practices of NP funding. The question I want to begin to explore in this paper/session relates to how NP funding processes inform representation/s of our local ‘communities’.

Observation:
The Community Trust structures of funding NP organisations in Aotearoa/ New Zealand (A/NZ) were established under the Trustee Banks Restructuring Act 1988. ‘There are 11 Community Trusts throughout New Zealand, each responsible for their own region’ (www.cto.org.nz/about_region).

The Community Trust of Otago (CTO) traces its origins to the Dunedin Savings Bank that was established in 1864 ‘by public spirited citizens who wanted to encourage thrift within the community, and distribute surplus profits to charitable causes’ (www.cto.org.nz/about_origins). In 1988 Government restructuring ‘gifted ownership of the bank to the community through the establishment of the Trust Bank Otago Community Trust and charged Government appointed Trustees with managing its operations and making donations from its dividends to community groups for charitable, cultural, philanthropic, recreational and other purposes that provide a benefit to the community’ (www.cto.org.nz/about_1988). During the 1990s CTO’s investment portfolio shifted from savings banks to ‘diverse international investments’ and the name was changed to CTO (www.cto.org.nz/about_1988). Since its new beginnings in 1988, CTO has donated an excess of $70,000,000 to the Otago ‘communities’ (www.cto.org.nz/about_1988).

The mission statement that guides the operation of CTO is:

The Community Trust of Otago supports, encourages, and enhances Otago communities by responsibly managing and sharing the resources which have been entrusted to us’ (www.cto.org.nz).

CTO –as with the other 10 Community Trusts throughout A/NZ- provide welcome (necessary) support to NP groups within the social locality known as Otago. The funding CTO provides to the Otago community however, is ‘contestable’. Trustees, in other words, are charged with making decisions about how the resources of CTO will be shared in a ‘responsible’ way. This relationship between community and contestability therefore plays a central role in the particular identity of the/our/my community that is brought into being or ‘supported, encouraged and enhanced’. How can I begin to examine the politics of community identity that both inform and result from the practices engaged by this philanthropic organisation?
**Theorising ‘Community’**

While reviewing the concept of ‘community’ in the area of rural studies, Liepins’ (2000a) writing is a useful guide when seeking to locate ‘community’ within the NP literature. Within much of the NP literature, the concept of ‘community’ is treated in a way that Liepins (2000a:25) would describe as ‘minimalist’ or ‘a loosely specified sense of social collectivity’. For example, in a discussion of governance or effectiveness of a community garden (Parry, Glover, & Shinew, 2005) and a community development project (Johnson, 2004) ‘community’ is used to reference a particular dimension of a general unspecified social-geographic context. ‘Community’ does feature in a more explicit way where the focus of the discussion is on the authenticity of community representation effected through the governance structures of the NP organisation. The ‘communities’ that are being represented however, are generally viewed as ‘relatively discrete and stable phenomena with observable characteristics (structures) and demonstrable purpose’ (Liepins, 2000a:24). This approach hints back to Tonnies (1955) definition of community as *gemeinschaft* or ‘a state of close positive interaction based on kinship, local proximity and mental connection’ (Liepins, 2000a:24; Walton, 2007). Guo (2007) and Guo and Musso (2007) for example, define ‘community’ as ‘a group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision-making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it’ (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985, p.333, cited by Guo & Musso, 2007:310).

Guo (2007:459) does acknowledge that the inherent diversity of the NP sector ‘prevents universally shared definitions of what constitutes the community and its interests’. The conceptual and political complexity that comes with this diversity however, is neutralised by reducing analysis and discussion to the level of the organisation. Accordingly, within this approach ‘community’ becomes translated into a particular NP organisation’s stakeholders (Balser & McClusky, 2005; Broadbridge & Parsons, 2003; Guo, 2007; Guo & Musso, 2007; Tracey, Phillips, & Haugh, 2005). ‘In this view, the community in question includes all of the major constituencies or stakeholders of a nonprofit organization: clients, funders or donors, staff members, volunteers, partner agencies, and neighbourhood residents’ (Guo, 2007:459). While a ‘stakeholder’ approach offers a means to evaluate how and whether key stakeholders are being adequately represented in the governance of any NP organisation, it doesn’t help with the broader issue of the relationship between these particular NP organisations and the identity politics of the wider community field.

Accordingly, a more complex conceptual treatment of community is necessary. From her review of the rural studies literature, Liepins (2000a:28; Liepins, 2000b) argues that:

- a robust and dynamic notion of ‘community’ should meet and include four themes in recent social thought. First, an engagement with the discursive ways in which meaning is constantly constituted and reworked enables us to extend earlier notions of ‘community’ as an idea. Second, a recognition of diversity and difference in (the NP arena) allows us to subvert earlier criticisms of ‘community as an unhelpfully homogenising term…Third, an exploration of…how the triple notions of identity, place and space shape the forms and practices of ‘communities’ at different times and locations. Finally, I have argued that broad commentaries of postmodernity and economic and cultural...
change, require us to identify how the complexities of social life in 'communities' is played out in both material and political ways.

It is into this discursive, material, diverse and political conceptual space that I want to draw my local (Otago) 'community'. A productive platform for theorising access to the relationship between this complex concept of community and contestable NP funding is the discourse theory of Laclau & Mouffe.

In using the CTO NP funding process as a means for exploring the identity politics of local community, it must be translated into a 'discursive field'. As a discursive field the CTO funding process becomes ‘a social and political construction that establishes a system of relations between different objects and practices, while providing (subject) positions with which social agents can identify’(Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000:23). The objects in this case are, for example the application forms that mediate between the CTO and the individual organisations –that take all manner of forms- within the defined geographical area of Otago. Also –significantly- the money which is to be responsibly shared. The practices of note here are the decision-making processes engaged by the CTO and the social interaction between representatives of the CTO and the individual organisations that operate within Otago. In addition, within this discursive field ‘subject positions’ that generate possibilities for individuals to identify –and become identifiable as- legitimate NP actors and social collectives are also constituted. Centrally for the development of this research question however, within this discursive field is constituted possibilities for the identity of ‘the Otago community’ that is to be enhanced as a result of this process.

One of the theoretical strengths of Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory approach is the access to a political analysis of discursive practice. Other approaches to discourse analysis–notably a Foucauldian approach- also provide a means for unpacking the knowledge generation processes that underpin the use of particular language (signs and meaning) in specific social, historical and institutional locations. Laclau and Mouffe however, offer a clearer framework for examining social contestability and movement (Bridgman, 2004; Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000; Torfing, 1999). Central to this theoretical framework is the assumption that while all social identity is ultimately contingent ‘partial fixations of meaning are both possible and necessary. In this way, it provides an account of social change that neither reduces all discontinuity to an essential logic, nor denies any continuity and fixity of meaning whatsoever’ (Howarth & Stavrakakis, 2000:25). The appearance of ‘convention’, the ‘natural’ or the ‘taken-for-granted’ are explained as the effect of a particular discursive articulation being (momentarily) hegemonically fixed:

We can define hegemony as the expansion of a discourse, or set of discourses, into a dominant horizon of social orientation and action by means of articulating unfixed elements into partially fixed moments in a context crisscrossed by antagonistic forces (Torfing, 1999:101).

In examining a particular example of organisation, identity and locality therefore, I want to ask: How are unfixed elements concerning community contingently and partially fixed through the CTO funding process into privileged reference points or signifiers (nodal points) of ‘community’? In so doing, how does a particular identity of the Otago community become hegemonically fixed?
Possible consequences of asking this research question

A preliminary sense of the response that is possible to these research questions, can be gleaned by reading the funding process documents that are available on the CTO website. For example the unfixed ‘community’ nodal point takes on particular possibilities contingent on membership to one or more of the following categories:

‘So that it will reach as many people in the community as possible and in a balanced way, the Trust makes its donations under six broad categories:

• EDUCATION Including support of pre-school, school and tertiary projects;
• HEALTH & COMMUNITY WELFARE Including care of infants, children, senior citizens, people with disabilities health and medical services, victims of abuse & violence, community facilities;
• SPORT AND RECREATION
  Including active & leisure activity, hobbies & pastimes:
  • ART & CULTURE Including performances, events & master classes;
  • HERITAGE & ENVIRONMENT Including historic preservations flora & fauna;
  • SPECIAL EVENTS Including major celebrations & festivals (www.cto.org.nz/application).

A further possibility of fixing meaning of ‘community’ comes through the perceived ability of the successful organisation to demonstrate:

  • ‘A realistic and viable project that meets a genuine need.
  • Evidence of other fundraising activities.
  • The level of community support for the project and approximately how many people will benefit directly.
  • An ability to make the project happen.
  • The Trustees expect that a donation would establish, maintain or initiate a valuable programme, complete a worthwhile project and/or help to secure something which ultimately benefits part or all of the community’ (www.cto.org.nz/App_AppCriteriaCont).

Concepts such as ‘realistic and viable’, ‘genuine need’, ‘community support’, ‘valuable programme’ and ‘ability to make it happen’ therefore, operate as second level nodal points that must be filled (or given meaning). The primary mechanism for doing this is through the donation application form. In this form information of the organisation – its income, tax and legal status; the specific project for which funding is being sought – statements that describe the project and the benefit it will bring to the group/ community; and for donations above $10,000 project management information – including the completion of a feasibility study, a strategic plan, fundraising and financial control mechanisms. Successful funding can be seen, in other words, to be based significantly on established conventions around rational organisation. In short, locality becomes identifiable through organisation.
References:


Introduction

This research idea, still in its formative stages, concerns the failure of the All Blacks at the recent world Cup. In this submission, I introduce three interrelated concepts: hero leadership, the assumptions that underpin mainstream thinking on organisational change and the paradox of teamworking within elite sports organisations. I am interested in exploring these questions within an iconic New Zealand organisation, the New Zealand Rugby Union (and specifically, the All Blacks).

The All Blacks is an organisation well suited to a study of organisation, identity and locality. Hope (2002) argues that “an imagined sense of New Zealand-ness” (p.235) took shape in conjunction with the development of rugby and mass communication from the 1880s onwards. However, developments since the sport went professional in the mid 1990s make it a contested terrain of national identity formation. Increasingly, argues Hope, the All Blacks have become “global corporate property on loan to fee-paying customers in New Zealand” (p.252). Given the centrality of the All Blacks to our national identity, it provides a useful case for exploring popular conceptions of leadership and management and how we attribute organisational success and failure.

The research question is: “What can we learn about leadership and organisational change in the New Zealand context from the failure of the All Blacks at Rugby World Cup 2007?”

The intention is to connect a series of literatures that have received comparatively little attention by critical management scholars: leadership, organisational change and sports management. Whilst critical approaches to the study of leadership are becoming more frequent (e.g. Zoller & Fairhurst, 2007; Collinson, 2005), leadership research has been described as “at best fragmented and at worst trivial” (Collinson & Grint, 2005, p.5). Together with organisational change, these topics have been dominated by the contributions of management gurus and consultants offering ‘diagnoses’ and ‘prescriptive remedies’ for a range of organisational ‘illnesses’.

If we accept Collinson and Grint’s assertion that “the intellectual integrity of leadership as a legitimate and important field of study has remained open to question” (p.5) it is understandable that critical scholars have tended to ignore the
However, given the ascendancy of ‘leadership’ within popular management discourse (and an associated denigration of management, which I will come to later), leadership is an area in need of greater interrogation by critical scholars.

Studies of sports organisations are rare in the mainstream management studies literature (an exception being Amis et al, 2002) and even more so within critical management studies (Frisby, 2005). Critical scholars’ interest in issues such as control, domination and resistance make the factory and call centre more obvious sites for empirical study than elite sports organisations, where the ‘workers’ can take home salaries in the millions and often earn considerably more than the ‘bosses’.

Nevertheless, a study of an organisation such as the NZRFU can illuminate issues of interest to critical management scholars, such as commodification, managerialism and the imposition of a top-down model of organisational change. These issues have been the subject of extensive research in parts of the public sector, such as hospitals and universities, where the provision of a range of goods previously provided by non-market means have been subjected to a market logic. Much less research has been done on elite sport, yet organisations such as the NZRFU have undergone similar transformations. It is now commonplace to speak of the All Blacks as a ‘product’ and a ‘brand’ and even those New Zealanders disinterested in Rugby World Cup 2007 would have found it difficult to shelter themselves from the rampant commercialisation of every aspect of our national game.

In the following sections, I briefly introduce the three concepts which connect this research.

**Hero Leadership**

The conceptual starting point for this research is the notion of ‘hero leadership’, a tendency identified by Meindl et al (1985) to develop romanticized views of what leaders do and are able to accomplish which provides a simplistic yet reassuring means of understanding complex organizational phenomena. Put simply, when organisations perform well leaders are ‘heroes’ and when they perform badly they are ‘villains’ (Collinson, 2005).

This ‘hero’ or ‘villain’ construction of leadership is conceptually flawed for overplaying agency and underestimating the range of other social, political and cultural factors that contribute to organisational performance (Chen & Meindl, 1991). The construction of Graham Henry’s leadership as coach of the All Blacks would appear, from an outsider’s view, to be an exemplar of this dynamic. Before the World Cup, Paul (2007) wrote in glowing terms about Henry’s transformation of the organisation:

> The All Blacks did things a certain way for 100 years. Then Graham Henry came along and changed everything. Like all instigators of change, opinion is divided as to whether he is a revolutionary or a destroyer of traditions that should have been left alone.’

**Extract from The Reign Of King Henry, by Gregor Paul, 2007**
After the All Blacks’ failure at the World Cup, it was Henry’s leadership that was the centre of debate, overshadowing the mistakes by the referee and the quality of the performance of the opposition. While it could be argued that ‘hero leadership’ is a predominantly American construction, it has been deployed in the New Zealand context (Jackson & Parry, 2001), even though the authors argue that our ‘hero managers’ do not fit the popular image of “an individual with superhuman qualities” (p.228).

Yukl (1999) notes that in transformational and charismatic theories of leadership, which have dominated the literature since the 1980s, effective leadership is conceptualised as the ability to determine an appropriate vision and motivate others to follow it, “now how leaders encourage followers to challenge the leader’s vision or develop a better one” (p.292). This issue is also taken up by Senge (1999), who asks “why, in the age of empowerment, do we accept the power those in charge of organisations so unquestionably?” Senge concludes that our “cultural addiction to hero leadership” (p.11) results in organisations that experience a crisis having a tendency to put their faith in new leaders who advocate radical changes. This is a risky approach because if those changes fail, the organisation can get caught in a vicious spiral of top-down large-scale change “leading eventually to new crises and yet more heroic leaders” (p.11).

Following the World Cup defeat in 2003, New Zealand rugby was facing a crisis. Graham Henry had a radical plan involving the resting, rotating and reconditioning of players and it seems that because of past failures at the World Cup, people felt compelled to buy into his vision. This is not to argue that Graham Henry’s innovative policies were the cause of the defeat, since that would be to fall into the trap of the hero leadership assumption. We will never get to see what would have happened if Graham Henry had not rested players from the Super 14 or put such an emphasis on rotation. What was of concern, however, was the general reluctance of people involved in rugby in New Zealand to openly question his strategy. It felt that if you did raise questions you were somehow being disloyal or you were hoping the All Blacks would lose. That is an unhealthy state for any organisation to be in and the danger is that as a result of the latest crisis of World Cup failure, New Zealand rugby will repeat the mistakes of the past and go in search of a new hero leader.

**Assumptions about Organisational Change**

Related to the phenomenon of the hero leader is a set of assumptions that pervade mainstream literature on organisation and management and which deserve scrutiny - that (paradoxically) change is the only constant, that change is inherently good and stability dangerous, that change will be embraced by all and will lead to success (Sturdy & Grey, 2003). These assumptions are evident in the diagram below, which is taken from the prescribed text for Management 101 at Victoria University.
The diagram shares the assumptions mentioned earlier that underpin mainstream thinking on organizational change – essentially that change is good whereas maintaining the status quo is bad. In addition, there is a clear implication that leadership is ‘good’ and management is ‘bad’. This simplistic presentation could be laughed off if it were not for the fact that for many students, this is their only course in management. Rather than being an isolated example, I would argue that this thinking is typical of mainstream thinking and is also a popular conception within practising managers.

Team Working In Elite Sports Organisations
Elite sports teams are often associated with top-down styles of management which draw heavily on the metaphor of war. In the study of Bolton Wanderers Football Club, Gilmore and Gilson (2007) state that “the command and control environment…has been part of football culture for many years” (p.413). Monin and Monin (1997), in exploring the rhetoric of competition in New Zealand, highlight the root metaphor of warfare that is dominant in business and rugby.

It strikes me as paradoxical that we have elite sports teams that are increasingly using managerial concepts from the corporate sphere at the same time as concepts such as ‘team working’ are becoming popularised within that corporate sphere. It appears we are seeing a homogenisation of managerial approaches across organisations of various types. However, it does raise the question of what team working means in the commercialised, professionalised environment of the All Blacks? The All Blacks certainly presented a united face, although there have been rumours of resistance and discontent with Henry’s regime.

Of course, there is a critical take on team working and learning that should not be ignored. Barker (1992) for instance, notes how team working can act to ‘tighten the iron-cage’, whilst Contu et al (2003) show how it is possible to be ‘against learning’.
Conclusion
This research seeks to contribute to critical approaches to leadership and organisational change through the case study of the All Blacks. The empirical component of the study is still in its design stages. One option is to conduct research within the NZRFU, although it is anticipated that gaining access will be difficult. A second option is to explore the construction of the organisation’s leadership in the media, along the lines of Chen & Meindl (1991), who studied the presentation of a corporate executive in the popular press after successive periods of organisational success and failure. Any suggestions, in relation to either the conceptual approach or empirical investigation would be welcomed.

References:


How Fundamental is Professional Identity?

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A not unreasonable response to the question in my title is to resist it, to ask, ‘How fundamental is professional identity compared to what?’ Professions are seen variously as leading the way in a new rational division of labour (Perkin, 1989), as beleaguered and endangered (Gleeson & Knights, 2006), in danger of eclipse (Ball, 2005), or recovering (Stevens, 2001), as indeed fundamental to the functioning of late-modern global society. What should we here at OIL-4 compare professional identity to? How important is it? Well, there are several different sorts of answers to these questions.

Hang on a minute: isn’t ‘fundamental’ a red-flag word?

My rhetorical stance in the question I pose for consideration was picked up by both reviewers. One asked, ‘Presumably some kind of foundationalist epistemology would be implied here if the term ‘fundamental’ is being used.’ The other reviewer says, ‘it is not clear how far the question is worth developing in its current form: as given, the question implies a form of essentialism; if so, this needs to be argued for or to be situated more clearly in terms of alternatives.’

The claim is not intended to be justified. Posing the question in this form simply attempts to enter into the conversational spirit the organisers are aiming for. Indeed I agree with the reviewer that posing the title question in this ways does invite overstating the case of asserting what professional is or could be claimed to be. It is a dialogic tease to draw out/ invite possible essentialising responses, whether of (1) the ‘common sense,’ or ‘intelligent people know’ kind; (2) the kind that professionals and professional groups themselves regularly propose; (3) the kind implicit in functionalist theory (and sometimes structuralist and systems approaches) in the social sciences; or (4) the kind that managers and organisations may wish to impose by authority about ‘what is really going on.’ All these are essentialising discourses in one way or another, build on the belief that one can, at least in principle, finally and clearly define or get the essence of a phenomenon.

One reviewer made a valuable point that ‘wording the question a little differently as fundamental to whom might steer away from the pitfalls of essentialism. I agree. That usefully adds to the challenge of the title question I had already inserted in the opening paragraph: ‘How fundamental is professional identity compared to what?’ (original bolded). Thus in the first line of the paper I am invigilating the question itself. ‘Fundamental to whom?’ would enhance that indeed, and even more might be achieved by utilising the full set of questions: what, who, when, where, why and how? My question, the reviewers’ points, and these other questions all challenge the adequacy of the tendentiously posed title question.

