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CERVICAL CANCER INQUIRY — A FEMINIST VICTORY

BROADSHEET

NEW ZEALAND'S FEMINIST MAGAZINE

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

SEPTEMBER 1988

ISSUE 161

\$3.80

BOOK FESTIVAL

Feast On Women's Writing

MONEY MATTERS

The Costs Of Govt. Economic Policy

BETWEEN THE CRACKS

Being Neither Maori Nor Pakeha in NZ



THE WINNING WOMAN

A New Zealand
guide to
financial security

Jackie O'Neill



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Tanya Hopman is a collective member,
and sells advertising in the magazine.

LETTERS POLICY: The Broadsheet collective
may not agree with or endorse views expressed in
letters. Nearly all the letters we are sent get published.
Those that are not published in full are
considered by the whole collective and edited in
consultation with the writer. We do not publish
personal attacks. Letters from men are published
only when they correct matters of fact. We particularly
welcome letters about the content of the
magazine. Letters that are addressed to the collective
or to the editor are assumed to be intended for
publication. Please indicate clearly if they are not.

BROADSHEET is on file at the Women's
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University Library, Evanston,
Illinois 60201, USA.



HERSPECTIVE

The response to our readership survey in issue 160 has been overwhelming, a tremendous exercise in reader participation. We will publish the results after we've dealt with the business of collating all the information.

So many women's tears, toils, triumphs and tantrums have gone into the making of *Broadsheet*. Women whose names I hear mentioned in so many amazing facets of life, each a success in her chosen field. All of them have given to *Broadsheet* and are now, on other important ventures, still giving. The current collective is preceded by women such as Sandra Coney, Christine Dann, Julie Thompson, Hilary Haines, Sarah Calvert, Renee, Heather McPherson, Miriam Saphira, Lynn Crossley, Sandi Hall and two women who are still working on the *Broadsheet* collective, Sharon Alston and Claire-Louise McCurdy. These women and many others were all there. Back issues tell the herstory.

I have found, since I began selling advertising for the magazine, a real, deep-seated respect for *Broadsheet* in areas of the marketplace. Some days I come across really dynamic people who are so proud that *Broadsheet* is still surviving and still at the forefront of presenting a feminist perspective.

To some avid supporters, advertising is a dirty word, it represents capitalism, materialistic values and huge corporations cashing in on the consumer. I see it as a necessary evil, *Broadsheet* is a business and other people in business can now see *Broadsheet* as a serious contender for their advertising dollar.

On 80-85% of the surveys you, the reader, have returned, the two most common consumer products given the thumbs down were tobacco and alcohol, followed by such things as boys toys, things that would pollute the environment, make-up tested on animals and of course any form of sexist or racist advertising. Comments that are really nice to read are, "it's the way it's done" [advertising] and "I trust *Broadsheet* to get the advertiser to do it the *Broadsheet* way". *Broadsheet* after all

launched Hit-list and hogwash, both of which zoomed in on companies and advertising agencies launching their sexist or racist advertisements on society at large.

In issue 124, November 1984, hit list highlighted an ad created by McKay King Advertising for Jantzen swimwear. It was a full page ad for young girls' swimsuits: the girls wore make up, had their hair flowing behind them and posed coyly. Jenny Rankine wrote in *Broadsheet*, "this ad says girls are sexy, they're available, they're objects like adult women". In a very short time the ad was withdrawn as Jantzen received many letters of protest including one from 12 Dunedin child psychologists. Go, *Broadsheet* supporters!

We as a collective have a screening process for advertising. A couple of mistakes have ended up in print and we've got the angry letters to prove it, but most of the advertisers in *Broadsheet* have a good sense of values or they wouldn't be in *Broadsheet*. They're not people clicking pens in glass towers, they're in amongst it. They want to put their money into *Broadsheet's* coffers not down the throats of the corporate media, but they are in business and they need results. With results, they will continue to support what *Broadsheet* stands for, making her strong and viable so that other women may work on the *Broadsheet* collective in the future.

Become a *Broadsheet* flasher. Show this small collection of advertisers they're on the right track. Go shopping with your *Broadsheet*. 'Hold it up to the advertisers' faces. Make contact, eyeball to eyeball, spell it out "I s-a-w i-t-i-n B-R-O-A-D-S-H-E-E-T."

Tanya Hopman

LETTERS

PLEA FOR HELP

Dear Women,

Through your letters page I would like to make an appeal to women in Auckland for help. We have a number of women being referred to Auckland for terminations from Taranaki. The criteria used by the local obstetrician/gynaecologists are quite narrow and preclude a number of women who are then referred directly to Auckland. Occasionally women are referred to the Women's Centre for assistance in obtaining Special Needs Grants to cover the cost of travelling and accommodation in Auckland.

We are experiencing difficulty in arranging accommodation for these women, who have minimal financial resources, and are appealing to feminists in Auckland who might be prepared to offer accommodation and some support for these women. I have not been able to ascertain the number of women who are referred to Auckland but we have only had two referrals needing our assistance in the past three months.

If you or your organisation/group are able to help, please contact the undersigned.

BERYL ALLISON

New Plymouth Women's Centre
PO Box 4030,
New Plymouth

CROSS-CULTURAL ADOPTIONS

Dear Broadsheet,

I am conducting a study of transracial adoptions in Auckland as part of the requirements of an MA. My interest in the subject comes from having two younger brothers who were adopted transracially.

The practice of placing Maori and Pacific Island children in Pakeha homes became relatively popular in the early 1970s, due in part to the lack of Pakeha babies available on the one hand, and of Maori and Pacific Island homes on the other. This practice has now all but ceased. However, despite the large amount of data from America, there have been no studies carried out in New Zealand, to determine the effect of being brought up in a Pakeha home on Maori and Pacific Island children.

Thus I would like to hear from Pakehas who adopted Maori or Pacific Island children at birth, and whose adopted children are now aged 12-20 years. Anyone

who is in this position and living in Auckland, or who has any insights to offer on the subject of transracial adoption, can write to M. Mackintosh, PO Box 56-108, Dominion Rd, Auckland. As a Pakeha I would be particularly interested to hear any Maori reactions to these adoptions.

MARGARET MACKINTOSH
Auckland

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Dear Broadsheet,

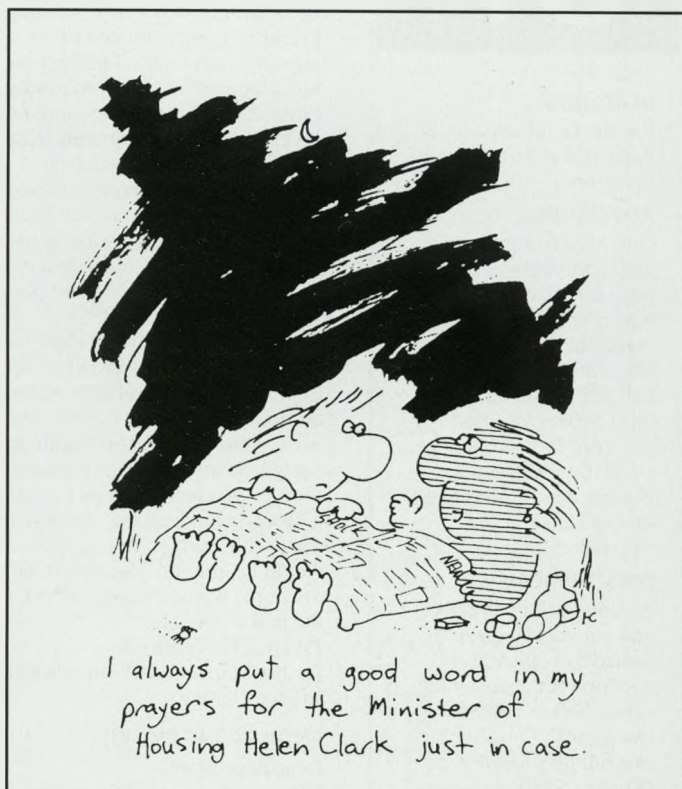
I'm a schizophrenic. That doesn't mean I'm a monster with two heads, but rather an ordinary person with one head that gets a bit disorganized occasionally. I'm not sick. I have an illness that I've come to terms with and grown to understand. I've learnt to cope the hard way.

I was first diagnosed three years ago, and responded by fleeing in fear. I retreated into my own fantasy world and took several overdoses as a way out from the pain. Once I ended up in intensive care.

No one is born with schizophrenia, but some of us are born with a disposition to it. One in a hundred will be afflicted, usually in late teens or early twenties. My own illness was brought about by taking LSD: a foolish mistake. I began to experience frightening hallucinations, seeing and hearing things, and feeling that everyone was plotting to kill me. I was hospitalized, but never really stabilized on medication. Once released I suffered a second attack in which I believed I was a child molester; an inverse reaction to incest at puberty. I was scared. I could see and hear my friends yelling and whistling at me from passing cars. I saw men hiding in the trees waiting to pounce. Again I was hospitalized. Little medication and lots of sleep this time.

The last three years have seen me in and out of psychiatric institutions, bewildered at the power of my mind, and reflected in my poetry. It hasn't stopped me living or achieving. I've completed a law degree and now work as a family lawyer, helping women in the provinces. I've suffered, but I've grown.

Too many people have serious misconceptions about schizophrenia. That we are violent, (we seldom are). That we have a split personality, (rather it is the disorganization of one per-



CARTOON: HELEN COURTNEY

sonality). That we are mad, (we are sensitive people with a disability).

You owe it to us, and to yourself, to find out more about schizophrenia. We live, laugh and love like anyone else.

WENDY PARKER
Palmerston North

DRAWING ON CHANGE

Dear Broadsheet,

The cartoon on the letters page of your June 1988 issue shows one woman saying to another: "I prefer to change the world rather than myself - it's easier." Presumably this is a humorous dig at feminist activists. It implies that we prefer to be activists than face personal issues - even, perhaps, that political activity is a refuge from personal issues.

As a feminist who has for many years been involved in both psychotherapy and activism, I am very clear that it is not easier to change the world than to change oneself. It is a great deal more difficult. This is why many more women are involved in personal change activities, from weight loss to assertiveness training, than are actually feminist activists.

Personal growth and change are an important element in feminist activism. Each woman

makes her own decisions as to where to put her energy. But let's not undermine women who do choose activism by suggesting that trying to "change the world" is the easy way out.

DEBBIE JONES
Hamilton

NEW RESOURCE CENTRE

Dear Broadsheet,

The Southland Women's Resource Centre, recently established in central Invercargill, is in the process of gathering together a comprehensive array of literature and information concerned with women's issues.

As one of our most important aims is to provide an appropriate information source, whereby women can select those avenues that will best service their needs, we hope to have full coverage of all areas that touch women's lives. We envisage the Centre as providing a networking function, promoting contact between women's groups and women in the community.

The Southland Women's Resource Centre's goal of assisting women to make informed choices from themselves and their families (in a non-threatening environment) will be furthered by the educative function of the Centre.

FRONTING UP

DEADLINES

For the October issue 24 August, for November 24 September.

ADVERTISING

Our advertising rates are very competitive. Basic rates for Black and white advertising inside the magazine (excluding GST) are: full-page \$600; half \$300; quarter \$150; third \$200; classified 30c per word prepaid, 40c per word if we bill you. Further details on request. Phone Tanya, (09) 608-535

SUBSCRIPTIONS

A sub is \$40 per year - you get your magazine posted to you. Add a donation for a sustaining sub of \$60 or consider a two-year (\$75 or \$105 sustaining) or three-year (\$110 or \$150 sustaining) subscription. Overseas rates (these plus the horrendous costs of overseas postage) on page 2.

Regular readers please note: we get a better return from subs than from bookshop sales.

SUB EXPIRY

We now have a line at the bottom of mail-out labels stating the issue number at which your subscription expires. (The issue number is on the cover and the contents page of every magazine.) We hope this will alert subscribers to renew their subs before they expire - the renewal notice that we put in the magazine seems to often get overlooked. If the number on your label is the same as the issue number on the cover, we won't be sending you any more until you renew.

VOLUNTEERS

Is there a woman out there who could help with keeping the account books up to date? Some knowledge of accounting necessary. Please ring Carol on 608-535.

Our highly suitable location in Don St will be open to the public on a daily basis as a place to relax for women and children who perhaps find the central city a little unsympathetic to their needs and to provide a focal point for rural women visiting the city.

The Women's Centre has been instigated by a core working group of eight women which is steadily growing. Discussions with women in the community have revealed an encouraging level of interest in women from many different backgrounds.

We invite all women to come along and see for themselves their Centre and how they want to use it. The Centre will formulate according to the women who participate.

We see ourselves, also, as including women's creative activities as an integral part of the on-going life of the Centre. We invite your group/organisation to contribute any material, information, etc you feel we could use. As a fledgling operation, run on a minuscule budget, any donations would be gratefully accepted but of course women-power is by far the more valuable.

PAULEEN HAYES
for the Southland Women's Resource Centre

ENDING THE BIG KILL

Dear Broadsheet,
The new death toll from smoking has been put at 4,920 deaths per year. This was released in an article by Gray Reinken and Lauge-sen, NZ Medical Journal, April 27, and in the Department of Health's new book of statistics, *The Big Kill*. Smoking is the chief preventable cause of death and disease, and more Government actions are required urgently.

Although the quitting rate for smoking is quite high, the uptake rate is just as high, and both are rising. About 110 children take up smoking every day. The tobacco industry is targeting young women as new smokers. They are launching new "ultra mild" brands with point-of-sale poster and counter mat advertisements. The low tar brands are still just as dangerous for heart disease and just as dangerous in pregnancy or in conjunction with the contraceptive pill as other cigarettes. They are also just as addictive.

The way you can help is to take any of the following actions: 1. As the new important regulation to ban the sale of cigarettes to children under 16 is dependent on community support for its effectiveness, we suggest you have an important part to play in ensuring this law works properly; 2. Has your group yet come out with a statement to support a total ban on tobacco advertising?; 3. Would your organisation be prepared to make a statement in favour of a

ban on smoking in domestic planes? Or you might like to support local authority by-laws banning smoking in shops and requiring restaurants to have half of their seating reserved for non-smoking; 4. The urgent need now is for workers to be protected from sidestream smoke in the workplace and to have a legal right to a smokefree workplace. This is particularly important for asthmatics.

Any groups that want to take further action should contact ASH, PO Box 8667, Symonds St, Auckland. DEIRDRE KENT
Auckland

THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF PORN

Dear Broadsheet,
I must register my disagreement with WAP's perspective on pornography as outlined in the June issue of Broadsheet.

Despite Fiona's comment that "we don't want to say this is good sex this is bad sex", it is obvious that some kinds of sex are unacceptable, or bad, to these women. Jocelyn wants to see "honest portrayals of sexual encounters between people", but I'm sure she doesn't include incest under this heading even though for many New Zealanders, now and in the past, this type of sexual encounter is most definitely a reality.

Jocelyn, Fiona and Debbie, like myself, find incest and rape unacceptable. Debbie indicates that she may even find explicit pictures of women's bodies unacceptable: she notes that "the images have become worse, more extreme over the last 20 years. The pictures have got much more explicit." Personally, I find women's genitals extremely attractive and I'm only too pleased to see them depicted in focus at last.

Is Debbie's view "good" and mine "bad", or vice versa, or neither? Who is going to judge?

I get the impression from Debbie's later comments that it will be those people who are "verbal", who have "learnt analysis in the education system" and "come from families where there is discussion" who will be making the decisions on what is pornography (bad) and what is erotica (good). It certainly won't be people from Access groups.

Debbie doesn't seem to include herself when she says, "People don't think about these things...I believe that they absorb these stereotypes". How come everyone else absorbs these images like mindless sponges, whereas she has managed to keep her own analytical mind clear and untainted?

We don't need analytical skills to recognize what turns us

on. Such skills may not even be much help when attempting to explain why some images turn us on and others leave us cold, or even nauseate us. Why do so many women have fantasies about being raped or spanked or kidnapped (see Nancy Friday's *Forbidden Flowers*), when they know for sure that they would not enjoy such acts in reality? Not simply because they've been told by male pornographers that such images will excite them, surely.

Please give women some credit for knowing their own minds! As Allanah Ryan has pointed out in her Broadsheet articles, sexual desire, and fantasy in particular, does not lend itself readily to analysis. She quotes Lynne Segal, who says that fantasies "draw upon all manner of infantile sexual wishes, active and passive, loving and hating, all the way back to our very earliest feelings of desire and pleasure in childhood". I agree with this assessment and would point out that these components of sexual desire are present in every one of us, and are equally valid, whether we're well-educated or not.

I believe that the potential dangers of increased censorship far outweigh the risks to which pornography exposes us. Jocelyn, Debbie and Fiona do seem to be aware that some caution is required when promoting censorship, but they justify their stance by reassuring us that "censorship does not mean there will be no sexual material!"; only "images that really degrade people" will be banned. How can they guarantee this?

My guess is that we'll still have "Give 'em a taste of Kiwi!", we'll still have "Rambo" and other depictions of male violence. We'll still have "thrillers" in which women are murdered, mutilated or terrified; we just won't have the ones where this happens while they're naked - great!

And what if those with the power of censorship are predominantly homophobic? (Debbie makes special mention of the "horrific homophobia" of New Zealanders.) No more *Out* magazine or films like *Desert Hearts*!

I was pleased to see that WAP support alternative sex education in schools. I heartily agree with this and would add that some state-funded help to improve the self-esteem of our citizens (including pre-schoolers) may help us to be more assertive about our own sexual choices and more tolerant of the choices of others. To me, this would be a much more constructive first step towards "changing the world" than banning pornography would ever be.
LOUISE MALONE
Auckland

LESBIAN ARCHIVES MISSING BROADSHEET

Dear Broadsheet,

On my return from an overseas tour of lesbian/feminist/gay archives in Canada and the United States last year, I was thrilled to discover that a year's subscription of *Broadsheet* - from July 1987 to July 1988 - had been donated to the Waxing Moon Archives by a sponsor. I have appreciated this very much, as it is costly buying or subscribing to many of the 90 Serials Titles that the archives now holds. Many of these journals, magazines and newspapers have been donated by individual women, publishers or archives, both within New Zealand and from overseas countries such as Canada, the United States, Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands. Some of these journals like *Big Apple Dyke News*, *Ambitious Womyn* and *Lesbian Fury*, consist of single (sample) copies, whilst others, like *Common Lives Lesbian Lives*, *Lesbian Inciter*, *Lesbian Contradiction* and *Lesbian Connection*, make up entire runs or complete sets. Some mainstream or feminist publishers who promote serials like *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Cinema, Signs; A Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, and *Radical Teacher: A Socialist and Feminist Journal on the Theory and Practice of Teaching*, and others have contributed Special Issues of their journals that focus specifically on lesbian issues and topics.

The archive's collection of *Broadsheet* is growing and the gaps are being filled. Many thanks to Maureen Jaggard who donated 13 back issues of *Broadsheet* that had been missing or hard to come by. The following issues (especially the earlier ones) are still needed to complete the set and I would appreciate any contributions from women in New Zealand who have any of these issues and would like to see them preserved as part of this archive. The missing issues are:

Nos 1-20; 23; 24; 26-28; 33; 50; 51; 54; 55-58; 66; 103; 118; 119; 121-125; 127-134; 136-139; 142; 147; 148; 153; 157.

The archives subscription runs out in July 1988 so I will use this opportunity to call on any *Broadsheet* subscribers to offer their future collections of *Broadsheet* to, or sponsor a subscription for, the archives, so that *Broadsheet* will be preserved for future generations of young women.

A complete list of the Serials Titles, plus an annotated update of the Waxing Moon Catalogue - including a list of lesbian and feminist books the archives now holds and an introduction about my trip overseas will be available

at the end of the year and can be obtained by writing and enclosing a donation for the catalogue, to 36 Mt Pleasant Rd, Mt Eden, Auckland.

ZOE CATHERINE ALICE
London

UNNECESSARY LABELLING

Dear Broadsheet,

In comment on Louise Malone and Pam Mullholland, *Broadsheet* June 186 (I won't use the words for or against, they reek too much of confrontation) I myself have little regard for categorisation of people (especially women).