Yes, the term ‘fundamental’ does invite the overcommitment of a ‘foundationalist epistemology.’ The reviewers are right to be sensitive to the use of that term. I oppose each one of the six subsequent answers as fully satisfactory explanations or
models of professional identity, in the same way that social critique often tackles them elsewhere. By setting such an approach up, however, the aim is to allow myself an opportunity to flush them out in at least several forms, to start to explore how the partial truth that each offers works, while recognising their limitations. There is obviously not enough space in such a paper to climb into the overarching weakness of each of these areas of answer. The paper sets itself a very provisional, exploratory goal to ‘go wide’ to get these ideas and half-ideas on the table. My goal is not to discuss every topic/example mentioned, but to use these as exemplifying issues within the widely and often loosely used concept of professional identity.

Each of the six sections starts with a parrying counter question that is precisely doing this job of challenging the unsatisfactoriness of the paper’s title question. Thus each section looks for some answer that can meet this ‘wedge’ or ‘slice’ of what the big question might be asking; but it can’t be fully or finally ‘fundamental’, without having to look further, because five further serious alternative contenders are canvassed right here (without exhausting the options by any means). None, therefore, can be the ‘essential’ answer to what professional identity ‘really’ and ‘fundamentally’ is.

In fact, the six places the paper looks to find fundamental professional identity do the task of setting out how rich and complex the concept is. This is not a critique of the concept, but setting a trail of where critique will need to go, and what it will need to deal with. The best theory always connects with the empirical world and the ‘ordinary’ answers to the ‘real world’ that are partial or not satisfactory; and only subsequently shows how these explanations work, how they are limited in certain respects, and how the bigger question might be answered in better ways.

Let’s return to the six candidate answers to the title question, and start with an answer that is closest to current definitional conventions at least within sociology:

1. **How fundamental is professional identity compared to social theory?**

Sociologist Costello (2005) in speaking of a ‘professional identity crisis’ comments:

> While the concept of identity is currently well received in academia, the related concept of role is in disfavour. The concept of role is typically criticized because roles have been reified by some theorists – that is, treated as if they have an objective existence outside people’s heads. Role theorists have also been criticised for treating roles as monolithic constructs, as if each social group did not hold different concepts of what it means to fulfil, for example the masculine role. While I agree with these criticisms, I believe it is counterproductive to throw the baby out with the bathwater and reject the concept of the role. A man does not develop a masculine identity in a vacuum but in relation to larger social understandings of what it is to be a man: the masculine role as understood in the family, his ethnic culture, his generational cohort, the larger popular culture and so on. This is socialisation: the internalization of roles as identity. If we dispense with the concept of role, we are left with a socially unanchored conception of identity. (2005, p. 236)
Costello goes on in her study of elite US law and social work schools to develop the idea of *identity dissonance* to explain the different impact on otherwise equally outstanding students when they are not members of the elite socioeconomic, racial and gender groups in society. She elaborates on how identity dissonance may be experienced *positively* or *negatively* as students adopt their professional selves. Professional identity is ‘patchily’ theorised by social theorists, while more abstract concepts such as expertise and knowledge are well canvassed. However, professionals in their many occupational and other identities are the embodiment of the formal rational logic of modern society about which Weber (1947/1997) spoke.

Guichard and Lenz (2005) draw on career theory (they admit it is not always how career coaches and practitioners look at clients’ needs), outlining a ‘self-construction model’ describing how (1) each society makes an *identity offer* of various social categories such as religion, gender and profession; (2) individuals use interactions and conversations to construct *identity frames* that ‘organize their conceptions of others and construct themselves,’ using similar categories like religion, gender and occupation; which (3) grounds ‘others’ perceptions and self-orientation in *identity forms* as well as *subjective* identity forms; leading to (4) tensions between simple reproduction of internalised behaviours and *reflexive self-anticipation* as the engine of self-construction. I am only in the early stages of appropriating these insights, but note them here as conceptual aids to further developing these questions.

2. How fundamental is professional identity compared to organisational identity?

Well, there is evidence both ways: on the one hand, some argue that professionals continue, notwithstanding the gainsayers, to have a distinctive voice and contribution to make in organisational settings; that is, professional identity is fundamental. On the other hand, comments about the managerialist sense of prerogative conflicts heavily with professional judgement and best practice decisions; that is, professional identity is not fundamental. Is the first a claim for special privilege in a day and age when expertise comes in many shapes and sizes? Is the second part of the unhappy convergence of late-modernity, the commercialisation or commodification of so much of society?

A local example of the first might be the Wellington DHB hospital services where regularly voiced complaints of evisceration of clinical performance by ever-changing policy innovations, managerial cost control, a culture of blame and dislike between managers and workforce, politically driven compliance and policy regimes. Some argue that if it weren’t for the medical staff, doctors, nurses and others, the place would and nearly is falling apart. It was interesting at CMS5 in Manchester a few months ago to hear about alternative ways in the Netherlands and Denmark in which management and medical personnel (doctors and nurses and others) jointly set goals and strategies compared to anglo-medical modes of operating. Given New Zealand’s similarity to the latter, there are local implications in these alternatives.

A local example of the second might be the role of doctors within ACC: internal company doctors tearing apart the medical assessments of the external medical experts, disregarding specialist roles or other signs of expertise; and the improper Review Boards a scandal on anyone’s terms (recently somewhat modified). Or to take another local example: what about the rate of churn in government departments? When is the organisation wrong, and when the civil servant? What destruction to
identify here? The term professional is here being applied to analysts, senior analysts and others not just traditional professional groups.

We are well beyond the 1960’s debate about whether organisations and professions are compatible (Scott, 1966); professions and organisations today are inextricably interwoven. However, professions themselves, would-be professional groups, theorists too (Freidson, 2001), and even governments wanting to exercise surveillance regimes, for example, the New Zealand 2003 Social Workers Registration Act (whether or not these are appropriate models), all continue to raise questions about professional identity, and makes distinctions from solely organisational identity.

3. How fundamental is professional identity compared to Kiwi Lifestyle

A repeated criticism of New Zealand business people is that they make a few (million) quid and then want to settle back; the glorious American passion of taking a medium size business to full corporate scale does not seem to regularly happen. The answer can be presumed to lie somewhere between the truth of a different cultural style or mind-set granting some truth to such propositions, and the differences in scale of New Zealand’s small society compared to the behemoths of world economy.

Was it Roy’s paper at OIL_3 (Jacques, 2007) that talked about the imposition of non-New Zealand cultural types derived from overseas textbooks, yet the countervailing argument that the economics of production run (and hence more complex educational offering) make a bigger and better value teaching item for management teachers? Perhaps rather than grieve - on either side depending on your values or beliefs - we might see a paradox or at least a conflicted truth in this identity. Do you think young New Zealanders would echo Leicht and Fennel’s (2001) remark that ‘Most Americans who go to college eventually want a managerial or professional job.’?

There is another take on localising professional identity that has less to do with organisations, regardless of the person’s paid work incumbency in an organisation of size or not: This is the carefulness often seen in Kiwis avoiding pretension in identifying one’s status as professional, especially in the classic professional roles. Certainly this is not true of everybody, but I have observed great efforts made at social events by people avoiding naming and hence socialising on the basis of their professional identity. I would be interested in comments how you see it in NZ, US, UK and elsewhere. The German academic notion of being ‘herr’ and ‘doctor’ and ‘engineer’ and possibly some further social ranking title as appellations of professional identity is a kind of formalism of a different order.

4. How fundamental is professional identity compared to socioeconomic status?

The previous point relates of course to the general question of socio-economic status that professional identity provides, to which I now turn. I was trying to keep the topic related to the New Zealand environment. Let me suggest a ways to connect socioeconomic directly to the New Zealand setting: perhaps more than any other so-called developed or Anglo-phone society professionals in New Zealand occupy the top niche in the social order. We have no sizable landed gentry (post Seddon), nor a European aristocracy, nor Pilgrim genealogies, nor a military-industrial complex such as the United States. The civil service, professions and related managerial-professionals of business comprise our social ‘better half,’ in terms of income and
also as the ‘ceiling’ reference group reflecting the relatively egalitarian nature, wittingly or unwittingly of this country. Professional identity, then, is fundamental to a certain kind of New Zealand ethos. At the same time, in this country and elsewhere, the notion of professional is becoming generic (Burns, 2006b) in ways inconceivable at mid-century and having little to do with traditional ideas of expertise or social trustee responsibility (Brint, 1994).

I am involved in work at present looking at professional career transitions, especially why some professionally qualified and practicing people would retrain at mid-career to become lawyers. As I look through the literature I can see numerous examples of people leaving business or law to do something ‘more meaningful’ with their lives – teaching and social work are not uncommon transitions. But for some the shift is into law. The purpose of the research is to find out what ‘vocabularies of motive’ (Mills, 1940) drive or enable them to change professional identity so significantly; what mix of income and status or meaning and interest provide the impetus?

5. How fundamental is professional identity compared to not having it?
A counter-question that can offer interrogation of the title question is the simple reversal: a test of its significance is the control group situation of its absence. While we may culturally go carefully in advertising our professional identity - and this may well be changing - lack of professional identity and hence status, respect or prestige can have substantial effects in who we are, how we are listened to, and what persuasive capacity we have. It is sometimes said that New Zealanders are not always good at responding to authority: there is deference, but also a cringe element, in relation to professional, organisational and political authority. We, paradoxically again, both follow ‘doctor’s orders’, do ‘what the boss says,’ but we also can get pretty angry at what is thought to be inapt use of otherwise legitimate power and managerial authority. Desire for but also objection to the ‘nanny state’ is perhaps the analogue on a political and cultural level.

Professional hierarchies can be seen in everyday events: (1) an information question of my own: you probably know how doctors, lawyers and accountants are often the chairmen (sic) of school boards in New Zealand – is that the same in other countries, or is the pattern different? (2) In reference to a land-based business I used to own, I regularly ‘practiced’ with the professional identity interface: when I visited my accountant I wore a tie; my view was that the content of our discussions needed to be conducted with me on an equal footing; (3) first day of classes I sometimes wear a tie – I’ve heard of others doing the same – before relaxing into less formal manner; (4) How do you dress ‘up’ for job interviews: what are the implicit professional hierarchies inscribed in our culture you are responding to by doing that? What cultural discourses create the identity offer?

6. How fundamental compared to other professional identities?
Nowadays the description ‘professional manager’ establishes professional identity, where once manager was seen as the antithesis or at least contrast to professional identity. That managers generally have tertiary education today, and also changing cultural definitions of profession, professional and professionalism, all contribute to ‘managerial-professional’ becoming a category of equivalence. This is despite the managerialist impact on organisational change in recent decades. Perhaps a New
Zealand perspective on this is that earlier eminence of professional practitioners was not balanced by an attention to the functions of managing complex entities, so the sense of offence and imposition of change processes in recent decades has been all the greater (and combined with the New Zealand habitus I mentioned before of not always been good in responding to authority).

But there are other ways that a sense of professional identity is more complex today. While I may have more qualifications than my parents’ generation that ‘prove’ my professionalism, non-formally defined professional ability has its own kind of powerful ethos of competence. I am challenged every day by people of both genders, and white and non-white ethnicities, both in and not in the paid workforce, who exhibit that ‘natural professionalism’ or quality. Is that not something to aspire to, beyond formal rationalism and structural-legal definition? (Remember the old saw - Do you have a certificate that proves you are sane?)

Another way in which we exist within multiple professional identities is through our partners or spouse (and wider community of family and friends). The true story I heard ten years ago of an orchestra member constantly letting drop that her husband the doctor…, stripped of its masculinist connotations, can be read today more generally. Do dual careers provide an average professional identity? How do they weight each other, or otherwise interact? What do additional professional capacities, labels and skills that we add through life do to professional identity?

Looking Towards Theory

One reviewer said ‘It would be useful to have a bit of a tighter focus for the OIL session.’ And, ‘I would like to see some more explicit discussion of the theoretical issues at stake in framing the concept of ‘identity.’’ Also, wants ‘critical perspectives on professional identity (however the writer might define ‘critical’).’

I have written quite a bit recently about theoretical issues in studying professions (e.g. Burns, 2006a; Burns, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b). The purpose here was not to duplicate that material, but extend it by casting a wide net around the sometimes amorphous terminology of identity and professional identity. I appreciate that is not the same as bringing the present possible audience up to speed on those points, but one has to make some assumptions about audience interests/understanding, and in practical terms for this event choose a primary goal for the paper’s focus.

The stance I feel best captures what is happening to professions and professional work in contemporary Western and global society is a post-professional approach. Some of the writing cited above delves into that, although there is much yet to be written that draws this into a fully extensive and coherent form. Out of this flow many specific areas of theoretical contestation and reframing, such as the issue of professions and professionalism as a binarising institutional form and discourse in modern society. There are some suggestions that beyond this, even, a ‘new’ professionalism is emerging today (e.g. Dahan, 2007; Jones & Green, 2006; Sommerlad, 2007)
One observation I can make, for example, is the way identity is often related to identity politics and the sense of pride, ownership, empowering or self-naming programs of different – especially marginalised – groups. There is a translation needed if such language in the form of professional identity is going to be applied to or claimed by professionals. This is because professionals, and the organisations with which they/we are so frequently involved, inhabit for the most part the privileged parts of contemporary society.

Appropriating the language of those with less capacity and agency by those with the most is problematic to say the least. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) pointedly states: ‘Postmodernism neither gave African-American women license to decenter the authority of privileged White males nor planted the idea to do so. Rather, postmodernism provides powerful analytical tools and…’ This sort of issue is what I am alluding to in the first bullet points about binary theory in the final section of the paper.

In connection to the New Zealand material, and theorising it, I do want to mention here a new book called *Southern Theory* by Raewyn Connell (2007). Connell (2007) talks about modern general social theory ‘and its hidden assumptions’ meaning northern assumptions; that is, American and Western European ideas and discourses as the economic and political centres of the twentieth century. Connell summarises what she sees as the ‘northerness of general theory’. She says (2007, p. 44), ‘the consequences of metropolitan geo-political location can be seen, I suggest, in four characteristic textual moves: the claim of universality; reading from the centre; gestures of exclusion; and grand erasure.’ And then expands on each of these. The example that sticks in my mind the most is her comment that Bourdieu, perhaps freest of the well-known French social theorists from many of the implications of post-structural controversy, was writing *The Practice of Logic* in the midst of the Algerian colonial war – ignoring an immense fact you would not know occurred from just reading that book.

I think Connell’s work bears on the distinctively New Zealand issues facing OIL, and other social theory groupings, but it gives a broad theoretical way of framing so we don’t have to over-assert the New Zealand things (see my point about Roy Jacques’s paper). Only as professions and professionalism, and organisations are placed within such a wide yet locally nuanced framing, will the kind of enterprise we are engaged in reach to a new level. This is because she is not merely (1) distinguishing us from the northern centres; (2) nor simply appropriating the language of Foucault, Derrida, Habermas, Giddens or whomever; (3) defending us in a binarised form from the centres (since we’re in fact implicated in them as well as marginalised by them). She is doing all of these and providing us with a platform on which to stand and see for ourselves: we use northern theory but we also critique it; and it is repositioned for us in a unique way across several nations – southern ways.

The last paragraph in the final section below gives a condensed summary of a body of reflection on theoretical implications that I am happy to expand on or which may be useful in some parts of the discussion.
Finally
One man who changed from being a doctor to business via an MBA, found things very different (Gwyther, 2002):

It was a tricky move to give up a true ‘vocation’ in one of the caring professions and turn to Mammon. … Certainly, some people tried to make me feel guilty, but four years of 120-hour weeks as a junior doctor was defence against that. What I felt was not guilt but loss. That job had been my identity, and for quite a while I felt disorientated. I was a doctor to myself and those around me. I missed other doctors around me - their culture, their humour and the way they communicate with just a raised eyebrow. Now my job isn’t my identity and never will be again.

Whether the shift is from caring profession to commercial profession or the other way round, questions wider than just occupational identity continue to crop up. Not just professional role, but the sense of meaning, and who you are. Identity and colleagueship can be changed, lost, have major impact. As we theorise management and organisational functioning, do we see articulations of identity which either encourage change, competence and stability or inhibit it, or the ingredients of professional identity in trade-off and compromise? Ball’s (2005) term of concern for adverse managerialist demand on educators was professional ‘depthlessness.’ In the case of career transition, how does a sense of identity as a person and a professional seem now, compared to before? Is this a better identity to have? Is it more respectable, valuable? …In what way is the transition preferable? Can I pose this in terms of us - is your sense of professional identity a trade-off, or does it complement your on-coming self?

I have not expanded on the examples much since the first submission, though I’m in agreement with the reviewers’ comments doing this might help focus discussion; this is simply to forgo adding further length to the paper. I am hopeful that participants will have pressing and familiar instances of identity formation, functioning and contestation that both contribute to and reflect professional identity discourses.

Two themes I have not explored here but I want to just note them so I do not lose them: (1) Does the personal wider social matrix in which we move socially form an exclusion around us, or is it inclusive - do cultural and our own identity forms cross between professional and non-professional identities; do we use professional identity as a useful bridge to others? (2) The relationship between professional identity and professional accountability is a subject I log here, having not explored it but sure it is an important aspect whether in blame and surveillance regimes, or whether giving expression to the very old-fashioned and admirable aspirations and intents of care, benefit and contribution to clients, organisation and society.

In trying to sharpen my understanding of professional identity, a number of refinements and useful specifications begin to appear based on the politics of contested identity emerging over several decades as the ‘truths’ of modern organisational and professional narratives are challenged (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991). I am listing here:

• ‘Normality’ and ‘normal’ professionalism often creates marginalised identity.
• The logical opposite of professional is not ‘lay’ (which I always put in quotation marks), but non-professional.
• ‘Professional’ is a major binary in modern society, but invisible in ways that
gender, race and disability are not, in creating identity.
• Professional identity dissonance can function both positively and negatively, 
while varying in how it is subjectively experienced.
• Starting points for theorising professional identity include identity offers, 
identity frames, identity forms, and reflexive self-anticipation.
• Implicit professional hierarchies respond to professional structures and 
interests, but are constituted from major and lesser cultural discourses.
• Distinguishing between professional attribution, professional role, and 
professional identity deepens role and identity analysis of professions and 
professionalism.

Whether initiated from a sociological, organisational or personal stance, the concept 
of professional identity offers multiple starting points to engage each of those. 
Drawing on cognitive models, emotion work models or less embodied structural and 
discourse analytic techniques, the concept of professional identity seeks to 
comprehend the complexity of professions and professional performance. Grappling 
with the complexity and multiple-ness of professional identity in social analysis is 
probably the only way to avoid repeating the disfavour with how the concept of role-
Costello’s reference at the start of this paper – is sometimes viewed. Whether 
addressing transition, success or failure; whether in relation to client, state or 
organisation; professional identity appears worth pursuing as a means of asking 
fundamental questions about these central contributors in today’s society.

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Hegemonic Power and Locality

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Abstract
Power in organizations often occurs in the form of hegemonic, that is to say, somewhat invisible and implicit power processes. Therefore we need a well-elaborated theory regarding hegemonic power processes in organizations. However, currently this theory is still in its infancy. Its theoretical insights have been borrowed from well-known, but rather general, concepts which emerged from the political and philosophical debates on power during the seventies. In the past decade, a number of studies have been carried out in regard to hegemonic power processes in various organizational practices, such as gender, team based work, ethnicity and identity, emotions in organizations, and work-life balance. Varying as the results may be, when it comes to the precise functioning of hegemonic power, one result frequently surfaces. Hegemonic power processes are part of local social practices and they are restricted to time and space. Hence, the existing global theory on hegemonic power in organizations would greatly benefit if an in-depth analysis of the relationship between hegemonic power and locality would be made. Such an analysis would then include the concepts ‘situated knowledge’, ‘intersectionality’ and ‘social categories of inequality’.

What is Hegemonic Power in Organizations?
When discussing power in organizations, people usually refer to explicit forms of power, such as one’s use of authority or expertise. However, apart from explicit power processes which are visible and often deliberately carried out, power takes place in the form of so-called hegemonic, that is to say rather invisible and implicit power processes. Hegemonic power processes influence people’s behavior in organizations at least as effectively as the explicit forms of power do. In so doing, they clearly affect the success or failure of an organization.

The concept of hegemonic power in organizations expresses the casualness with which many employees wield power or are subjected to it, without fully being aware of this form of influence (see for example, Burawoy, 1979; Bocock, 1986; Clegg, 1989; Mumby and Stohl, 1991; Barker, 1993; Clegg, Kornberger and Pitsis, 2005). Hegemony unveils power as a seductive process rather than a threat. It is a particular form of influence, one which is not based on the use of violence or coercion, but on the normal and easy ‘way things go’ in the organization. 'It is the sheer taken-for-grantedness of hegemony that yields its full effects - the 'naturalness' of a way of thinking about social, economic, political and ethical issues' (Hamilton in: Bocock, 1986: 8). Hegemonic power processes proceed as (sub)routines, effectively regulating daily work flows and interactions in organizations, without being openly questioned or popping up at the surface. Their implicit functioning effectuates the
gradual acceptance of organizational practices, even when these practices bring about unintentional side effects.

The concept of hegemonic power in organizations is based upon the theoretical insights derived from three distinct lines of thought in social sciences. First, the ‘community power debate’ in political sciences (see for an overview Lukes, 1974) indicates the cloaked and concealed nature of hegemonic power processes. While acting according to the rules and social mores of everyday life and by acting upon the decisions made according to their own free will, employees help to create organizational practices which can even obstruct them from achieving their own interests. People are seldom aware of the power structure underlying these social practices.

Secondly, in the so-called ‘knowledge-power analyses’ (for example, Foucault, 1979; Clegg, 1989; Bourdieu, 1991; Deetz, 1992; Mumby and Stohl, 1991; see also Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips, 2006), we learn more about hegemonic power as an ongoing process of meaning and identity formation. Hegemonic power processes occur in ‘discursive fields’ (Bourdieu, 1991), in which people (re)formulate and (re)consolidate their commonly shared sense of social reality. Meaning formation processes are power processes, which “...structure systems (...) such that certain conceptions of reality are organized into everyday practices, while other possible conceptions are organized out” (Mumby and Stohl, 1991: 314). At the same time, meaning formation reflects a person’s identity formation. This identification implies the acceptance of the implicit and explicit rules and norms related to organizational positions. Similar to meaning formations, identities are open and subject to change.

Finally, power analyses in the ‘labor process approach’ (for example, Burawoy, 1979; Sturdy et al, 1992; see also Fleming and Spicer, 2007) add to the discussion the distinct ways in which consent in organizations is produced. Consensual social relations lead to the acceptance of social inequality in organizations. Barkers’ well-known analysis (1993) describes these concealed processes, through which implicit and explicit rules (‘the rules of the game’) make workers consent to the division of labor and labor conditions and they ensure the employees’ identification with the company goals. These rules, mostly informal, define what is ‘done and not done’ in the organization.

In short, hegemonic power processes are, to a great extent concealed processes of meaning and identity formation. In an ongoing and implicit way, ever changing meaning structures and identities in organizations are temporarily ‘fixed’, channeling the way subjects submit to enhance organizational interests. As a result, both meaning and identity formation processes encourage consent with the dominant organizational view and the acceptance of organizational practices, despite the possible disadvantages of these organizational practices for those involved (Doorewaard and Brouns, 2003).

Research issues
The influence of hegemonic power processes has been the subject of several studies, each focusing on distinct issues. I will introduce them briefly.

Gender Subtext
Hegemonic power appears to be one of the main (sub)routines which create a gender subtext in organizations. The analysis of the gender subtext helps us to understand the persistency of gender inequality. The gender subtext is a four-layered, implicitly functioning and power-based process, which brings about a semblance of equality
between men and women which only exists at the surface. Hegemonic power processes steer, for example, the resigned acceptance of the ‘glass ceiling’, which covers the persistent inequality between the career possibilities of men and women (see for example, Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998a, b). However, these processes operate differently in different situations. The career struggle of women in academia cannot easily be compared with the problems female marketers encounter when they try to advance in the organizational hierarchy.

**Team based work**

Hegemonic power processes channel the entrepreneurial way in which self-managing teams generally deal with organizational dilemmas, via the process of ‘participatory regulation’. As if they were autonomous entrepreneurs, team members use job autonomy to manage their work processes. By doing so, they incorporate their own regulations. Hegemonic power processes implicitly steer participatory regulation in such a way, that the team members are induced to consent to organizational practices, despite the possible disadvantages for the people involved. Teamwork could become an ‘iron cage of bondage’ with invisible bars (Barker, 1993). Team members might become imprisoned in a system of implicit domination (Doorewaard and Brouns, 2003). However, would this hold true similarly for a team at the assembly line and a team of nurses in a local hospital? Research indicates how important it is to include the influence of local practices while analyzing power processes in organizations.

**Emotions in organizations**

Hegemonic power processes also help us to better understand the role of emotions in organizations. Emotions always operate within control and power relations in organizations (Fineman, 2000; Fineman and Sturdy, 1999; Pedersen, 2000; Doorewaard and Benschop, 2003). Sometimes, emotions are explicitly used as control mechanisms (for instance, in the police force and the army). However, an implicit effect of emotions is encountered in all organizations; it is the control of the heart, which concerns control via the system of implicit norms and values of the organizational culture (Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989). It goes within saying that ‘control of the heart’ has a different impact in different cultures, and different types of organizations.

**Ethnicity and identity**

Recent research of Muslim migrant entrepreneurial businesswomen in the Netherlands (see, for example, Essers and Benschop, 2007; Essers, Benschop and Doorewaard, forthcoming; Essers, forthcoming) indicates that hegemonic power processes play a part in the multiple identity formation processes of members of ethnic subgroups who live in a divergent ethnic environment. This study takes issue with the often taken-for-granted universal subjectivity of ‘the’ entrepreneur. It addresses the masculinity and whiteness of the archetypical entrepreneur by studying how a person’s identity is being constructed at the intersection of gender and ethnicity within the context of entrepreneurship (Essers, forthcoming). The researchers need the concept of ‘female ethnicity’ to describe the results of their research. Female ethnicity refers to the various meanings of femininity constructed in different and constantly changing local ethnic contexts and is based on locality.
Work-life balance
Research on work-life balance focuses on the effects of work-life balance (WLB) arrangements on the perceptions of work-life balance of mothers with young children (see for example Mescher, Benschop and Doorewaard, 2007). Despite the official discourse, WLB arrangements appear to be gendered; most of the time childcare is at stake and this is considered to be a women’s issue. The implicit message is also that only those who possess certain qualities and are willing to make sacrifices in terms of career, extra hours and availability are entitled to use WLB arrangements. Despite current legislation in regard to employees’ rights, the use of WLB arrangements is not presented as a right, but as a privilege, granted by the company and people should be grateful for that. These implicit messages are not the result from malevolence or manipulation. These messages, which fit within the prevailing image of WLB practices, simply slip in, because everyone involved accepts and confirms them as a matter of fact. It is hegemonic power in full practice. Nevertheless, it is easy to imagine that these processes operate differently for female doctors and for female consultants, due to different job requirements and different sets of societal norms and values attributed to both professions.

Hegemony and locality
The research projects mentioned above have produced interesting and very useful information. Varying as the results may be, when it comes to the precise functioning of hegemonic power, one result frequently surfaces. Hegemonic power processes are part of local social practices and are restricted to time and space. Time- and space-oriented research of hegemonic power will help us to deal with the unintentional consequences of hegemonic power processes in daily practice. By studying the functioning of hegemonic processes, possibly new ways of coping with the undesired consequences of hegemonic power can be developed. Therefore, the main question I would like to pose in the debate is: What can we say about the locality of hegemonic power?

The existing global theory on hegemonic power in organizations would benefit from an analysis of the relationship between hegemonic power and locality. Such an analysis should include the concepts ‘situated knowledge’, ‘intersectionality’ and ‘the social categories of inequality’.

As ‘knowing’ in general (Blackler 1995), our knowledge of hegemonic processes is always situated knowledge (Haraway, 1991; Blackler, 1995). The concept of situated knowledge accentuates that knowledge is always partial, embodied and responsible (Haraway, 1991) and “emphasizes the significance of people’s interpretations of the contexts within they act (-)” Blackler, 1995: 1041). Hence, situatedness or locality is never a given, but always part of different and constantly changing local contexts.

An analysis of the relationship between hegemony and locality would benefit from the intersectionality theory. The concept of intersectionality was originally developed to understand the oppression of black women through the interaction between race and gender (Crenshaw, 1995). Intersectionality emphasizes the simultaneous and dynamic interaction between different ‘axes’ of identity (Buitelaar, 2006), which entail different power relations and different relations of oppression. The concept of intersectionality helps us to understand identities as being multiple, complex and ambivalent (Essers, Benschop and Doorewaard, forthcoming).

The analysis of hegemonic power implies the analysis of social categories such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, and so on, as being inextricably
interconnected in the production of social practices of inclusion and exclusion. Gender, for example, as a category of social exclusion is a process that is embedded in power relations, which is manifested in social practices and the identities that are formed ‘in the intersections of gender, race, class, sexuality and other categories of social oppression’ (Calás and Smircich 2006: 287).

**Discussion**
During the conference, I would like to discuss the relationship between hegemonic power and locality. More precisely, my questions are the following:

- Does the definition of hegemonic power presented on page 5 provide us with a basis for further research of hegemonic power processes in organizations?
- Do you agree that the theory of hegemonic power in organizations would benefit from a further elaboration of the relationship between hegemonic power and locality?
- Do you consider the concepts ‘situated knowledge’, ‘intersectionality’ and ‘social categories of exclusion’ as core concepts in the analysis of ‘locality’?
- Do you recognize processes of hegemonic power in organizations in Aotearoa/New Zealand? Can you give examples?
- Which social categories of inequality (gender, age, class, status, ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality, and so on) would appear to be most influential when analyzing local hegemonic power processes in organizations in Aotearoa/New Zealand? Can you give examples?

**Literature references**


Managing Local Mental Health Care: The Dunedin Case

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I work full-time as a psychotherapist in Dunedin. Being an insider to the local mental health care system has provoked this paper because of the intricacies and problems involved in such a small centre.

What follows is somewhat speculative, but is an attempt to capture something of the tensions peculiar to city mental health care systems, using Dunedin as a case. Key to this is the notion of localism which, although it is not much discussed by practitioners, underpins the networks of care, the professional and occupational boundaries of practice, and the institutions that offer different kinds of mental health provision. In brief, this constitutes the organization of urban mental health care and prompts questions about some of the critical organizational issues that arise from its local practice.

In what follows, I will draw on several frames of reference in order to help make sense of the notion of locality and local practice. My intention is to use such frames as sensitising devices rather than to impose a fully-fledged conceptual apparatus. Doing so, I suggest, allows me to follow, or trace, local particularities rather than over theorise and risk blurring the nuances of local care.

In this vein, I draw on elements of critical political economy and institutional theory, including, for example, the work of Nikolas Rose on institutions and discourse. I am also alert to debates around settler culture, though I can’t develop these here. I also draw on actor network theory. My interest in this respect is the sociotechnical assemblages that produce specific, local configurations of clinical and therapeutic networks and with the technologies and techniques of mental health care and medication regimes.

In what follows, I will often focus on one institution, Ashburn Hall. In part, this is because it illustrates many of the tensions I want to highlight: amongst them,

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institutional versus market provision; regimes of management versus cultures of care, and psychiatric versus therapeutic practice. In part, because Ashburn’s history runs parallel to Dunedin’s.

The case this paper examines is the current Dunedin mental health care system. Immediately, this raises questions of distinctive local care and the scope of critical examination. Nikolas Rose, for instance, has written on the problem of constructing effective critical accounts of psychiatric and therapeutic discourse. I can only touch on this in a paper of this length.

I will argue Dunedin has a particular form of organization which, while it has obvious similarities to other centres, has features very specific to it. However, these are informed by, and articulated through, the sociotechnical assemblages of psychiatric and therapeutic practice. I will mention two examples by way of illustration.

First, Dunedin has a major therapeutic community, one of very few in the country, in the form of Ashburn Clinic. What makes it distinctive is not its private, charitable trust status (the Richmond Fellowship, existing in other centres but not Dunedin, has similar features) but its longevity. Having celebrated its 125th Anniversary in 2007, Ashburn Clinic pre-dates most mental health care institutions in New Zealand. Like its sister institutions, Seacliff and Cherry Farm, this very antiquity has influenced both the theory and practice of what constitutes humane – and sometimes inhumane - care locally. This has taken place not simply through Ashburn’s forms of clinical treatment, or the Australasian influence of its most famous director, George Medlicott, but through the ties it has created through interchanges with the public health system, through its long-standing training programmes, and through its sustenance of a tightly-knit local psychotherapy community by way of regular meetings, library resources, workshops and other forums. In short, its existence, ‘up the hill’ has influenced the practice and provision of mental health care city-wide in ways that have no parallel elsewhere. This is one form of localism in practice.

Let me add that this localism has a distinctive, historical settler legacy. Dunedin has a strong Scottish Presbyterian and Irish Catholic legacy and its institutions, such as Presbyterian Support Otago, reflect this. Likewise, its initial wealth and early establishment have produced, amongst other things, a powerful medical school, a dominant university and dense life of high cultural activity that runs from Natural History New Zealand to local fashion. These are also articulated in the discourses of care, for instance through the concentration of psychiatric training and the strong psychoanalytic community, primarily centred on Ashburn and through NZAP.

Second, the small size of Dunedin as a city, with its almost village-like atmosphere creates very dense, intersecting, and often centralised set of ties. Dominant in the public system is the Otago District Health Board with secure wards at Wakari, an acute ward in the city, as well as an Emergency Psychiatric Service and an

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Outpatients Group. It also caters for various levels of communal housing and community care through the North and South teams. All of these interact with a diverse variety of voluntary and charitable agencies or groups, from the Schizophrenia Fellowship or AA to the Bipolar Network, PACT, Maori Mental Health and others. Within and across the institutional arrangements are bodies of public and private practitioners: psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, psychotherapists, counsellors and others. Each of these occupations, in turn, is fed by a diversity of training providers, ranging from university and polytechnic courses to psychodrama, gestalt, transactional analysis, psychosynthesis and others. These occupations, themselves, offer a variety of public programmes: they include groups ranging from assertiveness to aid for cancer sufferers, or men’s and women’s groups. In addition, there are specialist mental health services - for example, music therapists available through the local hospice. Some of these arrangements are distinctively local because they are mobilised through the density of networks: this is typical of the speed or specificity with which services can be accessed as well as the difficulty of managing confidentiality issues that require careful and constant role management.

Cross-cutting all this activity, but in ways which bind it, is an entirely different, often invisible, set of frameworks. These, commonly speaking, are imported frameworks. They include the taken-for-granted routines of organizational practice: the institutional facilities, the occupational categories and the bureaucratic regimes that constantly shape the provision of mental health care. These include the routines, for example, which often create the ‘othering’ of distinct groups: Maori and Pacific Islands are the most stark example, but this could readily be extended to a variety of other minority and subcultural groups, too.9

Another set of frameworks are the diagnostic categories which organise and discriminate patterns of mental ill health (notably the DSM IV and ICD-10 manuals) along with the formulation of treatment, clinical management and strategies of medication: in short, the regimes of care.10 Each of these aspects has long, often well-documented histories, both in terms of how categories of ‘madness’ are produced, disputed or managed,11 along with the occupational expertise, power and careers these also carry with them12 (S Larson, Schiz book).

My point here is not to rehearse the extremely complex literature but indicate how it is intrinsic to the local provision of care, because these constitute the ways that

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occupational hierarchies, professional legitimacies and diagnostic languages are employed in and across the dense networks of Dunedin.

In this sense, Dunedin is little different to other centres throughout New Zealand, or within the West generally: after all, this is western care as it is practised locally. Ashburn Clinic, with which I began, is typical. It operates with a mixed model of western care—one that combines a conventional medical hierarchy with the more egalitarian practices of therapeutic community. More specifically, it has a psychiatrist as medical director and an occupational hierarchy that runs from psychiatrists, psychotherapists and nursing down to allied and casual staffing. Simultaneously, it draws on and has imported a specifically English model of therapeutic community which emphasises inclusion, openness, interaction and egalitarianism. Patients, in one model, are diagnosed within various categories of psychotic or neurotic illness—categories which themselves continue to change over time. These, in turn, organize different forms of treatment which, also, have changed over time. Cameron Duder (2007: 121-122) notes, for example, how ECT, a routine and highly medicalised procedure for certain categories of patients at Ashburn, was entirely handed over to the public system at Wakari because of changes in costs, therapeutic expertise and beliefs about its efficacy.

In the other, therapeutic community model, patients are expected to engage as fully as they can, within the limits of their capacities, to care for each other both day to day and through a network of programmes such as ‘buddy’ programmes, welcome groups, canteen or recreation committees, or community teams. Health, in this model, is closer to ‘moral treatment’: it is more holistic and is created interactionally, with the therapeutic community acting as the ‘container’ to hold and manage the dysfunctional relationships that bring patients into the community in the first place.

What becomes distinctively local is how these two models are played off, not only against each other but in the wider and constantly shifting environment of medical care and funding constraints. In the past twenty years, for example, Ashburn has moved from receiving various forms of state funding, and the institutional security inherent in being a part of Otago University to negotiating a market model of corporate, individual or third-party payment. This has reshaped its internal provision of care (eg the expansion of specialist sub-units, such as an Eating Disorders programme, to secure DHB funding and the demise of psychogeriatric care). In turn, this has reshaped its inpatient population, their accompanying psychosocial dynamics and the tension over how therapeutic power is managed in market settings. This too reflects a more widespread move from institutional to community care, for instance in the public sector with the closing of Cherry Farm.

In brief, one of the features of localism, and local care, is the ceaseless adaptation to

14 Duder 2007: 87-89
15 Duder 2007: Appendix 3, Tables 1-3.
17 Duder 2007: 127-129.

shifting institutional arrangements, along with the vagaries of public and private funding. Localism, in this context, becomes a constant negotiation between models, ideologies of care, state regulation, funding mechanisms and institutional patronage.

To limit localism to this, however, is to overlook the specifically cultural components that such arrangements mobilize and influence. Where Ashburn is concerned, these could be summed up in the concepts of identification and affiliation. They are represented, for instance, in the histories of long staff service and the obvious affection, strong ties to community, and shared commitment to the therapeutic community model these evoke. It applies, equally, to patients: it is 'their' institution 19 as symbolized by the artworks, artifacts and structures that adorn the grounds and walls of the institution. All these aspects contribute powerfully to the experience of local community, as something stable and enduring, in the face of the larger, shifting economic and social currents.

Equally, changes at the Clinic impact on the provision of care in the city: for instance, on training programmes, workshops or staff exchanges between the private and public systems. In short, on the networks of care and the complex assemblages of technologies, personnel, patients and clinical repertoires that are constantly being mobilized and reconfigured.

How then, do these conflicts and practices relate to the local mental health care provision within Dunedin? Some brief observations can illustrate this. They are implicit, for instance, in the distribution, management and narratives of therapeutic care. Key, in this respect, is funding in order to access therapy, and this is related to occupational specialization. Dunedin’s income distribution is both lower and, by virtue of its high student population, skewed differently to other cities. 20 This affects access to care and its distribution: therapists routinely charge 20-25% less than Auckland counterparts, for instance. Low incomes locally also limit attendance, unless funded through the State by ACC, DSW or other agencies. Access to Ashburn inpatient care, currently averaging $1600 per week, is limited either to the very wealthy or by access through diagnostic category, such as personality disorder, which can attract state funding through local DHBs.