Not only do I find analysis of lesbianism through the use of butch/femme stereotypes offensive, but also unnecessary. Relationships, to me, are based on equality, whatever the sexual orientation of the individuals involved. All the butch/femme roles do is label a lesbian partnership as unequal - just as many heterosexual relationships have been and still are.

Parallel to this, it seems unnecessary to even label the sexuality of a person, let alone a relationship. Idealistic though it may be, is it not better to accept someone for who they are without the analysis of the components which make them up?

By using sexual labelling to differentiate between and within sexual orientation are we not resorting to the same techniques as the "classical" homophobic has used?

After all, isn't sexual categorisation akin to discrimination in the same way as labelling someone "black" or white? (Or pink for that matter!)

Let's keep moving forward to equality and acceptance of the individual, rather than back toward the discriminatory gutter we are striving to leave (and perhaps forget?)

NICOLA POPLAWSKI
Dunedin

CONTINUING ACTION

Dear Broadsheet,

With regard to my letter printed in the January/February issue of *Broadsheet* and the subsequent replies by representatives of the New Zealand Medical Association, I wish to say that a 21-page statement of complaint, giving a life history, treatment and its results, was sent to the NZMA, the Medical Disciplinary Committee, the Royal New Zealand College of Psychiatrists and the New Zealand Medical Council.

The NZMA, the Disciplinary Committee and the College of Psychiatrists have all rejected the complaint, with no reasons given at all. The Medical Council are still deciding whether to accept the complaint for further investigation. Therefore the psy-

— OBITUARY —

Doreen was one of the women I interviewed for the story "The Only Ones" in *Broadsheet* 153, November 1987. At that time she had just become aware that she had cancer. Doreen died on 6 July 1988 in Greenlane Hospital. During the months since the interview I had come to know Doreen and Margaret and I have some valued memories of time I spent with them. (Margaret is a most stylish frisbee thrower!)

Doreen talked about being a lesbian and about death and dying. She thought a lot about her life, bringing up the two boys with Margaret, her values. The publication of the article in *Broadsheet* caused her

some difficulties in family relationships and she talked about this.

She chose a song to be sung at her funeral, to a well-known hymn tune, that ended with the words "The freedom just to be," something she had been seeking for herself. Adrienne Rich wrote, in one of her "Twenty-one Love Poems":
two people together is a work

heroic in its ordinariness,
two lines that for me express something of the life that Doreen and Margaret had together, as I learnt of it.

You made me think, Doreen, and challenged some of my ideas. I am glad I knew you, if only a little, for a short time.

Pat Rosier

chiatrist concerned is still practising.

My sympathy and great sorrow go out to those women who may be suffering as I did. I feel for them, very strongly. The complaint was basically for sexual abuse and criminal negligence against a professional New Zealand mental health therapist. We have no laws in New Zealand at present to cover this type of complaint.

I will write to tell *Broadsheet* the decision of the NZ Medical Council.

KATHRYN MILLER
Rotorua

PORNOGRAPHY IMAGES

Dear Broadsheet,

I've enjoyed reading and discussing the two articles you have recently published debating the pornography issue, as it is an issue I'm trying to get clearer in my mind.

However, one thing bothered me. Why were pictures of the covers of pornographic videos included in both the May and June articles? I noticed (but only just!) a small box inserted beside the pictures in the May issue which stated that some of the *Broadsheet* collective felt uncomfortable about the pictures being used. I would therefore be interested to know the reasoning behind the decision to insert them. If women can't get away from pornographic propaganda in a feminist magazine - then where can we? Perhaps it is only because of my own sensitivity about the issue, but I really don't need any more reminders about how pornography shows women.

I only have to go to my local dairy to see pornographic video tapes, or to the garage where they

sell Penthouse etc, or past bookshops which display Penthouse posters outside their shops, or skim the entertainments page of the *Christchurch Press* and spot the ad inserted daily by a small cinema which shows only pornographic movies.

Seeing this stuff nearly every day churns me up with many questions: such as - am I still attractive if my body doesn't look like the pictures, am I a killjoy, or a prude for not wanting to have pornography around me, and who do I feel like it's such a huge problem to deal with? Unfortunately these questions come up whether I see pornography at the dairy or in *Broadsheet*.

RUTH HENDERSON
Christchurch

Editorial response:

Our decision was that as the articles were talking about pornography it was appropriate to show some samples of what is readily available. Also, part of the context of the articles is our reaction to the images: we wanted to emphasise the complexity of the discussion. A lot of our discussion about including those images was around the conflicts between content (images of parts of women's bodies) and the context (firstly the use of these images in sex videos and secondly with the articles discussing the issues). The images we used emphasise the sexism in how such pictures of women are used.

As the insertion in the May issue indicated, we were not in complete agreement about the force of these arguments relative to the wish of many women for *Broadsheet* to be a refuge from such images. It's an ongoing discussion for us, too!



Judge Silvia Cartwright during the Inquiry

PHOTO: GIL HANLY

A FEMINIST VICTORY

Judge Silvia Cartwright's report on the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, released on August 5, is a total vindication of the work done by Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle to expose the inadequacies of the treatment of some women with cervical abnormalities at National Women's Hospital (NWH). Pat Rosier reports.

When I finished reading the report I felt like celebrating. Women were believed, Judge Cartwright had made recommendations that acknowledged the need for change at NWH, and elsewhere, and the Minister of Health had endorsed *all* the recommendations. Suddenly, the media was interested. *Eye Witness News*, the daily papers, the Sunday papers, everyone was into it.

"THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION MUST SHIFT FROM THE DOCTOR TO THE PATIENT"

The report establishes without doubt that Dr Green's 1966 experiment involved inadequate treatment of some women. The judge says, "I have come to believe that Dr Green was in fact trying to prove a personal belief" (p33) and that he "intended a study which involved no treatment or under-treatment of women with positive [cervical] smears." (p35) Patients who came to the hospital from any of the clinicians' private practices were *not* included in the experiment. "The other patients entering NWH, unconnected to a particular consultant's practice, were those passed to Dr Green for inclusion in the 1966 Proposal." (p 36) Those, in other words, without the "protection" of being a private patient of one of Green's colleagues. (Those who could afford consult-

ants got treatment, those who relied on the public health system were "eligible" for experimentation.)

Judge Cartwright describes the Proposal in operation as "scientifically unsound and dangerous to the patient" (p52) on evidence available by the end of 1969. "It was an attempt to prove a theory that lacked scientific validity and little attention was given to ethical considerations." Additionally, "responsibility ... extends to all those who having approved the trial, knew or ought to have known of its mounting consequences and its design faults and allowed it to continue." (p69)

Her criticisms are strong, and they continue: "although there was increasing opposition to the 1966 trial, both internationally and at NWH, there was no will to confront and resolve the difficult issues that emerged.... The medical profession failed in its basic duty to its patients." (p70)

I remember well the day lawyer Collins began his cross-examination of Sandra Coney, promising to expose over 70 inaccuracies in the original *Metro* article. "The factual basis for the article and its empha-

sis have proved to be correct", writes the judge. "There were a number of errors in the article finally published in the magazine. Most were of minor import or caused by editorial changes." (p 95) She also refers to Professor Bonham's "convoluted answers to their question" a characteristic also of his evidence.

The report is consistently critical of the lack of action from the medical profession, from 1966 onwards and this sections ends with the statement, "i still have no evidence before me that the 1966 trial has been formally terminated." (p 102)

The discussion of adequate management includes reference to "the sacredness of the area of the genital tract both to Maori, and, to a lesser degree, to Pakeha women." (p 115) It is great to see this issue, the disruption to women's lives of repeated returns to the hospital (returns that would have been unnecessary if proper treatment had been given at the outset) and the embarrassment and humiliation of procedures, included as part of adequate management. These are the sorts of things that make this report so important in the long term, as they are official statements of what women have been saying for years, without apparently being heard.

Judge Cartwright establishes a "special duty" for herself and the medical profession towards women who have had a diagnosis of CIS of the genital tract at NWH, and spells this out in detail and with overriding concern for the *patients*.

Ethics and patients rights take up a long (50-page) chapter of the report. Many of the issues that arose during the inquiry – peer review, informed consent, research protocols, the ineffectiveness of the poor performance of the NWH ethical committee (which she recommends disbanding in favour of an Auckland regional committee), patients' rights, including the right to dignity, consent to inclusion in trials, the teaching of ethics – are dealt with. In all cases both the hospital and the university make a very poor showing. The chapter concludes, "I prefer to advocate a system which will encourage better communication between patient and doctor, allow for structured negotiation and mediation, and raise awareness of patients' medical, cultural and family needs. The focus of attention must shift from the doctor to the patient." (p 176) This is totally validating of the claims feminist health workers have been making for years.

There is more criticism of the lack of resolution of historical disputes between the staffs of the hospital and the university and of teaching standards. Using the same teaching notes with minor modification for 20 years is described as displaying "intellectual impoverishment". The head of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology (Professor Bonham) is due to retire soon. The report states that "A replacement of world class would do much to invigorate the Department's image and morale." I agree with Sandra

Coney that he should retire now.

The need for a nationwide cervical screening programme has finally and publicly, as a result of this inquiry and report, been acknowledged by the Minister of Health. At last the effects of Drs Green, Bonham and Jamieson's belittling of the value of screening are being overcome. The cost of their influence in terms of women's health, fears and lives will never be fully known.

This report, along with the books being published by Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, shows how medicine in New Zealand has developed for doctors rather than patients. All three show how this can be changed. The authority of the report comes from the evidence of the women, supported by the knowledge of the experts called in from overseas. There is no defence left for members of the medical profession like the one in a Helen Courtney cartoon (*Broadsheet* 159, June 1988) who "... liked being a doctor better when I was God."

This report is so well written, thoroughly documented and lucid that I can see it having a value way beyond being a basis for improvement at NWH. Many of the principles of patient care and dignity, advocacy, responsibility are applicable to the whole health system, and could be very usefully applied to our woeful mental health services. It establishes the right of women patients to expect to be treated as fully human and the responsibility of medical professionals to treat us as such. There has never been a better time for us all to claim that right as forcefully as we are able and consolidate the gains that this report represents. We can all monitor progress on implementing the recommendations: they have been endorsed at top level, let's keep a watchful eye on prog-

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ress. Let us be alert, also, for the re-grouping and defences of the medical hierarchy. The signs are that they will take a "that was all in the past" attitude and resist acknowledging or acting on changes to present practices and procedures. It is very clear that the sorts of interactions between some doctors and patients that the Inquiry revealed are still common practice and must be changed.

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Just as having a Telethon focused on violence against women and children was a feminist victory (even if they did manage to make a mess of the figures) so is the outcome of the Cervical Cancer Inquiry. Our thanks are due to Sandra and Phillida and all those who worked behind the scenes and supported them, to the women who came forward and spoke to the Inquiry, and to Judge Cartwright, who listened.

FROM YOU TO US - AN INTERIM REPORT

We sent a questionnaire to subscribers in the September Broadsheet and they are coming in thick and fast. Thank you all for taking the trouble to return them. It will take a while to process the information but we have been looking at your comments about the magazine. Pat Rosier reports on these, from about 600 replies.

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Top of the pops of recent articles has been the story of Myra Nicols and Luv Ya Mowar. A few people don't like "Herspectives" and a few don't like "The Gripes of Roth" – but a lot of you

think both are great! Reviews are very popular.

For every comment we get there seems to be one that contradicts it. For example, "Give more space to lesbian content" and

OUR WOMAN IN THE HOUSE



Welcome to Alison McCulloch, our "woman in the house", who will be commenting regularly on events and issues around parliament.

WHY don't Labour women MPs speak out about what is happening to women's rights, working class rights, union rights and the welfare state? Pressure groups and activists trooping through parliament for

audience with members of the Labour women's caucus are constantly asking that question, and the women MPs' answer has never been illustrated more clearly than by what has been happening to Sydenham MP, **Jim Anderton**. Mr Anderton spoke out about the sale of state assets, just after the July budget, and caused upheaval in the party and the party caucus because of it.

Feminists have been looking to woman MPs for an Anderton-like stand. What stops them from sticking their necks out is the political principle of "democratic centralism". This was originally a Leninist principle, but translated itself into day to day Labour Party politics via rule 242 of the party's constitution and rules. Under that rule party candidates pledge that if they are elected they will abide by caucus decisions.

Activists lobbying women MPs have invariably run up against this rule as the MPs claim they are fighting the cause within the caucus. If they are lucky, the visiting pressure group may be confidentially let in on the MPs inter-caucus tactics – but they're not allowed to talk to the media about it, and in some cases women MPs have even baulked at lobbyists going back and telling the groups they represent about it.

The activists wait, and wait, and wait, and nothing seems to happen.

As the pressure goes on the MPs become increasingly defensive, close ranks and defend themselves by saying those on the outside don't understand what it's like;

don't understand how hard they're struggling within caucus; don't understand how difficult it is to get round some of their male caucus colleagues, and finally, don't appreciate how much worse things would be if they weren't in there battling on behalf of the women of New Zealand.

Activists become cynical and suspicious, tensions increase and in some cases their relationships with women MPs deteriorate into thinly-disguised mutual hostility.

So the July budget came and went, as abortion services plainly began to fail badly and an equal pay report was given a cool reception by the government – and on all of these issues there was barely a whimper from a government woman MP.

Women's Affairs Minister **Margaret Shields** was busy in Australia at a consumer affairs ministers' conference and acting Women's Affairs Minister **Helen Clark** was having a press release war with the Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC), which had criticised Labour for what it saw as a deplorable record on women's rights. Of course, Helen Clark did not agree.

Women MPs – if they want to stay in parliament – see that they have no choice about whether or not they speak out.

To many feminist activists that has not been good enough, but perhaps those activists still trying to achieve some change – radical or not so radical – are naive to think they can achieve such change through the parliamentary process in the first place. ■

HARVEST

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Over the next few months we'll give you more detailed information about your responses – it's not too late to send yours in.

TIRED OLD IDEA BEING RE-TRIED

A national wet-t-shirt competition is being mounted by Raynor Promotions. Pat Rosier has been finding out about it.

The first sign that Auckland women became aware of was an advertisement in *The New Zealand Herald* of 29 June. "Early entries are now being accepted" it said. "A willingness and ability to appear on stage are required, and national travel may be involved for heat winners." A letter sent out to women who respond to the box number informs applicants that "The next stage will require you to attend an interview along with other applicants ... at our office sometime over the next two weeks." There'll be an audition involving moving and dancing to music. "Please have suitable clothing for this exercise."

A call to the office on 28 July confirmed that the promotion is going ahead in "the next couple of months". No information was available on venues and both J M Echave, who signed the letter to entrants and Hugh Lynn (I'm not certain that name is right), the promoter were out of town.

So, what's wrong with wet-t-shirt competitions, anyway? Well, at the risk of stating the obvious, first and foremost they are just another way of exploiting

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"Too much about lesbians".

So far there have been suggestions for 178 different articles! Spirituality is the area most often requested and it is certainly a subject we have not given much attention to. There are three articles on this "in the pipeline" from different points of view, so it's good to have that reinforced. Other areas where a number of you have suggested more coverage are: bisexuality (something on the way); education; eating disorders; government policy, health, lesbians, motherhood, Maori women, poems and short stories, music, provincial and rural women and women on their own. It's really exciting to get all this input.

Here are just a few of the comments you made:

- Keeps me in touch with what other women are thinking and doing;
- Love to all the women who work so hard to ensure this great magazine continues;
- Some articles are too long and wordy;
- Good quality, don't get too "politically correct";
- I rely on *Broadsheet* for news the media ignores;
- It's my life blood;
- I get sick of reading Pat Rosier's views on everything (I sympathise with that!)
- It's great – an important part of my life. I have every copy. (My husband used to scrawl "bullshit" over the early ones);
- Perhaps a bit more humour;
- It's brilliant, inspiring and morally uplifting. Thanks!

women's bodies. It's a "big boobs" show. Nothing to do with the women as people, or performers, just a look at one part of their bodies. And guess who's looking? Somebody's wanting to make money out of this – the sponsors and promoters for example. Another problem I have with it all is the way it focuses on women as bodies and nothing else, as though this is all the identity we are allowed. And our bodies must be the sort that men whistle at, not what is functional, comfortable and

BARRY & McFADDEN

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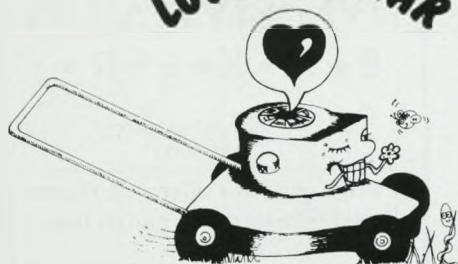


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pleasurable for ourselves.

Oh well, I suppose feminists will have to deal with all the "narrow-minded kill-joy" stuff again. Yawn.

I hope protest against this promotion is not confined to picketing the events. Recent experience in Whangarei suggests a) this is not successful in stopping anything, b) the women taking part feel it as an attack on them and c) the promoters regard it as good publicity. I think it's wrong to attack the participants: if you have "what it takes" to go in one of these shows and you can come away with some prizes, you're entitled to make that choice. Protest should be directed at the promoters and the sponsors.

Some suggestions: writing to or ringing Raynor Promotions (see below) and letting them know that you will not attend (ever!) any venues where the show takes place and you will not buy any of the products of any sponsors. And as soon as we can get any information about who the sponsors are we can tell them this, too. Tell them why you object. (Suggest a wet-underpants-competition instead?) Write to your local paper/national magazines/radio stations. We can stop it happening.

Raynor Promotions Ltd are at 34 Charlotte St, Eden Tce, Auckland 3, P O Box 2001, Auckland, Phone (09) 793-763 or 793-764.



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GAY GAMES AND CULTURAL FESTIVAL



This is an eight day event, to be held in Vancouver, Canada, 4-11 August, 1990.

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There are no qualifying trials or eliminations: the emphasis is on participation rather than competition. Where numbers in any event are limited the criteria for selection will be on a "first come first served" basis.

The cultural festival will provide a showcase for the creative achievements of gays and lesbians from all over the world, as well as providing "hands on" experiences for the participants. As with all Celebration '90 activities, there will be registration fees or admissions designed to offset the cost of hosting each event: discounts will be available to early registrants.

The organising group is committed to equal participation by women and men. For more information write to Celebration 1990, 1170 Bute St, Vancouver, B C, Canada V6E 1Z6.

WOMEN'S LAND

The February 1987 Women's Music festival was held on Sandy Denize's land at Mangawhai and a one day festival was held there this year. Cushla Dodson reports on what's happening with that piece of land and looks at some (urgent) future possibilities.

Before and since the two festivals a constant flow of women and children have

been "in residence" for varying lengths of time, enjoying time out, healing, recreation and the delights of rural living. In 1987 the land was the venue for a 12 week Rural Skills Access Programme for a diverse group of women and skill sharers. By right of occupation and customary use Witchhaven is Women's Land.

Sandy's dream and priority is for the land to stay with women but she hasn't the resources to maintain the dream on her own. Economic downturn, matrimonial debt and her own changing needs and interests mean her continued ownership is no longer possible. Her solution has been to divide the property into six small holdings and offer them for sale to women, but despite advertising them in *Broadsheet* and other media as well as by word of mouth through the women's networks, three of the six lots remain unsold.

Sandy is now facing the prospect of opening up sales to the general public and an auction in October to forestall a forced mortgagee sale. The costs involved in an auction are considerable, whether the land sells or not, and without a reserve there is the ghastly possibility of receiving an unrealistically low price and acquiring cheapskate speculator neighbours. As a last ditch attempt to keep the land in women's ownership Sandy has lowered her prices dramatically by deducting all the proposed land agents', auctioneers' and advertising costs – she will sell privately to women only. But it has to happen very quickly.

Where are the women to share the dream? Here is the opportunity to form an instant women's village – six adjacent small holdings with access to one of the most beautiful white sand ocean beaches in Aotearoa (a few minutes walk away through a sheltering pine forest). Each farmlet in the subdivision has the potential to be developed as a productive unit – market gardening, cropping, nursery, small animals etc, or to be used for craft or other small production. The entire acreage has been maintained organically for years.

Buying a piece of the land and shifting on a "house for removal" would cost considerably less than a house in town and there are enough possible house sites to be sure of creating whatever degree of privacy women may choose. As well as the obvious benefits of rural living and women neighbours there is further potential to become involved in sharing resources such as vehicles and farm equipment, sharing labour and skills, working on joint projects, bulk buying of farm and household goods and so on – all of which would reduce costs and energy expenditure and create greater opportunities for expanding and exploring health, fun and creativity. Rural living can be isolated and physically wearing; Mangawhai offers the chance to do it differently – to support and share with other women and to create a model that other women may choose to use as a basis for similar developments.

ASTROLOGICAL MOON CALENDAR 1989

by Gretchen Lawlor

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If you have read through to here you are at least a bit interested – maybe this is the answer to your own dreams. Sandy's advertisement appears somewhere in this issue of *Broadsheet*, but if you can't find it – or are too excited to look – put down the magazine and ring Sandy now at Mangawhai 68866.

Cushla Dodson

FIFTEEN CANDLES

Virago's Anniversary

Since its birth in 1973, Virago Press has published over 500 titles and now publishes nearly 100 new titles annually. This year Virago puts the icing on the cake by celebrating its fifteenth birthday, but it has been a long hard slog for the women involved.

"I don't remember many of us asking ourselves whether we'd succeed or fail – we just worked like dogs and did the nec-

essary things, commissioning authors, ordering paper, learning to do budgets, choosing cover designs, dragging sacks of review copies to the post, and discussing our publishing plans with our advisory group."

Born in the early 1970s out of the women's movement, Virago was the idea of Carmen Callil, Ursula Owen, and Harriet Spicer. In creating a publishing company devoted to the printing of women's writing, new and old, the three women broke the male silence that had traditionally ignored the literature and experience of women for hundreds of years.

Virago is now well known for its rediscovery of early women writers, its list of modern classics, and non-fiction titles presenting feminist analyses. Recently Virago launched a new range of books for children and teenagers, and has expanded its political base by publishing more and more Black and Asian writers. After fifteen years Virago has confounded its critics and carved a place for itself on the shelves of most bookshops.

If it seemed like a courageous step in 1973, Virago proved that women are heroic indeed.

"What we stand for as far as feminism is concerned (for there are many feminisms) is not as simple as it sometimes seems. We want equality for women, and we also believe women know things men can't know; we want the essence of what women represent to count in the world, for women to be influential in the most public and the most private spheres. If this sounds wide ranging, that has always been our intention," explains Ursula Owen. New Zealand women can hope that their own New Women's Press will celebrate its fifteenth birthday some day in the future.

Lisa Sabbage



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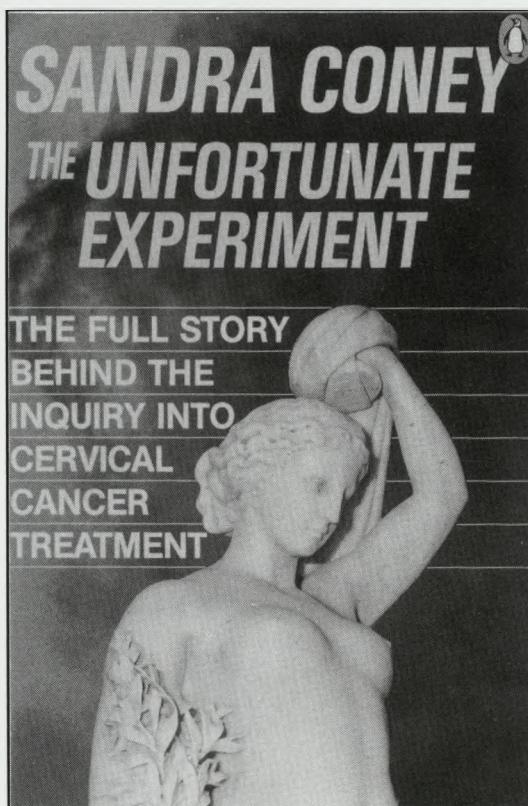
The unfortunate experiment itself goes right back to the early sixties, when Professor Herbert Green began to "conservatively treat" women with abnormal cervical smears and follow the progress of the disease in their bodies over many years and many visits to National Women's Hospital (NWH). The work of Sandra Coney, Phillida Bunkle and Fertility Action to describe and document these events from the point of view of the women began around 1983. The culmination was the public inquiry, generally known as the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, which took place from September 1987 to February 1988.

I spent quite a few days at the inquiry while it was going on, read most of the transcripts and reported on it in five consecutive issues of *Broadsheet* (October '87 – March '88, issues 152 – 156). Sandra Coney's book, *The Unfortunate Experiment* was written before Judge Cartwright's report on the inquiry was released. I read it over 24 hours, gripped, fascinated and appalled again by the horror story revealed. The details of who did – or didn't do – what, are important, but not the most important aspect of it all. As Sandra says in her introduction: "Although it focused on a gynaecological issue, the inquiry inexorably broadened to encompass scrutiny of research practices, teaching methods, patients' rights and medical power." And these are the crucial issues for medical practice in New Zealand in the future.

Sandra gives two reasons for writing the book: "First, so there would be a record of everything from a feminist perspective, highlighting the key issues for women.... The broad questions are more important than the individuals involved." Her second reason for writing was "to place on record that this was a feminist effort." She discusses the danger that the "movement of women" stretching over 20 years, that forms the base on which the work of Fertility Action stands, will be made invisible. "Feminists get credited with the inconsequential and the odd, but not with the significant efforts they have made in areas such as domestic violence, employment and health."

The Unfortunate Experiment is easy to read, clearly written and rattles along at a good pace. The quotes from the inquiry transcript, reports of conversations and anecdotes keep it alive. The detailed information, like the chronicling of Gladdy's visits to NWH over 25 years, and the specific information from hospital records of the treatment many women received, is compelling – how can anyone believe that Green's treatment of women with abnormal cervical smears was "adequate" after

A GROUP OF WOMEN WHO WORK IN PUBLISHING AND THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH. THE PROMOTION CONSISTS OF A CAMPAIGN. NEXT YEAR THEY HOPE TO DO SOMETHING IS SO MUCH EXCITING WOMEN'S WRITING GOING ON HARD TO KEEP UP. IN THE OF THE BOOKS THAT ARE MORE WILL BE



reading these case histories? Part of Green's defence of his actions (variously called "treatment," "research," or "trials") was that what he did spared women unnecessary "mutilating surgery", such as hysterectomy. But the case notes show clearly, and Gladdy's story is a good example, that both the surgery and the mutilation took place anyway, over many years and many visits. Some of the women gave evidence at the inquiry. "The few hours that we listened to these women were for me the most gruelling of all the hearing days," writes Sandra.

The Unfortunate Experiment makes the gulf between women patients and the medical establishment crystal clear: "The tendency at the cancer inquiry was to blame the recipients of information, rather than examine the manner in which the information was conveyed." And what about this statement, from Ron Jones, a clinician at NWH: "Those of us involved in this inquiry have had to face the dilemma of choice between loyalty to longstanding and trusted colleagues and to the profession and what must be in the best interests of our patients as a whole." This is a dilemma? Loyalty to colleagues and the "best interests of patients" are

in conflict? And they want women to trust them with our bodies?

While Sandra, Fertility Action, the Ministry of Women's Affairs and to an extent, the Cancer Society, were trying to keep the focus of the inquiry on the women's actual experiences, most of the doctors, the university and the hospital were worrying about the inquiry being the cause of women "losing confidence" in NWH. "It was bloody wonderful, I thought, how the inquiry itself, the scrutiny, the public attention, was identified as the problem, rather than the behaviour which led to it in the first place."

Another big issue for the medical establishment was that of the "clinical freedom" of the doctors. A doctrine which, Sandra writes, "leaves the patient particularly unprotected". Throughout the inquiry "Clinicians were continually depicted as men of the highest moral character and disinterested altruistic motives. Because they were of such impeccable character, no formal system of monitoring was necessary...."

A key aspect of the book is the discussion of power, particularly on pages 241-146. Within the hospital "There was a place for everybody and everybody knew their place and kept it." And patients are "right at the bottom," according to the nurses. "The rules for being a patient are real, compliance for treatment. The absence of protest is seen as approval. A sense of powerlessness prevails."

Doctors deserve to hold the power because they have the patients' best interests at heart, the argument goes, "but the doctor decides what these best interests are." Doctors with these attitudes can be identified by the language they use, like "dear" and "How are we today?" where "the doctor and patient are one and the one is the doctor." Those who ask questions are "worriers," "difficult patients," "too introspective" or "neurotic" – all comments put on patients' files.

All of which helps to explain why Green was able to carry on for so many years, allowing women to unnecessarily develop cancer. He had an *idée fixe* (that CIS or cancer in situ did not progress into invasive cancer). The rest of the medical world disagreed, but he was not stopped. Professor Bonham was Green's superior at the medical school. Algar Warren was medical superintendent at NWH. Neither of them accepted any responsibility.

Only one of the patients that gave evidence

BOOK ♦ FESTIVAL

RADE HAVE GOT TOGETHER AND ORGANISED A PROMOTION OF POSTER, A BROCHURE, A "TOP TWENTY" LIST AND A MEDIA TRIGGER, THAT MAYBE INCLUDES SOME EVENTS. THERE WORLD WIDE AND IN NEW ZEALAND, THAT IT'S ARTICLE WE REVIEW SOME PART OF THE PROMOTION: REVIEWED NEXT MONTH.

is identified by name in the book, but the case notes gave some non-medical information about the women who were Green's patients/subjects. "Green's experiment used as its subjects public hospital patients, patients who couldn't afford to go anywhere else. The gap in status and the power differential begins to seem like a chasm."

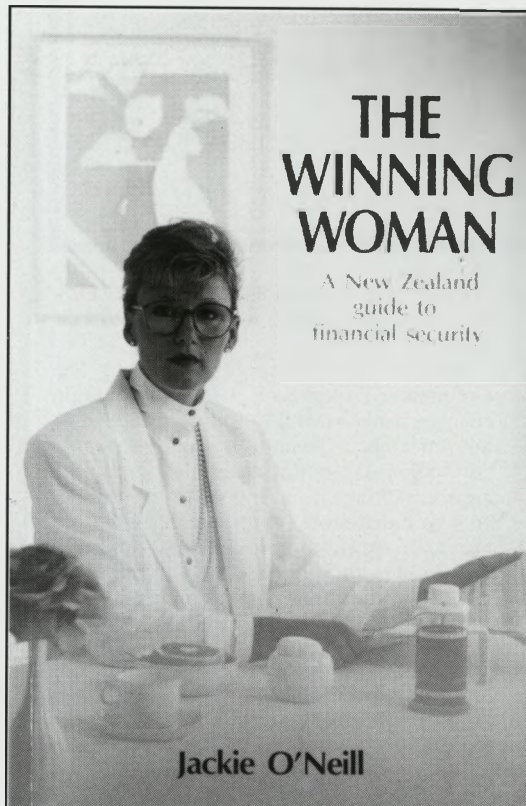
Sandra hopes are for "far-reaching suggestions for change which would ensure that we never had to deal again with matters such as those before the inquiry." But these hopes were ranged against the arguments of the medical profession and institutions favouring "the status quo, with a few minor adjustments". They might accept that there had been "problems" in the past, but there were none today.

As well as a description of events at the cervical cancer inquiry, *The Unfortunate Experiment* is an analysis of what is wrong, from the consumer's point of view, with the medical profession and its institutions. It makes a clear case for legislation requiring informed consent, a complaints procedure that is accessible and straightforward, disciplinary procedures that are not under the control of doctors and a national cervical screening programme. All of these were endorsed in various ways by the overseas people who gave evidence.

The New Zealand Medical Council and the New Zealand Medical Association have been involved for 11 (that's eleven!) years years in redrafting disciplinary procedures for doctors. Consultation has been with medical insurance companies and the Health Department and information sought from Britain, Canada, Australia and South Africa. However, consultation has *not* included "a single consumer group, nursing representative or even people we knew of in the universities who had been studying these matters for years." All this in spite of the comment that those involved felt that the new scheme must be "seen by the public as responsive, considered and not professionally protective".

To avoid another "unfortunate experiment," resulting in unnecessary suffering and death, radical change is necessary, writes Sandra. She makes an excellent case for it.

This book is important. It will undoubtedly be reviled and dismissed in many quarters, but no one will be able to refute the evidence of those case histories, particularly as that is so thoroughly supported by the evidence of over-



seas specialists of high reputation. It would be a mistake to assume that all doctors are "bad-dies". Medical institutions and accepted practices in New Zealand have developed for the medical profession, not the patients: many doctors are socialised into these unquestioningly; some are not, and are subjected to all sorts of pressures and punishments (like not getting positions because they are not "sound") for not conforming.

The basis of the problem is in the systems that give all the power to one group. Real change will mean them giving up power. The need for this could not be made any clearer. If you have any doubts about the need for radical change in our medical institutions read *The Unfortunate Experiment*.

SECOND OPINION:
The politics of women's health
in New Zealand
by Phillida Bunkle
OUP \$25

This is another angry book. It's a quiet, sustained anger that starts with Phillida giving birth, her "first encounter with hospital". It's about how the medical profession treats the women who are their clients, in Phillida's words, "the implications of doctor deification for women."

"Who's A Silly Girl Then" is both the title of the introduction and a quote from the doctor who delivered her first child. The evidence of how women are treated by medical institutions piles up.

The collection of previously published writings that make up this book follow some of the major health battles feminists have fought since 1970. They are linked with a just-written commentary on each that locates it historically and ideologically. On the whole, these are the sections of the book I found most interesting. It is, however, useful to have the pieces collected together – and they provide a context for the cervical cancer inquiry.

The section on abortion law is grounded on women's stories of their abortion experiences, four stories from women who gave evidence at a Tribunal in Wellington in 1974. A 1977 paper, presented at The Conference on Women and Health, "examines the historical origins of the sex-segregated labour force in medicine."

"A Breast Biopsy or Two" was first published in *Broadsheet*, in June 1982. It is Phillida's story of having treatment for "lumpy breasts". It's horrible. And the story of the international politics of Depo Provera is chilling in the way it shows how women and doctors are manipulated for pharmaceutical profits. Basically, Upjohn, who manufacture Depo, have controlled the research on its side effects. Professor Liggins of National Women's Hospital, among others, maintains that this research was "independent" of Upjohn. I'm far from convinced. Women's experience with the drug didn't count because it was "subjective".

BOOK FESTIVAL EVENTS

We could get only some information in time for our deadline. Women's bookshops throughout the country will have information on all events.

DUNEDIN

Festival launch. 18 Sept, Dunedin Public Lib. 2 – 6pm

WELLINGTON

All events at the National Library. Festival Launch. 18 Sept. 5.30pm, guest readers. Panel. 19 Sept. 12.15pm. Early women writers. 20 Sept. 5.30pm. Feminist publishing in the UK. 8pm. Panel. 22 Sept. 12.15. Reading from fiction and poetry. 22 Sept. 8pm.

AUCKLAND

Women Writers Hui. 17, 18 Sept, featuring Michelle Cliff. Brochures at women's bookshops or from P.O. Box 3465, Wellington. Launch Party. 19 Sept, Ellen Melville Hall 5.30pm (Women's Suffrage Day). Readers and Writers. 19 Sept, Sandra Coney, Centre for Cont Educ, Auckland University, 7.30pm (\$6.60 fee). Panel Discussions. 20 Sept, Academy Cinema. 12pm. "Gender, does it make a difference?" 1pm. "Taking control: issues in women's health". (\$3 per session, \$5 for both). Panel Discussion on Birth Technologies. 20 Sept, with Susan Downie, University Cont Educ Dept. 7pm (\$11). Open talk. 22 Sept, by Michelle Cliff at Auckland University. 1pm. Informal readings by women writers. 22 Sept, Outreach, 7pm Organised by New Women's Press and Broadsheet. Light refreshments, book stall, bring your own work to read.

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"Manufacturing Motherhood" is another piece that first appeared in *Broadsheet* (April 1984). The issues really haven't changed here, either. The benefits for women in the new reproductive technologies depend on "who controls the technology, in whose interests it is employed, and for what purpose." There's some good discussion here of the confusion that can arise for feminists because in feminist terms reproduction can be seen as either a source of women's powerlessness or as our greatest power.

"The Dalkon Shield Disaster" was first published in 1984 also, and that saga isn't over

yet. We musn't tell women about side effects – they'll get frightened, or we'll put ideas in their heads!

The final piece in the book is the article "The Unfortunate Experiment", without the editing changes made by *Metro*. The introduction to this contains a beautifully comprehensible description of cervical cancer and the terms used to talk about it. Re-reading the article, now so much more familiar with the details than I was when it first came out, I am again impressed by the thoroughness and dedication of Phillida and Sandra Coney in pursuing this whole issue.

Second Opinion is another book that gives us valuable documentation of medical practices in New Zealand, from the point of view of consumers.

Pat Rosier

THE WINNING WOMAN:
A New Zealand guide to
financial security

by Jackie O'Neill

Octopus Books \$14.95



The *Winning Woman* is not a how-to-get-rich book, it focuses on women claiming the management of their own money (and the need to first claim money of their own). The book is written with an awareness of the powerlessness that lack of financial independence and experience places upon women, regardless of their "position". The book progresses from gentle consciousness raising, well supported by facts and figures, through budgeting, goal setting, home finance and saving, to the intricacies of investment and estate planning.

The language is clear and avoids the in-speech of the business and finance world. A short, helpful glossary of terminology is included. Each chapter of *The Winning Woman* is stocked with information, explanations, comparisons and suggestions. It is well set out and surprisingly easy to read and understand.

This is not a dry-as-dust text book, nor is it intended for those within the world of finance,

it's a beginners guide. Jackie O'Neill shares the knowledge she has gained in her career as a financial adviser in a friendly and generous manner, without talking down to her readers. Here is a wealth of valuable material which will assist women to gain more control of their resources.

The Winning Woman has been written for New Zealand women and has relevance for all age groups, but perhaps needs to be read more urgently by women over 30. In a word or two, it's sensible and practical.

Cushla Dodson

INTERCOURSE

by Andrea Dworkin

Arrow Books \$14.99



I'm quite a fan of Dworkin's. I read *Woman Hating* and *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* about four years ago. At that stage I was struck firstly by Dworkin's powerful, kick-in-the-guts, non-academic language, and secondly by her analysis of pornography as part of a continuum of sexism, both of which have left a lasting impression on me.

So I had great expectations when I picked up *Intercourse*, looking forward to another instalment of hardhitting, incisive truths. These were exaggerated by the comments of a few "infamous" feminists: Shere Hite called the book "groundbreaking, outstanding and original"; Mary Daly described it as "monumental feminist theory at its best"; and Germaine Greer said it was "the most shocking book any feminist has yet written."

What is *Intercourse* about? You guessed it, the act of intercourse between men and women, and whether it is, in itself, oppressive of women. What Dworkin does is set intercourse firmly in the context of the social, legal and ideological subjugation of women. She exposes society's view of women by presenting literary examples of men writing about sex with women – Tolstoy, James Baldwin, Isaac Bashevis Singer, D.H. Lawrence, Bram Stoker, and many more. As she presents their writing she analyses the attitudes she convincingly maintains are implicit in their world-views – the revulsion of women, disgust at women's "fishlike vaginal odours," the desire to humiliate, hurt and possess women. Diego Rivera's piece about his lover Frida Kahlo is one of Dworkin's milder examples: "If I loved a woman, the more I loved her, the more I wanted to hurt her. Frida was the most obvious victim of this disgusting trait."