Coupled to this distribution is the eclectic, uneven provision of training, and rivalry between different professional groupings. Local therapeutic training, for instance, is limited and often works against intensive specialisation. This results in a distinctively diverse profile of therapeutic practice noted earlier, one that is constantly shifting and realigning according to market opportunities and training availability. Consequently, some forms of care (eg family therapy) are either scarce or are handled by ‘generalist’ practitioners with limited expertise.

Yet, these patterns are also linked to the dense networks of local therapeutic ties that cross-cut professional allegiances. In this respect, Ashburn functions as a central focus that attempts to mediate these complex currents through its workshops, seminars,

19 Note the parallels of identification typified elsewhere by the closure of Hanmer Hospital in the 1990s
training and institutional practice. This allows for the creation of common meeting points and the provisional construction of common narratives and shared therapeutic histories.

To conclude, my argument is that localism in the mental health sector, as illustrated in the Dunedin context, can be traced by following the ceaseless reworking of institutional, occupational and diagnostic repertoires, and cultural identifications. These, in turn, highlight the alternation between local centralising and dispersive impulses shaped and played out within patterns of occupational distribution and market access to care. Localism, on this view, is made rather than found; constantly re-secured rather than discovered.
The Instrument of Virtue:  
The 19th Century Otago Free Church Settlement and the Protestant Ethic.

Morag J. Gray

Abstract
Max Weber’s book, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, has had a significant impact on management and organisation theory. There is an implicit assumption in many texts that Weber’s hypothesis on the development of work patterns in North America is proven and that it applies to all capitalist societies. This project aims to examine if Weber’s idea is valid in another, smaller society, by studying management and work ethic in the Scottish Free Church settlement in nineteenth-century Otago and Southland, New Zealand. There is little literature on management history in New Zealand; most studies of work focus on labour from the point of view of the worker. Likewise, the literature on the foundation of Otago and Southland focuses on the impact the church had in social services, rather than in the lives of church members in business. The approach taken will be historiographic and the presentation, discursive.

Introduction
Max Weber proposed, in his book The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, that European capitalism, particularly as it was expressed in the United States of America, was the result of an ethos that developed from Protestant Christianity. In particular, Calvinism and later, Pietist traditions, fostered the elevation of work as a calling in its own right, rather than as a means of survival (Weber, 1958). Later, the sense of work as a calling from God became divorced from the idea of hard work being a mode of virtuous living. The Calvinist, post-Enlightenment settlement of Scots who came to Otago, like the Pilgrim Fathers in America, brought with them the ideal of setting up a truly godly community. The Scottish settlers were influenced by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers and theologians from both sides of the Atlantic. They were a protesting people; their church grew out of a schism caused by imposed social control of the church. Yet there were limits to their willingness to work hard for long hours, too. The issue of an eight-hour working day arose almost as the settlement began (Collie, 1948). Nonetheless, they achieved much, including, by the turn of the century, industrialisation (Olssen, 1995).

Literature Review
Weber observed that Protestant businessmen appeared to be more successful, that is, made more money, than Catholics. (He also noted that Jews were more successful than either.) He linked Protestant mercantile success to a change in outlook dating from the Reformation, when Martin Luther redefined work as a calling from God, rather than Adam’s curse. John Calvin reinforced and refined Luther’s idea of calling, emphasising that in exercising one’s calling to the best of one’s ability was to glorify God. Thus, work became a means of demonstrating one’s salvation. The corollary to this is that work becomes a virtue, and material success is evidence of God’s blessing for virtuous living. Conversely, poverty is shameful, and evidence of sin (Rodgers, 1978). Weber argues that in the United States of America this attitude became disconnected from its religious roots through the influence of humanist thinkers such
as Benjamin Franklin. The sense of salvation vanished, but the essence of hard work and material gain as signs of virtue remained.

Weber’s book was published initially in 1901. It was not translated into English until the 1930. Talcott Parsons, the translator, pointed out in the preface to the second edition, that “…there was a nearly complete dissociation, at least in the English-speaking world, between the reputation of Weber as the author of the Protestant Ethic and as the author of comparative studies in the sociology of religion and of the relations of economy and society” (Weber, 1958, p. xiii). This may explain why The Protestant Ethic was seized upon as a paradigm of North American work practices. It is often referred to as “the Protestant work ethic.” The assumption that a Protestant ethic existed, and was different from the Catholic world-view, underpinned much subsequent research, including Tropman’s The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of Community (Tropman, 2002). Tropman uses Weber’s thesis to support his argument that a thriving, community-minded Catholic ethic exists alongside North America’s dominant Protestant ethic. In contrast to the individualistic, hard-working, thrifty, sometimes hardhearted Protestant worker, those who live by the Catholic ethic, while still hard-working, are caring and concerned for the welfare of the community as a whole. Under the Catholic ethic, there is no shame in poverty. Tropman is not alone in holding the view that other ethics, particularly work ethics, exist. Wren (2005), quotes Lenski as saying that sufficient empirical evidence exists to back Weber’s thesis. Arslan (2001) lists 96 authors who have published research on, or related to, the Protestant work ethic. His study compares the work ethic of English Protestant, Irish Catholic and Turkish Muslim managers. (Just as an aside, the Muslim managers came out as having the strongest work ethic, and the Protestants came second (Arslan, 2001).) Blackburn (1997) studied Protestant churches in Australia at the end of the nineteenth century for evidence of Weber’s Protestant ethic. He concluded:

… the work ethic of modern capitalism, as espoused by the Australian mercantile elite, was the result of the secularization of the work ethic of Protestantism, a process in which the religious content of the moral principle was removed. (Blackburn, 1997, p. 193)

He sees Australian businessmen as holding a moral code without the sanction of religion. Gerde, Goldsby and Shepard (2007) talk about a doctrine of “harmony of interests” that allowed morally dubious business decisions to be made so long as they could be reconciled with the perpetrator’s sense of promoting a wider good. They suggest that the shift from the religious roots of the Protestant (work) ethic occurred in seventeenth-century North America, furthered by the rational philosophies propounded by eighteenth-century philosophers, of whom Benjamin Franklin was only one (Gerde, Goldsby, & Shepard).

Gerde et. al. (2007) also note the ubiquity of rational thought as a basis for management theory. Management textbooks unthinkingly promote rational thought, and the pursuit of such work virtues as hard work, loyalty and long hours (Robbins, Bergman, Stagg, & Coulter, 2005; Robbins & Barnwell, 2006). This is perhaps a shadow of the scientific management principles advanced in the early twentieth century. However, scientific management and its successors were products of the changes in the nature of work that occurred in North America during the second half of the nineteenth century, with the advent of widespread industrialisation. The work ethic, as Benjamin Franklin would have understood it, was a pre-industrial construct.
…work ethic rested on set of premises about common, everyday work of men that made sense, by and large, in the North of 1850. Work was an outlet for self-expression, a way to impress something of oneself on the material world. Work was a means to independence and self-advancement. In a society in which tasks seemed to press from all sides, in which there was an economy to build and the wolf to be kept from the door, even the most onerous drudgery carried the sanctity of contributing to the common good. (Rodgers, 1978, p. 125).

Industrialisation changed the way Americans worked. Workers now sold their labour to factory owners, instead of working for themselves. Tensions arose, as workers sought to retain a sense of independence and employers tried to ensure workers worked all the hours they were paid for (Applebaum, 1998; Rodgers, 1978). It also changed the way they lived; no longer did they produce for themselves, own their own tools or work at home (Jacques, 1996).

A study of the Free Church settlement of Otago should show evidence of a Protestant ethic, including attitudes to work. Scotland became a Protestant nation in the sixteenth century. John Knox, a pupil of Calvin’s at Geneva, imported Calvin’s ideas to Scotland and attempted to replicate “the republican theocracy of Geneva” (Elder, 1940, p. 5). During the ensuing two centuries the Scots Presbyterians fought, literally, to maintain their identity, their faith and remain free from both Catholicism and Episcopalianism. The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843, when the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, walked out in protest against legislation that forced parishes to take ministers nominated by local persons of influence. 473 (out of 1203) ministers walked out with him (Cross, 1957). The Rev. Thomas Burns, one of the ministers who followed Chalmers, formed an association with likeminded individuals with the aim of founding a Free Church settlement in New Zealand. In 1848 the first ships arrived at Otago. Burns’ idea of a theocratic settlement never entirely materialised, but the Otago settlers were predominantly Scottish, with a sprinkling of English and Irish. Matheson (1990) claims they were middle class; this is disputed elsewhere:

The great advantages held out by the Association attracted not a few who had families for whom they wished freer scope than their native land afforded, … They also attracted young people – farm-servants and tradesmen – who were…prevented from attaining their very modest aspirations by the galling restraints of insufficient work and poor pay… (Chisholm, 1898, pp. 40,41).

Comparisons with the American colonists were made before the first ships set sail, and a wish to emulate the achievements, spiritual and material, of the Pilgrim Fathers, expressed (Chisholm, 1898). The impression created is one of hard-working, devout, serious-minded men and women (Collie, 1948; Matheson, 1990). The Presbyterian churches in Otago and Southland remained aloof from the Presbyterian churches of New Zealand until 1901.

In studying the impact of religion and particularly Christianity, on New Zealand society, historians, including church historians, have focussed on the obvious, public areas of social work and morality campaigns. The ethos of the Free Church, and of its settlers in Otago, was broader in outlook: “…that society itself, and not merely the
church, should be godly.” (McKean, 1993, p. 2). One would expect, therefore, that such godliness extended to business dealings. Matheson (1990) hints as much:

Work and family were the two poles around which everything rotated. Religion hallowed both, the business and commercial enterprise of the 'Scotch clique' in Auckland as much as the professional skills of lawyer and teacher or the hard graft of the farmer. Burns combined in his own person the skills of the farmer and the pastor. James Macandrew, the liveliest entrepreneur in early Otago, explicitly drew the connection between commerce and Christianity and so did Captain Cargill.

(Matheson, 1990, p. 33)

In fact, New Zealand has something of a reputation for godlessness rather than godliness. Edward Gibbon Wakefield lamented the lack of religion in the colonies, including New Zealand, as early as 1849. He did, however, commend the Scottish church as “useful and respectable,” outdone only by the Wesleyan Methodists, who, strictly speaking were a sect, rather than a proper church (Davidson & Lineham, 1995). McKean (1993) points to a rapid dissociation from the initial concept of a theocracy. Collie goes further:

We shall see in following years only too much evidence of religious decay and of sanctity being submerged in success. (Collie, 1948, p. 18)

Otherwise, religion and religious observance is regarded as a moral code (Olssen, 1995). Olssen goes on to note that in Caversham (South Dunedin) in the period 1880-1920 only skilled and professional men attended church. Davidson and Lineham (1995) claim church attendance was low, and that fervour for moral causes did not necessarily equate with a religious outlook. More recently, Stenhouse (2006) has challenged the secular interpretation of New Zealand’s history. He suggests that historians have clung on to outmoded theories of the decline of religiosity in Britain and Ireland. He argues that religious expression and its impact on life are wider than mere church attendance and that while many unskilled workers may not have attended church, their wives and children did (Stenhouse, 2006).

A further aspect to consider is whether or not the population of Otago and Southland is as distinctive as it appears to be. In 1861, approximately 40% of the New Zealand population answered the census as Calvinists or Non-conformist – that is, other than Anglican-Protestants. By 1901 this had risen to 45% (Davidson & Lineham, 1995). This is a large minority of people whose religious ideas (whether or not they attended church) were shaped by Calvinist and Pietist traditions, not only in Scotland, but in Protestant Ireland, England and Wales. Petrie (1998) found a work ethic among European New Zealanders that contrasted with the work ethic of the Maori. She links that ethic to the Protestant background of many New Zealanders:

Historiography suggests that New Zealanders have been unusually strong adherents of this ideology. It has been suggested that this resulted from working and middle class unity 'around a shared political culture and set of interests' within which lower middle-class values of respectability, hard work and thrift, imported from nineteenth-century Britain, were reinforced through the social and sectarian organisations of small-town society (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). (Petrie, 1998).
If there is evidence of a work ethic that is related to Calvinist Protestantism in Otago and Southland, it would be worth investigating to see if a similar study will have similar findings.

**Methods**

Some may question the usefulness of history and its relevance to management theory. However:

History attempts to explain, not necessarily to predict. Historiography does not aspire to universal validity and generalizability. (Carson & Carson, p. 38)

Because little work has been done on the impact of religion on New Zealand business, particularly from an historical point of view, the most appropriate approach to this project is historiographic. Historiography acknowledges that the conclusions drawn are not necessarily “right”. The selection and combination of data and the biases the researcher brings to the project all have an acknowledged influence on the research. The reader, too, brings an interpretation to findings that the researcher cannot control. Historiography does not claim, or should not claim to, give the definitive answer. What it should do is inform, and promote further questioning (Scott, 1996).

The Protestant ethic is an idea, and the aim of this research will be to see if Weber’s idea applies to Calvinist Protestants in New Zealand. A study such as this is necessarily local in scope. Further development of the research may include determining if the findings for Otago and Southland can be generalised to other parts of New Zealand, or whether Otago and Southland are indeed distinct, shaped by their past.

**Ethical Considerations**

It is not anticipated that this project will contravene the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct. No live interviews will be conducted. All due care will be taken to ensure that any findings will be presented with sensitivity to the sensibilities of any groups who may find some findings offensive, such as descendants of settlers. As the Presbyterian Church was a settler church, and there was no specific Maori focus in the church during this time period, compliance with Treaty of Waitangi principles and consultation with hapu and iwi should not be a problem.

**Conclusion**

The purpose of this research will be to relate the history of New Zealand and one group of its settlers, their work ethic and how the New Zealand experience relates to a theory that was developed elsewhere about another society. The Otago Free Church settlement formed a deliberate Protestant community. Their ideas were shaped by almost three centuries of writing, thinking, preaching and struggling to maintain their sense of self against Popery and Bishops. Chisholm (1898) reminds us, however, that most were seeking to provide a better standard of life for themselves and their children.

And it must not be forgotten that what was accomplished in the material progress of the province in the first forty or fifty years of its history is in itself
a striking testimony to the brave and unsparing toil of its first settlers. (Collie, 1948, p. 18)

A study on this community will not only enrich our understanding of Weber’s Protestant ethic and how relevant it is to other communities beyond the United States of America, it should help understand the ethic that underpins the way New Zealanders think about and practise work today.

References:


Introduction

The call for papers for this symposium asks how our location in specific cultural, economic, geographic, historical, identity, institutional or social contexts within Aotearoa/New Zealand influences the questions that we are prompted to ask about organisation. In 2007, I have been working on a proposal for a Marsden Fast Start grant titled “What counts as healthy food: Balancing the tensions between private and public agendas.” The OIL IV symposium encourages me to reflect on why I have chosen this research topic, why I believe this proposal is important in a New Zealand context, and specifically to consider how the Aotearoa/New Zealand context might influence ideas about what counts as healthy food in unique ways. The grant proposal which has triggered this reflective OIL paper, and the discussion in this paper itself, are grounded within the broad theoretical framework of organisational communication, and the premise that a discursive approach to considerations of ‘organisation’ allows exploration of the processes of organising and how organisations are socially constructed. The research question that I plan to develop in this OIL paper is thus: How might the Aotearoa/New Zealand context influence ideas about what counts as healthy food in unique ways?

Background

The project aims to develop new understandings of how organisations balance tensions among diverse agendas, as they engage with and respond to controversial public issues. Specifically, it focuses on how food-producing organisations negotiate increasing concerns about the social, economic, and health consequences associated with obesity and current patterns of western food consumption. Understanding how these issues have arisen, and how they may best be addressed is difficult, given the confusing array of complex, often conflicting, data that cites the benefits and risks of particular food elements in health management. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there are competing calls for individual responsibility for healthy food choices and for increased legislation to manage the regulatory environment in which foods and food supplements are developed and marketed.

Increasingly, food producers are held accountable by governments and publics for the health consequences of both their products and their food production practices; yet, at the same time, they must survive in a highly competitive market environment. Food producers must balance demands that they act in the public interest with their own private operating agendas. Yet, despite increasing calls for corporate social responsibility (Elkington, 2001), little research considers how food-producing organisations negotiate and prioritise these tensions. Do they inevitably modify that public interest or respond to it? Most intriguingly, do they unwittingly create increasingly complex new business and public policy challenges?

Large food-producing organisations wield considerable influence; for example, in funding research about health benefits associated with food elements, in food marketing campaigns, and in lobbying government and regulatory authorities.
Food producers cite the benefits of high-tech ‘functional foods’ enriched in the manufacturing process, and intended to address specific health needs (Fonterra, 2006), or present ‘natural’ foods as a ‘pure’ and wholesome alternative (Comvita, 2006), and this would seem to be advantageous in promoting public health. At the same time, research has expressed concern about the potency of ‘natural’ over-the-counter food supplements, and called for the regulation of herbal and ‘natural’ products (Drew & Myers, 1997). With the blurring of boundaries between foods and medicines, increasingly, foods are defined within a predominantly medical paradigm (Chamberlain, 2004), conceptualising a healthy body in terms of the food needed to fuel it effectively and keep it free from disease. Current western ideas of nutrition are thus grounded in the emergence of expert, biomedical, scientific knowledge that seeks to manage food consumption patterns of populations; as well as a concern for various moral issues associated with food choices (Coveney, 1999). Studies linking food and health have largely focused on the benefits and risks associated with new food technologies (Roberfroid, 2002; Booth, 2001), and on the risk factors for health issues like obesity and heart disease (Chandler, 2006; Dixon, Hinde & Banwell, 2006). At the same time, the rise of neoliberalism (Kelsey, 1997; Simpson, 1994), which has dominated western political and economic discourse for some three decades, advocates market-oriented solutions to economic, political and social problems. The choice of what counts as healthy food is then ostensibly left to consumers, in a context where medical professionals, governments, regulatory authorities and other interest groups define the parameters of complex debate about food and health consumption issues. For example, further studies look at the effectiveness of specific food campaigns (Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2006; Reinaerts, de Nootijer, van de Kar & de Vries, 2006; Taylor, 1996), consumer behaviour (Bogue, Coleman & Sorenson, 2006; Botonaki, Polymeros, Tsakiridou & Mattas, 2006), or specific crises and issues (Adam, 1999; Durham, 2005).

Despite recent attempts to examine the impact of how we rhetorically and discursively construct ideas about food (Chamberlain, 2004; Wilson, Weatherall & Butler, 2004), research has to date thus largely focused at the level of the individual consumer, or at the level of public policy and health management for large populations. While it is clearly important to examine the health outcomes of food consumption practices upon particular individuals and communities, and to consider the impact of, for example, mass media directly upon the healthy food debate, little consideration has been given to how organisations engage with tensions from controversial external public debates and integrate these into their own strategic planning (see, as an exception, Henderson, Weaver & Cheney, 2007).

In treating food-producing organisations as central to understanding of this controversial public issue, this study takes a unique approach. It will catalogue the social meanings related to food consumption patterns negotiated by food-producing organisations as they make sense of the discursive environment and consider the implications of these for wider publics. The study will examine which texts are given legitimacy by organisations as they attempt to define the assumptive ground for their operations. Tensions in this controversial issue may be negotiated in terms of risk (being held publicly accountable for safe food practices; Adam, 1999), economic considerations (the organisation’s own business survival, or larger contribution to the economic health of the nation; Ostry, Shannon, Dubois & Nathoo, 2003), or health management (being held publicly accountable for healthy food practices; Jones, Comfort & Hillier, 2006). The research will examine how these discourses intersect to provide a master frame for food producers’ organisational communication about food
consumption issues, highlight the assumptions made, and indicate a code of relations that this might lead to in organisations’ engagement with multiple stakeholders.

**Theoretical Framework**

This study aims to contribute to existing discursive approaches to organisations (Grant, Hardy, Oswick, Phillips & Putnam, 2004). Increasingly, organisations are theorised as discursive constructions, in recognition that organisational life is founded on discourse and communication (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). Further, scholars have conducted significant work theorising organisational boundaries, recognising that these become increasingly blurred when communication is continuously challenged by multiple stakeholders and a constantly changing communication environment (Cheney & Christensen, 2001), and that organisations may both construct and be constructed by their operating environments (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Heracleous, 2006). At the same time, scholars have developed approaches which focus significantly on the management of organisational tensions both within organisations (Ashcraft, 2001; Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004; Zoller, 2004) and issues that arise between organisations and various interest groups or stakeholders (Murphy & Dee, 1992, 1996). However, scholars have yet to examine organisational boundary issues from the perspective of negotiating discursive tensions. At a theoretical level, this study will shed new light on organisations as discursive constructions, on the links between organisational communication and processes of organising, and the complexity of the organisation-discourse relationship (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004).

**Reflections – the Aotearoa/New Zealand context**

In the following section of this paper, I reflect on the particular cultural, economic, geographic, historical, identity, and institutional contexts which I believe influence how I have framed this research and why I think it is both important and unique. A reflective approach to research recognises that the researcher and the object of study “affect each other mutually and continually in the course of the research process” (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000, p. 39).

**Institutional research contexts**

First, I have a significant personal interest in this grant proposal, which builds on my doctoral thesis examining the positioning of New Zealand food industries regarding the controversial issue of genetic modification. However, this personal interest is also consistent with my affiliation to Waikato Management School, where broader issues of sustainability significantly underpin current research in a wide array of disciplines including economics, accounting, strategy and human resources, as well as management communication. At the level of my local research institution, therefore, I have considerable encouragement to pursue this research which contributes significantly to the School’s research portfolio, and this inevitably influences the development of my research direction; for example, I currently have a university grant to conduct a pilot study for this project.

Second, the current New Zealand government seeks to prioritise research that focuses on developing a sustainable New Zealand economy amidst growing issues surrounding the continuing viability and success of New Zealand primary industries. Questions have been asked in international markets about the sustainability of freighting New Zealand produce to distant markets, and questions have been asked in Aotearoa/New Zealand about the agricultural sector’s contribution to carbon emissions. However, because the New Zealand economy currently depends
significantly on the acceptance of primary produce in international markets, food producer lobby groups in New Zealand still wield considerable political power. My research therefore responds to particular issues in Aotearoa/New Zealand at an institutional level in terms of the economic interaction between government and food-producing organisations.

**Geographic and historical contexts**

Unique historical and geographic contexts underpin the development of food industries in New Zealand—the tradition of dependence on primary industries and involvement in European markets is embedded in New Zealand’s recent colonial past, a legacy of the British pioneers who sought to maintain links with Europe despite New Zealand’s geographic isolation. Yet, increasingly Aotearoa/New Zealand seeks new markets in the Asia Pacific, and in South America, and demographically the population of Aotearoa/New Zealand is becoming more diverse. The changing identity of Aotearoa/New Zealand thus has the potential to impact on the discursive environment surrounding health and food issues.

**Cultural identities**

Internationally, the medical profession expresses increasing concerns about the social and economic consequences of health problems associated with obesity and current patterns of western food consumption, and cites the benefits and risks of particular food elements in health management. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, such food-related health issues appear to be particularly prevalent in indigenous Maori and Pacific Island communities, and have become the focus for much debate about public health; yet, the needs of Maori and Pacific Island peoples are likely to be underrepresented in the research and development agendas of food-producing organisations.

In fact, the organisational positioning of food–producing organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand reflects aspects of an identity that have been created to market New Zealand itself internationally. On the one hand an identity is created for New Zealand as ‘100% Pure’ and food producers focus on developing products positioned as ‘natural’, including fully organic products; although in New Zealand it is the anthropomorphic health benefits of such products that are often highlighted in advertising, rather than the health of the New Zealand environment. On the other hand an identity is increasingly sought for New Zealand as a ‘knowledge economy’—where sophisticated technologies compete successfully in a world economy. Other food-producing organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand are developing sophisticated nutriceuticals or functional foods, like, for example, *Anlene*, and *Flora Pro-Active*, designed to combat specific health problems.

However, Maori have been somewhat resistant to suggestions that traditional Maori health remedies might be commercially developed, and slow to market traditional Maori foods, even within Aotearoa/New Zealand. It seems possible then that New Zealand food-producers are responding to international discourses without paying equal attention to the local environment or to social and cultural contexts.

**Consequences and Implications**

At an empirical level, the research aims to extend our understanding of how organisations engage with controversial public issues. The project will provide case studies of how food-producing organisations negotiate the tensions inherent in balancing demands for public accountability with their own sustainable business agendas. Reflecting on the unique nature of the discursive environment in Aotearoa/New Zealand in relation to issues surrounding what counts as healthy food
is important to ensure that this research has maximum relevance, and opportunities to influence future research and development. It may be of business relevance for major New Zealand food-producing organisations, and social relevance for public health policy as well as food and drug regulation, but, hopefully, will also contribute further theoretical understanding about how organisations as discursive constructions respond to changes in the discursive environment. I look forward to lively discussion about these issues at the OIL symposium.

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What do you mean ‘we’, white man? On whiteness, organisational theory and being Pākehā

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This paper is dedicated to Ruth Frankenberg, a white woman who helped define ‘whiteness studies, and died this year aged 49
I also salute those Māori women who first asked me ‘What do you mean “we”, white girl?’, all those years ago: Ngahuia Te Awekotuku; Donna Awatere; Ripeka Evans

This submission asks: how can the concept of ‘whiteness’ help us localise organisational theory in Aotearoa New Zealand? In particular, it draws on the body of ‘whiteness’ theory to explicitly ‘racialise’ organisational theory.

The possible consequences of asking this research question include the making-visible of the invisibilised ‘whiteness’ at the core of most of what we think of as ‘organisational theory’. This visibility could potentially transform our knowledge practices as well as the topics with which we engage. It inevitably highlights how ‘whiteness’ plays out here as it will differently for every locality. It provides grounds for challenging the reading of European philosophers in to Critical Management Studies as a central and dominant practice of developing the field. It opens up power relations within ‘Critical Management Studies’ for scrutiny.

This paper has three main sections:
1. First, I pick up on Stella Nkomo’s brilliant 1992 article The Emperor Has No Clothes: Rewriting 'Race' in Organizations (Nkomo, 1992). Here she argues that ‘race’ is “a necessary and productive analytical category for theorizing about organizations”. In spite of her eloquent call, ‘race’ and ethnicity are still marginalised in organisational analysis as a whole.
2. Secondly, I draw on writings about whiteness, first on Ghassan Hage’s discussions of whiteness and Australian ‘multiculturalism’, and secondly on Twine and Gallagher’ review of emerging themes in whiteness studies.
3. Finally, I want to explore bringing this all back home by rethinking Pākehā identity in relation to ‘whiteness’, especially in relation to local organisations.

The question ‘What do you mean ‘we’, white man?’ is attributed to a joke about the Lone Ranger and his Native American sidekick, Tonto. Riding together out on the range, the pair are surrounded by ‘Indian’ warriors. The Lone Ranger turns to Tonto in a panic: ‘what shall we do now?’ Tonto answers, ‘What do you mean ‘we’, white man?’ In that pivotal moment the Lone Ranger is made visible to himself - he
suddenly knows what Tonto has always known – he is white. Those of us who are white may have had such a moment. But, as whiteness scholars argue, the invisibility of ‘whiteness’ is central to the ways that it operates in white-dominated worlds, and this invisibility precludes such moments of unavoidable self-identification.

The Lone Ranger and Tonto story also underlines the non-essential nature of ethnicity: it is always relational, always defined against another; and it disappears in some moments and becomes hugely salient in others. And the story demonstrates forcefully the problem of any claims to “we”: as Judith Butler has said about feminist claims to speak for ‘women’, any claim to a unified ‘we’ “inevitably generates multiple refusals” (Butler, 1990). At the same time, political claims require some use of ‘we’, no matter how fractured and partial that ‘we’ might be.

My writing here is structured by some of my own ‘whiteness’ moments, and some of the most important writings and presentations that have triggered them.

Earlier this year I attended a stream called *White Spaces? Racialising Organisational Femininities and Masculinities* at the Gender Work and Organization conference. This stream picked up on new work being done within feminist theory on ‘intersectionality’ – relationships between gender, race, class and other analytic concepts addressing identity and power. The writers in the stream argued that we are all ‘ethnic’, and that ‘whiteness’ needs to be made visible as a central controlling principle in organisational life and identity.

This gender and whiteness work builds on long-running debates generated by reflections on race/ethnicity inside feminism, on deeply felt power struggles and painful conflict and confrontation, as well as coalitions and alliances. Ruth Frankenberg’s book, *The Social Construction of Whiteness: White Women, Race Matters* (1993), a study of white women in the USA, has been central to this work. Frankenberg’s interview studies drew out stories of white women’s experiences of whiteness as a felt or suppressed life dimension. She showed how both consciousness of race and of the power advantages of race can be evaded, and she showed how racial consciousness is sometimes also changed so that white individuals become ‘race-cognizant’. By focusing in the advantages of whiteness she showed how this works regardless of personal anti-racist attitudes. She showed how whiteness if developed and cultivated by white people even as they may be evading naming it. In fact her work itself countered a key aspect of whiteness: the lack of language to name it and consider how it works, so that whiteness is everywhere and yet nowhere in many white-dominated societies. It is the dominant culture and yet no culture at all.

For me this ‘whiteness’ literature opens up new ways to identify and protest the overwhelming dominance of ‘white’ bodies, voices and writings in organisational theory – a dominance that is seldom addressed in any serious way even [sic] by those white men and some women who are ‘big names’ in Critical Management Studies. This dominance is at the heart of practices of academic organising as well as the production of knowledges.

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21 Coordinated by Elaine Swan and Sharon Hunter, Keele, June 2007.
Rewriting ‘race in organizations’
Stella Nkomo’s paper addresses the ways that organisational theorist have written ‘race in organizations’ (Nkomo, 1992). The term ‘race’ is one we don’t tend to use much in this country, except when speaking of ‘racism’. I will copy her in using this term when speaking of her paper. Nkomo uses the ‘allegory’ of ‘The emperor's new clothes’ to address the visible/invisible nature of ‘race’. Just as the people pretended that they could see the emperor's new clothes in the old fairy tale, so power relations dictate the non-recognition of race in organisational theory. Organisational theory seems ‘race neutral’, but only because race is invisibilised – it is ignored or treated as irrelevant. Pointing out that race profoundly determines all rights, including rights to work and at work, Nkomo argues that ‘race has been present all along in organisations’ (p. 488), and that ‘Organizations are made up of race relations played out in power struggles’ [her italics] (p. 507). She asks ‘What does it mean to use race as an analytical category?’ (ibid.) To ‘rewrite’ race in organisations would be to make race an analytical category for a wide range of inquiries in organisational theory, not only using it when we are talking about a specialised topic called ‘race’. Nkomo generates some excellent questions which give us a sense of what this might involve, for instance:

- ‘To what extent is race built into the definition of a ‘manager’?’
- ‘What are the implications of racial identity for organisation theories based on individual identity?’ (p. 506).

Nkomo’s paper was published in *The Academy of Management Review* in 1992; there is little sign of her proposal making an impact on organisational theory in that or other mainstream journals that would be highly regarded by the PBRF ranking process. While her paper has been very widely cited, it is by other scholars who take race as their topic, not by organisational theorist who are persuade that race is an analytic category for a range of management topics.

By naming race relations as central to all organisational phenomena, Nkomo points by implication to whiteness as well as to that ‘diversity’ which nowadays identifies white’s ‘others’ in management literature.

‘Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society’
I first heard the anthropologist Ghassan Hage speak at a conference on anti-racism in Australia about ten years ago. The object of his critique is Australian versions of ‘multiculturalism’. I was very struck by his metaphor of multiculturalism as an ‘ethnic food court’. The ethnic food court exists for the benefit of the white subject who can pick and choose from what is offered. White supremacy remains at the centre: ‘diversity’ is those others over whose presence the white subject retains control. Hage has elaborated his argument in the book *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (1998), creating an Australian inflection for critiques of liberal ‘multiculturalism’. Linking whiteness to Australian nationalism, he points out the continuities in two apparently diametrically opposed positions - White Racism and White Multiculturalism. White Racism is intolerant of those others who interrupt the fantasy of an idealised white Australian nation. White Multiculturalism is tolerant of those others who add cultural diversity to enrich the nation – i.e. whites. But Hage argues that both white subject positions assume the

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22 Nkomo in fact has a well-developed argument in terms of talking about ‘race’ vs. ethnicity', but I won’t engage with that here.
right for whites to choose and control the fantasy of Australian nationalism. In Aotearoa New Zealand the language of ‘multiculturalism’ is much less apparent than in Australia, both in government and in popular culture. It is sometimes used as a kind of quick code to say ‘there are now many cultures in New Zealand’. It is sometimes used in attempts to upstage or render obsolete a Treaty-based conversation about race and ethnicity here. Hage’s challenge created a white moment for me by showing me that that a white subject is (inevitably) at the centre of all my fantasies of nationalism. This must include the ways that I draw on Aotearoa New Zealand as ‘nation’ to counter the ‘NATO’ stream in organisational theory.

Trends in studying whiteness

I go on now to discuss two key trends in the critical study of ‘whiteness’, a vein now running across social sciences and humanities, and tracing its genealogy back to the writings of African American writer W. E. B. DuBois. For this overview I am indebted to Twine and Gallagher’s review this year in a special ‘whiteness’ issue of Ethnic and racial studies (Twine and Gallagher, 2007). First, they point to the increasing use of innovative research methodologies including analyses of ‘racial consciousness biographies’, music and visual media. This trend refers to anti-essentialist accounts of race which find the counting of racial categories problematic, arguing instead for a performative account of race which shoes how it is constituted in daily life and in ‘institutional arrangements’ (Twine and Gallagher, 2007, p. 5)– and which, as Frankenberg and Nkomo argue, is always being worked on, made and remade in power relations.

A second trend is an analysis of the recuperation and reworking of white identities and white supremacy, located in ‘neo-apartheid’, ‘post-imperial’ and ‘post-Civil Rights contexts’. In Aotearoa New Zealand we might say ‘post-Treaty of Waitangi contexts’. We have various generational, class and gender differences in the ways that the term ‘Pākehā’ is used and refused by ‘whites’ here. We have new versions of whiteness in the form, for instance, of post-apartheid white South Africans. We have forms of what Frankenberg calls ‘resistant whiteness’, Pākehā anti-racist identities based on the Treaty of Waitangi and the potential partnership that it invokes. A particularly interesting aspect of this critical work for us here is the proposition that anti-racist identity is part of such recuperation, and that there are continuities as well as discontinuities across racist and anti-racist post-Treaty white identities. To take an easy example, historian Michael King’s recently reissued Being Pākehā? (King, 2007) reinstates the white man as a powerful member of the white intelligentsia, knowledgeable about things Māori and, in effect, authorised both by powerful Māori and by European intellectual heritage to speak for and about whiteness in Aotearoa New Zealand. All of us who write as Pākehā share some of this rather shaky ground. The claim to Pākehā identity both responds to claims of Māori sovereignty and contests continuity with Europe.

‘Whiteness’ and ‘rewriting’ organisations in Aotearoa

My research question for this paper is: how can the concept of ‘whiteness’ help us localise organisational theory in Aotearoa New Zealand? I hope that we can discuss this question when we meet at OIL. Twine and Gallagher point out that, ‘as whiteness travels the globe it reinvents itself locally upon arrival’ (Twine and Gallagher, 2007, pp. 5).
In this section I will briefly review the kinds of work that have already been done here, and point to some possible directions ahead.

THE DIFFERENCES THAT DIFFERENCE MAKES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Non-Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tangata Whenua</td>
<td>Tangata Tiriti (or Tāuiwi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Non-white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Non-black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori and Pākehā</td>
<td>“Other ethnic minorities”(^{24})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlers</td>
<td>Indigenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloniser</td>
<td>Colonised</td>
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</tbody>
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It is quite easy to play with the various binarisations that could or do characterise some of the ways that we think about difference. These have been used to frame the kinds of work that has already been done here that we could reframe as writing about ‘whiteness’ and organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand. In approximately chronological order we have:

- Institutional racism analysis: (DSW, 1986): this work was begun by Pakeha feminists within the Department of Social Welfare, responding to Māori claims of racism in the ways the Department operated. This was the first systematic analysis of a New Zealand organisation from an anti-racist perspective.
- The Treaty and ‘Biculturalism’ – 1980s-1990s. This work mainly addressed the idea of biculturalism within the context of government policy, and focused on a government-endorsed idea of ‘bi-culturalism’ as it might be applied in government organisations (e.g., Hague, 1989; Henare and Douglas, 1988).
- ‘Equal Opportunities’ - 1980s The concept of ‘Equal Employment Opportunities’ (EEO) came in to Aotearoa New Zealand from the United Kingdom, and stretches uneasily to accommodate race and ethnicity in a Treaty framework, but nonetheless has provided a space to discuss ‘race in organisations’ that can, more or less directly, address issues of race and rights (e.g., Jones, 1994; Spoonley, 1994). Again, because EEO has a much stronger mandate in government organisations, much of the empirical work is based in the state sector (O’Reilly and Wood, 1991).
- ‘Managing diversity’ 1990s: this concept imported from the USA generally forsakes the concept of rights, rather presenting ‘diversity’ as a human resource management issue justified within a ‘business case’. Again, it has no space for any specific claims for indigeneity (Jones, 2004; Jones, Pringle and Shepherd, 2000).
- Māori business and organising: While the writing about race in organisations I have summarised above puts white dominated organisations at its centre, and addresses how Māori and ‘other ethnic minorities’ are made visible within them, writing by Māori organisational theorists most often puts Māori business and organising at the centre (e.g., Henry, 1999; Ruwhiu and Wolfgamm, 2005; Wolfgamm, 2005). By distinguishing Māori organising they are inevitably – as a kind of downstream effect - distinguishing non-Māori organising, both as a form of white supremacy within white-dominated organisations, but as a form of organising in itself, which we can call Pākehā organising.

\(^{24}\) Term used in the State Services Act ‘good employer’ equal opportunities section.
Whiteness studies look at the process which ‘work to constantly cloak whiteness as a normative identity’ (Twine and Gallagher, 2007, p. 12). Māori scholars of Māori organising present us with a series of white moments – or in this case we could say, Pākehā moments. This shift will not happen though if we treat Māori scholarship as providing interesting and even exotic but nonetheless basically marginal examples of organisational theory. If we recognise Māori organisational theory, what is Pakeha organisational theory? How could we write it?

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Creative industries can be classified into various categories such as media, art and craft, production, design etc. One of such progressive creative industry are advertising agencies which provide creative ideas for marketing, brand identities and more to organizations ranging from multi-national to non government organizations. This paper attempts to study the ongoing tension of professional identities in an advertising agency through the lenses of organizational culture and identity work.

Researchers in the field of organization studies have suggested that an individual’s identity is a social construction (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Helmer 1993; Gioia 1998; Pratt 1998; Salzer-Morling 1998; Parker 2000). Similar to organisational culture, identification is based on shared social processes and meanings, which we use to decipher the world around us and provide meaning to organisational dynamics (Martin 1992; Batteau 2000; Parker 2000; Eisenberg and Riley 2001; Alvesson 2004). Since identity and organisational culture are closely related, some researchers claim that organisational culture could be involved in forming organisational identities for its members (Pratt 1998; Hatch and Schultz 2002; Corley 2004). The concepts of ‘family’, ‘teams’ and other such manifestations of organisational culture categorize and differentiate individuals within the same organisation. These also work as instruments of power, where those who identify with positions, such as managers, possess the power and those less powerful needs to be familiar with these distinctions. Furthermore teams and similar ideologies tend to conceal power conflicts and display conformity which reinforces the existing power structures (Knights and Willmott 1987; Sewell and Wilkinson 1992; Sinclair 1992; Casey 1999; Fleming 2005).