Dworkin comes up with a shocking catalogue of men's ideas about women through the centuries, most of which speak for themselves. What she does is make connections. In this way the reader gets a kind of overview of the collective male consciousness in which sex is literally an act of occupation of women's bodies. Dworkin stresses that when intercourse exists in the context of the institutionalised inferiority of women it becomes a symbol and weapon of their oppression, to be maintained and protected at all costs. Dworkin also does what many feminists fail to do by making connections between the occupation and defilement of women as a people, and racism – the degradation of a people on the basis of their colour and culture.

Initially I found this book difficult to get through. I felt that Dworkin was treading dangerously close to a biological determinist line, but persevere because she gets beyond that.



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Other issues I felt uncomfortable about early in the book were also elaborated later, so don't be put off by your initial reactions.

At times I found the language was just too hefty for me, a problem I didn't come across in her earlier books. I think that's because Dworkin fills each sentence up with so many

ideas and then explores their implications to their fullest extent. Each page becomes a swarm of thoughts examined inside and out. To wholly appreciate and comprehend them I would have to read the book again. There are points that Andrea Dworkin makes that I disagree with, but they demand careful consideration.

This is a book which has to be read. It will become a classic in feminist theory because it is totally provocative in the best sense. It offers up new ideas and challenges you to question your perceptions, it turns your whole view upside down and then asks you to make some sense of it. Whether you like it or not, *Inter-course*, will certainly make you think, and that's a sign of a good book.

Lisa Sabbage

NEW WOMEN'S FICTION Edited by Aorewa McLeod

New Women's Press \$19.95

For those who like a story to have a beginning, middle and end some of the more avant garde pieces in this collection will provide challenging interludes that are brief enough so as not to be irritating. The aim, after all, has been to present a wide variety of styles, quality and subject matter to show the extent of New Zealand women's writing today. This has been most admirably achieved.

Fran Marno's "Blood" is a nice mixture of humour and cynicism quietly digging at post-modernism. Many will relate to the struggles of being politically correct while at the same time bringing up teenage daughters. Another humorous and somewhat fantastic story is "The Invisible Hand" by Stephanie Johnson. The practicality and pragmatism of the protagonist as she goes about her unusual business plays down any distaste the reader may be inclined to feel.

Barbara Rea's "Story" juxtaposes a casual conversational narrative, interspersed with chilling quotes, with a more formal "dinner party" style which builds up a picture of the quiet desperation of entrapment that many wives of professional men will relate to. The frustration of being condescended to, especially over such issues as feminism, capital punishment and vivisection, mixes with feelings of inferiority to create the right environment for an escape attempt.

From inferiority of mind we move to another of women's obsessions – the cult of slimness in M A Sotharan's poignant "A Body Like That". This is seen vicariously through the embarrassment of a woman for her overweight lover so that the overall effect is positive – the fat woman is delightfully unconcerned as she plays in the surf.

Getting away from exclusively middle-class experience is "My Friends the Bikies" by Janet Arthur. The theme is both depressing and degrading and the style unpolished, but we need to be reminded that such experiences and attitudes are part of women's reality.

Several pieces deal with lesbian themes casually and without controversy, as in Ngahuia Te Awakotuku's "The Basketball Girls", while the universality of relationship difficulties is covered in Frances Cherry's "Undertow" and Sue Reidy's "Dog Boy".

The grouping together of the works of three Maori writers maximises their impact. Arapera Hineira's "Innocence of Sin" and Ngahuia Te Awakotuku's "The Basketball Girls" are richly



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evocative of rural Maori communities a few decades ago, while Rawinia White's "The Return" deals with the struggle for recognition and gradual acceptance of a Maori identity. The other story with a strong New Zealand flavour that describes the country through the eyes of artist and entomologist is Wendy



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Pond's "Journal of a Hanger-on". The bush and mountains of many a camping holiday are equally those of the working party.

A short review such as this can only touch on a few of the 28 stories in this collection and cannot hope to do justice to the whole range. There is plenty of enjoyable reading here. Aorewa is to be congratulated on her difficult selection task, as are the women whose works she finally chose to be representative of the latest New Women's fiction.

Sue Aitchison-Windeler

CHRISTINE

by Colleen Reilly

Allen and Unwin \$19.95



Colleen Reilly's first novel *The Deputy Head* didn't make as big an impact as it deserved. Her second *Christine* is just as good.

Christine's title character has difficulty communicating with the people around her (like the deputy head). The writing is spare, it builds up emotion and tension slowly, without dramatic flourish. A lot of meaning is carried in a simple sentence like, "Even the drive to the East Coast was part of the best time of my life".

The language is almost flat – except that makes it sound less effective than it is – and carries the story along with ease and confidence. It's a story of "ordinary people", day to day things, small dreams and visions, personal tragedies. The setting is America, small America, not the America of New York or Los Angeles. The characters are unremarkable people with lives that change nothing and aspi-

rations that are defined and confined by money. Colleen Reilly writes with irony, but it is light-handed enough to avoid diminishing the characters.

The values of the characters are treated with respect, carried in the descriptions of their lives, not crassly interpreted or judged. The tragedy of Eleanor, Christine's mother, lives in every line, universal almost pre-determined. The emotional power in the descriptions of her disappointments, and her life consists of disappointments, is compelling. Like the Christmas dinner (one that could have taken place in New Zealand) that Eleanor insisted on preparing for the whole extended family, for once – it was usually at her sociable, jolly sister Ruth's place. Everyone was late. Even when the guests have all gone the disappointment cannot be spoken, the bitterness is more powerful in its silence: "... they turned slowly and went inside. Eleanor was folding back the legs of one of the tables, and she had already moved one other into the corner by the entrance to the basement. She said, "Arthur I'd like you to put all the furniture back as soon as I've vacuumed please and Christine will you please take the decorations off the tree since I'm giving this room a good clean we may as well take the tree down too." Eleanor *wants* so hard, to be ... all sorts of things ... but always comes out pinched, disappointed, misunderstood.

Colleen Reilly portrays family interactions brilliantly. You can't easily take sides, the feelings are too real, too poignant. Christine is born to Eleanor with a twin brother who dies after two days. She doesn't, for years, know about this dead brother, who is to become the most significant person in her life.

She's hungry for life, Christine, a life that has died in her parents. So she makes her own,

of a sort, internally and in the world. She makes her life with single-mindedness and determination. And yet, her destiny becomes that of many single women, a destiny she needs because she has lost her own.

Christine is full of rich, multi-faceted characterisations of the members of Christine's family. It's the true story of them all, with Christine as the focus, and it's a story of families, how they are good for us and bad for us. She doesn't relate well to people, but she has her vision and, eventually her "companion". She makes her dream happen and then ... but I won't give away too much of the plot.

This is not a feminist book in any obvious sense, but it is certainly informed by feminist values – the injustices of the world are presented as that, not personal failings; the people are real, not stereotypes; the women are not "political" in any sense, but neither are they pawns. Read *Christine* for its beautiful use of language and its insights into the "human condition". I cried more than I laughed and ended it feeling sad but satisfied – the reading was a very worthwhile experience.

Pat Rosier

COUNTING FOR NOTHING

by Marilyn Waring

Allen and Unwin \$29.95



This book is an Everywoman's guide to the system and procedures used in compiling national accounts. Since the system is assumed to provide an authoritative and objective statistical yardstick, which allows international comparability and also provides a



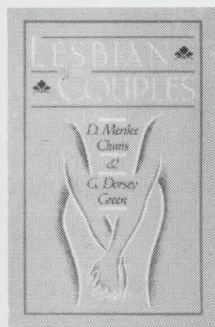
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WHO BROUGHT YOU

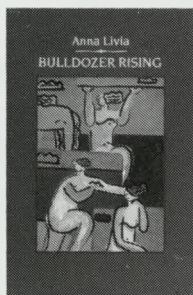
Mother Wit/Diane Mariechild; I Couldn't Cry When Daddy Died/Iris Galey; Conspiracy of Silence/Sandra Butler; Living In The Light/Shakti Gawain; Getting Free/Ginny NiCarthy; What Colour Is Your Parachute 1988/Richard Bolles; Moosewood Cookbook/Mollie Katzen; Lesbian Sex/JoAnn Loulan; Different Daughters/Louise Rafkin; Lesbian Passion/JoAnn Loulan; Voices In The Night/Toni McNaron and Yarrow Morgan; Wingwomen of Hera/Sandi Hall.

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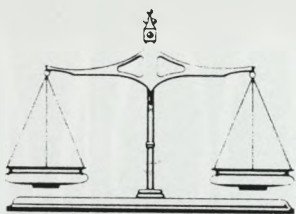
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basis for public policy, the way in which the data is constructed merits examination. Ms Waring's objective is to demystify this process and make explicit the underlying assumptions on which the methodology is based. It is this methodology, she argues, which excludes the major contributions of women so that their (unpaid) work is defined as unproductive and "counts for nothing".

Other writers, as Ms Waring notes, have drawn attention to the invisibility of women and their work in official statistics. The importance of this book is that it takes the argument a step further and asks how it has been possible to categorize the bulk of women's work as non-productive activity and therefore exclude it from national accounts. So it sets out to uncover the procedures by which the "scientific" statistical version of reality is constructed. In doing so it provides a strong critique of the scientific method and positivistic economic models.

Ms Waring's interest in this topic is grounded in her experience of chairing the Public Expenditure Select Committee when she was a member of parliament. New Zealand uses the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA). She traces the origins and evolution of this system and outlines the way it functions and the definitions it selects to establish a boundary between productive and non-productive work. Productive activities are those which provide surplus value and for which workers receive monetary reward. Women are the social group most obviously disadvantaged by this method of calculation.

Her holistic approach allows her to make connections between the way women's work is evaluated universally and the evaluation of environmental resources. Both, she suggests, are consequences of the dominance of a particular economic model and her study includes proposals for action to counter it.

This study is important as an illustration of the way in which science can serve as a technique of control and a demonstration of the way a particular economic model has functioned as ideology to perpetuate male domination. While she clearly shows how the system works her causal explanations are less convincing. Her arguments concerning motivation and intention on the part of those using the model are not demonstrated, and indeed intention is not necessary, given that ideology operates by establishing particular interests as universal and normative. So it requires a myopic taken-for-granted world view rather than deliberate intention. UNSNA was put in place in the mid 1950s. Ms Waring explains it in terms of the patriarchy. Granted the continuing durability of patriarchal values, this does not explain why it assumed this particular form at this time. This set of economic ideas needed to be explained by grounding it in a particular type of social organisation. The form of the capitalist mode of production that was expanding as a global system at that period offers a more satisfactory locus of explanation. More rigorous editing to avoid repetition would have

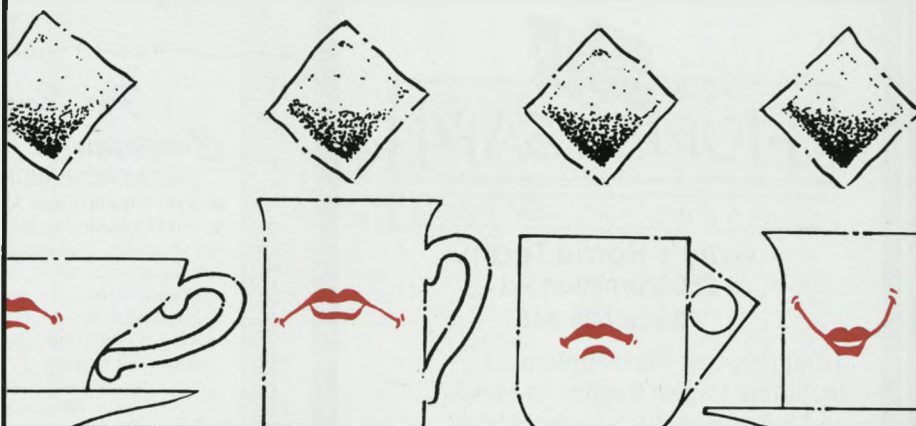
strengthened the work. The examples she uses consist mainly of rather fragmented, episodic material, some of which has been previously published. It would have been better to give a detailed case study of a particular set of national accounts over a longer period, analysed in conjunction with economic policies and investment activities in the same period, which would have been invaluable as an example of the process at work.

These reservations should not, however, detract from the value and assumptions of the work. It is to be welcomed as an important and topical study. It merits a wide audience and I hope it will stimulate much debate. As a critique of the economistic definition of social reality it deserves to be made mandatory reading for members of parliament, policy makers and above all the "gnomes" of the Treasury and the "knights" of the Round Table.

Ivanica Vodanovich

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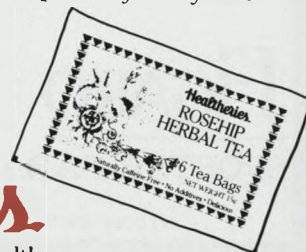
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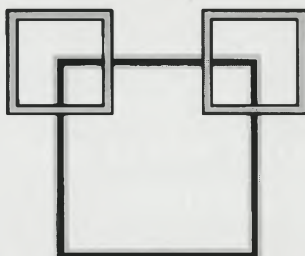
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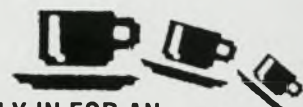
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MONEY MATTERS



Jan Whitwell, Massey University economist, talks to Pat Rosier about New Zealand's economic policy and what she sees as its implications

Pat: Can you explain what monetary policy is?

Jan: Monetary policy is economic policy designed to influence the price and the availability of money and credit. We can think of the interest rate as the price of money because it is the price we must pay in order to borrow a dollar. For example, if the interest rate on your mortgage is 18% then you are paying 18 cents per year for every dollar you have borrowed. Foreign currency is required for overseas transactions so we can think of the exchange rate as the price of foreign currency in New Zealand dollars. For example, the New Zealand dollar has been around 67 US cents, which is another way of saying it costs us about \$1.50 to buy an American dollar. When the US/kiwi ("kiwi" is the term often used by foreign exchange dealers for a New Zealand dollar) exchange rate was about 50 cents it cost us \$2 to buy one US dollar.

Is it possible for the New Zealand dollar and, say, the US dollar to be equal in value.

Yes. In fact, it has been a deliberate part of the government's anti-inflation policy to make foreign currency cheaper for us to buy, that is, to make the New Zealand dollar more valuable in relation to other currencies. A rise in the value of the kiwi makes imports cheaper and because it's increases in import prices that ultimately

drive our inflation rate, the policy works to reduce inflation. The very unfortunate side effect of this is that it also reduces exporters' (like farmers') revenue – they get fewer New Zealand dollars for what they sell abroad.

How does the government do this?

The the Labour government has de-regulated the financial markets, including the foreign exchange market. De-regulation means that the government is no longer directly setting prices in those markets.

We are trying something that others have tried and it hasn't worked.

Instead it sets them indirectly, by exerting upward pressure on short-term interest rates. There is a lot of rhetoric about government *not* influencing interest rates, but really it is a deliberate act of policy to keep pressure on short term interest rates and hence, on the overall interest rate structure. And what that does is encourage foreign investors to bring money into New Zealand. For example, at present a Japanese pension fund manager will see that they can earn around 13% on New Zealand government stock but only 5% on Japanese stock so they enter the

New Zealand foreign exchange market selling Japanese yen in exchange for the New Zealand dollars needed to buy New Zealand bonds. And what that does is drive down the price of yen, that is, it makes the New Zealand dollar more valuable. So the government maintains a high exchange rate by manipulating interest rates.

So talking about "de-regulation" of the economy can be referring to just one aspect of it?

Well, it is in the financial sector that the effects of de-regulation have been most obvious. Financial market prices – interest rates and exchange rates – are now quite free to respond to the market forces of demand and supply and they do so, rapidly. Their extraordinary volatility (rising and falling) is indicative of this. But the impact of de-regulation varies with different sectors of the economy. When you try and de-regulate the labour market, does that mean that you expect to be able to trade people's skills just like you would bits of paper in a financial market? Obviously de-regulation doesn't work in a labour market or in most product markets the way it does in a financial market.

Most labour and product prices will continue to be determined on a contract or on a cost-plus basis (where the price is arrived at by calculating the cost of production and adding a profit margin) while others markets will move quite quickly to competitive pricing, where prices are determined in the market. (Farmers, for example, are forced to operate in this way, in competitive commodity markets.)

Can we go back for a moment to the idea of a de-regulated labour market. Would that mean that somebody who wanted a job could go to an employer and say "I'll work for you for so much," and the employer can send her away because someone else will work for less?

That's right. Worker would be competing with each other. If the labour market operated in a fully competitive manner then what we could see is unemployed people bringing down the going wage rate: they would offer to work at a cheaper rate and that would bring all wages down until everybody was employed.

But there is a fallacy in the argument there, because although it's true that with a lower wage rate an individual firm might be happy to take on more workers, when you take all firms together with all workers being paid less, then workers as a group will have less money to spend.

There aren't a lot of facts in economics, but one well-established one is that low-income groups spend a much higher proportion of their income than high-income groups – they have no choice. Higher income groups have a lot of discretionary income (money they don't have to spend on immediate living costs). So if you blame unemployment on high wage rates and we bring all wages down, either by competition or by legislation, workers will have less money to spend while capitalists will have more. But the workers' drop in spending will be much more than the capitalists' increase in spending, so that, overall, the demand for consumer goods will fall.

You have to be very careful about offering simple market solutions to problems such as unemployment. While it is true that a single firm might employ more people if the wage rate were lower, it's generally not true for the economy as a whole, because, if overall spending falls, the overall level of economic activity will also decline.

So there's what we call a fallacy of composition. Economics is a subject, like most social sciences (education for instance – we've all been to school so we all have our theories about how schools should operate) where, because we all operate in the domestic economy, we all have our theories about how it does and should operate. But what may be true for us as individuals is not necessarily true for the economy as a whole.

An example that is quite topical is the notion that it's bad for governments to run deficits, in other words to spend more than they receive in income. That may well be true for a household, but a business typically spends in excess of its income: most new plant

and equipment is financed out of borrowing. If you suggested to Hugh Fletcher that he get rid of his firm's deficit, he would be very perplexed.

The crucial question we have to ask, I think, is do we see the government engaged in productive investment spending when it spends on health, education, social welfare and so on or do we see such spending as consuming things that ultimately don't add to the productive potential of the economy?

My own view is that spending on health, welfare and education is investment in human capital and it's crucial to spend in those areas because ultimately you are increasing the productive resources of the economy by having a better educated, more skilled, more healthy workforce.

But also, a lot of women's work in the household, like rearing children is a very important investment in human capital. And if a lot of women go into the paid workforce, either because they prefer to or out of sheer necessity, (which I think is increasingly true) then this has strong implications for both the quantity and quality of human capital investment. In particular, it suggests that government expenditure on pre-school education and child care facilities needs to increase to replace the investment that would otherwise have taken place in the home (and which incidentally would not have been recorded as productive activity in the national income accounts.)

Present government policy is to "reduce the size of the state sector" by turning government departments into corporations and so on. Would you comment on this?

It's part of a general monetarist package. If you are a monetarist you have a particular view of how monetary factors affect the functioning of the economy. You believe that a tight monetary policy, which drives up interest rates and exchange rates, will ultimately work to bring down inflation. You also tend to argue that a tight monetary policy and large fiscal debts don't mix, because governments will inevitably be tempted to print money to finance them.

A fiscal deficit has to be financed. The New Zealand government claims to be "fully funding the fiscal deficit", and that simply means that the government is no longer borrowing from the Reserve Bank, because that creates new money straight away. Instead, it holds regular government stock tenders to sell bonds to

the private sector and that tends to drive up interest rates. A monetarist economic package typically includes the recommendation that government reduce spending and therefore the deficit, to reduce this upward pressure on interest rates. Hence the idea that "big" government is bad.

If you deregulate all markets you cannot assume they will all behave competitively.

Would you describe present government policy as "monetarist"?

Although it applies in broad terms, there are some technical reasons why I would hesitate to describe current policy as monetarist. A pure monetarist policy is one in which government makes no attempt to influence the levels of market-determined interest rates and exchange rates. As I understand it, the Reserve Bank intervenes in the financial markets on a day to day basis specifically to keep upward pressure on interest and exchange rates. The very counter-productive side effect of that policy is that, while it may have some benefit in bringing down inflation by reducing import costs, it has a very depressive effect on the "traded goods sector", which is economic jargon for the sector which produces goods that will be exported or will be sold in New Zealand as an alternative to imports ("import substitutes"). In New Zealand examples of import substituting industries are the clothing, footwear and textile industries. Because imports have become cheaper these industries are closing down and laying off workers.