Following the works of researchers in critical management studies, organisational culture is regarded as a symbol of consensus and conformity, thus underplaying the role of power and domination in construction of organisational culture. The author will attempt to unravel formation of identities in an advertising agency, and interpret it as a form of continuous political struggle and contestation. Often in this organisation the culture may serve as a way of displaying resistance and renegotiation of identities.

Creative identity is one such identity which this paper attempts to study. Creative identity complements the definition of creativity which is the ability to transcend traditional ideas, rules, patterns, relationships to create meaningful new ideas and interpretations. Thus the worker in such a creative profession, such as a designer, writer or a producer, identifies more with their skills rather than the industry as a whole (Hartley 2005).

Scientific approaches encourage the agencies to read, research, think and analyse. Organisation of thoughts is considered the only path to having a creative idea (Owen 2007). Hackely (2000) in his study suggested that there seems to be a domination of
corporate understanding of the world, where rational, strategic goals take precedence over the aesthetic and instinctual response to advertising. It is under pressures of accountability and measurement that creative professionals experience a mounting pressure to act and talk in a professional lingo, the very definition of which contradicts what their creative identity (self) stands for (Steel 2007).

This established binary between creativity and bureaucracy has emerged through the data that was collected from a medium sized New Zealand based advertising agency. Therefore the paper acknowledges the existence of this divide between professionals hence attempts to understand and explore the tension through the lens of organizational culture. The key question that is asked is if this tension prevails in the organization then how the management has been able to ‘manage’ or control it. Some intriguing ways of monitoring and controlling the creative professionals have emerged throughout the data analysis process. Some ways of control embedded in the culture are via the recruitment process, symbol management and redundancy. Management of this culture has allowed the directors of the organization to influence the quality and quantity of creative work that flows in and out of the agency.

This paper will describe a research study in progress which aims to best explore/understand the tension by examining the processes of identification and organizational culture. This research recognizes that the location of this agency in Aotearoa/ New Zealand influences the organizational culture as well. In particular, Wellington being the political as well cultural capital of Aotearoa, the agency intentionally focuses its work in the arts and government sector. The workforce comprises of people of various nationalities, involved in sports and DIY attitude, some of these unique characteristics not only influence the culture of the agency but also reflects the culture of this country.

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From the kick off

This position statement confronts two issues: What are the most pressing issues facing organizations in Aotearoa/New Zealand and how might the OIL network respond to these. Turning to the first question, and judging from accounts from the state, NGO and the press, staff recruitment and retention are the key issues facing managers and owners. Work organizations are struggling to find and retain particular groups of skilled workers. If you talk to workers and their advocates the key issues appear to be low wage, salary and benefit rates (as compared with a close substitute – Australia), poor compensation for skills and knowledge and lack of flexibility in the design of jobs and organizational structures particularly in terms of recognizing workers’ commitments outside the workplace (i.e. as carers). Expressed in these terms, such issues would seem to be the concern of economists and policy advisors; disconnected from concerns of those engaged in the critical study of management and organizational processes as this relates to ‘our place’ – Aotearoa/New Zealand. The discussion proposed here attempts a translation process that aims to contribute to the debate among OIL colleagues over the vocabularies and conceptual frameworks we as a community might use - and develop. As noted in other works argue (Prichard et al, 2007), this conceptual development process runs in two directions: the creative appropriation and re-use of metropolitan concepts and frameworks, and/or the creation of indigenous concepts and conceptual frameworks (Riuwhiu and Wolfgramm, 2005; Pihema, 2005; Lander and Prichard, 2002; Prichard, 2005; 2006; Prichard et al, 2004; Prichard et al. 2007). This statement is a gesture in the direction of the latter objective. First we need to translate notions like ‘wages’ and ‘job flexibility’.

If we were to list these in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand they might include the follow:

- (relatively) low productivity due possibility to poor investment in skills, R&D, and machinery/capital goods (but we’re great at building houses!)
- Lower wage, salary and benefit levels compared with a relatively close substitute – Australia (creating economic incentive to migrate)
- (consequent) problems in recruitment, retaining staff and low incentives to develop workers/staff.
- Problems identifying distinctive productive capabilities.
- Seeming failure to create medium and large businesses suggesting problems of managing for scale (a land of the small businesses)
- Problems with earnings retention (high rates of indebtedness/ poor saving record/high levels of foreign ownership of key economic assets with high level of earnings repatriation).
Boots and all!
Wage rates and job flexibility are not self evident objects for OIL colleagues. A ‘wage’ is not a price for clearing a market but a metonym for an institutionalized relation that includes two positions in organizational fields and structures (Prichard, 2005). These positions are constituted and confirmed through a range work and organizational practices. The particular practices that surround the setting of a wage rate, establishing working hours and formalization of authority relations are overdetermined by the particular political and cultural dynamics of the locale. More directly practices are *encodings* with the particular history of ‘our place’ in particular the history of immigration and colonization. The claim here is that this history has a strong bearing on the particular character of these work practices, informs the particular kinds of organizations that populate this place and shape the chances that alternative practice might be developed and used in response to the key organizational issues mentioned above. It is by setting the debate around wages, flexibility and recruitment this context that OIL might contribute to ‘organizational problems’. But how does ‘our history’ bear on work practices and organizations? Let me respond to this question by presenting two particular resources and use these to offer one response.

What are ya!
My great grandfathers and great grandmothers arrived in the South Island in the 1860s and 1870s aboard ships from Liverpool, Glasgow and Melbourne. Drawn by the possibilities of farmland they migrated to the North Island where they cleared land, built houses and established farms and small businesses in the Wanganui, Taranaki and King Country areas. They were Celts from Ireland, Scotland and Wales who went under the names of Kerr, McLeod, Scott, Bourke and Prichard. My grandmother’s family was full of highland pipers. Her many uncles piped themselves off to the first world war in France. Against the odds perhaps all six of them returned to the little south Taranaki town of Eltham. My grandmother’s father, on my Dad’s side, didn’t go the war but it was, sadly, the death of him (and many others). He caught the influenza virus brought back to New Zealand by the returning troops and died in 1918. My grandfather and grandmother on both sides were, respectively, bakers and farmers in Wanganui and near Eltham. They bought up families of six and four children respectively on living earned directly or underwritten from New Zealand’s profitable and special trade relation with Britain.

Such stories are common in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Most Pakeha can tell some part of their family’s history and much of the detail surrounds practices of migrations, dislocations, re-establishment and returns. Our symbolic and emotional lives and the kinds of relations we have with others are shapes by these events and process and thus, by extension, the organizational units – families, professions, public service, large companies, universities – the we are involved in and help shape are informed by this history. Of course the narrative above is constructed from family histories. Yet it is repeated and repeatable in a huge range of cultural forms.

Here’s an example of the same narrative played out in popular music. (see video here: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PcpNJFYuPYU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PcpNJFYuPYU)
Full fathom five
Someday I'll lie
Singing songs that come
From dead men's tongues
Anchor me, anchor me

As the compass turns
And the glass it falls
Where the storm clouds roll
And the gulls they call

Anchor me, anchor me, anchor me
Anchor me
In the middle of your deep
blue sea, anchor me (x2)

Let the salt spray lash
The shivering skin
Where the green waves crash
And the whirlpools spin
Anchor me, anchor me, anchor me
Anchor me
In the middle of your deep
blue sea, anchor me(x2)

Where the Banshees cry
And the bells they sound
When you lift me high
When you pull me down
When you pull me down
Anchor me
In the middle of your deep
blue sea, anchor me
Anchor me(x3)

‘Anchor Me’, Don McGlashan, Mutton Birds. 1994

Don McGlashan’s repetition of the line ‘Anchor me’ in this hit New Zealand song of the same name is a powerful metonym of this process. The song as a whole is a short meditation on the emotionality of migration, dislocation and the colonial quest for a place. The first verse tellingly references Ariel’s song from Shakespeare’s Tempest and reflects on our linguistic inheritance from Britain. The remaining verses tell of the cold, stormy and death-defying trip south into the roaring 40s and to the land that awaited the travellers at that latitude. A ‘banshee’ is female spirit of death of Irish and Scottish origin that is said to cry out when someone in a village or household was about to die (or be lost to the other side – of the world!).
Get off the grass!
I would suggest that such narratives are not simply descriptive, but organizational – they do things! In particular they include powerful emotional and cultural signifiers that become encoded in economic and political relations. They make possible particular identities which, with repetition across a range of different spaces and locations, create powerful organizational threads that creates similar histories, experiences, habits and practices. They also make certain kinds of cooperation and coordination possible and thus create conditions for realizing economic rents/surpluses. The general claim would be that in business terms such narratives and identities are as important as a contract, a tool, and a financial instrument. But what are the organizing processes at work within them? Perhaps the terms ‘separation’ and ‘return’ are useful terms that condense the key elements found in the stories and lyrics above and help us to identify key principles or features expressed.

Yeah right!
The claim here is that New Zealand’s recent Pakeha history (at least) is premised on practices that involve repetitions of relations of ‘separation’ and of ‘return’. If we identify these terms as concepts, they help us to interpret and better understand current problems, issues and events (wages, flexibility, the structure of organizations, management practice etc.). For example separation and return dynamics may help us explain our relatively poor record in indigenous skills and knowledge development, our over-reliance on other locations to develop particular skilled workers and knowledge bases. They help us explain staff retention patterns and our difficulties at negotiating collectivist profits sharing arrangements. Such dynamics might also explain the dominance of certain organizational forms as they related to the intensive individualization of Pakeha colonial experience. This accentuates individualized responses to collective issues such as wage rates, work design and management, and raises the chances of migration, dislocation and return as responses to such issues. Such dynamics might also help us explain the emphasis on small businesses built around liberal notion of individual effort, and relative failure and difficulties in developing large highly integrated, cooperative organizations with scale advantages. Of course large organizations do dominate certain industry sectors. Such exceptions are interesting in this sense. For example Fonterra, New Zealand largest company is a cooperative currently owned by around 14,000 individual farmers. While this suggests a highlight level of economic coordination, the cooperative is in fact premised on a strong liberal individualist mode of organizing.

Home and hosed?
What I’ve just presented in a very raw first cut at some ideas that I would like to discuss with colleagues at the OIL IV meeting at Otago in February. What we have here is a contribution to a debate. The key issue is: What are the possibilities for conceptual development in this place that would move us toward a more indigenous mode of critical organizational analysis, and how to get started on this work. Inevitably such work requires a good deal of development, and connection with contextualizing literature (Clegg et al, 2000). Some of this will be provided as part of the discussion.
The Dags


Positioning workplace diversity in a local context: Applying Bourdieu

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Workplace diversity theorizing has been characterised by an incomplete view. The atheoretical nature of workplace diversity (Pringle, Konrad and Prasad, 2006) has dogged the field with few frameworks that allow for a comprehensive view inclusive of national locale, organisation and individuals. The focus has been on organizations, and the relational dynamics within them. The focus on the organizational level has had the unintended consequence of creating the appearance of a unified diversity discourse. As Jones, Pringle and Shepherd (2000) pointed out what is framed as ‘global’ diversity discourse is more likely to arise from the experiences of workplace dynamics in large organisations from western countries positioned at the ‘centre’ of academic discourse namely the United States (U.S.) and to a lesser extent Britain. Local scholars have gone so far to suggest that the term managing diversity is a US term (Jones and Stablein, 2006) that advances a ‘globalising capitalist economy’ (Humphries and Grice, 1995). Irrespective of the particular locale, workplace diversity cuts across society, organisational, group and individual levels, and demands a theory that, at least, encompasses multiple levels.

A common organisational behaviour frame of macro, meso and micro (House, Rousseau and Thomas-Hunt, 1995) could be used to sketch the landscape of workplace diversity in a static way. What is needed is a mechanism for describing and analysing the interaction between the macro factors influencing the organisations and the individual as she or he variously complies and resists organisational directives and norms. Bourdieu’s social theory of practice includes and enables discussion of simultaneous action-structure views, combining ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ perspectives, power distributions, social hierarchy and social inequality (Iellatchitch et al., 2003) in ways that provide some kind of bridge between macro and micro levels.

The question of interest is: What is local for Aotearoa/New Zealand when applying Bourdieu’s theory of practice? In his work Bourdieu expressly deconstructed the French cultural life, writing from his experiences and locale. In this paper I aim to bring together Bourdieu and workplace diversity theory in the local context. I will attempt apply Bourdieu’s analysis to a particular social identity group that are part of the broad diversity landscape in Aotearoa/New Zealand, namely women in the workforce. Firstly I will outline a multi-level model for analysing workplace diversity which emphasizes country context before sketching the analytical parameters of interest from Bourdieu’s theorising. I will then apply his work to the social identity group of interest.
Theorizing Workplace Diversity
At best workplace diversity theorizing has been characterised by a partial view. Any discussion broader than an organisational level has emphasized a global commonality commonly framed within an economic imperative signified by the ‘business case’.

Discussions of workplace diversity, particularly outside of Europe, have been strongly influenced by social and industrial psychology, resulting in focus on a micro level of analysis. It is a situation that has been exacerbated by research being conducted from separate disciplinary silos, such as psychology and sociology. For more effective organisational analysis we need to take a more multi-level approach (Yammarino and Dansereau, 2004). Firstly, I adopt a common O.B. frame of macro, meso and micro (House, Rousseau and Thomas-Hunt, 1995) to sketch the landscape of workplace diversity. However, in this case, macro refers to the country context including demography and socio-political arrangements; meso is the level of organisation - cultures and structures, and micro is the level of individual attributes, supervisor-employee dyads and small group interactions.

The historical, political and societal maps of each nation state differ, resulting in the need to consider diversity within a geographically and culturally contingent framework (Prasad, Konrad and Pringle, 2006). With workplace diversity the differential power positioning of any particular disadvantaged group is determined by the local context. To understand how social identity groups are positioned and the relationships between them requires understanding how historical and socio-political influences have molded the contemporary landscape. The model in Figure 1 below expands the decision-making frame to explicitly include the macro level as constituted by demography, specific historical and socio-political factors germane to the nation, legislation, and the labour market.

Figure 1 Decision-making model for Workplace Diversity (adapted from Pringle et al., forthcoming)
**Demographic factors**

An impetus for studying the organizational effects of workplace diversity came from population and projected labour force demographics. The political power of marginalised groups loosely relates to representation and voice in population demography as a consequence the nature of historically disadvantaged groups varies within countries and regions, e.g. Native Americans/Alaskans (1%) in the US, indigenous Aboriginals (2%) in Australia. Varying fertility rates among different ethnic groups and shifting immigration patterns have also contributed to a dynamic workforce demographic. The ethnic breakdown within Aotearoa/ New Zealand according to the 2006 census is approximately 70% European; 15% Maori; 7% Pacific Peoples; 9% Asian. Notable are the high proportion of indigenous peoples (Maori, 15%) and the large proportion of peoples from a Polynesian collective-based culture (22%). Thus it could be expected that Maori would have a greater power in the country than the aboriginal people in Australia. Women provide the exceptional example to this principle of democracy. With women, who usually constitute 50% of the population, patriarchy dominates democracy. There are other numeric exceptions too, where social and historical processes cut across simple demographic correlations resulting in the majority demographic grouping being historically disadvantaged. Crucial to the interpretation of diverse workplace relations amongst the social identity groups is the historical, socio-political context.

**Historical and social-political factors**

The colonial legacy continues in acts of resistance by indigenous peoples, coupled with struggles by immigrant groups for greater political voice. In Aotearoa/New Zealand this has meant that the diversity discourse is influenced by the cultural coherence and sustained resistance of the Maori to assimilation. The strength of the bicultural discourse is due to the comparatively large proportion of Maori in the population, plus the founding Treaty of Waitangi. Relationships between the disadvantaged groups and dominant groups are not fixed but change with shifts in societal discourses over time. In the local context this can be observed in the waning of the gender discourse in workplaces and the ascendance of ethnicity discourses, which problematically, intertwine biculturalism and multiculturalism. Another recent socio-political factor has been a shift towards a neo-liberal economic strategy, strengthening the hegemonic power of capitalist discourse locally. Within this historical and socio-political mosaic, the role of the state is an important factor.

**Legislation**

There are limits to the degree that the enactment of legislation can change behaviour, attitudes and values nevertheless it provides an indicator of societies’ aspirations. The legislative landscape varies by nation state although most developed and developing countries have anti-discrimination legislation (Jain, Sloane & Horwitz, 2003). Anti-discrimination legislation acts as a foundation for equal employment opportunity (EEO) legislation that can take a variety of forms dependent on the underlying philosophy and the degree to which organisations are proactive. An EEO philosophy around inequality and disadvantage has been an important precursor to diversity initiatives.

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26 The census categories changed in 2006 with an additional ethnic category added ‘New Zealander’ which are 11.8% of the population. It means that New Zealanders of ‘European’ ethnicity cannot now be strictly compared with previous census percentages. (Statistics, N.Z. 2007).
Labour market conditions Contemporary labour market conditions are a strong driver in recruitment decisions. If the level of unemployment is high or the economy is in recession, then there is less pressure on organisations to hire members of historically disadvantaged groups. Conversely, if there are high levels of skill shortages in specific occupations, then the business imperative may take precedence over the desire for homogeneity in the workplace.

Struggles for power for some excluded groups have taken place through the union movement. Trade unions too, exist within a broader social context, particularly the political and industrial relations environments and consequently their role in the labour market and even the acceptance of collective bargaining varies widely. Union activity is moderately strong in NZ, partly due to the Employment Relations Act (2000) and subsequent amendment, which reinstated a primary negotiating role for unions in workplaces. All of these socio-political events reinforce the importance of the macro and the particularised country context influencing organisational practices.

Linking Bourdieu to Workplace Diversity
The inclusion of both macro and micro levels increases the depth of analysis and understanding of workplace diversity on the meso level, namely, organisations. A macro focus brings together employment relations, sociological and organisational theory to an organisational setting while the inclusion of power spans analytic levels. Discussions of the three-tier model in various academic fora brings forth the inevitable question on how the micro and macro levels can interact with each other; how could they be connected?

Both micro and macro aspects are important for understanding workplace diversity in a local context and the application of Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts hold promise. An important advantage of Bourdieu’s social theory is that macro and micro forces can be explored in a single framework, one which locates power at the centre.

Two central concepts in Bourdieu’s work are habitus and field. Habitus has origins within the individual person and is also the product of persons. The structures of a particular environment “produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions,” structuring structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, … and structuring of practices and representation which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules” (Bourdieu, 1977:72). More than personality or psychological structure, habitus is the embodiment and enactment of these dispositions.

Field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition in which participants seek to establish monopoly over the kinds of power effective in it. General laws vary for the different fields (Bourdieu, 1977) and there are also differential interests manifest as individuals and collectives seek to establish and trade their power. The means for domination and power exchange is through the concepts of capital. Capital acts as “a social relation within a system of exchange” (Harker, Mahar and Wilkes, 1990:13). It is extended to all goods; material and symbolic and capital does not exist except in relation to a field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu posits three major kinds of capital: social, cultural and economic which combine into a perceived fourth symbolic capital.

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27 Italics are in the original.
capital. It is “[t]he rules of a particular social field specify which combination of the basic forms of capital will be authorised as symbolic capital, thus becoming socially recognised as legitimate” (Mayrhofer, Iellatchitch, Meyer, Steyer, Schiffer, and Strunck, 2004:874).