As we have seen with the rural crisis, farmers have been particularly hard hit by the high interest rate/exchange rate regime because they are being squeezed at both the cost and revenue ends of their operations. A farmer – indeed any businessperson who has a lot of debt capital tied up plant and equipment – has high debt servicing costs (interest payments) relative to total production

Spending on health, welfare and education is investment in human capital.

costs. So if the government drives up interest rates and hence the exchange rate, farm costs will go up substantially at the same time as farm incomes fall.

Under present policies exporters have experienced a similar profit squeeze and the ones that have remained profitable are the ones that can cost-plus price, and those are predominantly the ones that have up-market goods to sell overseas. If you happen to be a farmer, however, you cannot work out how many dollars it costs to produce a lamb and then charge the works for it accordingly, because commodity prices are determined in relatively competitive international markets, not on a cost-plus basis. A farmer is a price taker, not a cost-plus pricer. The price for farm products is set in the world markets, but everyone down the production chain – the shipper and the freezing works – is a cost-plus pricer and the farmer ends up with what is left over.

This goes back to the earlier point I made, that if you de-regulate all markets, you really cannot assume that they will all start behaving competitively. The prices of most products will still be determined on a cost-plus basis, and the prices of most labour services will still be largely determined by the cost of living, that is, wage rates are largely determined by prices. Yet so much of current commentary on economic policy focuses only on the fact that price increases are determined by wage increases. That's just half the story; you've got a feedback. If you blame current price increases on the latest wage settlement, then I could just as correctly say that the higher wages were generated by past price increases. Politicians are fond of attributing both inflation and unemployment to labour market rigidities. The calls for more "labour market flexibility" or for more wage restraint are an attempt to let themselves off the hook.

Unemployment is no longer their responsibility: it is due to labour market inflexibility... "If only you would go for more moderate wage settlements, then ultimately the jobs will be there." But, as we saw earlier, that's not necessarily true at all. The main effect of the government's high interest rate/exchange rate regime has been on output and employment, particularly in the traded goods sector and not on prices.

And that's the most relevant thing, I think, about the current regime, because if you look at our progress on inflation, we haven't made much, especially in view of the fact that our inflation rate was probably coming down anyway, because of the disinflation (jargon for falling inflation) in the rest of the world. In the early 1980s most of the large industrialised countries experienced a marked disinflation: in the US it has fallen from about 15% in 1980 to its present rate of around 4%.

Our inflation rate will tend down towards those levels, but with a time lag. So you would now expect our inflation rate to be falling, no matter what policy was in place. I think people who are not very economically literate may well believe the government's claims that their actions are bringing down inflation. Instead the main impact of their policy has been on unemployment and inflation is falling anyway.

Because of its selective sectoral impact, unemployment has risen markedly in the traded goods sector (at least until the stock market crash, employment in the finance sector was increasing). This has adversely affected the employment opportunities for women, who are heavily represented in manufacturing areas like clothing



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What economic measures do you think would reduce unemployment in New Zealand?

Regulating interest rates and the foreign exchange market as we used to is not a viable option any more, we are too far down the deregulation path. The crucial thing now is to operate what I would call some sort of macro-economic control *other* than just trying to drive up interest rates and therefore the exchange rate in the hope that that will bring down inflation and set the pre-conditions for economic growth.

What the government doesn't seem to have spelled out is how we'll get economic growth going. There's a gap. There seems to be some sort of expectation that growth will just happen once inflation has come down. But the interest rate/exchange rate regime acts as a major disincentive to productive investment spending so that it's going to be very difficult to gear up to produce more exports and generate an export-led growth.

To me the focus of monetary policy should be a lower and much more stable exchange and interest rate structure. That should be accomplished by government intervention in the markets to smooth out daily fluctuations and generally to keep interest and exchange rates from rising.

When you say "interest rates", I immediately think of the interest rate on my mortgage, but that's not what you are talking about, is it?

Yes, ultimately it is. The government intervenes in what we call the domestic money markets – the markets for government bonds,

commercial bills, and such like. The interest rates that prevail in these markets ultimately influence the whole interest rate structure. Government money market operations affect the "call rate", which is the interest rate institutions pay on money they borrow from each other on call. The call rate is also called the "overnight money rate" because, when one institution borrows on call from another, the institution that lent the money has the right to call up the money the next morning when trading opens. So if cash is in short supply, those call rates rise very quickly. Now that adds to the whole cost structure of banks and means that if mortgage interest rates were set to fall they will not fall as far as they might otherwise have. So interest rates in the retail money markets, such as mortgages and overdraft rates, stay higher.

So what sort of interest rate would you like to see the government regulate the on call money markets to?

Well, I think you have to be careful with the language. I don't really mean regulate in the sense of putting a number on it; it's impossible to do that. All you can say is that it's quite clear that if we had lower interest rates and lower exchange rates then the barriers to productive investment spending would be fewer. A high and volatile interest rate and exchange rate tends to divert investment spending from productive areas like buying new plant and equipment to produce goods and services and thereby employ more people, to speculative investment activity on the share market, when greater profits can be made by trading in existing assets rather than buying new assets. I think a lower and more stable interest rate/exchange rate regime would reduce the incentive to speculate.

When you say more stable do you mean so that investors/manufacturers can reasonably predict overseas prices and that sort of thing.

The volatility in the exchange rate means that a whole new finance industry has grown up, purely to provide exporters with insurance against future movements in these rates. For example, you can actually enter a contract to buy or sell a foreign currency, say, three months from now. If the exchange rate were fixed there wouldn't be the requirement for that sort of industry. But having said that, I'm not advocating that we should fix the exchange rate.

I just think the government should reverse the order of its ultimate policy objectives. The government sees a low inflation rate as a pre-condition to economic growth. But, as I indicate earlier, in my view the major impact of government's economic policies so far has not been to bring down inflation; it has been to reduce economic growth and increase unemployment. So I think they should reverse those objectives and make output and employment, the primary economic objective of policy.

For example, if you look across the Tasman, Australian policymakers describe their ultimate policy objective as "non-inflationary growth". Now, to the extent that rising interest rates and exchange rates tend to reduce both inflation and output, there is a conflict between the two objectives. As I read it, the Australian policymakers tend to put the real productive sector objective ahead of the inflation objective wherever such a conflict emerges.

The opposite to what our government is doing?

Yes. Australian policy-makers regard a viable, productive export and import substituting sectors as essential to long term economic prosperity. There doesn't seem to be the same sort of concern here.

I find the phrase "import substitute" quite interesting, it seems to assume that importing goods is the natural thing to do.

Yes it is. By trading with the rest of the world we are all better off. Import substitutes are goods produced in New Zealand that we could also import, and we have a large import substitution sector partly because of the tariff and import-licensing structures that we have had for a long time. That means that industries grew up with protection from overseas competition. If you remove them, as the government is doing, and at the same time drive interest rates and exchange rates up, then they will experience the same sort of profit squeeze as exporters. A policy which increases the incentive to import at the same time as it reduces incentives to export means that New Zealand will continue to have balance of payment problems with the rest of the world.

I have read recently that the American economy is becoming

more and more of a service economy, in that most new industry is in servicing rather than manufacturing.

Yes, it's a world-wide trend which is also apparent here and accentuated by current policy. The finance and tourist industries have been our main growth industries. But growth forecasts for the tourist industry have been too optimistic.

In countries where tourism has become a major source of income it hasn't benefited the local people ...

Not as much as it has the international airlines and the multi-nationals and the big hotel chains. There is a lot of relatively low paid employment in the service industry area, waitressing and those sorts of jobs predominantly performed by women. The whole thing worries me, as a concept. It perpetuates the discrepancy between male and female wage rates.

You see the government is always talking about re-structuring, and what this basically means is diverting some of the country's resources that are relatively unprofitable into more profitable and productive areas. An example of a low-profit area right now would be hill-country farming – some sheep farmers are getting a greater return from the pelt of their sheep than they are for the meat. But it's very difficult to conceive of a situation whereby a hill-country farmer can re-deploy his plant and equipment in a more productive way.

The problem is that a lot of economic theory is based on the idea that resources are pretty malleable: a factory can be used to produce one thing or, at a later date, something else. But in fact most factories are custom built to produce certain things and there are major expenses to convert plant and equipment to do something else. And with high interest rates and exchange rates there's no real incentive to restructure. You get part of the re-structuring process – the factory closing down – but then it's standing there, and it's empty. Nothing is being put in its place, and that I think is the major flaw in the government's current economic policy. There is no real investment strategy. High interest rates and exchange rates place major barriers in front of people who might otherwise think of re-deploying their capital into some other enterprise.

So if the exchange rates and interest rates were to fall and settle in the next year or so, what do you see happening then?

Nothing much. Rogernomics I think has meant that it's going to take a long time for the real productive sectors to gear up and get going again. As far as unemployment goes there are no short-term solutions in terms of traditional macro-economic policy. Bringing down interest rates and exchange rates are necessary to stimulate investment and get some growth back into the New Zealand economy but I don't think that would be sufficient, unless potential investors have expectations that this is going to be a profitable thing to do.

You have probably heard about Keynesian economics as being an alternative to monetarist economics – that might be worth explaining. There has been a lot of rhetoric about there being no alternative to the de-regulatory monetarist path. People who are not familiar with economics may actually believe that. They may think that there are no options.

But, in reality, in a highly complex interdependent system such as an economy there are obviously a lot of options. The existence of two parallel intellectual streams in economics – one Keynesian, one monetarist – illustrates this fact. Monetarism was the prevailing mode of practice during the 1920s and 1930s but when it could neither describe nor prescribe for the problems of the Great Depression the stage was set for the Keynesian revolution. With the publication of Keynes's *General Theory* in 1936, came a viable alternative to the then monetarist orthodoxy.

For most of the 1950s and 1960s the Keynesian consensus dominated policymakers' thinking. There was no longer an overriding concern to balance the budget. Fiscal policy (changes in government spending and taxation) was used actively to stimulate output and employment. Exchange rates were fixed and monetary policy was more concerned with the price of money and credit than with its availability.

But in the 1970s, following the oil-price shock and the huge speculative commodity price swings that were characteristic of the decade, the Keynesian consensus started to crumble. However

— and this is an indictment on my profession — instead of economists saying, “Well, Keynesianism doesn’t seem to have much to offer in this situation, and we know monetarism didn’t work in the thirties, so a new theory is required”, they just reverted to monetarism.

Economics is sometimes called a science. To me, scientific methodology is about building and testing models of phenomena that we are trying to understand. And when the models don’t seem to fit the real world, the methodology is to change the model until a better fit is obtained. Amazingly, monetarists try and change the world to fit their models. When labour markets don’t work the way their models predict they call for greater labour market flexibility!

The Keynesian methodology has always been much more concerned with trying to model the real world situation. There has been more willingness to change the model to help us try and understand what’s going on.

Has there been any attempt since the seventies to develop a different theory and model altogether, outside of those two?

Well, I think that’s the intellectual challenge for economists in the 1980s. There’s certainly a lot of evidence to suggest that understanding much more how administered (or cost-plus) pricing sectors interact with market or competitive pricing sectors would be helpful. When you de-regulate the economy you get competitive financial markets while most of your product markets continue to operate on a cost plus basis. Understanding how these two interact, I think, is the major intellectual challenge.

So you don’t think that intellectual challenge has been met yet?

No. The thing is, that if we economists actually knew how to get New Zealand out of the current economic problems we face, then there wouldn’t be any need for us. I remember saying to a group I was talking to recently, that if economists are intellectually honest with themselves they would have to admit that they have only a very rudimentary understanding of how a complex, highly interdependent system such as an economy operates. If the solution were as simple as running a tight monetary policy, de-regulating and getting the government out of people’s lives, we would have done it long ago. Moreover, if these policies were tried in the 1920s and 1930s and didn’t work then, what’s to suggest that they will work now. In fact the monetarist experiments that were conducted elsewhere in the world, particularly those conducted in countries that are, at least economically, similar to ours (I’m referring here to what we call the southern cone cultures of South America like Chile, Uruguay and Argentina) were pretty much an unmitigated disaster. They drove up interest rates, their exchange rates appreciated, the traded goods sector got into trouble and, at least in Argentina’s case, there was a major financial crisis.

So there is an indication that we might be on a similar path. In fact we are trying something that others have tried and it hasn’t worked.

Yes. The evidence is on the side of failure rather than success, for economies like New Zealand’s, and by that I mean economies that are still net commodity exporters (commodity exports exceed commodity imports) to the rest of the world.

A lot of commentators would say that the industrialised world got inflation down with monetarist policies. But look at the evidence. In both the UK and the US, monetarist type policies were operated from the late seventies until the early eighties at a time when it was very fashionable to be running those sorts of policies. The main impact, as has been the case in New Zealand, was to reduce output and employment. When the industrialised world as a whole, reduces output and employment, the demand for raw materials (commodities) goes down. And this triggered a collapse in commodity prices. It wasn’t just that the rate of price increase fell; actual prices fell by 15-20% during 1980-82.

Since industrialised countries are net commodity importers, that is, they actually import the goods that countries like New Zealand and the Southern Cone countries of South America export, they experienced a fall in the prices of raw materials for their industrial production processes. If one thinks about that and the evidence that most producers are cost-plus pricers you can argue that it was the collapse in commodity prices that brought

inflation down. But at the same time it adversely affected the economies of New Zealand, Australia, and the third world commodity exporting countries as their export receipts fell. So while the UK and US monetarist experiments are often used as examples of how an individual country can control its inflation rate, this may not, in fact, be the case. If, for example, the UK had not followed monetarist principles it can be argued that the UK inflation rate would have fallen anyway, because as a commodity importer they would have benefited from lower prices.

But of course the same would not be true for New Zealand or Australia for the simple reason that we export commodities to, and import manufactured goods from, the rest of the world. So our inflation rate stayed up much longer, and it’s only coming down now. You’ve got to be very careful with economic arguments. There are two seemingly plausible explanations of what brought inflation down in the rest of the world and it is impossible to choose between the two on strict scientific criteria.

If you accept the explanation that it was the commodity price collapse that brought inflation down then you have to be quite pessimistic about New Zealand’s chances of bringing its own inflation rate down through current policies.

So you don’t see any reason why New Zealand’s economy should improve in the near future?

I think most forecasters are saying that unemployment will continue to increase.

So what can you say to women out there looking for jobs?

Up to October ’87 (the stockmarket crash) I would have said go into the finance industry, that’s booming! The problem is there aren’t industries being set up to replace the ones that are going. You can think of successes under Rogernomics, but industries are closing down or laying off workers much faster than new ones are starting up. High interest rates and exchange rates act as disincentives to setting up new industries.

our inflation rate was probably coming down anyway.

I remember seeing the managing director of PDL Industries being interviewed on television about how New Zealand’s economic policies were affecting his business and he said something like this: “The government is telling me not to employ anyone, so I don’t, the government is telling me not to export so I don’t. The government is telling me to import, so I do.” The interviewer responded rather lamely that the government was not literally telling him to do this, but he was making the point that economic decisions are based on relative price signals. By driving up the exchange rate the government is in effect saying is “import more” because imported goods are becoming cheaper relative to New Zealand-produced goods. And so import substituting industries might in fact make more money by deciding not to produce any of these goods in New Zealand. So they close their factories, lay off their workers, send a few executives over to Europe to buy.

For example, there have been some sales around the country recently of light fittings from Italy. It seems that a business that was manufacturing in New Zealand has closed down its factory and is importing light fittings instead. So the executives remain employed, because they are now importers. While business people continue to get such signals unemployment will continue to rise. It’s accentuating the adverse income distribution — there are still a lot of people, especially in the finance industry, who are doing very well, while the people at the bottom end are becoming worse off.

I don’t know where university lecturers’ incomes fit on this scale, but certainly my two university lecturer income household is well up in the economic distribution. If anything, we are probably better off under Rogernomics. I cannot see why government policies should make already affluent people better off at the expense of people at the lower end of the income distribution. I find that very difficult to accept as a New Zealander. Contrary to the political rhetoric, Rogernomics has reduced, not increased, the range of choices open to many New Zealanders. Being free to choose in a market-led economy is a good deal more meaningful for those with money to spend than for those without. ■

TOWARDS 1990

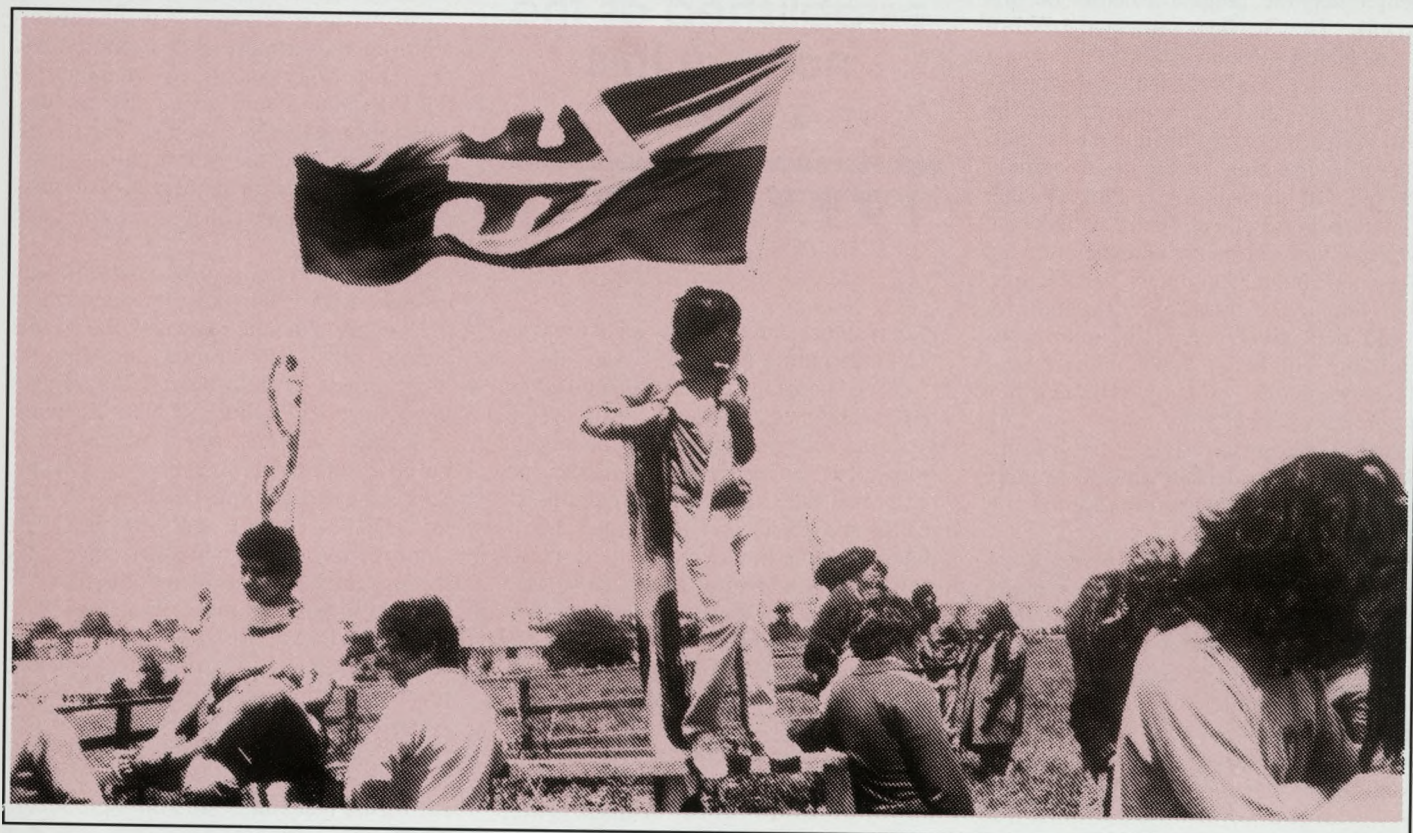


PHOTO: GIL HANLY

1990 IS THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF WAITANGI; the Commonwealth Games will be held in Auckland in January/February; a Commonwealth Arts Festival will happen in Wellington during the same months. Many other anniversaries (eg the centennial of the Royal New Zealand Foundation for the Blind) and events (eg an international kiting festival in Napier) are planned for that year. The Games have their own organising body, the 1990 Commission is the umbrella organisation (with a budget) for the rest.

— Ruth Clark writes —

The children who attended New Zealand primary schools in the 1970s were taught that the world is a global village where African children with swollen bellies live in round shacks with sticks and leaves to cover the sky. Indians live in mud huts with fires that burn pots of dried dung. Dutch children live in chocolate windmills and Eskimos live in blocks of thatched snow. The true stories of the lives of these people

This article was originally published in *Salient*, the Victoria University student newspaper. The writer lost her job with the 1990 Commission as a result. It is reprinted with her permission.

were rarely told, nor were the stories of the people of this country, the Maori people, who as far as we were taught, played with

**Maori claims are
claims for justice,
for the rights of
self-determination**

sticks of old rolled up *Women's Weeklys*, made little flax baskets for cooking sweet potato in steamy underground ovens and had tattoos, and we all knew the "po curry curry anna I had a squashed banana" song.

Maori children educated in state schools at that time would have learnt virtually nothing to consolidate or reaffirm their own racial identity. The shame of this was that another generation of New Zealand children has grown up potentially alienated from and ignorant of the customs, traditions and culture of the indigenous people of this country. This includes a proportion of young Maori people themselves. The ramifications of this are com-

pounded by socialising mechanisms which maintain an essentially Pakeha-determined cultural status quo.

"Ignorance," says Professor Mead of the Victoria University Maori Studies Department, "breeds suspicion, stereotyping and negativism", and when the majority are predominantly unaware and insensitive to the diversity of non-Pakeha cultures, Maori concerns fare no better than those of other ethnic minorities. However, the fact remains that the Maori people are the tangata whenua of this country. They have no homeland to return to; Aotearoa is Maori country.

Ignorance also breeds cultural deprivation. Many Pakeha deny themselves the enrichment and excitement that can be attained by learning about a new culture. People still catch trains to Piccock, talk about some mythical breed called "the Marees" and eat koomra with their Sunday roasts. Through Maori place names, folklore, language, customs and tradition we could collectively share an indigenous tradition. But most Pakeha know only their own culture, which, even though they often have difficulty defining it, is established as the norm in this society.

Professor Mead describes this, accurately, as "ethnic denial". Cultural diversity is apparently allowed in this country if it is expressed within the private parameters of the marae, home, church and so forth. Maori ethnicity is called upon on special occasions in public life to perform, be patronised and then disappear. A recent programme of *Frontline* on Television New Zealand commissioned a Heylen research poll to examine "Attitudes towards Maori among Europeans". Participants were asked whether "Understanding Maori culture is an essential part of being a New Zealander". Just over 70 per cent of Maori surveyed believed that it was, while just under one half of Europeans expressed some sort of agreement. The difficulty in interpreting the Pakeha response lies in not knowing exactly what those people recognised as Maori culture.

Needless to say, Maori culture extends far beyond being able to say *kia ora*, poi twirling concert parties, plastic tikis and the All-black's pre-match haka. Yet calls for the recognition, public usage and teaching in school of Maori language; the return of land (taken deviously or illegally in the war of the 1860s or the land grab of the 1840s); for an equal share of political power; for a Maori television channel, are discussed in not-so-hushed tones of irritation and consternation by many Pakeha. At the same time provocative statements like "kill a white" or Pakehas go home" or any potentially "radical" challenge or expression, is taken out of context by a scare-mongering media, striking that monocultural chord of ignorance and socialised racism in a lot of Pakeha people. Maori activism is a product of cultural

Most Pakeha know only their own culture, which, even though they often have difficulty defining it, is established as the norm in this society



circumstance and is simply an expression of contemporary Maori self-assertion.

Racial harmony in New Zealand is said to be threatened because of the increasing visibility and vocality of Maori claims and grievances, yet happy race relations is not really the issue just yet. Maori claims are claims for justice, for the rights of self-determination. Racial harmony cannot be achieved by silencing Maori calls. Harmony cannot be achieved by oppression. Rather, it "comes from justice – real justice so your minority group can live a life of dignity and happiness in this land" according to Mead.

This justice cannot be accomplished while the Treaty of Waitangi remains largely dishonoured in letter and deed, and while statistical evidence shows the present-day human cost of white colonisation.

Bob Jones believes that poor Maori health and poor Maori academic achievement, high Maori unemployment and a high Maori crime rate reveal a race he nauseatingly describes as "a bunch of parasitical snouts – deep in the public trough. Maori malcontents adept only at using the system, public money and the media to further their racist whining."

Project Waitangi (Pakeha Debate the Treaty) confirms the importance of knowledge of New Zealand's history and of an awareness of Maori cultural perspective: "People who are antagonistic or confused when presented with the Treaty or New Zealand history are quite able to make new decisions about what they'd thought [assumed] all their lives." Examine New Zealand's not so bicultural history and the anger and bitterness expressed by so-called Maori radicals will seem justified, and the Maori claims for justice under the Treaty not so radical after all.

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by over 500 Maori Rangatira and by representatives of the British crown on behalf of the tauwiwi, the new foreigners who were also to make this country their

home. The Treaty of Waitangi forged a contract between the indigenous people and the British colonisers. Despite the controversy that shrouds this document the Treaty still represents an agreement between Maori and Pakeha of today about human rights and rights of residency.

"When European New Zealanders deny the Maori his [sic] 'treaty rights' ... they deny their own right to be here too." (Manukau Harbour findings, Waitangi Tribunal, 1983).

The Treaty also speaks of a partnership between Maori and Pakeha in the cohabitation and governance of this country. But this relationship, and the national identity this document could potentially capture, are sadly negated by European New Zealanders "denying the Maori their 'Treaty rights'." So it is with this legacy of cultural oppression that we collectively approach 1990.

In 1985 cabinet issued a list of broad objectives for 1990, pledging to recognise the tangata whenua status of the Maori people, stage educational and cultural programmes to help citizens appreciate the history and culture of New Zealand, strengthen national spirit, identity and purpose, and to involve all New Zealanders in the recognition of nationhood. And in the latter part of last year the 1990 Commission was established, under the auspices of the Department of Internal Affairs, to implement these objectives. It is chaired by Dr Michael Bassett (minister of that department). The Commission has received the patronage of David Lange, Jim Bolger, Sir Paul Reeves and the Maori Queen Dame Te Atairangikaahu and is led by an executive consisting of three Pakeha men: Don Hutchings (*Telethon* producer, Expo '88); Tony Holman (Expo '88) and Bob Cater (Assistant Secretary of Internal Affairs).

The Commission itself is an odd and interesting assortment of egocentric old boys, political personalities and presidents, students and a token Maori presence, featuring: *June Mariu*, President, Maori Women's Welfare League; *Jim McLay*, former leader of the opposition; *Sharon Crosbie*, "Media personality"; *Sir Keith Sinclair*, historian; *Bill Steele*, Chairperson of Cable-Price Downer; *Sir Ronald Scott*, sports administrator; *Louisa Crawley*, past president of Pacifica; *Samantha Johnstone*, Labour Youth, student; *Maurits Keidermann*, student; *Dr Bruce Gregory*, MP, Northern Maori; *Peter Boag*, Secretary for Internal Affairs; *Rangi Te Maiharoa*, Kaumatua.

A nation-wide newspaper advertisement was run in early December '87, calling for submissions from the New Zealand public about how "this remarkable year could be made even more remarkable". The ad was headed by a photo of a cheesy-grinning Dr Bassett coupled with the caption "1990 Our Nation – A Re-Discovery". It was mentioned almost as an aside that it was also the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Two standing committees have been formed: Maori and Finance. Under the guidance of these committees five advisory groups will deal with the different themes of: New Zealand culture; resources; international events; people and community services; and history. Education commissioners will serve on different committees and groups with some assistance from members of the community.

The Commonwealth Games, a royal visit, the publication of a bi-lingual dictionary of New Zealand Biography, the launching of a national cultural computer database similar to the British Domesday Project and numerous conferences are already planned for that year. The Commission has received about a thousand proposals, submissions and ideas. These will be processed, evaluated and accepted or rejected. The government seems to be prepared to pay about \$21 million for the year of "Our Nation - A Rediscovery".

There is now less than 18 months for 1990 to be arranged and there are already indications of misguided management. Project Waitangi is concerned about the composition of the 1990 Commission. The three Maori members and the one Pacific Island representative are outnumbered by the eight Pakeha members. No effort has apparently been made to honour any notion of partnership at even the planning level. Project Waitangi has been informed that once the Commission is fully operational then their submissions will be referred to the Maori standing committee.

"That's ridiculous" says Mary Anne L'Estrange of Project Waitangi. "What we're saying is that the Treaty is relevant to all New Zealanders." Professor Whatarangi Winiata of the Victoria Accountancy Department believes that the Maori standing committee will be ineffec-

Let us not be satisfied with a 1990 commemoration/celebration that is a one-day mushroom, a flash in the pan

tive simply because it is a sub-committee. He wonders how it would work as a "supplement" to the executive and the Commission and advocates the establishment of an autonomous Maori group "free to plan events, with a budget to do so".

The point remains that "The Treaty of Waitangi must be the starting point for all 1990 commemorative planning and activity". It must not just be the concern of one committee of the 1990 Commission, but should be the concern of the entire body. The Treaty cannot be tacked on to a list of other anniversaries, national assets and achievements worthy of recognition. Without the Treaty, 1990 is without meaning.

Yet there will be the temptation of fun and frivolity, of commercial returns, of throwing a nation-wide birthday party and making little New Zealand goodies for cash, of packaging an unspoken stereotype of what it means to be a New Zealand

er (a stereotype which doesn't include the realities of non-Pakeha citizens). There will be idle chatter about national unity, happy racial interaction and concern about celebration being disrupted by Maori demonstration. Professor Mead asks whether both Maori and Pakeha will be able to celebrate together or whether it will be largely a Pakeha celebration to which there will be a Maori backlash.

Professor Winiata believes that the basis of a New Zealander's identity is her or his loyalty to our dual heritage. He urges that 1990 is marked by some big "constitutional change ... to establish the partnership" in which both partners can stand with equal status and strength. To change the name of the country to Aotearoa and raise a new flag would symbolise a new national identity which doesn't need the old British Empire.

Winiata, however, doesn't see Maori-Pakeha conflict or misunderstanding escalating in such a significant year as 1990. "That's because the Pakeha will be passive."

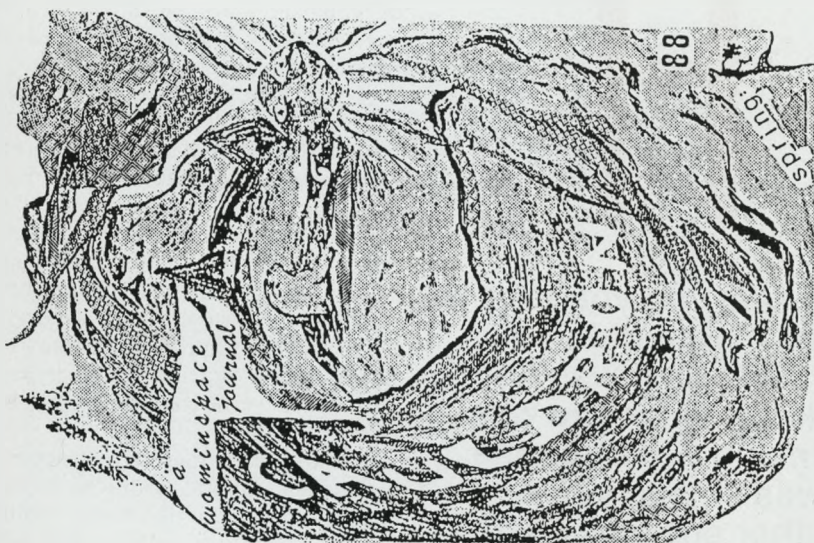
A K Grant's guide to what to do if there is a Maori activist's coup reiterates the same point. "Keep calm: the Maori activists will be telling you to keep calm also but that is no reason for not doing so. Pakeha New Zealanders have kept calm throughout nearly 150 years of their history and there is no point starting to get excited about things now."

Let us not be satisfied with a 1990 commemoration/celebration that is a one-day mushroom, a flash in the pan that fritters away tax-payers money on unwarranted razzamatazz self-congratulation. 1990 could provide a focus on the state of our country - a point at which to reassess our lives and readjust our thinking to make enduring, meaningful and bi-culturally oriented changes, to rectify and compensate for the justified grievances of the Maori.

"Let us approach 1990 with a spirit of hopefulness... but if the government isn't really doing anything to bring about [these] changes there'll be nothing to celebrate" according to Mead. There'll be no reason to celebrate. Submissions to the 1990 Commission may be sent to:

**1990
Freepost
Department of Internal Affairs
P.O. Box 805
Wellington**

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Thanks to Professor Whatarangi Winiata and Professor Sidney Mead: Ka Whakapai ahau ki a koorua moo taa koorua aawwhinatanga. Ted Sheehan (Frontline, TVNZ) for the use of the Frontline Heylen research poll 'Attitudes towards Maori amongst Europeans'. Also to Mary Anne L'Estrange of Project Waitangi and Ms Jan Harris.

In recent years
it has become acceptable
in many liberal Pakeha groups to
accept koha at events they organise.
Auckland youthworker and counsellor,

Michelle Tohi,
(Te Arawa, Ngati Apa,
Ngati Kura), talks with Lisa Sabbage
about what koha means and how it
is often misunderstood and abused.

Koha is essentially giving
what you can afford in any
way you wish to give, so it
may not be just money, it can
be kai or anything.

To me that's what koha basically is. If you go onto a marae or to a function that has a kaupapa Maori and you lay down a koha you are helping with the running expenses. Hopefully it is enough to cover costs, but if it's not, the money is just found somewhere else. The idea is that people can come, participate and enjoy whatever is happening.

Within Aotearoa there are a lot of women's groups and anti-racism groups, liberal people who are supposedly aware and profess to understand and recognise the tangata whenua of this land. But when they put on any sort of entertainment – women's dances or concerts for instance – we will go to them only to find that Maori women or Maori people are not able to lay down a koha. Many times we find that koha is not an acceptable form of payment at these functions. Yet they are being run by people who maintain that they support the tangata whenua and the different traditions within Maori culture – koha is one of these traditions.

In Wellington one New Year's Eve we walked into a women's event and laid down a koha. The women organisers threatened to turn on the lights, turn the music off and make a real big issue of it unless we paid the set price. More recently I went to the Lesbian Ball with a couple of Maori women from Ponake and laid down a koha. The woman on the door said "what's that, I don't speak Maori?" But we laid it down and just walked in because that's really my attitude now.

Another example is a Rape Crisis Dance a group of us attended. We got to the door and I asked whether they took koha, being nice and polite this time. The woman pointed at the sign giving the prices. I said "so you take koha?" She didn't say anything so it was hard to know what she was thinking, whether she was saying yes or whether she was asking for

**I said "so you take
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to know what she was
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was saying yes or
whether she was asking
for payment**

payment. So we just put down the koha. But I was quite ready for a fight in a sense because here we were supporting a really good organisation which helps women who have been abused without seeing that this is what's happening with the rape of us as the tangata whenua. There were all these connections, so I was prepared to argue, but as it happened I didn't need to.

I'd like to see koha accepted in more situations. It's fine to theorise, but women have to implement it on a practical level. Actions definitely speak louder than words.

I'm unsure of the reasoning behind why koha is not acceptable. I think there's a mistrust coming from Pakeha that Maori will not lay down a koha that is enough to cover costs. In this mistrust there is no understanding of the system of koha.

Speaking to that point, it is important for women to look at just how many Maori are attending these functions and not to have the mistrust that Maori women are not going to lay down a sufficient koha. To me the aim of putting on a function is surely to have as many people as possible attend. Being able to lay down a koha is one way of showing support and making Maori women feel a part of whatever is happening, not a part of a minority yet again. This should be happening in terms of feminism – women should be able to pay what they can afford, calling it a donation rather than koha.

I don't believe koha should be an open system where anyone can give it. I believe if people have a similar system within their own culture, giving koha is fine, but for Pakeha people it is not a part of their culture and they often abuse it. In general Pakeha people don't have the same understanding of koha and the feelings behind the words because they don't understand the use of Maori words and customs. Koha is not just a practice, it is rooted in whakapapa and it can't be seen in isolation.

All too often there is a tendency to isolate our cultural traditions from the culture itself. It's like some women's groups wanting powhiri at their events without any understanding – it becomes a

little showpiece for them to look good for including something Maori – forgetting that women have entered and that drinking and eating have taken place before the powhiri, and then not running the event along Maori lines anyway. It's the same with koha – it can't be isolated like this.

With all things that are organised, especially by feminist women, there should always be consultation with the group around, and not necessarily with one Maori group either because I don't think one Maori group can speak for all Maori people, just as what I'm saying here is really my own personal thoughts, I'm not speaking for anyone else. The Women's Festival held recently in Auckland had koha and the organisers thought they were doing something really neat. Even though the group of Maori and Pacific Island women I belong to, Wahine Mo Nga Wahine O Te Moana Nui A Kiwa, told them not to have a koha they went ahead and did it. What they could have said was "donations" rather than using the word koha, which would have been a lot more acceptable to me as a Maori. If people don't listen to what Maori are saying then it becomes an abuse.

When Maori groups have functions we don't actually write a sign at the door saying "koha". Pakeha organisers need to be sufficiently aware that koha is an acceptable form of payment from Maori and other indigenous peoples in this country.

As Maori women we shouldn't have to

Koha is not just a practice, it is rooted in whakapapa and it can't be seen in isolation.

feel that we need to gear up for some confrontation or to justify what we are doing. Really that's how it is every time there's some dance on – we ask ourselves whether we should lay down a koha, should we just go ahead. Now I just think, stuff it, it's been talked about for too long.

I think you've got to recognise all the time that the personal is political and not just see laying down a koha as a political action. I try to get away from saying I'm being political because really I'm not, I'm just being Maori and saying "this is what I believe in, this is what I want to do." It's not being anti-Pakeha, it's just being pro-Maori. It's too easy to put things under headings and to say this is political, this is not political. That's not how I see myself. Myself as a Maori is how I live every day, how I function, how I work, who I talk to, the way I see things. That's not radical.

I will say that consultation is starting to happen a lot more between Pakeha and Maori women. There are a lot of good Pakeha out there who are trying to do things, but there's not the same commitment as what I get from working with my own because we have a common bond in that we are Maori and we have to fight racism and for change every day. When it

comes to the end of the week, what involvement have they had with Maori in that whole week, what positive things have they tried to do for Maori in that whole week? Pakeha women need to ask themselves what they have done at the end of each week that is positive and creates change, and what they have done at the end of two years, three years. By five years they've usually gone because there's not that commitment, it's a thing of today, the trendy thing to do.

The perfect example of that is the Waitangi March up Queen St this year. It got less people along than the march for Aboriginal land rights. What does that say? For me it says that the Aboriginals are the trendy thing to do at the moment just as South Africa was the trendy thing to do during the Spring Bok tour. There were hundreds of thousands marching during that issue, but where are they now?

Yes I am a bit cynical about the commitment of people within these groups, but I don't want them to go away because there is a need for them. I just want them to take a good look at what they are saying and doing.

Working toward change should be a part of their everyday life. Supporting other Maori people at work, socially, and if they haven't got Maori friends they should take a look at why. It's no good supporting change if they haven't got any contact except on a political level. That's why I say that the personal is political. ■

OF VITAL CONCERN TO WOMEN...