A promising approach comes through the social theorizing of Bourdieu which is increasingly receiving attention from organizational scholars (Iellatchitch, Mayrhofer & Meyer 2003; Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2005) citing and speculating on possibilities for application. There are many fruitful avenues for the application of Bourdieu’s theory such as the analysis of habitus and field in different organisational sub-disciplines e.g. careers (Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Mayrhofer, Iellatchitch, Meyer, Steyer, Schiffer, and Strunk, 2004), entrepreneurship and SMEs (small and medium enterprises, Elam, 2006; Gorton, 2000) and gendered employment relations (Sayce, 2005). Many aspects of Bourdieu’s work has potential efficacy but it is his integrative and relational approach, connecting the more micro concept of ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1977) through the individual’s accumulated capital to the macro level of field. When considering Bourdieu theory with respect to workplace diversity, Ozbilgin and Tatli (2005) locate ‘field’ within organizations but given the importance of country context in shaping workplace diversity, ‘field’ might more usefully applied to the macro context sketched earlier.

**Case Application**

Within the presentation I plan to consider briefly the characteristics of the specific identity group of interest with respect to Bourdieu’s key concepts habitus, field and capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Applying Bourdieu theory to an analysis of women place in the NZ workplace would include the following elements: the macro field would place women as having substantive social and cultural capital. In terms of economic capital, women as a group fare less well with the pay gap intransigent at 87% of the average male hourly rate. Key historical societal factors combined with an active feminist movement encouraging and affirming through the 1980s and 1990s that ‘girls can do anything’ lay the ground work for a strong habitus. Within the organizational field the strength of women’s capital is weaker with an enduring masculinity providing powerful symbolic capital especially as higher organizational levels (Olsson and Pringle, 2004) where, in general, women succeed by making visible an acceptable masculine gender.

**Conclusion**

This paper while advancing a multi-level approach, will emphasize the importance of the analysis of country context in positioning diversity within a specific locale. An important advantage of considering Bourdieu’s social theory to develop an inclusive theory of workplace diversity is that macro and micro forces can be explored in a single framework; a framework that includes dynamic shifts in the power relations. Both macro and micro aspects are important for understanding workplace Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts of habitus, field and capitals hold promise for exciting future theoretical and analytical developments.
References


Images of metaphors for organization and strategy

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ABSTRACT

The title signals an acknowledgement to Morgan’s *Images of Organization* and Cumming & Wilson’s *Images of Strategy*. The relationship between metaphor and image is tricky; organic metaphors for organization lead to biological images and metaphors of positioning, orientation and direction for strategy lead to maps.

This paper is the start of an exploration into what might happen if we took the image as our starting point and worked back through metaphor to a theory of organization. It starts, in the spirit of the conference, with an archetypal images of Aotearoa: the paper provides reflection on the koru. The spiral form is not uniquely Aotearoan, but an ancient one, and given the large numbers of New Zealanders with Celtic heritage, it is appropriate to explore especially the Celtic form of its rich history. This is a basis for the central research question of this paper: can an exploration of the spiral be a meaningful way to enrich organization theory? This will entail a limited and tentative deconstruction of common metaphors in strategy and organization theory.

The paper explores the use of images and metaphors in general, and contrasts the use of archetypal images with the kind of images and models routinely found in management textbooks, such as matrices, boxes, and arrows linking circles. This deconstruction is applied to the primary research question itself: there is no intention to promote the spiral as a management tool!

Introduction

The images of organization explored by Morgan are organizations as machines, as organisms, as brains, as cultures, as political systems, as psychic prisons, as flux and transformation, and finally, as instruments of domination. The images of strategy suggested by Cummings and Wilson and the contributors to this volume are strategy as ethos, as organizing, as intention and anticipation, as orchestrating knowledge, as data plus sense-making, as creativity, as exploration and interconnection, as systems thing, as process, power and change, as marketing, as numbers, as decision making, as orientation and animation. All of the authors are writing against a broad background of theory that has over the centuries been derived from and contributed to very different and sometimes opposing worldviews. Thus, Morgan writes of machines, mechanical thinking and the rise of the bureaucratic organization, and concludes that we can usefully use metaphor to read and understand organizations, and that many organization problems are due to ways of thinking:

Images and metaphors are not only interpretative constructs or ways of seeing, they also provide frameworks for action. Their use creates insights that often allow us to act in way they we may not have thought possible before (page 343).

He proposes the idea of ‘imaginization’ as a way of linking thought and action and as a means though which people may enact or ‘write’ the character of
organizational life (page 344). Morgan wishes to stress the creative potential of images and metaphor.

The perspective in Cummings and Wilson is wider than Morgan’s, and in their contextualising chapter Cummings and Wilson range from pre-modern to post-modern views. They invoke a dense array of metaphors in the process; map, animation, web, pyramid, montage and so on, and an interesting interleaving of images; maps, historical photographs, analytical historical drawings and schematic models from modern business books. They are not above supplying a matrix of their own. The collection edited by Cummings and Wilson is built on the interplay of many images of strategy rather a collection of images. They invite a nomadic approach and use Arthur Koestler’s phrase ‘shaking hand’ in the light of particular purposes and circumstances.

These writers are very aware that metaphors not only enable a point of view but obscure others. They produce a ‘kind of one-sided insight’ (Morgan :13). The highlighting of certain interpretations forces other into the background. In both of these texts, the effort is directed not at promoting particular metaphors but at gaining as much as possible from the interplay of metaphors.

**Uses of metaphor**

**Understanding**

**Critique**

**Exploration**

The images in mainstream management texts, not surprisingly, tend to be geometric. Although this seems appropriate, it bears examination. The reliance on 2dimensional representation, despite the knowledge of perspective, the use of standard shapes and directional arrows to represent a specific idea can also be analysed to find out what more fundamental world outlook is embodied such representations. *Analysing examples...*

**Images**

There are several archetypal universal images, signifying male, female, and natural objects and phenomena, such as sun, moon and trees, for example. There are also fundamental geometric shapes like the square, circle and triangle. The spiral seems to be a universal archetype that sits somewhere between image, metaphor and geometry. In some cultures, as in Aotearoa it is clearly derived from nature. In Celtic culture, as in the Newgrange Neolithic burial mounds, it functions as a sophisticated code. In Islamic art it is used as a basis for decorative display, but also expresses a sense of the Islamic world view.

**Paintings**

**Symbols/nationalism**

**Identification**

**Community**
The spiral
Not just Aotearoa, but Ireland, Romania and many ancient cultures...
The spiral in the world… further explorations, expanding on above...
Centripetal & centrifugal
Upward & downward
Feminine forms…

Mapping management knowledge
In general…
In Aotearoa…

On models, matrices and the geometrical imagination
The usual suspects…
What does a model do?...
What do matrices do?...
Geometry and maps…

Images of organization in Aotearoa
The koru shape is a scroll shape and is linked to the New Zealand fern plant. The shoot of the fern has a curled-over tip which unfurls and becomes a fernleaf.
The koru reaches towards the light, striving for perfection, encouraging new positive beginnings…
The koru, represents the unfolding of new life, that everything is reborn and continues. It represents renewal and hope for the future.
Spiral, geometry of life, sacred creation…”

Conclusion
So the major research question remains. Is the spiral a successful heuristic for the nature of organizations and strategy? This entails other questions, such as how heuristically successful can reflection on an image be, and does this method offer any particular advantages?

NOTE
This is the best I can do in the time available, but is hopefully sufficient to give a sense of where the paper is going. The presentation will be illustrated, and much of the material is drafted. I am at this stage wishing to explore the general idea.
The role of family photograph albums in organizing New Zealand identities

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This paper will discuss the role of family photography albums in organizing memories and identity in New Zealand.

Proposed Research Question
What role does the family photograph album play in constructing a sense of New Zealand identity?

Method
The discussion will be illustrated with pages of albums.

Proposed Audience
The article is being prepared for submission to Te Ara: Journal of Museums Aotearoa

Initial Discussion of Literature
In discussing these themes the paper for the meeting (although not necessarily the final essay) will use literature mainly from cultural studies: Chalfen (1987), Langford (2001), Barthes (1977), Keenan (1998), Kracauer (1993) and Lury (1998). Some useful points will be drawn out from this literature to frame the subsequent discussion which will engage with some of the issues involved in constructing oneself as a New Zealander. Family photography is significant to the ways we collect and organize our memories, construct our identities and make meaning out of our lives. Keeping albums has been subject to research which has drawn attention to the importance of photographic albums as a cultural and structured behaviour of a photographic culture – a Kodak culture (Chalfen, 1987) that “greases the wheels of remembrance, reinstating and expanding the repertoire of remembrance as images are seen and heard in the rolling present” (Langford, 2001: 201). ‘Kodak culture’ is argued by Chalfen to be production of a “standardized system of visual presentation ... Ordinary people are afforded a chance to order past experiences, making their travels, past adventures, and segments into a coherent order of events” (141). Kaufmann notes: “…the ritual making of family photographs – like most strategies for ordering experience — … offer(s) soothing evidence that our lives are better and sometimes more coherent than we sometimes believe (cited in Chalfen: 141).
Family photograph albums present and organise memories. Memories, according to Kracauer are characterised by ‘demonic ambiguity’ (1993): memories in themselves are not at all organised. Photography does something rather strange to memories because memories are “…organized according to a principle that is essentially different from the organizing principle of photography …” according to Celia Lury. Photography grasps what is given, a spatial (or temporal) continuum but memory images retain what is given only insofar as it has significance” (ibid). Lury comments that the photographic image is one of the techniques that “enables a refiguring of the conventional relations through which the previous self-understanding of the possessive individual has been secured. It does this through its abilities to frame, freeze and fix its objects”. She identifies the ‘retrodictive prophecy’ of the photograph as being a key aspect of the image’s power, and argues this arises from the photograph’s ability to freeze time:

These processes have a distinctive temporality; more specifically, the freezing of time creates a dimension in which the future perfect of the photographic image – this will have been – may be suspended, manipulated and reworked to become the past perfected. (Lury, 1998: 3)

Consequently, the construction of a family album is a process, that although seeming banal to many people, is infused with intention, effort, and power. In short, organizing family albums is a way of ‘structuring’ ourselves —our identities and culture —through rituals of remembrance. Some cultures use oral renderings of history, others textual, and the western method appears to be increasingly visual (Chalfen, 1987). But, as mentioned, memories are also intensely personal and sensual: they are embodied. The ‘demonic ambiguity’ that Kracauer refers to arises from memory’s connection to the sensual and emotional aspects of life: its seemingly unpredictable and emergent nature often juxtaposes odd recollections in the emotional and sensual present.

This essay will discuss these themes in the light of the author’s own reactions to personal family albums, and what they say about the way she is constructed as a New Zealander.

Why?

The essay has been requested as previous versions of this paper have been talked about with the editor of the Te Ara journal and she has encouraged me to write up the paper. The topic of family photograph albums and New Zealand identity may be useful for museum curators and others in this industry, who consider similar questions with regard to visual representations and the role of museums in ‘showing’ identity.

This paper is still in a formative/discussion stage.
References


Developing research question(s) for the critical-interpretive study of retirement living organisations in Aotearoa/New Zealand: A case of intersecting localities

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Introduction
The purpose of this paper is to develop potential research questions for critical-interpretive study of retirement village organisations (RVOs) in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The paper takes an exploratory approach, outlining two intersecting localities that inform research orientation: the researcher’s experience, and various socio-political factors that contextualise the emergence of the retirement village in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The paper than briefly explains the theoretical approach for the research including how rhetorical criticism (RC) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) provide a useful methodological framework for the research. Finally, the paper suggests a central research question and possible outcomes of asking the question.

Locality I: The Researcher
In this section I use a critical incident (e.g., Patton, 2002) format to demonstrate how my personal-professional experiences of the aged-care and retirement village sector, contribute to the formation of the research focus and locate my approach within critical-interpretivism.

From early 1999 to 2001, I was working for Presbyterian Support (Northern) (PS[N]) in Auckland, New Zealand in the position of Relationship Manager for the Redevelopment Project. A Charitable Trust, PS(N) had provided social services and residential facilities for families and children as well as the elderly since the late 19th century. My key responsibility was to manage a consultation programme with current and prospective residents, and village employees, as well as family members and friends of residents about use-aspects of the new facilities. A large part of my work involved conducting focus groups and interviews with residents, employees, and visitors. During one of these activities a critical incident occurred that was to change the course of the consultation programme. I was well into the first round of consultation, and conducting a series of focus groups with cottage residents who lived at a retirement village with a rest home and hospital. I asked a question that resulted in a very different answer from those given in previous focus groups.
Self: If you found yourself moving to the rest home or hospital, what sort of facilities would you like there to be?

Resident: Well, if I had to move . . .

Self: What do you mean by “if I had to move”?

Resident: Well, I don’t want to move to the rest home. If I get sick I want to stay where I am.

This was the first time I had heard a participant state a preference that challenged working assumptions of residential care for older people. Within the organisation that I worked for, it was assumed that moving from the cottages into care in either the rest home and/or hospital was inevitable for most residents. I wondered what it was about the organisation that I (and others) had not questioned this “natural order” of the “conveyor belt” model. Without being cognisant of it at the time, I had begun to take a critical perspective on services for older people, and moved from the micro-level interactions of service provision itself to a wider meso-level of organisation.

For some years prior to taking the position of Relationship Manager, I had worked in health social work in the aged-care sector. Moving into a management position, I became distanced from the day-to-day dynamics of care of the “un-well” older person and started to notice aspects of the bigger, macro-level picture. Although I was aware of developments in the sector, especially in the growth of retirement villages, it was on leaving the provinces and working in Auckland that I began to notice the trend towards the selling of “retirement living”. I began to see older-ageing as something commercial, where the requirement for financial profit was as important as the care mission.

My interest in organisational communication developed as I noticed how aged-care organisations (re)presented ageing, care, residents, and retirement (while I was working in an organisation doing just that). On the face of things, it looked like expectations of older-ageing were changing, especially with the growth of the positive ageing movement. I began to wonder how organisations offering services to older people identified what older people wanted, and possibly, how they constructed services to be wanted by older people. In short, how were older people being organised by organisations and/or influenced by their messages?

Intuitively, I was questioning assumptions that underpinned the accepted nature of the aged-care sector, the types of services offered to older people, and the relationships between providers and older people. Thus, the focus group participant’s response to my question was a crystallising moment in making invisible and unquestioned assumptions about retirement villages, visible. This experience influenced my decision to focus on the issues of what happens (a) in RVOs between residents, employees, and management that creates and represents lived experiences of retirement villages, and (b) between organisations, society, and individuals that normalises “organised” living arrangements for older people, alongside and even over “naturally occurring” ones.
Locality II: Growth of Retirement Villages Sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand

This locality encompasses some of the historical, largely Western, trends that have contributed to the emergence of the retirement village sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In outlining these key trends, this section highlights questions that invite further research in the domain of organisation in relation to RVOs.

In the U.S. purpose-built migration destinations for retired people were established in the 1950s (McHugh, 2003; Streib, 2002), while in Aotearoa/New Zealand they first appeared in the mid 1980s (Hall, Roseman, & Joseph, 1986). Noteworthy is that retirement villages Aotearoa/New Zealand have their genesis in 19th century old-age homes designed to cater for a needy, indigent population (Saville-Smith, 1993; Tennant, 1989). Up until the 1980s these homes and “retirement complexes” were run largely by religious and welfare, voluntary organisations. However, with the population ageing numerically and proportionally (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), retirement villages, on the one hand, may be seen as one “logical” response. On the other hand, as the focus of residence changed from “need” to “choice”, the nature of ownership shifted from the welfare to the private sector.

In addition to these developments, three major trends have influenced the development of the retirement village sector. Firstly, the medicalisation of ageing (Blaikie, 1999; Estes et al., 2001; Koopman-Boyden, 1988) has cast a long shadow of somewhat negative images of passive patients, rest home “inmates”, and older people suffering from “pathological diseases” (Blaikie, 1999, p. 60). With regard to retirement villages, promotion often emphasises differences from traditional resthome images. Secondly and in contrast, marketisation has brought into play values of customer focus, customer choice, and customer sovereignty (e.g., du Gay, 1996). Here also, retirement villages emphasise the choice they offer residents. Finally, retirement as a social institution has developed from a defined period of old age spent outside the workplace, to a period of later life with an emphasis on leisure (Blaikie, 1999; Featherstone & Hepworth, 1995). In relation to retirement villages, RVOs promote leisure and lifestyle in their external communication. These three trends have helped to bring about new models of “institutional” living and changes in the nature of residence, residents, and relationships between RVOs, their residents-customers and employees. These developments raise questions for organisation-focused research in the field of retirement villages.

Formal, corporate organisations are a recent phenomenon in Western society (Kieser, 1989) which “transcend natural persons in time, space, and resources” (Cheney, 1991, p. 4) and yet rely on the contributions of natural persons to generate wealth (Cheney, 1991; Deetz, 1992; Estes, 1996; Kieser, 1989). The rise of organisations in 20th century Western society and their increasing complexity (Boulding, 1968), has profoundly influenced not only how business is done, but also more generally the working and private lives of individuals (Deetz, 1992; Estes, 1996). With regard to work life, Pateman (1970) argues that participation in the workplace organisation, which concerns making decisions and determining the outcome of those decisions, results in individual and collective development and enables individuals to participate effectively in other areas of wider society.

In respect of organisational participation, retirement villages are noteworthy in two ways. Firstly, as discussed elsewhere (Simpson & Cheney, 2007) retirement village residents are organisational members whose activities within the village contribute to the generation of RVO wealth. Therefore, how do residents and employees experience participation in RVOs when both are members of the same organisation? Secondly, given that increasing numbers of residents will have been employees of organisations...
during their lifetime, how do these experiences affect/inform expectations of and participation within retirement villages as organisations?

Concurrent with the emergence of the commercial retirement village in Aotearoa/New Zealand were two policy shifts. The first was what some described as the dismantling of the welfare state (e.g., Kelsey, 1995) and took place within a broader context of a discourse of “individual responsibility”—itself located firmly within neo-liberal economic and market ideology. In this light, the extent to which older people were judged “responsible” was evident in the kind of retirement “lifestyle” available to them (Gilleard & Higgs, 2000)—e.g. council housing or retirement village. In relation to RVOs, how might discourses of individual responsibility infuse/influence everyday participation of organisational members—employees and residents?

The second policy development in Aotearoa/New Zealand that occurred in similar timeframe related to amendments to the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975). This resulted in two core Treaty principles being identified: partnership and protection (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). Subsequently, the public service, education and health sectors, and many voluntary, religious and welfare organisations adopted Treaty principles. Yet, the phenomenon of retirement villages, which may be viewed as a largely pākehā cultural response to older-ageing, seemed to align with global and Western trends of commodification and the market, rather than with local, bi-cultural, or indigenous models of older-ageing (c. f., Durie, 1999). This is not so say that such models do not exist; only that images of retirement villages dominate the public space. This raises questions about the extent to which other local models of organised retirement living/retirement communities are present in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and to what extent does the retirement village sector dominate the public space at the expense of other local options, with what effect?

In summary, the salient issues to emerge the above seem to concern (1) the role of organisation in constructing “normal retirement living”; (2) the influence of global trends and images of organised retirement living in current commercial retirement village models in Aotearoa/New Zealand; (3) the absence of local models of organised retirement living in the public (communication) domain; and (4) resident and employee participation in RVOs, their expectations of themselves and each other.

Locality III: Theoretical Framework

My research intends to focus on retirement communities as organisations and locales of participation (rather than as only places in which to live) within the locality of Aotearoa/New Zealand. This brings into focus the corporate nature of RVOs and roles of individuals, corporate bodies, and social policy in helping to construct retirement villages as a societal response to older-ageing. My approach draws on social constructionism (e.g., Allen, 2005; Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and critical-interpretivism. Broadly speaking, this approach takes into account individual understandings of reality as well as societal patterns and norms that help to shape such interactions (c.f., Cheney, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Mumby 2000; Schwandt, 2000). This brings into focus the concept and practices of “discourse”.

Discourse derives from the social domain and finds expression in text and social practices at individual-micro-, organisational-meso-, and societal-macro-levels (e.g., Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1984; van Dijk 2004). From a research position a discourse provides “an orientation to organizations, a way of constituting people and events in them, and a way of reporting on them” (Deetz, 1996, p. 198) and thus, different research discourses offer lenses through which to explore society differently.
Interpretive and critical lenses enable study at the individual-micro, organizational-meso, and societal-macro levels (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000a, 2000b; Cheney, 2000; Deetz, 1996; Mumby, 2000). In relation to retirement communities this means noting the connections between everyday participatory practices and the organisational and societal spheres.

With a focus on organisation and discourse, my methodological framework combines both rhetorical criticism (RC) and critical discourse analysis (CDA), which while differing in intellectual foundations, offer critically oriented epistemological stances and theoretical concepts (Cheney with Lair, 2005; Livesey, 2002). Both RC and CDA share with pragmatics a concern for the practicalities of language in use. RC analyses details of language, while CDA “helps the researcher to understand the implications of local struggles and conflicts in terms of change at the social [macro] and institutional [meso] level” (Livesey, 2002, p. 141). Both approaches are concerned with looking beyond “the facts” and making connections between interaction, language, texts, and meanings—in this case within the domain of retirement village organisations (broadly defined).

**Localities Intersection: The Emerging Research Question(s)**

Of the four research concerns listed at the end of the previous section, it is the last two that seem most significant. This results in two potential research questions.

- In what ways and to what extent is the retirement village model affecting the development and communication of alternative and local models of organisational retirement living?
- What is resident and employee participation in RVOs? How does previous experience of organisation, expectations of themselves and of each other, affect their capacity to participate in community and organisation?

In one or both of these questions, local knowledge and practice is brought to the fore. In particular collective knowledge and current understanding of older-ageing and organisational participation can be extended beyond the workplace-residence, work life-retirement splits.

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The “Covert Curriculum” and Post-Industrial Aotearoa / New Zealand

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Pavlova Paradise Lost
It seems well established that the triumvirate of wool, mutton and refrigeration which have sustained Kiwi affluence since Victorian times cannot be relied upon to produce an equally affluent present or future. That observation is old news and not very controversial. A more interesting – and as yet unanswered – question is: what will replace it?

To date, we can see only sketchy indicators toward an answer. We have seen the Romney and Hampshire partially replaced by the Chinese student; the paddock of academia now sells about $2B annually in overseas education and, as we shear this new livestock for rent, food, fags and tricked-out Subarus, that number can be safely assumed to be much higher. Another several billion comes from the profitable herds of tourists who have replaced the Merino as they graze on LOTR scenery and swim with the dolphins. We have seen the Drysdale and Dorset replaced by the Guernsey and Angus, as we trade one pastoral industry for another, becoming the commodity dried-milk supplier to the post-industrial world, polluting Taupo in the process. We have heard, largely hypothetically, from the Beehive about deliverance by a new triumvirate – biotechnology, ICT and the so-called “creative industries.” Oh yes, and we have simply replaced some of our former prosperity with lost income, as our prosperity continues to decline relative to the OECD norm. In other words, the future is anything but clear and it is resistant to simplistic interpretation.

Like our famous forebear, Frodo, we face two divergent futures. If the Dark Lord comes to rule us, Kiwis will labour in Mordor, competing in the world labour market with countries like Haiti and Myanmar to offer more for less. The alternative to this grim future usually suggests in some way that the Shire will become a diverse post-industrial “knowledge economy”. But what does it mean to enter a “post-“ industrial period in an economy that has never had an industrial period? Does post-industrial success require an industrial history?

The “Covert Curriculum”
In The Third Wave, Alvin Toffler (1980) presented a popular view of the issues at stake in the transition from industrialism. Toffler suggested that industrial reality was structured by six principles:

- Standardization
- Specialization
- Synchronization
- Concentration
- Maximization
- Centralization
In industrialized society, argued Toffler, these principles have sedimented into common sense. They are part of the daily life of all people from the moment of birth. They are absorbed, not as one way of dealing with social reality but as reality itself. In this sense, he wrote, they form a “covert curriculum”, an education that is not gained through explicit study, but by immersion. This we “study” the covert curriculum with every conscious moment as participants in a world structured according to these principles.

“Today,” wrote Toffler, “Every one of these fundamental principals is under attack by the forces of the Third Wave” (:60). What Toffler called the “Third Wave” in 1980 would more frequently be called post-industrial society or the knowledge economy today. With twenty-five years of hindsight, we can see today that Toffler was unduly eschatological, and perhaps a bit naïve, to proselytize that the world would change categorically and imminently. This does not, however, negate his underlying insight. These six principals remain an excellent statement of the epistemic logic of industrial society. What we can more clearly see with the benefit another generation’s experience, is that these principals are not disappearing, not transforming, but shifting by degrees. More importantly, they form a foundation, an enabling structure, for the knowledge society. The post-industrial does not negate these principals; it builds on them.

Declining -- **Centralization**: Of the six principles, only centralization has declined in the last generation. There has indeed been a major shift in the determinants of success for organizations in the world economy. Productivity and efficiency, the industrial sacramentals, have been steadily marginalized while qualities such as flexibility and innovation have become more important. Consequently, more organic means of controlling operations have been dictated by the nature of the work to be done. Even here, one must be careful to ask what is becoming less centralized. Profound changes in electronics and telecommunications since about 1990 have enabled greater control as well as greater decentralization.

Not declining -- **Standardization, Synchronization**: Two more of these principles continue to structure post-industrial organizing. ISO, Six Sigma (the AACSB!) – international business is predicated on international standards. The Kiwi GPS device in the German instrumentation of your new Japanese car is possible only because of sophisticated standardization. Also implied in the above example is tight coordination between globally dispersed organizations regarding what will be produced, when and where. Lean manufacturing, JIT inventory systems, supply chain management – all of these imply sophisticated synchronization. That DHL delivery required for the functioning of your “knowledge organization,” the one with the Amazon.com order delivered to Auckland for half the price Whitcoull’s on Queen Street would charge, in less time than it would have taken Whitcoull’s to order it, depended on post-industrial synchronization.

**INCREASING -- Specialization, Concentration, Maximization**: In the post-industrial “knowledge economy,” there are fewer well-paid generic labourers, fewer positions for somebody who is pretty good at a lot of things. More and more, the labour market requires somebody who excels in one narrowly-defined area. Concentration no longer means one worldwide corporate facility for the organization, but it does mean concentrated areas of production such as California’s Silicon Valley.
In New Zealand, while rural population declines, the Auckland city-state continues to grow by nearly 100 bodies per day. Whether maximization means maximizing market penetration, employee productivity, process throughput, response time or any other measure of business-per-investment-dollar, “competing in a world economy” means maximizing return-for-effort.

In sum, the “covert curriculum” of industrialism remains profoundly influential in post-industrial life. Post-industrial work, the so-called “knowledge economy,” is not being constructed de novo. It is being built on a solid foundation of industrial principles. This is consistent with my argument in Manufacturing the Employee (1996, London:Sage) that (using the American history as a case example of industrialization of a culture similar in many ways to that of Aotearoa / New Zealand) industrial reality required a profound transformation of social common sense in a radical and often brutal process which took a half-century and shook society to its foundations. This being so, one might well ask how an economy without a legacy of industrialism can and cannot compete in a post-industrial world economy.

The idea that nations are better and worse prepared to enter certain competitive areas is not an especially radical concept. In The Competitive Advantage of Nations, Michael Porter (1990, New York:Free Press) argues that an important element of company competitive advantage is national competitive advantage. Where does the world buy products with outstanding engineering? Germany, of course. Outstanding style? Why, Italy. China presently leads the world in low cost manufacture. The Swiss are still the world’s elite bankers. For better or for worse, America is the gold standard in fast food. How differently would we think about Belgian chocolate and Hong Kong tailoring if we were purchasing Hong Kong chocolate and Belgian tailoring?

To date, our business prosperity in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been based largely on passive national advantage. In an economy resting on wool and mutton, large, relatively inexpensive tracts of open land have made it possible to use a low-technology, low-input / low-output, production model profitably. This single source of national competitive advantage was a viable anchor for prosperity from the invention of refrigeration until well after the Second World War. A surplus of land was also key to vital elements of prosperity such as affordable housing and a “clean and green” environment.

Although it is unclear what the future holds, it appears likely that more and more of the Kiwi economy will lose the passive advantage it has enjoyed as more and more goods and services are sold in a world market where the best design, cheapest labour and most aggressive business practices compete in Darwinian fashion. In order to create and defend a niche in this market, it is important to begin asking what distinct advantages we can build upon and what distinct disadvantages we can recognize and minimize.

Can the Post-Ovine Compete With the Post-Industrial?
The question above is deliberately framed in an inflammatory way. Of course it is possible for a post-ovine economy to succeed in the world. But, since this has not yet happened, the question we should ask is how? Reliance on clichés like “Kiwi ingenuity,” “Kiwi can-do attitude”, and “punching above our weight” tell us nothing except that we are headed for disaster. Kiwi pundits like Rod Oram, who perpetually
see only Kiwi successes also prime the complacency that precedes catastrophe. Yes, there is confidence-building value in reviewing one’s successes, but what sport team gathers after the game to watch the films of everything they did right? Successful competitors scrutinize their weaknesses so they can supplement their strengths.

The conventional wisdom of this country is not that of the factory, but of the farm. The farmer is not a specialist, but must be “good enough” at practically everything. Kiwi egalitarianism, appropriate in a farming community, is at odds with the stratification and specialization required of the factory. This is neither good nor bad; actually, it is both, at once. Platitudes such as “tall poppies” and “#8 wire” are significant because they represent the cultural common sense that is, in all probability, a source of both competitive advantage and our most significant obstacles to competitive advantage. If we are to realize the advantage, though, we must also coldly face the disadvantage. To get beyond offence or defence to more balanced analysis, we might start with models for discussion such as these:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Cultural Value</th>
<th>Disadvantage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ex: Fashion</td>
<td>#8 wire</td>
<td>Ex: Painting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiwi ingenuity</td>
<td>Tall poppy</td>
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<td>Punching above our weight</td>
<td>Kiwi can-do</td>
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<tr>
<th>Advantage</th>
<th>Industrial Value</th>
<th>Disadvantage</th>
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<td>Standardization</td>
<td>Specialization</td>
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<td>Synchronization</td>
<td>Concentration</td>
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<td>Maximization</td>
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“quardle ardle oodle ardle wardle doodle”: Work, organisations and management in Aotearoa/New Zealand fictional literature and film

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**Background**
This project is in the early stages of development and we would welcome the opportunity to further explore our initial ideas and possibilities for the research topic with colleagues at the OIL Symposium. Broadly, what follows represents a starting point/background to our thinking which we wish to formalise as a ‘research project’ around work, organisations and management in New Zealand fictional literature and film. It is the distinctly New Zealand flavour, and the local possibilities for research that we believe differentiates what we propose from some other similarly framed studies emerging from researchers in different cultural contexts.
The idea of looking to fictional literature and film for different insights into ourselves, our work and our organisational practices is neither original nor new. In the last two decades there has been a fairly steady growth of published enquiry that uses fictional literature as a way of seeing the world of organisations and management through different eyes (Czarniawska-Joerges & Guillet de Monthoux, 1994; Phillips, 1995; Hassard & Holliday, 1998; Rhodes & Brown 2005). Many colleagues actively, even routinely, use film, drama, short stories and poetry as teaching aids in organisation studies classes, or even as the basis for entire papers studying management (Knights & Wilmott, 1999). Case studies, often fictionalised accounts of ‘real’ organisations, are ubiquitous in today’s management schools. To assist us with our teaching, we have access to anthologies (e.g. Oresick & Coles, 1990; Gates 2000) that can help us directly access examples from literature overtly concerned with certain aspects of organisation or work experience. Overseas, colleagues have critically engaged with children’s literature (Grey, 1998; Greenwood, 2002), science fiction (Corbett, 1998) and film (Bell, 2008 forthcoming) for insights into work and organisations. And locally, a number of New Zealand organisation studies researchers have demonstrated an interest in reading film, television and fiction for greater insight into organisational realities.

Why are we interested in the topic and where are we coming from?
Exploring representations of work, organisations and management in New Zealand fictional literature and film appeals to us for a number of reasons: perhaps most immediately, we have ourselves frequently called upon literature, film and television to illustrate workplace practices or highlight management issues in our classes, yet we have felt dissatisfied with the depth of analysis (or lack of) this rather fragmented ‘exemplar’ approach provides us. The proposed project constitutes a more deliberate, less opportunistic, more ambitious and hopefully satisfying method by which to inform our understandings of work, organisations, and management. The opportunity to use literature and film to focus on our own locality, identities and experiences is also a compelling notion. Whilst some have argued the virtues of literature as a way into the values and cultures of other times and places (Czarniawska-Joerges & Guillet de Monthoux, 1994) we are particularly interested in the opportunities film and fiction can provide for regarding our own culture and environment through the eyes of New Zealand artists, past and present. Further, we have been encouraged by the work done by Victoria University’s Grant Morris on New Zealand law in literature, and by the recent collaborative venture whereby New Zealand writers, artists and scientists came together to produce an edited book of poems, cartoons and short stories exploring a range of ‘scientific’ themes (Manhire & Callahan, 2006). Finally, our common interest in New Zealand literature, and a wish to find a way to re-engage with some of the subjects that impassioned us in our first degrees (English literature), brought us easily to the place of a comfortable research ‘fit’. Our own working lives have followed different paths, eventually leading us each to academia. Among a range of work roles, one of us has been a fashion designer, small business owner-operator, business consultant and academic and has developed research specialities in the fields of small and medium enterprise and entrepreneurship. Another has been employed as an English teacher and school deputy principal and now lectures and researches in literacy and self-efficacy and professional development. The third of the trio has also worked in various organisations and work roles and has current research interests in gender and leadership and social issues in management.
Yet another exemplar

We’d like to open the symposium discussion with reference to a poem that resonated for us as New Zealanders: Dennis Glover’s poem *The Magpies*. Typically, literary analyses of *The Magpies* refer to the ‘feel’ of the poem as distinctly New Zealand in character. Commentators suggest that the language, the story and especially the “quardle ardle oodle ardle wardle doodle” of the magpie, resonate with the sounds and experiences of ‘real’ New Zealand. Some claim Glover as a great literary figure, others suggest that he is not a very good poet. Most readers, however, seem to agree that the story and the way it is told through the poem is at least somewhat compelling and captures some indefinable quintessence of the New Zealand psyche.

Some read the poem for literary merit on a technical perspective, focusing on the language and rhythms. For us, reading the poem through a lens of educators and organisation studies researchers, the poem carries a raft of meanings associated with work as a way of life, and particularly the poignant attachment to the land which is eventually stripped away from Elizabeth and Tom (or them from it). From this perspective *The Magpies* perhaps offers an insight too into the uneasy relationship between the small home-based enterprise and the impersonal corporation and the rural/urban divide captured in the New Zealand context of the Great Depression. These ideas are obvious in any interpretation, and ours is a crude and insubstantial illustration, but one that highlights the different interpretations and readings each of us might bring. One anonymous commentator relegates that which we choose to see as central to the poem’s meaning to mere peripheral status, commenting: “The fact that is actually quite a good wee poem about what the Great Depression did to farming is a pleasant bonus that is in danger of being overlooked” ([http://www.dpmms.cam.ac.uk/~tf/poem10.html](http://www.dpmms.cam.ac.uk/~tf/poem10.html)).

The proposal

We envisage an extended collaborative project with a number of organisation studies research initiatives occurring simultaneously, and one that might span topics such as, Maori literature and film, different film or literary genres, historical moments, various themes, authors, and so forth. We would love to hear about research that colleagues are already engaged in or aware of, and to invite colleagues to participate in the framing of an ongoing research initiative.

The research question (which we wish to discuss) is:

*How do New Zealand fictional literature and film inform our understanding of work, organisations and management in Aotearoa/New Zealand?*

As suggested previously, this question lends itself to a variety of studies and different modes of textual analysis, including feminist theory and rhetorical criticism. It enables us to explore relevant links for workers, students, management practitioners and scholars in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and to identify local nuances in the negotiation and construction of our local organisational realities. Moreover, such a study reinforces the notion that literature is not isolated from other things, but is frequently the mirror that reflects most aptly who we are and how we organise and live our lives.
References


Flying over there? Connectivity with international communities and treading lightly on the earth.

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It is 19,101km from Dunedin to London. If you are flying in an aeroplane then your emissions would amount to 3.1 tonnes of carbon. To offset those emissions, assuming that is at all possible, would cost approximately (NZ)$6228. Presently air travel is still relatively cheap - given the externalising of the major environmental costs. On the horizon though, there are issues of peak oil and carbon trading schemes that will start to affect business and individuals in ways that have the potential to radically change the way we currently do things – or maybe not?

This paper presents what are at the moment a jumble of ideas around climate change, carbon emissions trading and ecological footprinting analysis. Particularly, the aim is to challenge the relationships between these ideas and the way in which we, as academics, connect with international academic communities. Thus, the aim of this short paper and the discussion of it at OIL 2008, is to raise issues and questions about how we connect internationally and nationally in academic communities while being conscious of our ecological footprints. This paper will begin with a discussion of how this came to be an issue for me and then briefly outline possibilities for responding to the challenge.

The reason for my interest in this topic came about through carrying out an ecological footprint analysis of the School of Business at the University of Otago with a postgraduate class. This project was undertaken during the second semester of 2007 and used data from the previous year. It involved measuring ecological impacts through the consumption of land, water, materials and waste, transport and energy.

An ecological footprint (EF) is considered to be a way to measure the sustainability of a nation, region, household or institution (Wackernagel & Rees, 1996). It considers the consumption of national resources compared with the capacity of the natural environment to provide these. The calculations are based on land values, type and rate of consumption and carrying capacity and are locally specific. That is, each footprint is measured in terms of global hectares (gha) which is a measure based on conversion factors relative to the biocapacity of each region. The results of our EF gave a figure of 395.5gha; the equivalent of approximately 400 football fields. The largest impact in the footprint was travel at 38% of the total. International air travel amounted to

28 There are many calculators and offsetting schemes for air travel. The price for the offset mentioned here is taken from a calculator on http://www.climatecare.org/guardian/calculators/flight/ accessed 30/11/07.
2,329,397 km for the year which would emit 771.6 tonnes of carbon into the atmosphere. If the University was to offset those emissions today it would cost $15,000 for the School of Business alone.

At present to change any travel behaviour is mostly a moral decision – based upon a set of individual ethics concerning the environment. In time it is suggested that there may be more constraints on international travel than one’s values (see Lloyd, 2005). For example, emissions trading schemes and peak oil; both of which may increase the price of air travel beyond what is perceived as affordable for overseas conferences. This begs the question that is if there are greater constraints in terms of international travel for academics, then what would be the consequences of that?

At a cursory level the issue of international travel (or national for that matter) can be discussed in terms of something that we as academics ‘do’. We strive to contribute toward what is a global body of knowledge and aim to present our contributions at key international conferences to our peers. By doing so we hope to develop our work to enable it to be published and then more widely recognised as an important part of the body of knowledge in our area. Furthermore, a publication counts towards our PBRF ranking and we can then be seen as ‘doing our job’ to a socially constructed and somewhat subjective number crunched level. However, considering these issues at a deeper level leads to a questioning of the roles of academics. What is it that we do and how do we do it?

To approach this issue from another angle we can ask the question – what happens if we were not to travel to international conferences as regularly as we currently do? What would be the consequences for scholarship, teaching, research and career development? Does technology have the means from which we can still continue pursue our careers from ‘down here’? For this OIL discussion, I want to start with these questions to raise issues around connectivity, isolation and networking and future possibilities of operating in an academic world.

References