Towards Employment Equity



● Towards Employment Equity

As deputy PM Geoffrey Palmer states in

his foreword to the report of the Working Group on Equal Employment Opportunities and Equal Pay:

"The Report tells us that equal employment opportunity is not a reality for all New Zealanders. There is continuing evidence of a gap between female and male earnings. The reasons for this imbalance are complex, but stem from both the under-valuing of work performed predominantly by women and the lack of opportunities for women to participate fully in the labour market."

Towards Employment Equity contains detailed recommendations and valuable statistical appendices. Public submissions on this report (to the Minister of Labour) are invited until 31 October 1988

Item No: 2239 \$9.95 (incl GST)

Women in the Economy

ANNE HORSFIELD



MINISTRY OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS
TE MINITANGA MO NGA WAHINE

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Anne Horsfield has used existing research and literature to build, for the first time, a comprehensive picture of the economic position of women in New Zealand today. This important work focuses on: paid work, unwaged work in the home, unemployment, sources and levels of income, the position of women in relation to taxation and benefits, and the provision and use of education and childcare services.

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This timely report from *Te Ohu Whakatupu* - the Maori women's secretariat within the Ministry of Women's Affairs - surveys existing data and literature on the economic position of Maori women in New Zealand. It acknowledges that Maori women's participation in the economy differs from that of New Zealand women generally.

This report is important in providing a starting point for policy making, further research and continuing debate on some of the key issues which affect Maori women.

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Maori Women in the Economy

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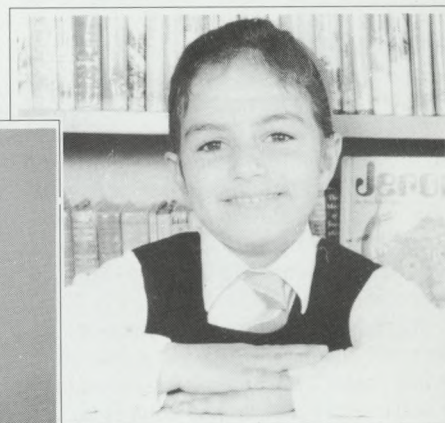
The (W)hole Story:

LESBIANS OF COLOUR IN AOTEAROA

After much thinking and reading and listening and remembering; after much crying and fearfulness and anxiety; after putting aside dangerous thoughts and being compelled to re-examine them, finally I am sorting things out for myself.

I am sorting myself out.

For my self



Left to Right:

1. Annamarie aged 3.
2. Annamarie today.
3. At St Peter's convent school, Cambridge.

I was born on December 19, 1965, at 9 pm in Ashburton Hospital where my father worked as superintendent. As a Catholic in my mother's family church I was baptised Annamarie Rustom Jagose. Rustom is my father's name, a Parsi name, and also, by his family's tradition, the middle name of my three sisters and brother. Indian father, Irish mother. Annamarie Rustom Jagose. The holy water trickles over my head and already, like my Sagittarian birth sign, I am a strange mixture of parts.

The hardest thing seems to be not disowning anything, risking rupture in order to hold together the unruly swell of contradictions. The assumption of any personal identity is, at least partly, dependent on the range of possible socially acknowledged identities available. Jill Johnston recognises this fact in her discussion of lesbian identity when she writes:

Everybody understood identity. When you filled out application blanks for schools or jobs you found out who you were or who you could be. You were male or female, single married or divorced, protestant or catholic, old or young, white or black and anglo or jewish. And you had a name. Identity is what you can say

you are according to what they say you can be.

Simply, you are what is. And when the dominant system ignores, subsumes or resists any identity which cannot occupy its classification system, when no other voices can be heard raised in protest then

ANNAMARIE JAGOSE

the hardest thing seems to be resisting that seductive lie that promises to make things easier, valuing every aspect of identity enough to endure the ongoing struggle necessary to maintain it and knowing, deeply and wholly, that this too will end.

**I have left
feminist gatherings
when the decision
to split into two
Maori/Pakeha
groups has
left me feeling
placeless**

I describe myself as Anglo-Indian. I have not always described myself as such. There was a time when I did not describe myself at all. I did not feel the need. Growing up in my family was not an experience of difference. In many ways we were like any middle class New Zealand family. Admittedly there was no-one quite like us in the small North Island town we lived in but then we were enough like everyone else for it not to matter. None of our relations lived in New Zealand but our immediate family provided us with a place where we made sense. I could look to my mother and father to see where I came from, to my sisters and brother to see what I was.

Our collection of family photos linked us to our two worlds. We knew by heart the names of family we had never met – Cait, Rupina, Bridget who changed her name to Phyllis on arrival in America, Jamshed, Manik – and we saw their faces in our own. My brother looked like my father as a student. One of my younger sisters looked like my mother's sisters. Something of my father's mother reminds me of my older sister. I have my father's nose. We are all in this together.

In retrospect, I see a couple of things as being instrumental in my beginning to

question the once taken for granted, in my desire to unravel the threads and see how the cloth is made. Firstly, there was my move from home at seventeen to the South Island, to a city where I knew no one and no one knew me. Secondly, there was my conscious acknowledgement of myself as a lesbian, both of which started me thinking of myself in terms of identity and community.

My identification as a lesbian of colour in Aotearoa is fraught with difficulty. Any attempt of mine to participate in the anti-racist work being done here is effectively precluded by the strong Maori/Pakeha dichotomy so prevalent in this area.

At the moment, controversy rages over the uses of the word "Pakeha" and at least one school of thought considers the term to embrace all those who are not Maori. Etymologically speaking, "Pakeha" may well mean non-Maori but this is no longer the word's usual signification. On the few occasions that I have attempted to involve myself in groups labelled "Pakeha" my presence has been seen as unsettling or at least puzzling, since the group perceives itself not as non-Maori, but as white or European.

In Aotearoa, feminist consciousness of the racism issues faced by non-Maori women of colour is virtually non-existent or limited to minimal token gestures or statements. At various times I have used differ-

ent strategies for dealing with the situation. I have left feminist gatherings when the decision to split into two Maori/Pakeha groups has left me feeling placeless. I have joined with the Pakeha women only to find myself unable to participate in their discussion of racism from their white women's perspective. I have been welcomed to the korero of Maori women and, while appreciative of and grateful for their empathy and solidarity, have known that their resources cannot and should not be expected to accommodate for the needs of a diverse group of women of colour. I have challenged meetings on their adherence to and reinforcement of what I see as an artificial dichotomy and been met with a mixture of hostility and resentment that I would detract from the real (Maori/Pakeha) issue and an embarrassment and apparent total lack of reaction as feminists chose to ignore what they hadn't the vocabulary to deal with. As a lesbian and a feminist I am painfully aware of the crippling power of definitions. When what is not Maori is Pakeha and what is not Pakeha is Maori, I occupy the gap between the two, that black hole in which nothing can be seen and from which nothing can be heard. I cannot overemphasise how the lack of space, both physical and intellectual/spiritual, for women of colour in the feminist movement of Aotearoa has been, for me, a source of sorrow, anguish and frustration.

When the call for recognition of the position of women of colour in relation to racism in Aotearoa is seen as diversionary or, worse yet, subversive to the anti-racist movement generally, then surely the ideological structures which seek to comprehend and apprehend racism must be rigorously re-examined. The demand for a more comprehensive analysis of racism, for a perspective that allows for the myriad of possibilities and does not reduce a complex issue to a simple two-component whole is in no way a denial of Maori sovereignty or a shying away from the recognition of Maori people as tangata whenua. There is no contradiction in a simultaneous expression of dissatisfaction with the dominant analysis of racism in Aotearoa as simply bipartite and a commitment to seeing the Treaty of Waitangi honoured. Perhaps nothing more strongly points up the inadequacies of current feminist approaches to racism and the ambivalent position of women of colour in anti-racism work in Aotearoa than the need to specifically articulate this point at all.

It is sometimes said and more often implied "biculturalism first, multiculturalism later" as if the two are logically consecutive steps on that uphill path to a utopian society. This prioritising of aims and, by implication, the creation of a hierarchy of oppression, is the end result of accepting an old but myopic argument

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which establishes some fundamental inequalities as less deserving of attention than others. By now it is documented historical fact how Black men in both the African and American liberation movements expected Black women to engage themselves in the struggle for racial equality while putting on indefinite hold their own demands for sexual equality. Or how the early 1970's women's movement of Aotearoa lobbied for women's rights while publically disassociating themselves from lesbian/feminists. Or how the current lesbian/feminist movement continues to deal inadequately with issues of class, since sexuality is seen as the major issue. The message is clear. Everything cannot be done by everybody but while the individual may choose to invest her time and energy into a specific area of struggle, her overall perspective must perceive and oppose oppression in all its forms. Of course multiculturalism, like biculturalism, is just a word. Often mistranslated as tokenism or worse, a liberal disregard for *all* cultural needs, it nevertheless represents a powerful concept which includes biculturalism. In short, while acknowledging the special role of indigenous people universally, it seeks racial and cultural parity.

My mother is white. My father is black. I will not trade the sometimes uncomfortable complexity of my heritage for a superficial simplicity. I will not value, as a higher currency, either of my parent's ethnic identities over the other. I do not find this an easy position to occupy. In a world which sees everything in terms of black or white there is little or no room for identification with or exploration of a racially mixed identity. This is a point Gloria Anzaldúa makes when she writes:

We have our work cut out for us. Nothing is more difficult than identifying emotionally with a cultural alterity, with the other ... Nothing is harder than identifying with an inter-racial identity.

Minority self-definition is never easy. When it does occur it is in those few small spaces left unguarded or overlooked and in spite of over-whelming pressure to confirm or conform to the dominant social view. In some cases the social code defines people of colour as other, relegating them to an isolated and inferiorised identity against which they must struggle. Deprived of resources and cut off from decision and policy making procedures, they pose no threat to the dominant order. In other more insidious cases, the social code subsumes people of colour, perpetuating the myth of homogeneity through its refusal to acknowledge difference. The Indian who only speaks English and without an accent, the almost white looking Asian, the coloured woman who has a white lover – these are welcomed conditionally into the fold, the condition being a commitment to maintaining the subterfuge of sameness. Difference is seen as dangerous and must be exiled or ignored. Audre Lorde recognises this two-sided penalty that difference pays when she warns... "If we don't name ourselves we are nothing. If the world defines you it will define you to your disadvantage."

For years I fought thinking of myself as a woman of colour, as a coloured woman. On the one hand, it seemed too dangerous; on the other, too dishonest. It seemed dangerous because such powerful ideas, once acknowledged, must be pursued to their ultimate conclusion. A raised consciousness is not easily lowered. It seemed

dishonest because surely if I had not always perceived of myself in this way to begin to do so could only be spuriously superficial. At some stage however, while I was tossed on the twin horns of danger and dishonesty, I read the words of Cherrie Moraga:

I have had to look critically at my claim to colour at a time when, among white feminist ranks, it is a "politically correct" (and sometimes peripherally advantageous) assertion to make I think: what is my responsibility to my roots – both white and brown, Spanish-speaking and English? I am a woman with a foot in both worlds; and I refuse the split. I feel the necessity for dialogue. Sometimes I feel it urgently.

Without any prompting, my sisters began to talk to me about their experience and perception of our cultural identity. My younger sister wanted to know what I thought of her turning down the offer of a job at a tanning clinic when she found out that the employer wanted someone with "a bit of colour". My older sister, a doctor, told me how one night at Accident and Emergency she approached a patient, who was lying on his bed with his eyes closed, and asked him what had happened. He said, "Some nigger kicked me in the head". "What did you say?" I said, wondering what I would have said. "I waited for him to open his eyes," said my sister, "and I tried to look as much like a nigger as possible."

So once again, and much to my relief, I find we are all in this together. With my back against the reassuring bulk of my family and my lesbian/feminist politics I peer ahead to see what's next. I remember a story my father told us with great amusement about the time he went with my mother to Ireland to meet her parents. On seeing him, my grandmother, deeply suspicious of this man who was not only Indian but not even a Christian, grudgingly said, "Well, at least he's big enough". So when I think of myself, of how frightened and alone I have felt at times, of the mistakes I've made, of the way that lies ahead, I turn my grandmother's words on their head and reassure myself by saying, "Well, at least I'm big enough". ■

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This article has also been printed in *Lesbian Newsletter*, (No 4, July 1988) Wellington

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WHAT'S NEW

AUCKLAND

Trade Union Centre Social Club Open gatherings for women 1st and 3rd Wednesday of each month. Trade Union Centre, 159 Great North Rd. Ring the bell to get in.
Feminist Ritual Class Thursdays, 13 Oct - 17 Nov. Contact Juliet Batten (09)696-123 for flyer.

HAMILTON

Lesbian Links now operates on Wednesdays from 7-10pm. Phone 80341

HAWKES BAY

Society for Research on Women "Women and the Media" seminar day, 17 September. Guests Helen Paske and Judith Davey. Phone Jacqui Aldridge-Sutton 443-533 (w) (No town given).

WELLINGTON

Women's Film Festival Screenings at the B P Theatre on Thursdays and the National Library Auditorium on Sat and Sun between 3 and 22 September. Childcare available. Short and feature-length films from all over

the world. Contact: Julie Webb-Pullman, 24 Moir St, Wellington.

BLenheim

Women's Festival of Art - Two days of workshops with local and national tutors. Oct 8 and 9. Enquiries to: Women's Day Organiser, NOW, P O Box 607, Blenheim.

NATIONAL

Wahine Mo Nga Wahine O Te Moana Nui

A Kiwa is a group of Maori and Pacific lesbian women living in Tamaki Makaurau. We are hosting a hui for Maori Lesbians on 14, 15, 16 October at Orakei.

E Nga Tuahine Toa Whanui O Nga Hau E Wha, Kei Te Haere Mai Ki Orakei Marae, Tamaki Makaurau, Kei Huihui Mai Tatou Nga Wahine Ki Te Kororotia Matou Ahuatanga. Kia Whakapiri Nga Whakaaro I Pupuke Mahara I Roto I To Hinengaro. Contact: Michelle Tohi. P O Box 8696 Symonds St, Auckland, Phone 397-790, 9.00-3.00pm.

Women's Mental Health Gathering to be held in Auckland 25-27 November at Nga Tapuwae College in Mangere. Creche, wide range of food, marae, good access and facilities for disabled women. More information from Women's Mental Health Gathering, c/- Mental Health Foundation, P O box 37-438, Parnell, Auckland.

Te Kanikani O Te Rangatahi National tour by this Auckland-based contemporary Maori dance/drama group. Auckland 31 Aug-10 Sept, Little Maidment Theatre; Christchurch 28 Sept-1 Oct, Great Hall;

Dunedin 5-8 Oct Allen Theatre. Other South Island centres during October. Contact: Gail Richards, P O Box 5857, Wellesley St, Ph (04)370-272

Women Against Pornography Summary of submission to the inquiry into pornography available for \$5 (indiv) or \$8 (org) from P O Box 475, Wellington.

Talking With Your Teenagers is a new booklet setting out guidelines for parents to help them relate better with their teenagers. This and a companion booklet "Talking with Your Parents" are available from all local Family Planning Clinics and Education Units.

Women and change: Actions for a feminist future Congress, Christchurch, 17 & 18th September, childcare. Contact: P.O. Box 884, Christchurch with SAE.

INTERNATIONAL

Women: Alcohol and Other Drugs A national conference in Adelaide, 8-10 March 1989. Indicate your interest to Festival City Conventions, P O Box 986, Norwood S A 5067, Australia

Rutgers University Women's Studies Interdisciplinary seminar, "Feminist Perspectives on Leadership, Power and Diversity", conducted by Charlotte Bunch, beginning January 1989. Applications for seminar participants and visiting scholars will be accepted until 15 October 1988. Contact: Ferris Olin, Rutgers Institute for Research on Women, Voorhees Chapel-Lower Level, Douglass College Campus, New Brunswick, NJ 08903, USA.

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STROKES AND ART ATTACKS

WEARABLE SCULPTURE

Constructions

by Patricia Morgan

Dowse Art Museum,

Lower Hutt

May/June 1988

Six life-sized sculptures by Patricia Morgan have been on exhibition at the Dowse Art Museum for six weeks. They are shimmering painted silk constructions made of layers of silk, silk m $\acute{a}$ ch $\acute{e}$ and felt, hovering in a group between two pools of reflecting silver paper. Walking between and around them is like wandering in a forest of ancient ponga trees with glimpses of fantastic out-sized tropical flowers or dragonflies.

The associations which come to my mind may be of nature, but this is art which has been generated from art and artifice. (An anthology of New Zealand literature *Countless Signs*, compiled by Trudie McNaughton and published by Reed Methuen, includes these words from Katherine Mansfield's journal of 1907: "When New Zealand is more artificial, she will give birth to an artist who can treat her natural beauties adequately. This sounds paradoxical, but is true.") To see these sculptures by Patricia Morgan is also to remember other recent art made in reference to the body. For these soft sculptures with silk skin-like surfaces and indefinite profiles find their counterpart in Andrew Drummond's anti-heroines of rusted metal and wood, shown recently in Auckland.

The "anti-heroines" of Patricia Morgan are in fact costumes for a video about a woman on a journey, metaphorically in search of a role in society. For the purposes of the exhibition silver-coated cylinders replace the human body; their shininess and solidity giving maximum effect to the

dull golds, reds and blues of the painted silk.

The exhibition installation is marred by one factor: the silver of ground and sky, between which the sculpture is placed at different heights from the ground, is bordered by a harsh red edging which hinders the spatial illusion of even greater scale and timelessness.

The costumes have names which refer to attempts made by the confused woman to find an acceptable place, for example, "Hollow Woman" – the largest of the works, with a form similar to that of a queen in a chess set – and "Pool Suit(e)" – painted with watery patterns, and crustaceans of silk visible within an outer layer.

Only one of the costumes is intended for a male actor – a fabulous piece with the

colours and forms of a bird of paradise flower, who, in the video, will convey visibility to any female who adores him. The last sculpture/costume represents a retreat into safe domesticity, hinted at by the painted floral patterns imitating conservative furnishing fabric.

Patricia Morgan, with her experience of textile and fashion design, has brought new ideas to New Zealand sculpture.

Barbara Strathdee



Pool Suit (E) Encapsulated Exhibition by Patricia Morgan. Dowse Art Museum, Wellington

WOMEN'S FILM,

TELEVISION AND

VIDEO FORUM

Department of Cont

Education

Auckland University

Queen's Birthday

Weekend

The Queen's Birthday Women's Film, Television and Video Forum was a chance for about 150 diverse and different women to converge and concentrate on these media. I felt constantly

tickled, teased, challenged and shaken up - just what I went for!

Women's experience ranged hugely. Some had simply watched movies at their local cinema and on TV, some women worked at TV, some had directed movies, some had been to Cannes. There were technicians, lighting experts, writers, researchers, academics, advertisers, teachers and historians. Some women had been trained to do what they did and some women had had to learn on the job. And some women were simply interested in film, TV or video and wanted to meet people who shared their passion.

The programme was well planned, with a key speaker to start and finish a choice of two out of eight workshops each day. My only real regret is I couldn't attend all the



PROGRAMME

workshops. The weekend seemed meticulously prepared. From the pink 32-page programme and the high technical standard, free of lighting and machine cock-ups, to the decorations, birthday cake and pink Happy Birthday Queen banners that greeted us on the second day. The \$5 charge for the programme on top of the \$65 course fee seemed a bit steep, though.

I was particularly interested in Katherine Findlay's overview of New Zealand women in television *Here today and here to stay*. An articulate and determined woman, Katherine is the new Equal Op-

portunities Coordinator for TVNZ. She's got a hard job ahead of her.

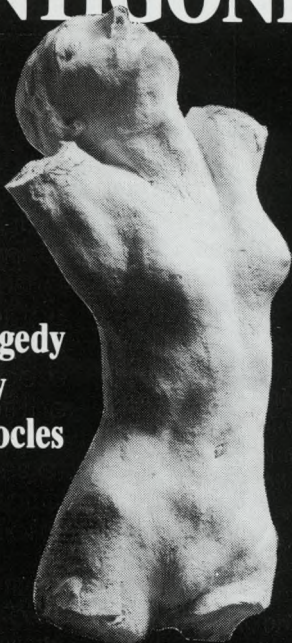
Other workshops included *Maori women in television* with Ripeka Evans, cultural and planning adviser to Director General of TVNZ Julien Mounter. I heard enthusiastic comments about Helen Martin's *The message given; the message received* on film language, and *What would you watch on TV?* was facilitated by two women currently looking to produce a half-hour women's programme. They challenged our ideas on women, and also on what is appropriate for television.

Facing up to counting down was a practical workshop on writing funding proposals, and *TV research* was a fascinating look at what happens before the cameras get there. *Lesbians on film* presented lesbian perspectives on producing film and on working in the industry in general, illustrated with a film made specifically for the workshop.

Television scripts was mainly attended by women who had yet to write a script, and offered systematic points and advice, including a look at target audience and production values. Facilitator Hester Joyce, who has worked as a *Gloss* script editor, left women feeling they could write their first script and use the medium to say something important.

Making community videos was run by Angela and Helen Boyes-Barnes of Video Aotearoa (see last month's *Broadsheet*). They had to learn as they went so they could make the videos they wanted in the way they wanted. I felt hearing about their gutsy progress injected a sense of realism into a sometimes upmarket weekend.

ANTIGONE



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A Theatre Workshop Production

Ways of Seeing women: an introduction

Julie Benjamin

This beginning to the forum was just right for me. Not too high-powered, and not limited to film jargon, she presented a history of presenting women on film. And to my relief, she used lots of film clips to show us what she was talking about. (I'd been concerned the weekend would be full of theorists and I'd be left behind if I hadn't seen Lauren Bacall's last film or couldn't remember the producer of *Fatal Attraction*. I shouldn't have worried.)

In her own words, she was introducing us to New Zealand women film makers and New Zealand women on 16mm and 35mm film from the 1940s to today. There was so much stuff, however, that Julie had to limit herself to covering up to 1977 only.

The material illustrated the contradictions between the reality of the changing social conditions for women during this period and film images of women. The participation of women in the war effort, the cult of domesticity, involvement in social changes. As she said - "how do propaganda and romanticism deny women's true situation?"

Using the National Film Unit's popular weekly war reports, Julie showed how NZ women were portrayed. Real women,

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forced to work during the war in jobs previously reserved for men only, were shown in an unreal context. To the sound of the (then) national orchestra, women were joyfully repairing machines and sorting bullets. "Fingers of steel now. No time to weep - women must work now. Clocking in and clocking out."

In fact, who was weeping before, anyway? And the biggest changes to women's lives, of course, were not having to work hard, but having to take on a full-time job in addition to now being a solo parent and the already full-time job of running a household. Were women so joyful about these aspects? Well, it seems no one at the National Film Unit asked them.

And yes, Julie said, women were clocking in, but they weren't clocking out at the same times as the male population had. Wartime meant emergency labour laws and suspending the maximum working week and other industrial relations basics. From 1942 to 1944, all women aged 18-40 were into employment. Women got shorter breaks and unequal pay, but employers saw a 25% increase in productivity between 1939 and 1945.

Julie said there was a lot more opposition to this than to conscription. The response of the "Manpower" committee, however, was simply to make weekly war reports reassuring women they hadn't lost their femininity now they were doing "men's jobs".

The clips we saw had such commentary classics as "Women drivers were once a back-seat joke..." Reassurances included: "They still have their cup of chatter water" while we watched overalled women have their well-earned tea break, and "The hand that locks the engine wields the lip-stick".

The National Film Unit's Margaret Thompson made a film on women in the railways at that time, but even that, Julie said, was very nostalgic and showed women in ancillary roles: "the refreshment room girls", who depended on the company of their fellow workers and looked forward to the big dance when they could dress up. "The wife bottles tea and makes sandwiches at all hours" was the tone of the film, with no discussion of being married to the railways etc. Margaret left in 1949 to be head of "instructional film" in Britain.

Another NFU worker, Catherine O'Brien, contributed to 15 productions but got no credits. The NFU weeklies were scrapped by the newly-elected National Party because they were seen as too socialist.

In 1948 Bathie Stewart filmed *New Zealand*, which she then toured to the United States, lecturing and demonstrating the haka and poi at 55 years. She went on to make *New China* in 1965, which she filmed herself, by this time realising she could use a camera as well as any cameraman she was employing.

Julie managed to cover women's lives through film in amazing depth for such a short time. She touched on feature films up to 1977, illustrating the roles women played in indigenous film and the role they played in making those films possible. It was inspiring and a taste of things to come.

Janet Cole

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Workshop Reports

Aspects of NZ low-budget 16mm/super 8 film and video: A screening and discussion of personal working methods and concepts by three independent film/video makers. Within an international network that has established different ways of seeing and speaking, visually and textually, it is exciting to see the boundaries of New Zealand film extended. Especially when, in so many areas of the arts, artists and audiences are confining themselves to one-track realism.

Although in this workshop we were treated to the diverse work of three film makers, it was only in the moments it took to load the next film that personal concepts and methods were mentioned - there was no time for discussion.

The sleek, accessible images of Bronwyn Sprague amused an audience generally indifferent to the theoretical backdrop of Merylyn Tweedie and of the City Group. *Living Normally* took Sprague two and a half months to make as she learnt the processes of animation, and this bright, light work could easily have been

her diary. Her *Scenes From the Front* was bright if not light and also gained audience reaction, because it had narrative to grasp hold of.

City Group, an independent collective, work in close and equal collaboration within an unstructured structure. For some, the anonymity could seem exclusive, elitist, but they prefer to adopt an exterior stance rather than personal. *Ver Grind*, a film about personal survival, offered the viewer polished images and sequences, but for many it was pointless and without emotion.

A narrative that provides the measure of desire - pt 1 in 3 colour variations, by Tweedie, contained visuals, out-of-focus images, that were decreasingly interesting. The blandness on screen accentuated a soundtrack that needed the viewer's comfort in reality. Although Tweedie expressed an interest in visual images of women, in this film they were off-screen, worked on to the soundtrack with a woman's voice.

With few chances to see short films/videos, this was an excellent opportunity to compare processes and concepts, but without valuable debate the audience walked away untouched by alternative readings of culture and of self within that culture.

Paula Green

Reclaiming the victim: women and thrill-

ers was a workshop taken by Su Leslie I've never seen a thriller I liked, so I thought this would be a chance for me to talk to women who did enjoy thrillers and - maybe - learn how to see them in a non-threatening way.

Su Leslie took this one, and she certainly wasn't frightening! She seemed a bit nervous about taking the workshop, but really knew what she was talking about.

We started on what I regarded as safe ground. Thriller as a genre ... what's a genre? It relies on everybody knowing the rules - audience, film maker and characters. And economically it's reliable. Thriller fans see certain types of posters and, bingo! the film has an audience..

For thrillers, the accepted environment includes isolation, dim lighting, shots of women's long, thin legs, close ups of the victim's breasts and shoulders - and all from the attacker's point of view. Often the film follows the attacker around so the scary 'thing' is the central presence.

All that was then illustrated with shots from real thrillers - not so safe ground. It was good to be able to think to myself 'Oh, that's just the camera angle' or 'That's just the lighting'! We examined why it does feel so believable, though.

It's called the realistic aesthetic. That means it's physically put together so it looks like the real thing - no jump cuts and the process of construction carefully hid-

den - so it creates a reality inside the movie's confines. If a plot or character is unusual, then the other characters' responses to those unusual happenings are still consistent.

How do women appear in traditional thrillers? There's a long list, all a variation on either victim or vamp: psychotics, screaming maidens, manipulating mothers, 'offbeat' sexuality, temptresses ... Black women get to play the mammy/protection figure.

So women are posing for men in the movie, for the camera and for the audience. And the audience is being shown the women victims from the attackers' point of view. Who, then, is the assumed audience? And what is the appeal of the movie?

Yes, yes, I thought, my reservations confirmed. That's why I don't enjoy thrillers - they are anti-women. I didn't bank on Gaylene Preston (director of *Mr Wrong*) turning up, though. She agrees films should convey social realism. But she thinks the thriller is a fine genre to start with. (And, of course, lots of the women there had come because they loved thrillers.)

Gaylene's cry is 'Become the genre'. Bend it. Subvert it. She said sure, you're fighting it from the moment you start, but doesn't see that as a reason to not make a thriller, it's just more challenging. She says thrillers are about fear and yes, thrill-

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ers that turn on acts of voyeurism are continually being churned out, but points out that doesn't mean a feminist thriller should be about a superwoman - that's not social reality either.

Well, with all that looking at genres, I came away wanting to make a women's western. I'm still not sure about thrillers, but I sure admire Gaylene for shaking up the world's idea of that genre.

What's a Nice Girl Like Me Doing in a Place Like This: Power, Politics and Film-making Gaylene Preston

This was one of the highlights of the weekend for me. Gaylene is a dynamic speaker, bursting with energy, her commitment to film-making clear. I felt she was sharing with us insights gained only through bitter experience. She sure dispelled any illusions we had about the industry, but her belief in "the plastic medium" for gut-level communication was inspiring.

Her true love is making documentaries - a way to make an audience see through her eyes - but after three Arts Council grants she was "in dire danger of becoming an ex-film maker". So she went to the "market-place reality": Cannes. It wasn't the most encouraging place for a film maker with principles, however. The top dollar that year was being paid for "hard news", ie real death on film. Second in line was "51 episodes of very rich people doing incestuous things", as in *Dallas* and others. And third most popular was naked jazzercise - soft porn sold under the table.

Gaylene said that that world showcase of film made her realise she had a choice: go into voyeurism or preach to the converted. But she wanted to consciousness raise, which meant she didn't have a ready market or backing from either camp. "My films are always going to be alternative" she says.

That means she aims simply to return money to her investors. The distribution of *Mr Wrong* was done by walking the streets to catch a distributor who didn't want to know her. "Had to buy a cinema to show it" she says, not quite jokingly.

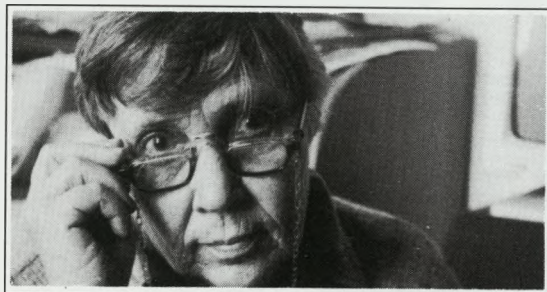
To work in the film industry at the moment is to be surrounded by a male ethos, which she says she battles every day. But if that's what it takes to produce a film, I'm sure Gaylene Preston will be doing it until she's 100.

Janet Cole

APOLOGY

The first few paragraphs of the review of *Dry Your Smile* in the July/August *Broadsheet* got scrambled. Our apologies to Robin Morgan and to readers who tried to find their way through it. If you are still frustrated try this: go from the end of p 45 to the last two lines of column 1, p46; read on for 30 lines on the next column, ending "not going to be"; back to the top of column one and from the end of line eight ("...find out who...") to line 31, second column!

THE CRIPES OF ROTH



Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II has never been what you might call a role model for me as each of us goes about her own particular trivial round and common task. However, as my eyes glazed over the Queen's Birthday Honours list, it occurred to me that we proud Commonwealth commoners - ex-colonials, former empire loyalists, past members of one of the furthest flung Dominions - all celebrate our natal days too. So I thought I could well follow the Queen's example in this, the evening of my years (well, dusk, at least) and compile my own Birthday Honours list. (Yes, I did have a birthday, actually. Oh, thank you. How kind.)

There will be a departure from the common practice here: I would never dream of making judgements about which people deserve what decoration so will merely make tentative suggestions about categories of recipients. It's unusual anyway to come across anyone accepting a decoration in a "goody goody, JUST what I always wanted" mode. No indeed. It's usually a tremendous surprise, modestly and reluctantly accepted on behalf of all my etc. etc. So, here we go, without imposing the letters-after-the-name burden on any public-servicing (male) or community-servicing (female) individual.

▼ **P.T.O.** = Peter Tapsell Overexcitement, or the watch-the-wall-my-darling-while-the-gentlemen-go-by award: for those disrespectful women who arouse more disrespect in men than formerly, especially by means of the full frontal zip.

▼ **Q.S.M.** = Quality Sensitivity (Male): for the jokers who are So Supportive of other jokers because they Understand how the insensitivity of their upbringing affects their relationships with women and makes them feel so miserable about continuing to get better jobs and pay than women with equal or better qualifications.

▼ **P.H.D.** = Pakeha History Dubious. Increasing numbers of people are eligible for this distinction as they contribute their instant, dogmatic account of the Maori past, present and future to radio talkback, letters to the editor and commercial fishing colleagues. The majority are heavily into the we-are-all-New-Zealanders syndrome (so long as Pakeha rules OK?).

▼ **M.B.E.** = Maori Bashing Expert. For public figures (Parliamentarians from both sides, property developers, tycoons with fishing interests, some editors, journalists, talkback hosts etc.) many of whom have already won a P.H.D.

▼ **S.C.A.M.** = Selling (Callously) Aotearoa to Mammon. A select band - Round Table, Treasury, some Cabinet ministers - deserve this honour.

▼ **I.I.U.D.** = Ignominy and Inevitability of Unemployment Discounted. For a list of eligibles see above (unlikely to include many women).

▼ **P.I.S.S.** = Prebble Initiatives in Selling off Silver. For extra special effort.

▼ **S.O.D.D.** = Secret Observance of Double Dealing. An order most likely to be pinned on a member of NOBBB (Network of Old Boys at Bars and Billiards) which sensibly permits only minimum numbers of women and other undesirables (e.g. trade unionists) in the upper levels of political parties, government departments, large businesses, educational institutions and everything else.

▼ **L.S.D.** = Lip Service to Debate. Particularly deserving of this award are many daily papers and a lot of TV news and current affairs programmers who like the safety of predictable talking heads confined to the wit and wisdom of NOBBB, whose members prefer to keep crucial information to their own superior selves.

▼ **D.B.E.** = Disguise Backtracking on Equality. People with S.O.D.D. and/or

L.S.D. decorations often qualify for a D.B.E. as well, by setting up another committee of enquiry, or royal commission or whatever and ignoring the years of evidence-gathering clearly showing discrimination against women, Maori etc. They like to warn of extravagance and hardship in these difficult times if all these selfish claims are met and surely it's a question of individual choice. They encourage we-are-all-New-Zealanders syndrome.

▼ **K.B.E.** = Knock Beneficiaries Eternally. Many are eligible with the ready-made phrases constantly on the tip of the tongue: *we-are-all-New-Zealanders no matter what our colour with equal opportunities at school and work; dole bludgers; girls having babies to get the DPB; selfish elderly not making provision for old age; ripping off the taxpayer; plenty of jobs out there but hundreds just not willing to work.* Talkback radio stations in particular throw up a never-ending pool of candidates for this award.

▼ **O.B.E.** = Outlaw *Broadsheet's* Emancipation. To pin on nail-biting journalists, especially the glossier stereotypes, who don't want to understand the kind of support that keeps underfunded, overworked *Broadsheet* in existence. By claiming that woman-centred, investigative news and views are not "proper" journalism, they pretend reassuringly to themselves and to one another that they only read *Broadsheet* for the recipes and the racing tips.

Margot Roth



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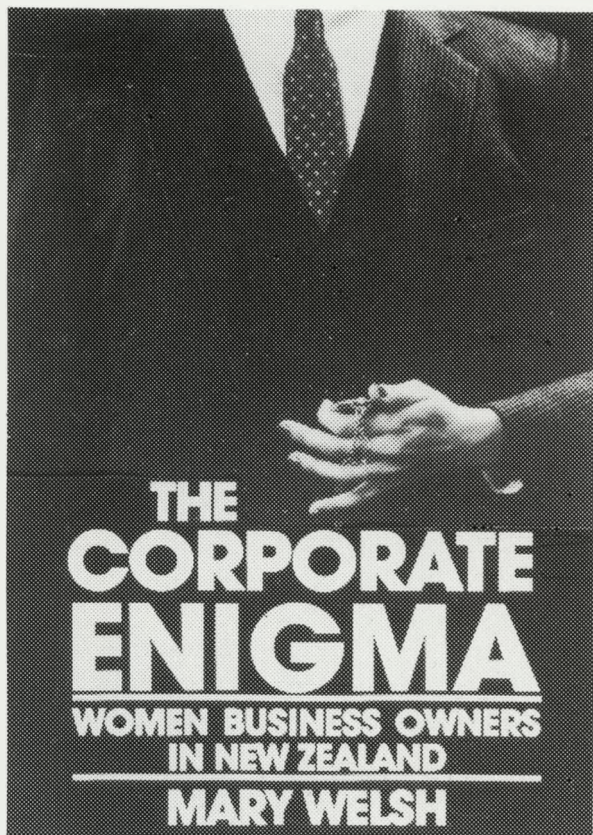


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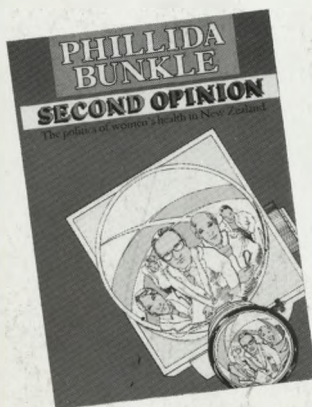
Second Opinion: The Politics of Women's Health in New Zealand

Phillida Bunkle \$25.00

Phillida Bunkle has been writing on women's health issues for the past fifteen years, and her work is well known. The Commission of Inquiry into the research practices at National Women's has brought her name national attention.

This book contains essays on aspects of contraception and health, such as Depo-provera, the Dalkon Shield, as well as the new birth technologies, and abortion: issues which touch the lives of women in New Zealand.

It also includes the article on National Women's, co-written with Sandra Coney, published in full.



Yellow Pencils: Contemporary Poetry by New Zealand Women

Edited by Lydia Wevers \$25.00

The work gathered in this collection was published between 1965 and 1988. The lives of women emerge from the poems in all their strong narrative detail quite independently from the men who might be connected with them.

There are twenty-eight poets included here. Major figures such as Ruth Dallas, Lauris Edmond, Fiona Kidman, Rachel McAlpine, and Elizabeth Smither are well represented. However, the editor has given much space to new poets such as Janet Charman, Jenny Bornholdt, Michele Leggot, and Chérie Barford.

Summer Near the Arctic Circle

Lauris Edmond \$15.95

This is the ninth book of poems from one of New Zealand's most distinguished poets. The poems in the opening section are drawn together by a common thread, that of travel, of making journeys. Running through these poems — and many others in the book — is an awareness of the fragility of relationships, of the impermanence of human existence.

The Poems of Katherine Mansfield

Edited by Vincent O'Sullivan \$25.00

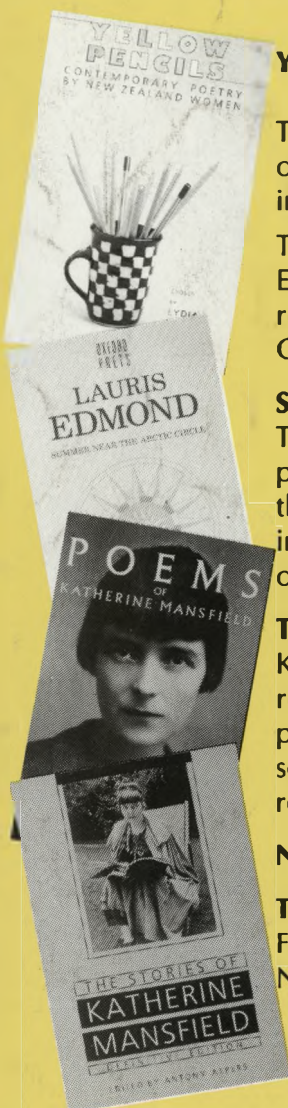
Katherine Mansfield's reputation as a major figure in twentieth century literature rests on her short stories, but it is less well known that she was also an accomplished poet. This book shows Mansfield's poems in a completely new light. It can now be seen that she was innovative, as a poet, to a degree which has never before been recognized.

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